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Monday, November 2, 1992

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WASHINGTON

PRESIDENT BUSH

NOVEMBER 2nd , 1992

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TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

[illegible]

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Canton, Ohio
LOCATION: Louisville, Kentucky

DATE: 2 November 1992

TIME

MOVEMENTS

0738	Depart Hilton at Short Hills via Motorcade
0749	Arrive Hartley Dodge Memorial Building
0842	Depart Hartley Dodge Memorial Building via Motorcade
0855	Arrive Morris County Landing Zone
0859	Depart Morris County Landing Zone via Marine One
0914	Arrive Newark International Airport
0945	Depart Newark International Airport via Air Force One
1034	Arrive Philadelphia International Airport
	Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
1045	Depart Philadelphia International Airport via Motorcade
1053	Arrive Briarcliffe Father And Son Fieldhouse
1125	Depart Briarcliffe Father And Son Fieldhouse
	via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1130	Arrive Our Lady Of Fatima Church (LOW KEY)
1152	Depart Our Lady Of Fatima Church
	via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1210	Arrive Philadelphia International Airport
1225	Depart Philadelphia International Airport
	via Air Force One
1338	Arrive Canton International Airport, Canton, Ohio
1455	Depart Canton International Airport via Air Force One
1608	Arrive Staniford Field, Louisville, Kentucky

5:30 P.M. EDT NEWS UPDATE

CAMPAIGN/RALLIES (Louisville/Laurence McQuillan, Reuter) -- The last day of President Bush's final campaign was a roller-coaster of emotion that turned the six-state swing into a sentimental journey for a man whose political career may be ending. Bush, whose weary face showed all the long days he has been devoting to stopping Bill Clinton, carried himself like a losing fighter wanting to make it through the final round but knowing he didn't have much of a knockout punch left. During his various appearances he said all the same words he's been saying for months now, but this time they lacked the heated passion that had stirred crowds only last week.

(Akron/Gene Gibbons, Reuter) -- President Bush mounted a last-hurrah barnstorming tour in a never-say-die bid to derail Bill Clinton's bandwagon, confound the pollsters and give wavering voters one last argument for re-electing him. Bush, at a rally in Akron, said the issue before the voters was simple: "Who do you trust with your children? Who do you trust with the United States of America?" Although the mood in his camp swung from desperate hope to resignation as the moment neared, Bush seemed in good spirits. "He's absolutely confident he's going to win," Robert Teeter told reporters.

(Philadelphia/AP) -- President Bush reprised the major themes of his campaign -- family values, foreign policy experience, trust, character, the popularity of Barbara Bush and the menace of Saddam Hussein -- in a six-state finale. "Put the parade on hold, Bill, you're not going to win this election," a defiant Bush said at a rain-soaked rally in the Philadelphia suburb of Briarcliffe. "It's pretty much going our way," James Baker told reporters, suggesting many undecided voters will side with the President at the last moment. Robert Teeter asserted that as many as a third of the states might be up for grabs.

MADIGAN/IRAQ (Reuter) -- Secretary Madigan is denying allegations that department documents about Iraqi loan guarantees were shredded, but Rep. Gonzalez called for further investigation. Madigan was responding to allegations last week by Rep. Gonzalez that employees of the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service (ASCS) shredded documents during the previous weekend about Agriculture Department loan guarantees to help Iraq buy American farm commodities. Madigan said in a letter to Gonzalez that some documents had been shredded recently by ASCS but these did not include any Iraqi loan guarantee documents or related materials. He said he had asked the department's inspector general to make a full review.

CAMPAIGN/AIRWAVES (AP) -- Bill Clinton and Ross Perot poured money into program-length Election Eve appeals on three networks while President Bush drenched the airwaves with shorter spots featuring the flag and a frightful storm over Arkansas at the end of their \$100 million ad blitz. Perot was going on national television for two hours, paying almost \$2.9 million for more "infomercials." Clinton was spending almost \$2 million for 30-minute shots on all three networks while Bush scattered more traditional ads across the airwaves.

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V.P./MIDWEST (Saginaw, Mich./AP) -- Vice President Quayle, who for weeks has run down Bill Clinton's character, spent the final day of the campaign extolling President Bush's record while avoiding mention of Clinton. Quayle raced from airport to airport in Tennessee and Illinois as well as key battleground states in the Midwest -- Ohio, Michigan and Wisconsin -- before heading home to Indiana. Quayle, in Ohio, spoke of a recent "growth spurt" and said, "we're out of the recession." He listed accomplishments on Bush's watch, from the fall of the Berlin Wall to the liberation of Kuwait to the Clean Air Act.

FOOD STAMPS (Reuter) -- The number of Americans who need food stamps to get enough to eat is almost at an all-time high, the government said. Figures released on the last day of the election campaign showed that 25.86 million people were enrolled in the federal food stamp program in August. That figure was the second highest in the history of the program and just 15,678 shy of the all-time record of 25.88 million people set in April. August enrollment rose by 139,000 from 25.72 million people in July.

POLL/WISCONSIN (Milwaukee/Reuter) -- Ross Perot has severely cut into Bill Clinton's lead over President Bush in Wisconsin, according to a Milwaukee Journal poll. Clinton has 38% of the voters backing him compared to 35% for Bush and 20% for Perot, with 7% undecided, said the poll. The newspaper said a poll it took two weeks ago had Clinton leading Bush by seven points, while Perot was backed by only 15%. The telephone poll of 600 likely voters had an error margin of plus or minus four points.

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News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992
6:00 A.M. EST EDITION

TRIP NEWS

BUSH, CLINTON STUMP BATTLEGROUND; PEROT HUNTS CALIFORNIA VOTES
-- Bill Clinton and President Bush battled across the nation's recession-scarred heartland for one last Sunday, the front-running Democrat pledging a "new day for the country" and the President sharply attacking his rival as "Slick Willie," unfit to lead.
(AP, New York Times)

BUSH, PEROT LASH CLINTON -- Urging his supporters to "fight on" until Tuesday, Bill Clinton came under fierce assault from President Bush and Ross Perot Sunday over his character and record as the presidential campaign hurtled toward its conclusion on a sharply negative track.
(Washington Post)

BUSH VISITS FIVE STATES IN FINAL CAMPAIGN BLITZ -- President Bush, running out of time and money as his hopes for re-election seemed to fade, was campaigning in four battleground states Monday before returning to Texas to await the voters' verdict in Tuesday's balloting.
(Reuter)

NATIONAL NEWS

PEROT LASHES FOES, EYES LANDSLIDE FOR SELF -- Ross Perot lashed out at Bill Clinton and President Bush Sunday while exuberantly promising California supporters a 50-state landslide in tomorrow's election.
(Copley, Washington Post)

NETWORK NEWS (Sunday evening)

PRESIDENT'S TRIP -- President Bush kept the heat on Bill Clinton.

The President slogged on today, retracing his steps across territory he's covered time and again this year but has yet to nail down.

Despite disappointing polls taken by his campaign, President Bush is trying to look like a winner.

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NETWORK NEWS.....B-1
TALK SHOWS.....C-1

TRIP NEWS

BUSH, CLINTON STUMP BATTLEGROUND; PEROT HUNTS CALIFORNIA VOTES

Bill Clinton and President Bush battled across the nation's recession-scarred heartland for one last Sunday, the front-running Democrat pledging a "new day for the country" and the President sharply attacking his rival as "Slick Willie," unfit to lead.

Ross Perot campaigned in California and aired a new 30-minute commercial that said only he could straighten out the economy. "Believe me, we've got big-time experience by Clinton and Bush in mismanaging money," he said of the President and the Arkansas governor....

There was more encouragement for the Democrats in a spate of single-state surveys that gave Clinton a comfortable edge in Missouri and showed Bush with unusually slender leads in traditional base Republican states such as Indiana, South Carolina and Virginia.

Bush's rhetoric grew sharper as his poll tidings grew dimmer.

"Slick Willie," he called his rival. He added that Saddam Hussein was planning "a party for 500,000 people in downtown Baghdad" to celebrate if Clinton wins. "They're wrong. No party," he said. (David Espo, AP)

Bush And Clinton Go Nonstop In Battling For Crucial States

STRATFORD -- Raspy-voiced but outwardly ebullient, President Bush ended the weekend as he began it, banging away at Bill Clinton during a last-shot sweep of states he must win if he is to be reelected. In blustery Michigan, before cameras aboard Air Force One and on the airport tarmac in Connecticut, the President leveled new charges about Clinton's position on taxes and his handling of question about his efforts to avoid military service as a young man. Bush tried to rebut the clear impression that he is descending into a catch-up strategy of deeply negative campaigning in the race's final hours. (Michael Wines, New York Times, A1)

BUSH, PEROT LASH CLINTON

Democrat Upbeat As Race Nears End On A Negative Note

Urging his supporters to "fight on" until Tuesday, Bill Clinton came under fierce assault from President Bush and Ross Perot Sunday over his character and record as the presidential campaign hurtled toward its conclusion on a sharply negative track.

His voice reduced to a croak, Clinton hustled through Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey sounding increasingly upbeat about his chances of winning the election, as public and private polls showed him with a steady lead over Bush. Bush, on the defensive, tried to turn the voters' attention to Clinton's draft record, charging that friends of Clinton had helped destroy his Reserve Officers' Training Corps files in Arkansas in the 1970s. Calling on Clinton "to level with the American people" about his draft record, Bush said his rival was unfit to be president. "The bottom line is we simply cannot take the risk on Governor Clinton," he told a raucous rally in Auburn Hills, Mich. (Dan Balz, Washington Post, A1)

BITTER PRESIDENTIAL RACE NEARS END, WITH CLINTON IN LEAD

With voting only a day away and polls predicting his defeat by widening margins, President Bush fought back furiously to avoid becoming only the fourth president this century to be denied re-election.

Showing no sign that he thinks the "nutty pollsters" are right on the race is over, Bush reached deep into rival Bill Clinton's Vietnam War draft history Sunday to convince Americans they cannot trust the man now leading the polls.

The President charged that unnamed friends of Clinton confiscated and destroyed his military records in 1974 to spare Clinton embarrassment at the start of his political career....

With Clinton's own voice reduced to a hoarse whisper from 11 months of non-stop campaigning, Bush was loud and shrill in his 11th hour denunciation of his rival's character.

"The bottom line is we simply cannot take the risk on Governor Clinton," Bush declared at one campaign stop in what aides said would be a non-stop attack on Clinton's character until voting starts Tuesday.
(Arthur Spiegelman, Reuter)

ONE MORE SHOPPING DAY FOR VOTES

Bush: Banking On Trust

DETROIT -- President Bush staked his re-election hopes Sunday on public doubts about his opponent's character, clinching his case by citing new evidence Bill Clinton conspired 18 years ago to destroy ROTC records in which he lied to avoid being drafted.

"The bottom line is you cannot have this pattern of deception and deceiving," Bush said during an arena rally at the Palace at Auburn Hills. He was thwarted earlier by CNN's Frank Sesno when he tried to discuss the latest episode in the draft-avoidance saga during a live interview.
(Frank Murray, Washington Times, A1)

BUSH DOWN TO FINAL DAY

SHORT HILLS -- A combative President Bush entered the final day of his last race for the White House Monday, ready to press his underdog campaign in a lightning-strike, six-state swing ending in his adopted home state of Texas.

Energized in the final hours of the 1992 campaign by large boisterous crowds screaming affection, Bush prepared for his final push in states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky, Louisiana and Texas.

"Looking good, very good," he said Sunday night....

But the final days of the race -- during which it drew tantalizingly close for Bush -- were clouded by continuing questions about his role in the Iran-Contra scandal. Then came national polls showing his drive for re-election may have stalled.

(Lori Santos, UPI)

BUSH: 'WE ARE GOING TO WIN'**Supporters Brave Cold, Windy Morning To Get A Glimpse Of President**

LA CROSSE -- Air Force One flew off into murky skies at the La Crosse Municipal Airport Sunday at precisely 10:40 a.m. -- right on time -- capping off a 12-hour visit that included only the briefest of public appearances. Several hundred people showed up at the airport for the departure, despite biting wind and near-freezing rain.... At about 10:15, the President's motorcade pulled onto the tarmac in front of the passenger terminal. The President emerged from his limousine holding a microphone and began to address the crowd. "Be sure to go to the polls," the president told the crowd. "We're going to show those pundits wrong and we are going to win."
(Richard Mial, La Crosse Tribune)

BUSH RETURNS TO JERSEY AFTER RIPPING FOE ANEW

NEWARK - President Bush arrived Sunday and spent the night in Short Hills in preparation for a campaign appearance this morning in Madison. Sunday, the President charged that friends of Bill Clinton destroyed Clinton's ROTC records in an apparent bid to protect him from embarrassment on the draft. The Clinton campaign denied the charges.... Sunday, Bush pressed his charges against Clinton. "We have new evidence" against Clinton, Bush said during a campaign rally in Michigan. He cited "an affidavit that when Gov. Clinton first ran for office, his friends used special connections to seize his ROTC files and destroy all of them."

Bush did not elaborate, but his campaign distributed a copy of a statement signed by Donald Cake, a retired U.S. Army colonel who served in the Army ROTC program at the University of Arkansas.

It was unclear how Cake or Bush knew the records had been destroyed.... On the campaign trail Sunday, Bush lobbed volley after volley of verbal buckshot at Clinton. Gone was any pretext of syntax or appearing "presidential." "I love to fight this one out in the last several days on character and trust. Yes, he is a character," Bush told cheering supporters in a basketball arena in Auburn Hills, Mich.
(Newark Star-Ledger, A1)

BUSH'S MICHIGAN VISITS RECALL '80 HEARTBREAK

A dozen years ago, when George Bush was taking his first steps toward the White House, Michigan made his hopes soar and then broke his heart. The polls suggest it may do the same on Tuesday.

Sunday Bush was in Auburn Hills, outside of Detroit, for his fourth visit to Michigan in eight days. Bill Clinton still leads in the state, and Bush's repeated visits there evoke memories of his first run for national office in the 1980 Republican primaries, when he relentlessly campaigned in Michigan after he had effectively lost the nomination to Ronald Reagan. Everyone knew he was loser but Bush. And the voters of Michigan. Bush won the primary, but that same May day Reagan accumulated enough delegates to clinch the nomination. With a finger-shaking lecture to "mournful pundits" who kept saying he was done, Bush kept on, in much the same way he perseveres in these final days of his last campaign, single-mindedly and sometimes goofily attacking Clinton as the hours and minutes of his comeback fight run out.

(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A1)

BUSH VISITS FIVE STATES IN FINAL CAMPAIGN BLITZ

SHORT HILLS -- President Bush, running out of time and money as his hopes for re-election seemed to fade, was campaigning in four battleground states Monday before returning to Texas to await the voters' verdict in Tuesday's balloting.

He arranged to kick off his sprint to the finish with a breakfast-time pep rally in this predominantly Republican New York suburb, and then planned to travel to Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Louisiana to make one last pitch to the voters.

A welcome-home rally in Bush's adopted hometown of Houston was scheduled for Monday evening, and truly represented a last hurrah for the embattled president, whose campaign is said by campaign sources to be nearly out of cash. (Gene Gibbons, Reuter)

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NATIONAL NEWS

PEROT LASHES FOES, EYES LANDSLIDE FOR SELF

LONG BEACH -- Ross Perot lashed out at Bill Clinton and President Bush Sunday while exuberantly promising California supporters a 50-state landslide in tomorrow's election....

Meanwhile, in a 30-minute commercial broadcast on two networks Sunday night, Perot charged Bush with "mismanagement" of the economy and Clinton with doing little more than "expand the chicken business in Arkansas."...

Perot asserted that Bush "got us involved in Iran-Contra. And yet he denied any responsibility even though he was in charge."

(John Marelus, Copley)

Perot, In A Change Of Tactics, Directs Fierce Attack At Front-Runner Clinton

LONG BEACH -- In last-minute change in campaign tactics, Ross Perot Sunday unleashed a slashing attack on Bill Clinton, deriding his record and suggesting he lacks the "background and experience" to solve the nation's problems....

Perot Sunday also repeated and amplified some of his earlier attacks on President Bush, charging in the half-hour network commercial that the President had "mismanaged" the economy, ignored the recession, and "created" dictators such as Ferdinand Marcos, Manuel Noriega and Saddam Hussein.

(Michael Isikoff, Washington Post, A16)

PEROT, IGNORING POLLS, VOWS 'LANDSLIDE'

LONG BEACH -- Ross Perot, facing a grim electoral landscape that could deny him even one state on Election Day, promised supporters he'd win all 50....

At a rally in Santa Clara, Perot told the crowd that Bill Clinton and President Bush lack the business sense to lead the nation into the 21st century.

Perot called Bush the "potato chip" man in reference to a statement made by Bush's chief economic adviser in which he said he didn't care if Americans made "potato chips or computer chips."

(Terri Vermeulen, UPI)

CLINTON, GORE ADDRESS GET-OUT-THE-VOTE RALLY

EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J. -- Bill Clinton, joined by Al Gore, addressed a get-out-the-vote rally beamed across the nation that had the air of a victory party....

Said Clinton, "This is a great contest between hope and fear...responsibility and blame, courage of change versus comfort of status quo."

Gore tweaked President Bush, and got in a dig at the Administration's domestic programs.

"He said his dog Millie knew more about policy than Bill and I," Gore said. "I think it was Millie who taught him how to roll over and play dead on domestic policy."

(Thomas Ferraro, UPI)

CANDIDATES NEAR FINISH LINE; POLL SHOWS CLINTON GAINING

A poll projecting the undecided vote for the first time in the 1992 campaign gave Bill Clinton a 12-point lead over President Bush Sunday night.

The CNN/USA Today/Gallup poll of likely voters gave Clinton 49% of the vote; Bush, 37%; Ross Perot, 14%.

Previous polls by Gallup for USA Today have left out those who described themselves as undecided.

"This is an estimate based on tracking polls among likely votes and a projection of what the undecided votes will do on Election Day," CNN said.

Without the projection of the undecided vote, the poll shows Clinton with 44%, Bush with 36%, and Perot with 14%.

An ABC News polls released Sunday found Clinton leading 42% to 37% to 17%.

But the President was undaunted by the new survey numbers, assessing them only as the work of "nutty pollsters."

"I am absolutely confident of victory," he told a Michigan rally. "The American people are going to decide that there is a vast difference in experience, a vast difference in philosophy and, yes, a vast difference in character." (Robert Doherty, Reuter)

CLINTON MAINTAINS NARROW LEAD

NEW YORK -- Bill Clinton's diminished lead in the national polls opened up a notch Sunday, and he led President Bush by eight points in the survey that had shown a dead heat last week.

Gallup's daily tracking poll for CNN and USA Today had Clinton at 44%, Bush at 36% and Ross Perot at 14%.

Clinton led by six points in a Harris Poll taken Friday night through Sunday night. The poll of 1,975 likely voters showed Clinton with 43%, Bush with 37%, Perot with 16% and 1 percent for others. (Howard Goldberg, AP)

BUSH GAINS IN STATE POLLS, LAGS ELECTORALLY

President Bush finds upward movement in most state polls out over the weekend, but not enough -- yet -- to overturn the huge electoral advantage enjoyed by Bill Clinton. A USA Today analysis shows Bush clearly ahead in only four states (Utah, Wyoming, Idaho and Nebraska), and leading in six others, for a total of 64 electoral votes. Clinton, despite finding tightened races in some states, still has solid leads in 18 states and D.C., for 223 electoral votes.... Ohio: Columbus Dispatch poll -- Clinton leading Bush 41-40, with Perot at 19. New Jersey: Asbury Park Press poll shows Clinton leading Bush 36-29-12. Michigan: Oakland Press poll shows Clinton ahead 41-32-18. Wisconsin: Milwaukee Journal shows Clinton 38-35-20. Missouri: St. Louis Post-Dispatch poll shows Clinton ahead 42-27-20. Alabama: Birmingham News shows Bush leading Clinton 45-38-14. Mobile Register shows Bush ahead 41-37-12. Kentucky: Clinton ahead 45-38-12 in a poll by six news organizations. Pennsylvania: Philadelphia Daily News shows Clinton ahead 38-28-15. Kansas: Topeka Capital-Journal shows a tie. Colorado: Denver Post shows Clinton ahead by nine points. Elsewhere: Clinton holds a six-point lead in Delaware, Bush narrowly leads in Indiana. (David Colton, USA Today, 3A)

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REPUBLICANS, DEMOCRATS PUSH FOR THEIR CANDIDATES

Rich Bond expects President Bush to "surge" ahead by Election Day, but Democrats maintain the race for the White House is closing in Bill Clinton's favor. Bond told reporters on "Meet the Press" Sunday that Bush will win a second term if he holds together a coalition of key Southern and Western states, plus taking needed wins in Ohio, Michigan and New Jersey for a necessary 270 electoral college votes. Republican pollster Vice Breglio predicted Sunday that Bush would win narrowly over Clinton, 43% to 42%. However, he acknowledged a win for Bush would defy "an awful lot of conventional wisdom." Democratic pollster Peter Hart said he doesn't see evidence of a surge in poll results for Bush, saying any previous boost is "flattening out." Hart predicted Clinton would win the race with 45%, with Bush taking 39% and Perot at 15%. (Teri Banas, UPI)

BUSH, CLINTON PICK UP ARRAY OF NEWSPAPER ENDORSEMENTS; PEROT, ONE

Bill Clinton picked up at least nine newspaper endorsements over the weekend, while President Bush got eight and Ross Perot one.... The following newspapers preferred Bush: Cincinnati Enquirer; Morning Journal of Lorain, Ohio; The Indianapolis Star; The Tampa Tribune (Fla.); Pensacola News Journal (Fla.); the Waterbury Republican American; The Birmingham News; and the Winter Haven (Fla.) News Chief. (AP)

QUAYLE SWINGS THROUGH TENNESSEE; HEADS BACK HOME TO INDIANA

Vice President Quayle says he thinks the Bush-Quayle presidential ticket will prevail in Tennessee, the home of Al Gore.

He was making a final pitch for support in Tennessee Sunday before heading home to Indiana to await the voters' verdict on Tuesday. "We're within four of five points," Quayle said of Tennessee, where his wife Marilyn campaigned on Sunday. "We did well in 1988, and notwithstanding someone else on the ticket, we think we can win it again this year." (Chris Connell, AP)

THANKS TO BUSH, GORE HAS NEW PROMINENCE

RALEIGH, N.C. -- ... "I've decided that to be called 'Ozone Man' by the environmental president is a real honor," Al Gore said at a rally Sunday in Kalamazoo. Gore aides said they couldn't understand why Bush would focus so much attention on Gore when studies show that voters choose a candidate for president without much consideration for the vice presidential running mate.

"Maybe George Bush thinks Al Gore is running for president," said Gore spokeswoman Marla Romash. (Robert Naylor, AP)

IN FINAL BLITZ, A BLUR OF POLLS, PONTIFICATION AND SOUND-BITE SLOGANS

...The final weekend of the presidential campaign has been a blur of images flickering across the TV screen.... Through it all, those "nutty talking heads," as Bush calls commentators and reporters on TV, served up a smorgasbord of polls and pontification, with nearly all of them -- from "Capital Gang" to "Meet the Press" -- predicting a Bill Clinton victory.

(Howard Kurtz, Washington Post, A17)

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HEP CATS

President Bush once said he wasn't a "mod MTV type," but Sunday he and Ross Perot submitted to the demands of the music generation. MTV political reporter Tabitha Soren, who interviewed Bill Clinton and Bush, said the Bush campaign made her promise not to ask about the Iran-contra affair.

("Election '92," USA Today, 7A)

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

When President Bush thought George Stephanopoulos got favored treatment when he got through to the President on "Larry King" Friday night, he was right. Stephanopoulos called a producer mid-show to agitate about getting King to revisit Iran-contra. The producer in turn told him to call Bush himself, and gave him a special number that put him ahead of all the other callers.

("The Reliable Source," Washington Post, D3)

JACKSON WARNS OF 'PRESIDENT QUAYLE'

The Democrats will win the White House because of worries that President Bush may be impeached and because of overwhelming support from non-white voters, Jesse Jackson said in an interview Sunday.

Jackson says Clinton has pulled away again in polls because "Bush has developed a serious credibility deficit."

"There's a growing anxiety about Bush and impeachment," he says. Noting the continuing revelations about the Iran-contra scandal, Jackson says: "The fact that you could end up with Quayle is not lost on people."

("Election '92," USA Today, 7A)

LATIN NATIONS CLOSELY WATCH U.S. ELECTIONS

CARACAS -- Most Latin American leaders are keeping close watch on the U.S. presidential election, hoping a possible change in command will not reverse the interest George Bush's Administration has shown in its southern neighbors. "President Bush was a president who attended very satisfactorily to the requirements of Latin America," said Venezuelan president Perez in a recent news conference. In an era when regional governments were ordering free-market reforms to pull the region out of what economists called the "lost decade" of the 1980s, the Bush presidency offered key economic trade initiatives and debt reorganization.... But, with Bill Clinton and Al Gore still ahead in the polls, leaders were protectively hedging their bets. (Anne Harrison, UPI)

RECORD NUMBER OF WOMEN RUNNING FOR CONGRESS

On Tuesday, voters nationwide will decide whether or not this is indeed the much-touted "Year of the Woman."

More women are running for Congress than ever before. There are 106 women running in the general election for House seats, a 54% increase over the previous record of 69.

In the Senate, a record 11 women have won nominations and are running in the general election. (Helen Thomas, UPI)

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INTERNATIONAL NEWS

IRAQ'S EUROPEAN SUPPLIERS WERE KNOWN TO U.S., PAPER REPORTS

NEW YORK -- The Defense Intelligence Agency had detailed information about a network of European companies that supplied Iraq with military technology four months before President Bush signed a secret order encouraging closer relations with Iraq, the New York Times reported Monday.

The paper said a classified 1989 document contained "rich details" about technology that could upset the balance of military power in the Mideast.

It said the document showed how much information about Saddam Hussein's "military ambitions and methods was available as the Administration was embarking on its policy of courting Iraq."

It was not clear whether the report was seen by top policy-makers in the Administration or agencies that control exports.

But one anonymous Defense Department official told the paper the report was the sort of document that would be widely circulated among senior Pentagon officials. (Reuter)

U.S. INTELLIGENCE KNEW OF BNL-IRAQ TRANSFERS Bank Activities Were Monitored Before Criminal Probe Of Atlanta Branch, Memo Shows

The U.S. intelligence community had information about financial dealings between Iraq and the Atlanta Branch of an Italian bank before those dealings became the target of a criminal probe in 1989, according to U.S. officials and an internal Justice Department document. The information included details of some electronic funds transfers by the Atlanta branch of BNL, the anonymous officials said. The transfers were intended to help finance Iraq's military buildup in the late 1980s, the officials added. The document, written in September by a lawyer in the Justice Department's criminal division, provides the first official corroboration that U.S. intelligence agencies were monitoring at least some BNL transactions involving Iraq. The document, a copy of which was obtained by the Washington Post, does not indicate whether the intelligence community was aware at the time of the important role BNL was playing in Iraq's military purchasing network. Nor is it known whether the intelligence community issued any warnings about these dealings to policymakers in the Bush or Reagan administrations. (R. Smith, Washington Post, A8)

IRAN-CONTRA NOTE THROWS BUSH ON DEFENSIVE

President Bush angrily denounced the Iran-contra probe as a "big witch hunt" as he scrambled Sunday to head off more damage to his credibility. "People are tired of this, and I think they know I've told the truth," Bush said on CNN. Bush was put on the defensive Friday when Iran-contra prosecutors released a handwritten note by Caspar Weinberger suggesting that George Bush was aware of the secret operations to swap weapons for hostages in January 1986. "It's very strong...a direct contradiction," says Malcolm Byrne of the National Security Archive.

(Sam Meddis, USA Today, 8A)

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ROOTS OF BUSH'S IRAN CREDIBILITY GAP
Weinberger Note Is Latest Challenge
To '87 Statements On Arms Sales

President Bush's latest Iran-contra credibility problem had its roots in a 1987 interview and an autobiography published that same year in which he attempted, while vice president, to distance himself from the then-unfolding Reagan administration scandal....

In both the book and the interview, Bush said he was "out of the loop" when the plan to sell arms to Iran was formulated and unaware that the secretaries of state and defense strongly opposed it.

A Caspar Weinberger note, describing a Jan. 7, 1986, White House meeting to discuss the Iran arms sales, was released Friday in an Iran-contra indictment of Weinberger. It provides the most direct contradiction to Bush's statements made five years ago.

Faced with the note, Bush has modified what he knew about Shultz and Weinberger opposing the deal. Sunday on "Newsmaker Sunday," Bush said, "I didn't know...how strongly they felt about it, that there was a kind of ravaging fight going on, and I did know, and I've said that, and I've testified to that."

(News Analysis, Walter Pincus, Washington Post, A13)

U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS SHAKIER THAN EVER, POLLS SHOWS

TOKYO -- Japanese and U.S. citizens feel relations between their two countries are at their lowest point in 15 years, the result of growing trade tensions and perceptions of a widening cultural gap between the two nations, according to a new poll.

A joint U.S.-Japan survey conducted by Gallup and the Japanese daily Yomiuri Shimbun and published Sunday found that only 26% of U.S. respondents and 30% of Japanese respondents felt relations were good or better, 16 and 11 points lower respectively than a year ago.

(Michael Nol, UPI)

-End of A-Section-

NETWORK NEWS

(Sunday evening, Nov. 1)

CAMPAIGN/PRESIDENT'S TRIP

ABC's Forrest Sawyer: Once again today, President Bush kept the heat on Bill Clinton, trying to focus voters' attention on whether Clinton has the character needed to be president.

ABC's Brit Hume: The President slogged on today, retracing his steps across territory he's covered time and again this year but has yet to nail down. He still trails here in crucial Michigan, where at a rally today, he charged his opponent had arranged to have his ROTC file at the University of Arkansas destroyed.

(TV coverage: President Bush leaving Air Force One, waving to cheering crowd.)

(**President Bush:** "Even today, we have new evidence, an affidavit that when Gov. Clinton first ran for office, his friends used special connections to seize his ROTC file and destroy all others. He's got to level with the American people on this kind of thing.") That affidavit from a former captain with the Arkansas ROTC program was given yesterday and passed out to the press today by the Bush campaign. The President was trying to regain the offensive on the trust issue after facing renewed questions on the Iran arms sales. Those questions followed the release Friday of a Casper Weinberger note suggesting Mr. Bush knew more than he said about the arms-for-hostages dealings. The President finally got a little impatient with that issue today.

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

(**Frank Sesno, CNN:** "Except in your autobiography, 'Looking Forward,' you seem to say that you --")

President Bush: "Frank, if you want to spend the whole time talking about Iran-Contra --"

Sesno: "No, no, no, no --"

President Bush: " -- because I don't.")

Very little new or different about what was said in that Weinberger note. But it created enough of a media sensation that the President had to spend time the last two days talking about it when he would rather have been talking about other things.

Sawyer: ...The President is doing rather well in the polls. Are they heartened by that news?

Hume: They are, indeed. But they know as well as anyone that you can actually win the popular vote and lose the election. And they also know that the edge that they may have gained -- the gains they may have made in the popular vote -- are not matched by the gains they need in some of the major states. They've pulled out of California, they're not campaigning in Illinois. The President, of course, will not campaign in New York, as few Republicans have in recent elections. But when you subtract chunks like that from your electoral base, you're working on a very narrow margin. And the President has very little room for any losses in the major states, the major industrial states where he's doing most of his campaigning the next couple of days. They know that and he knows that.

(ABC-2)

-more-

NBC's Garrick Utley: Call it the grand finale, the climax of the presidential campaign. Candidates in the final quest for votes -- one candidate in search of his voice today -- and the voters facing a deadline to make their decision by Tuesday. Today, once again, it was a blur of activity as George Bush and Bill Clinton flew from state to state, and Ross Perot visited California.

ABC's John Cochran: Despite disappointing new polls taken by his own campaign, President Bush is trying to look like a winner. The George Bush who looked so passive in the second debate was nowhere to find as he made a final appeal for votes in Michigan. Bush is trying to project energy, a feeling that he really wants to be reelected, that he really can be reelected.

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

(**President Bush:** "Actually, the other night in Michigan, Gov. Clinton told a voter that he's already thought about what he's going to do as president. He said he's going to play his saxophone in the White House and he's already planning the inauguration parade, you know. Hold the phone, Bill, hold the phone. We are going to show that you're not going to be in the White House and you're not going to have the parade and the press are going to wrong about you.")

Despite Bush's upbeat performance, his aides are privately discouraged by their own polls. They tell NBC News that Michigan, with its 18 votes, is slipping away from Bush; that he is losing too many Republican voters to Ross Perot; and that in the past week, Clinton has regained Democrats who leaned toward Perot. But Bush still hopes he can win by pounding away at Clinton's character.

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

(**President Bush:** "We didn't invite that term Slick Willie. We didn't invite it. It's been coming from Arkansas. It was all through the Democratic primary.")

Tonight, Bush is in Connecticut and here in New Jersey, two more states where he faces long odds. And privately, his aides say that despite Bush's best efforts, he may get little more than 100 electoral votes nationwide. It takes 270 votes to win.

(NBC-Lead)

CAMPAIGN/CLINTON

Sawyer: It began in Iowa and New Hampshire. And now the presidential candidates are down to one last frantic day of campaigning. Today was devoted to stops in states that will likely play a critical role in deciding the winner. Gov. Clinton started in Ohio, moved to Pennsylvania, made two stops in New Jersey, and then went back to Pennsylvania. President Bush also moved quickly, from Wisconsin to Michigan and New Jersey, Connecticut, and back to New Jersey. Ross Perot stayed out West, with two stops in California.

(TV coverage: President Bush, Clinton speaking at campaign stops.) The latest ABC News Poll still shows a very tight race, Gov. Clinton ahead of Mr. Bush by five points, Ross Perot well back in third. [Clinton 42 percent, Bush 37, Perot 17.] Keep in mind that Tuesday night, it is the electoral vote that counts. And there, Gov. Clinton does have a real edge.

ABC's Chris Bury reports Clinton's voice was gone again.

(TV coverage: Clinton waving to cheering crowd.)

(Clinton: "We've fought for a year. We've got two days to go. My voice will be better by this afternoon and I'll be there Monday, I'll be there Tuesday to fight on. Don't give up. Forward.")

Clinton turned the mike over to Mrs. Clinton.

(Mrs. Clinton: "This campaign has been about changing this economy, giving back good jobs to decent, hard-working Americans again.")

Clinton's staff says he is suffering from allergies and laryngitis aggravated by talking too much and sleeping too little.

(TV coverage: Clinton greeting supporters.)

(Sen. Wofford: "He has given his voice to this nation and to you and me.")

By afternoon, Clinton's voice was better.

(Clinton: "Don't forget, there's been a lot of charges and counter-charges and ups and downs. But when you strip it away, this election is a race between hope and fear, between the courage to change and the comfort of the status quo.")

In spite of his voice, Clinton begins another marathon day tomorrow. Over 29 straight hours, he plans to stop for nine airport rallies in eight states from Pennsylvania to New Mexico.

Sawyer: Are the Clinton people a little nervous because they've been dropping in the polls?

Bury: On the contrary, they seem quite relaxed. In fact, in very good spirits, and the reason is the electoral map. Clinton's own pollster believes he's ahead in so many big states that it will be all but impossible for the President to pull it off. (ABC-Lead)

NBC's John Dancy reports Clinton's staff is elated by a new poll that shows his lead widening. The heavy schedule took its toll on Clinton's voice.

(TV coverage: Clinton greeting supporters.)

(Clinton: "Bad, huh? It's bad. We've fought for a year. We've got two days to go. My voice will be better by this afternoon and I'll be there Monday, I'll be there Tuesday to fight on. Don't give up. Forward.")

Clinton's staff says he is gargling and doing voice exercises. Some of tomorrow's stops will be in states where Clinton is ahead.

(TV coverage: Clinton giving supporters high-five.)

(Bruce Lindsey, Clinton campaign: "We consider them to be critical states that we need to carry and that we think one more visit will help us cement that lead.")

Clinton's staff says despite his laryngitis, he feels fine. To demonstrate, Clinton tossed a football with an aide while cameras rolled. A new poll shows Clinton with a seven-point lead.

(TV coverage: Clinton throwing football.)

(Dee Dee Myers, Clinton campaign: "It's encouraging, but we're really not going to put it in the bank yet. We're going to spend the last 30 hours hitting 10 cities and campaigning as hard as we can.")

(Clinton: "On Tuesday, we will win a new day for America.")

Clinton's strategy for this final push is to revisit states like

Dancy continues:

New Jersey, where he'll be tonight. New Jersey has 15 electoral votes. Clinton has been there seeking those votes already six times. And right now, they appear to be in the Clinton camp. Tomorrow, he'll head out across the industrial Midwest, the South and the West, states where he hopes to find the margin of victory.
(NBC-2)

CAMPAIGN/PEROT

Sawyer discusses the Perot campaign with ABC's Morton Dean.

Dean: ...What they're trying to do here is create a chain reaction, a chain-letter effect, by asking each one of Perot's supporters to go out and get five other supporters and have those go out and get five more....

Sawyer: Perot has in the past focused more on President Bush in his criticisms. Is he maintaining that pattern in his speech today.

Dean: I think he's condemning both candidates with equal ferocity today, as he did yesterday.... He says that the President is responsible for working hand-in-hand with dictators -- Marcos, Noriega, Saddam Hussein. He says he's been accepting crooked money from PACs. And as far as Gov. Clinton, Mr. Perot has been ridiculing Arkansas, saying it's too small for a man to govern and then go on to govern the U.S.
(ABC-3)

NBC's Jim Cummins reports polls show many Perot supporters say they might vote for one of the other candidates. In California today, Perot blasted both opponents.

(Perot: "This is a decent man who was responsible for deregulation in the 1980s as vice president. He had the responsibility for what became the banking and savings and loan disaster. Now, if you can take another one of those. Hey, did anybody out here get any benefits from that disaster? Now, the fastest-growing industry in Arkansas, and one out of five jobs created in the last several years, is in the chicken industry.")

In a new 30-minute broadcast tonight, Perot scrutinizes the Clinton record and then questions Clinton's ability to lead the country.

(Perot: "He has never held a civilian job. He is running a company that, if you put it on the Fortune 500 list in terms of its annual budget, it ranks below Toys R Us and Chiquita Plants.") Perot will give his last rally in Dallas. His supporters could be the swing votes in Texas.
(NBC-2)

CAMPAIGN/UNDECIDED VOTERS

ABC's Ron Allen reports some voters still can't decide. Most still don't like the choices. The soft-support voters are the Bush campaign's biggest target and last hope. The Clinton forces are fighting to hold onto voters who apparently have moved away. Some Perot workers think it is too late to win over undecided voters.
(ABC-4)

NBC's Fred Briggs reports on Dixville Notch, New Hampshire, which has just 29 registered voters. They are the first ones to vote each year, with the polls opening at 12:01 a.m. There are many undecided voters there, but most believe the majority will go for Bush.
(NBC-11)

CAMPAIGN/GERALD FORD

Utley discusses the campaign with Gerald Ford.

Ford: ...When you see those polls and surveys, you have to feel that a little extra effort is going to make a difference and it might win the election.

Utley: ...Has the public been served by the new way the candidates have been using television, for example?

Ford: I think this campaign has gotten much too personal between all three of the candidates. I do think some of these interviews on television, which are new, can be helpful. (NBC-10)

CAMPAIGN/REVIEW

Sawyer presents a fast-moving montage of short clips from the campaign's beginning to today. Included are quick clips of Bush and Clinton speaking and appearing in various campaign settings. (ABC-11)

CONGRESSIONAL ELECTION

NBC's Odetta Rogers reports on prospects for the next Congress.

(Sen. Dole: "I think there may be a lot less gridlock in the next Congress, regardless of whether President Bush is elected or Gov. Clinton.")

(Sen. Mitchell: "To get this economy turned around and get our country moving again. If we can do that, then I think the anger and hostility which people now have will be lessened.")

The new members of Congress will have to prove to voters that they are a new wave of politicians ready to get the job done. The main job will be jump-starting the economy.

(Speaker Foley: "I think we'll see this new Congress a very important and significant one, and one anxious to act quickly and responsibly on the issues facing the country.")

Lawmakers traditionally start working on how they'll tackle the issues in December. But this year, they're expected to start right after election day. Both Bush and Clinton have pledged to work with the Congress before they're sworn in. (NBC-4)

JUDICIAL APPOINTMENTS

Utley discusses judicial appointments with NBC's Star Jones.

Utley: ...If Bill Clinton is elected president, what do we know about his appointees. We know that he's going to be looking toward minorities and women, probably, to increase their numbers in the federal judiciary. Though Bush has nominated between 18 and 19 percent women, he's nominated about 10 percent minorities. Clinton's indicating he's going to do better than that. (NBC-5)

LIBERIA/MASSACRE

Sawyer reports worshippers crowded Liberia's main cathedral in Monrovia to hear an archbishop blame the murder of five American nuns on rebel leader Charles Taylor and his militia. Pope John Paul II denounced the slayings and said he hoped the deaths would help bring peace to Liberia. (NBC-6, ABC-6)

ABC -- THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

Moderator: David Brinkley. Panel: George Will, Sam Donaldson.
Guests: Secretary Martin, James Carville.

On the campaign:

Brinkley: If the President wins reelection, what's the first thing he'll do?

Martin: The first thing he'll do is put together, I think, a kind of full-fledged effort that is desperately needed -- and we all know that -- to move us into the next century. I'm not talking about the first 100 days. I think it's got to be the first 500 days and then over -- even though he only has a four-year term to look at -- into the next century in terms of the economy, in terms of the changes we're going to need in defense. He's brought us peace. Now it is time for Americans to enjoy that in ways that free up the American entrepreneurial spirit....

Will: Tell me, do you believe that the press has been -- and in what way -- fair to your man?

Martin: ...I was listening on the campaign trail to the morning pundits, not you all, but on all the shows saying it was going to be very low, 1 percent, one point. It came on at 2.7 percent, much higher. And the next thing somebody said was, "Well, you know, there must be something wrong with the numbers, because it shouldn't have happened." That's just an example. If George Bush walked across the Potomac, the New York Times would have a headline, "George Bush Can't Swim."...

Carville: ...I think that shows how out of touch the President is. He thinks the biggest problem facing this country are talking heads on Sunday morning shows. He doesn't understand....

Donaldson: ...The President has been going around this week talking about his opponents as bozos and the ozone man. Is that the uplifting level that you think will get you a lot of votes?

Martin: I think that, first of all, he has had now a year and a half of everyone just bang, bang, bang, bang. I am not going to say that any of the candidates have always been perfectly wonderful in describing their opponents.... So what I do find a little humorous -- and I must say it -- is that Democrats seem to be enormously thin-skinned. It's perfectly all right for them to insult by the gross, but one little snub....

Carville: ...I want someone to justify rifling through the passport file of a 72-year-old woman who is recovering from cancer that has an ill husband, and I want to know why the President of the United States, the Secretary of State or somebody didn't pick up on the phone and call Ms. Kelley and say, "This is an abomination. We people have been in power for 12 years and this is just an idea of how desperate we are."

On Iran-Contra:

Martin: It's clear both [Bush], and I believe Weinberger, agree he came late to the meeting. He wasn't there for part of the meeting. He has said the same thing.... George Bush told the truth. He's told it again and again, and I suppose he'll have to say it 4,000 more times, but he will.

Carville: ...I want to know if there's one person that's not on George Bush's payroll that doesn't think that he knew about the arms-for-hostages deal. I mean, it's right there.... The American people know that the President was behind that policy.... The evidence is in. People know that George Bush is not telling the truth about this, and let's go on, get the election onto something else. That's decided.

###

NBC -- MEET THE PRESS

Moderator: Tim Russert. **Panel:** David Broder, Robert Novak.
Guests: Rich Bond, Ron Brown, Republican pollster Vince Breglio, Democratic pollster Peter Hart

On the campaign:

Bond: George Bush has pulled ahead. He's going to win. He has surged. These guys have blown it. They sat on the lead and the trust factor, the governance of Arkansas factor, and the economic plan that Clinton has that would tax-and-spend people in the middle class has blown up on them and they have blown it....

Russert: How do you reach 270? Which states do you win?

Bond: I think you go to your basic coalition of your South and your West and you add on Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan, and that gets you to 270.

Brown: ...I think Rich is terribly out of touch with reality. The fact is that the race has closed. We expected it to close. It probably is a five- or six- or seven-point race now. The fact is also that the electoral map looks bad for George Bush and very good for Bill Clinton....

Russert: ...What happened to the President? He was at 80 percent approval rating in the country and now, about 35 percent of the people think he's doing a good job.

Bond: You're on the elevator of public opinion when you're in the presidency. You're up, you're down, you're sideways.... That's why you're the President of the United States, because you can take that kind of uncertainty and show leadership....

On congressional races:

Broder: The Senate is now 57-43 Democratic. What do you think the lineup will be after Tuesday?

Brown: We're certainly shooting for 60. I think we've got a good shot at that....

Bond: ...I think we either break even or gain one or two in the Senate.

Broder: And the House now has a hundred-seat Democratic majority. What do you think the Democratic majority will be after Tuesday?

Bond: Dramatically narrowed, anywhere from a Republican increase of 10 seats to a Republican increase of 40 seats....

Brown: I think Rich's Alice-in-Wonderland predictions even make Bob Novak laugh. Nobody, Rich, in their right mind is predicting those kinds of results.

Novak: ...I hear from members of your Republican Party that you got off to a very bad start in the Republican convention, that there's a lot of complaints after the fact about Pat Buchanan's Monday night speech. Do you think you made a mistake in putting him on?

Bond: No, I really don't. I think Pat had his opportunity to speak. He did it and that's the end of it. I don't want to go back and second-guess any of this stuff....

Russert: ...The President this past week called Bill Clinton and Al Gore crazy bozos. He agreed with Marlin Fitzwater that Ross Perot was crazy and paranoid. Is that presidential?

Bond: I think he got caught up in raucous crowds in the spirit of his great comeback, so sometimes you may say a word or two that you may want to take back. Those aren't mean-spirited words. Those are fun descriptions as he got psyched up, and I think the American people see that in a good-natured spirit.

Novak: ...The President the other day said that his read-my-lips was not a pledge. So he is not pledging anything this time. Is that correct as far as taxes go?

Bond: George Bush's absolute instinct and absolute desire is not to raise taxes. But what I think he had a problem with, the incredibly unforeseen circumstances that occurred in the restructuring of the global economy....

Novak: ...Will James Baker go back to the State Department? That's unclear. Or is he going to run the economy if the President is reelected?

Bond: I think he will run the economy.

Novak: And will Dick Darman be the secretary of the Treasury?

Bond: No.

On the campaign: With Breglio, Hart.

Breglio: I think right now we're looking at a very close race. I'll say George Bush 43, Bill Clinton 42. The rest goes to Ross Perot and that's going to be about 15 percent. I think he's going to get more votes than his present level in the polls show....

Hart: ...I would tell you Bill Clinton 45. I would tell you George Bush about 39. And I would tell you Ross Perot somewhere in the neighborhood of about 15 percent.

POLITICAL DISCUSSION

On Iran-Contra:

Broder: I think he has clearly minimized and distorted his own role in this. He did it, I think, initially out of loyalty to President Reagan. But now I think there's clearly an element of self-protection in what he's doing.

###

CBS -- FACE THE NATION

Moderator: Bob Schieffer. **Guests:** Secretary Kemp, Gov. Cuomo.

On the campaign: With Kemp.

Kemp: ...Clearly, with Jim Baker now in the White House and going to be the economic and domestic policy coordinator -- or quarterback, as it were -- with people like Bob Zoellick, I am convinced that the President will, on the day he is sworn in, begin the process of lowering the cost of capital, lowering the cost of working, lower the cost of having a family and buying a home in America....

Schieffer: ...You are saying with Jim Baker as the economic czar. Do you have some inside information, because I can't seem to find out whether the President intends for him to be the economic czar or whether he's going to the State Department....

Kemp: ...I'm not privy to inside information except what the President has said: that he wants Jim Baker to be the domestic-policy coordinator.

On Iran-Contra:

Schieffer: ...How, after all that has come out, can anyone reasonably conclude that the President was out of the loop about all of this?

Kemp: I'll be honest, I don't know.... It is possible that Cappy Weinberger could have marked a ballot that he thought that George Bush knew. But is that really indictable?... I trust the President.... And very frankly, the indictment of Casper Weinberger is an outrage that should shock all men and women of civility throughout this country. It's a policy dispute, and they're turning it into an indictable crime....

On the campaign:

Schieffer: Do you think [Ross Perot is] crazy?

Kemp: No, I don't think he's crazy. I think he's a patriot. He's a very decent and honorable man. He's an entrepreneurial capitalist. He has many of the qualities that I think are very important for leadership in the private sector. I don't think he would be a good president....

On the campaign: With Cuomo.

Cuomo: Do you notice that [Kemp] cannot make a case for George Bush's record? He didn't tell you he was the education president, the environment president, the jobs president. What he told you was: Give us another crack, we'll put Jim Baker in command. He gave you a pretty good foreign policy; now he'll give you a pretty good domestic policy....

Schieffer: Did [Clinton] play it too safe?

Cuomo: No. Sometime ago, a lot of us predicted that near the end it would be close. I think he's going to win comfortably in the electoral college....

On Iran-Contra:

Schieffer: Is it plausible that the President could have been out of the loop on this?

Cuomo: I'll be candid with you -- I don't like the issue. I'd rather not talk about it. But if he's going to bring up the word trust, no, of course it's not plausible. He's contradicted himself two or three times. He said he was in the loop, he wasn't in the loop. He's caught and it's embarrassing, and I'm not happy about that. He's the President of the United States. At least he should go out with dignity. He's been a dignified president. He's a nice man. So I regret it....

On the campaign:

Schieffer: You have criticized the President for breaking his pledge about no new taxes.... Do you think he did make a mistake?...

Cuomo: I did not criticize him for breaking the pledge. I criticized him for making it. It was irresponsible. It was pandering and he knew it. He's doing it again now. He's saying: Elect me, I'll never again raise the taxes, I'm going to give everybody tax cuts, I'm going to control the spending. He doesn't mean it. He couldn't do it.

###

THE McLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. **Panel:** Fred Barnes, Eleanor Clift, Jack Germond, Morton Kondracke.

On the campaign:

McLaughlin: Why has this race tightened so dramatically?

Barnes: ...Bush deserves a lot of the credit. After that terrible debate in Richmond, he got off the floor, decided to be tough and talk about trust and taxes. He campaigned well. Perot helped him because Perot coming in shook up the race and set off this two-stage process where votes went from Clinton to Perot, and now they're going from Perot to Bush. And frankly, Clinton has helped in the last few days, because rather than the appealing and seductive and charming candidate he's been most of the year, he's become sort of shrill and really responding to Bush in a very unattractive way.

Clift: Talk about shrill. Bush is out there flailing around, completely without content or syntax. And for a sitting President to call his opponents bozos, I think really goes over the line....

Germond: ...If you look at the states, I can't find a way you get George Bush to 270....

Kondracke: I think George Bush peaked too soon. He made this fantastic comeback and suddenly, everybody is going to realize [inaudible] about today that he might win, that he might actually be reelected as president of the United States. And then we'll have gridlock with Congress and we'll have no economic policy to speak of over the next four years, and people are going to recoil from that....

Barnes: ...About two, three weeks ago, the press suddenly anointed Clinton as a sure winner, and it changed the whole campaign completely because people started thinking about a Clinton presidency and they have doubts about that presidency.... Clinton made one huge mistake. It was the same mistake Neil Kinnock made on the economy, and that was to come out for a large tax increase, making him vulnerable....

Clift: ...The Clinton ads will not win any awards for creativity, but they're straightforward and they're focused and they use relatively neutral third parties to make their case. That Bush ad goes over the line. It's like the morning-after in nuclear attack. It's wretched excess, and what it does is it takes figures out of context to portray Clinton as a failed governor....

Barnes: All that ad does is show the bad side of Clinton's record, the same way when Bill Clinton and Al Gore go around and say that Bush has had the worst economic performance since the Great Depression. By one standard, that's true. By many other standards, it's not true. That ad was perfectly fair and very effective.

McLaughlin: Is time on the side of George Bush, or is the time available on the side of Bill Clinton?

Barnes: The dumbest thing said here so far was Mort saying that Bush peaked too soon. He's peaked exactly the right time. Time is on his side.

Clift: ...Not enough time for George Bush.

Germond: ...George Bush will do anything to win a campaign, and he runs a pretty sleazy venal advertising. But the point about this whole story about Ross Perot's daughter's wedding is, what does that do for Bush? Nothing....

Kondracke: ...It really is something the way the press leapt all over this story to brand Perot a paranoid, when the press are the ones pushing the October Surprise, Iraqgate, Iranagate and all these other conspiracies. The fact is that what the press was doing was, they were worried that Perot was taking votes away from Clinton so they had to brand [Perot] an idiot.

PREDICTIONS

Barnes: In a bigger upset than Harry Truman's in 1948, since Truman was never as far behind as George Bush was, Bush wins with 45 percent, Clinton 44 percent, Perot 11 percent.

Clift: ...Clinton 47, Bush 41 -- and that's generous -- Perot 12.

Germond: Clinton 49, Bush 42, the other guy 9.

Kondracke: Clinton 48, Bush 40 and Perot 10.

McLaughlin: The answer is Bush 46, Clinton 45, Perot 8. What will be the results in the electoral college, with 270 needed to win?

Barnes: ...Bush 277, Clinton 261.

Clift: Landslide margin for Clinton -- 388. He could even go possibly over 400. That leaves Bush with 150. Clinton's going to do well, even in the Mountain West.

Germond: ...Clinton with 27 states and D.C for 325 electoral votes.

Kondracke: Clinton 351 and Bush 187.

McLaughlin: Bush 276, Clinton 262.

###

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Moderator: Gordon Peterson. **Panel:** Nina Totenberg, Charles Krauthammer, Carl Rowan, Tom Oliphant.

On the campaign:

Totenberg: The fact is, these races almost always do tighten.... The fact of the matter also is that while the American people clearly don't want George Bush to be president for another four years, it's not clear they want Bill Clinton.

Krauthammer: ...The President has found his spirit again. In the last debate, he found his message -- trust and taxes -- and he stuck to it. And Clinton, I think, has lost a bit of his edge. He's become very defensive about the character attacks. He's gotten off his message on the economy. None of this is decisive, but it is making it very interesting.

Rowan: Let's not deceive viewers about this poll you talk about. They pulled a little gambit of talking to people they think are sure to vote, and that's how they get down to 2 and 1 percent. But if they just talk to registered voters, they are at 7 percent, as are most of the other polls. George Bush couldn't have paid them more to come up with this new gambit where they drive it down to 2 or 1 percent.

Krauthammer: Another dirty trick?

Oliphant: ...I think we have Ross Perot once again to thank or blame for reminding most Americans of why they are so ambivalent about two-party politics.

Krauthammer: ...I think everybody is sort of heading off the deep end. Perot has been living there for quite some time. Bush is getting there with kind of his wild "ozone man," "bozos" and other remarks. Clinton, of course, remains preternaturally cool.... We got a 2.7 percent rise in GDP, which can be an aberration, but it's a real number and it puts a little bit of a pall on the media and the Democratic claim that this is the worst economy in 50 years. People have a sense that it is not quite as bad as the Democrats have made out, and the Republicans have gotten the boost off that.

Krauthammer: ...A respected Democratic consultant spoke to me a couple of weeks ago and he agreed that he had never seen a media pile-on on the President as he had in this particular election. [Bush] has run a negative attack on Clinton, no question about it. But Clinton's whole campaign has had to be negative, starting at the convention.... The idea that both sides are running a negative campaign is not one that you often hear in the press.

Oliphant: ...Gerald Ford and Jimmy Carter got it every bit as bad, and in the case of Jimmy Carter, much worse than anything that ever happened to George Bush this time. What he's complaining about is pretty standard fare for a president who has a spotty record.

--- Monday --- November 2, 1992 ---

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

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ELECTION EVE

-- Poll closing times. (#7)
-- HOTLINE 100 Endorsements:
Clinton gets 53, Bush 39, eight
abstentions. (#6)
-- Details on election-night
media coverage. (#8)
-- NUTTY PREDICTIONS: Who
went out on what limbs. (#15)

BUZZER SHOTS

LATE (!) BREAKING NEWS: 11th
hour Weinberger indictment in
Iran-contra (#10); W. TIMES
says Clinton aides destroyed
ROTC files. (#13)

ONE-ON-TWO: Perot unloads on
Clinton, Bush. (#12)

THREE-POINTERS: Half a dozen
48-hour zingers. (#14)

LATE-BREAKING SENATE NEWS

CA "A": Dem operative lodges
Herschensohn nudie bar story.

(#17) NY: Ferraro, other
undecideds moving to Abrams?
(#20) SC poll has Hollings up
14 points. (#22)

CONFLICTING POLLS: What up
in WI (#23), PA? (#21) Also:
Thomas-Hill back in Yeakel ad.

MN: DURENBERGER ACCUSED (#24)

SPOTLIGHT

CLOSING CLINTON SURGE

Poll	Date	CLIN	BUSH	PERO
CNN/USA	11/1	44%	36%	14%
B'GRND	11/1	40	36	19
WSJ/NBC	11/1	44	36	15
HARRIS	11/1	43	37	16
ABC	10/31	42	37	17
CBS/NYT	10/30	44	36	17
NEWSWK	10/29	41	39	14

(See Poll Update #25-33)
Note: While Gallup had 1-2%
lead last week, they now
project Clinton: 49-37-14.

HOTLINE SCOREBOARD (#1)
has new polls in 29 states.
Clinton leads in 36 with
395 electors, but only 258
are beyond margin. TOP TEN:

CA (54)	CLINTON by 16%
NY (33)	CLINTON by 22%
TX (32)	BUSH by 8%
FL (25)	BUSH by 2%
PA (23)	CLINTON by 9%
IL (22)	CLINTON by 7-17%
OH (21)	CLINTON by 1-6%
MI (18)	CLINTON by 9-10%
NJ (15)	CLINTON by 7-8%
NC (14)	CLINTON by 1-8%

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

"We're going to win in all 50 states and drive everybody nuts."
-- Ross Perot, to a CA crowd, 11/1.

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Enviros divided over nuke shutdown measure on Oregon ballot.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Ex-Sen. Geo. Smathers (D-FL) vows to give \$10 million to U/Miami for Rec. Center.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: Justice Kennedy allows GA 09 GOPer Becker's "graphic" pro-life ads to be restricted.
FROM TODAY'S AMERICAN HEALTH LINE: Bush and Clinton endorse managed competition, but what is it? W.S. JOURNAL explains.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

ELECTION EVE

HOTLINE ELECTORAL SCOREBOARD (#1)

MICHIGAN (18): 3 out of 4 polls surveyed say clinton. (#2)

NEW JERSEY (15): One poll has Clinton lead within margin. (#3)

OHIO (21): Two polls have race within margin. (#4)

TEXAS (32): Clinton out of dough, off air. (#5)

ALSO:

ENDORSEMENTS (#6)

POLL CLOSINGS (#7)

ELECTION NIGHT TV COVERAGE (#8)

CANDIDATE SCHEDULES (#9)

BUZZER SHOTS:

IRAN-CONTRA (#10)

BUSH & IRAQ (#11)

PEROT (#12)

CLINTON & ROTC (#13)

THREE-POINTERS (#14)

PREDICTIONS: Crazy talking heads and nutty crystal balls (#15)

SENATE WATCH: Senate Scoreboard. (#16)

CALIFORNIA "A": Herschensohn passes Boxer in Orange Co. (#17)

GEORGIA: Race Tightening. (#18)

ILLINOIS: Medicaid case "closed." (#19)

NEW YORK: Race stays dirty; Ferraro ad endorses Abrams. (#20)

PENNSYLVANIA: Conflicting polls, Anita Hill ads resurface. (#21)

SOUTH CAROLINA: If this poll is true. (#22)

WISCONSIN: Feingold camp again disputes a media poll. (#23)

HOTSPOTS: Durenberger accused of 1963 rape and paternity. (#24)

POLL UPDATE:

ABC TRACKING (#25)

CNN/USA TODAY TRACK (#26)

BATTLEGROUND '92 TRACKING (#27)

WSJ/NBC (#28)

LOUIS HARRIS (#29)

CBS/N.Y. TIMES (#30)

NEWSWEEK/GALLUP (#31)

12 SOUTHERN STATES (#32)

TIMES MIRROR (#33)

TV MONITOR (#34)

NOTICE: Due to logistical difficulties, we must regrettably cancel The HOTLINE's post-election forum, initially scheduled for

Nov. 5th in DC. Many thanks to Mickey Ibarra and Debra DeLee of the NEA for generously offering their auditorium for our use.

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

In early-voting TX, the feds seized the First City Bank Friday.

Most can get their money back.

None can get their vote back.

===== ELECTION EVE =====

*1 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: 16 of the polls were completed a week ago or longer. 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%
	+45	38	14	BIRMINGHAM NEWS, 10/26-31, +/- 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)	32	++41	19	DENVER POST, 10/29-31, +/- 4.9%
	32	+39	17	Ciruli/9 News, 10/25-28, +/- 4.7%
CT (8)	29	++37	18	HART. COURANT, 10/23-30, +/- 3%
DE (3)	36	+42	18	NEWS-JOURNAL, 10/28-31, +/- 3.2%
DC (3)	17	++71	8	News 4/PMR, 10/12-14, +/- 4.5%
FL (25)	+39	37	21	FL Opinion, 10/24-27, +/- 3.5%
GA (13)	38	+44	12	ATL CONST./WSB-TV, 10/19-21, +/- 4%
HI (4)	30	++40	19	HON. ADVERTISER, 10/25, +/- 4.5%
ID (4)	++35	25	28	KTVB-TV/PMR, 10/22-24, +/- 3.5%
IL (22)	30	++46	14	DAILY HERALD/News 7, 10/26-29, +/- 3%
	28	++45	12	CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 10/26-28, +/- 3%
	37	+44	12	PMR/COPLEY, 10/27-28, +/- 3.5%
IN (12)	+41	37	15	INDIANAPOLIS STAR, 10/28-31, +/- 3.1%
	31	+35	17	JOURNAL-GAZETTE, 10/22-28, +/- 3.1%
IA (7)	32	++41	19	D.M. REGISTER, 10/25-30, +/- 3.4%
KS (6)	33	33	22	Tpka CAPITAL-JOURNAL, 10/26-29, +/- 3%
KY (8)	38	+45	12	LEX. HERALD-LEADER, 10/27-29, +/- 4%
LA (9)	36	+41	11	SHREVEPORT TIMES, 10/23-24, +/- 3.5%
ME (4)	21	++30	21	PRESS HERALD, 10/23-27, +/- 4%
MD (10)	31	++48	15	GWU/GSPM, 10/20-24, +/- 4%
MA (12)	23	++44	22	Becker Inst., 10/23-25, +/- 5%
MI (18)	33	++43	17	DETROIT NEWS, 10/26-28, +/- 4%
	32	+41	18	OAK. PRESS/WDIV, 10/28-30, +/- 4.5%
MN (10)	28	++44	18	Minn. STAR-TRIBUNE, 10/27-30, +/- 3%
MS (7)	+41	37	11	NATCHEZ DEMOCRAT, 10/23-24, +/- 3.4%
MO (11)	27	++42	20	POST-DISPATCH/KMOX, 10/25-29, +/- 3.7%
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)	30	++42	18	STAR-LEDGER, 10/23-29, +/- 3.5%
	29	++36	12	ASBURY PARK PRESS, 10/29-31, +/- 3.1%
NM (5)	33	++40	11	ALBUQUERQUE TRIBUNE, 10/27-29, +/- 3%
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)	+37	36	20	G.F. HERALD, 10/29-30, +/- 4.2%
	++41	30	17	PMR, 10/27-28, +/- 5%
OH (21)	40	+41	19	COLUMBUS DISPATCH, 10/26-29, +/- 3%
	36	+42	18	BEACON JOURNAL, 10/26-31, +/- 3.5%
OK (8)	+37	31	16	Kielhorn/KWTV, 10/26-28, +/- 4%
OR (7)	24	++42	20	OREGONIAN, 10/22-26, +/- 4%
	30	++39	22	REGISTER-GUARD/PMR, 10/25-26, +/-3.5%
PA (23)	36	++45	11	KDKA/PMR, 10/27-28, +/- 3.5%
RI (4)	27	++48	18	WPRI-TV, 10/23-25, +/- 5%
SC (8)	+43	40	13	Columbia STATE, 10/26-28, +/- 3.9%
SD (3)	31	+35	20	ARGUS LEADER, 10/21-22, +/- 3.5%
TN (11)	39	+44	10	PMR, 10/25-26, +/- 3.5%
TX (32)	++43	35	15	Mason-Dixon, 10/26-28, +/- 3.5%
UT (5)	++37	24	13	S.L. TRIBUNE, 10/26-30, +/- 3%
VT (3)	26	++43	16	BURL. FREE PRESS, 10/20-22, +/- 3.5%
VA (13)	++40	33	13	TIMES-DISPATCH, 10/26-29, +/- 3%
	+43	38	10	Mason-Dixon, 10/28-29, +/- 3.5%
WA (11)	31	++40	21	POST-INTELLIGENCER, 10/26-27, +/- 4%
	34	+39	15	KOMO/JRNL-AMERICAN, 10/27-28, +/-4.9%
WV (5)	31	++40	14	CHARLESTON GAZETTE, 10/26-28, +/-4.2%
	30	++48	11	WV Poll/DAILY MAIL, 10/26-28, +/-4.2%
WI (11)	35	+38	20	MIL. JOURNAL, 10/29-30, +/- 4%
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	36	395	Clinton	21	258
Bush	12	116	Bush	4	46
Perot	0	0			
Ties	3	27			

NOTE: 38 new polls replace Friday's data in 29 states: AL, CO, CT, DE, FL, HI, IL, IN, IA, KS, KY, ME, MA, MI, MN, MO, NJ, NM, ND, OH, PA, RI, SC, TN, UT, VA, WA, WV & WI. Due to conflicting data -- AL, IN & KS are counted as ties. The COLUMBUS DISPATCH poll is a mail-in poll. While not scientific like phone polls, it has proven traditionally accurate.

FRIDAY'S SCOREBOARD: Clinton led in 23 states with 270 EVs outside the margin of error; he also had 37 states with 401 EVs inside the margin. Bush had 4 states for 46 EVs outside the margin; he had 12 states for 120 EVs inside.

*2 MICHIGAN (18): 3 OUT OF 4 POLLS SURVEYED SAY CLINTON
MSU's Inst. for Public Policy and Social Research surveyed 737 registered voters 10/20-26; margin of error +/- 3.62% (MSU release, 10/30). Market Strategies (R) surveyed 500 likely voters for OAKLAND PRESS, WDIV-TV and WJR-radio 10/28-30; +/- 4.5% (AP, 11/1).

	PRESS/WDIV 10/28-30	DET. NEWS 10/26-28	SAGINAW VALLEY 10/22-26	MSU 10/20-26
Clinton	41%	43%	30%	42%
Bush	32	33	31	31
Perot	18	17	17	19

*3 NEW JERSEY (15): ONE POLL HAS CLINTON LEAD WITHIN MARGIN
Eagleton/Newark STAR-LEDGER poll surveyed 801 likely voters
in two waves, 10/23-25 and 10/25-29; margin of error +/- 3.5%
(Eagleton release, 11/1). ASBURY PARK PRESS surveyed 1,004
likely voters 10/29-31; margin of error +/- 3.1% (11/1).

	Eagleton 10/23-29	PRESS 10/29-31
Clinton	42%	36%
Bush	30	29
Perot	18	12

Perot's name is "so difficult to find on some ballots that
voters have been calling their county clerks" and Perot's NJ HQ
"to seek help in locating him." Perot NJ press sec. Beverly
Kidder: "We're calling it, 'Where's Waldo'" (Woodbridge NEWS
TRIBUNE, 10/31).

*4 OHIO (21): TWO POLLS HAVE RACE WITHIN MARGIN
COLUMBUS DISPATCH surveyed 1,980 likely voters through its
traditional mail-in poll 10/26-29; margin of error +/- 3%
(DISPATCH, 11/1). Univ/Akron Survey Research Center surveyed 833
registered voters 10/26-31 for the Akron BEACON JOURNAL, WJW-TV
and WHIO-TV; margin of error +/- 3.5% (BEACON JOURNAL, 11/1).
NOTE: While proven historically accurate, the DISPATCH mail poll
is not considered as scientific as phone polls.

	U/Akron	DISPATCH
Clinton	42%	41%
Bush	36	40
Perot	18	19

*5 TEXAS (32): CLINTON OUT OF DOUGH, OFF AIR
HOUSTON POST's Kiely reports Clinton "has decided not to
make a full court media press" for TX -- "mainly because he can't
afford it." Clinton TX chair Garry Mauro: "It wasn't exactly the
smartest decision they ever made" (10/31). Clinton will make an
appearance "somewhere" in South TX around midnight. It will be
his last stop before returning to Little Rock (AUSTIN AMERICAN-
STATESMAN, 10/30).

MORE GOP DISSENSION? Evans & Novak report the Bush nat'l HQ
was "astounded" that the "ineptly run" TX campaign failed to buy
Hispanic radio. "Blame ... is placed on the head" of Rob
Mosbacher, son of the campaign chair and possible GOP candidate
for Gov. in '94 (N.Y. POST, 10/31).

*6 ENDORSEMENTS: THE HOTLINE 100

	GB	BC	'88		GB	BC	'88
BIRMINGHAM NEWS	10/11		GB	OMHA WORLD-HER	10/25		GB
MTGMRY ADVRTSR	10/18		GB	L.V. REVW-JRNL	10/30		GB
ANCH DLY NEWS		10/18	MD	Mnch UNION-LDR	8/28		GB
ARIZ REPUBLIC	10/11		GB	Bergen RECORD		10/25	GB
ARIZ DLY STAR		10/11	MD	Nwrk STAR-LEDG		10/25	GB
AR DEM-GAZETTE	10/28		NO	ALBUQRQUE JRNL	10/25		GB
L.A. TIMES (N)			NO	Alby TMS UNION		11/1	GB
OAKLAND TRIB		10/18	MD	BUFFALO NEWS		10/25	MD
ORANGE CO. REG (N)			NO	N.Y. DLY NEWS		10/25	GB
SACRAMENTO BEE		10/4	MD	N.Y. NEWSDAY		10/18	MD
S.D. UNION-TRB		10/21	GB	N.Y. POST	10/29		GB
S.F. CHRONICLE	10/29		GB	N.Y. TIMES		10/25	MD
S.F. EXAMINER		10/11	GB	CHRLTTE OBSRVR		10/11	MD

S.J. MERC-NEWS	10/4	NO	Raleigh N&O	11/1	MD
DENVER POST	10/25	GB	Fargo FORUM	10/25	GB
ROCKY MTN NEWS	10/18	GB	CINCY ENQUIRER	10/25	GB
HRTFRD COURANT	10/25	GB	Cleve. PLN DLR	10/25	GB
NEW HAVEN REG.	10/18	GB	COLUMBUS DISP	10/4	GB
Wilm NEWS JRNL	10/25	MD	DAYTON DLY NWS	10/11	MD
FL TIMES-UNION	10/18	GB	DLY OKLAHOMAN	10/16	GB
MIAMI HERALD (N)		GB	TULSA WORLD	10/9	GB
ORLANDO SENT.	10/25	GB	Ptld OREGONIAN	10/17	GB
TAMPA TRIBUNE	11/1	GB	PHIL. INQUIRER	10/25	MD
ST. PETE TIMES	10/25	MD	PITTS POST-GAZ	10/21	MD
ATLANTA CONST.	10/21	MD	Prov JRL-BLLTN	11/1	GB
HON. ADVRTSER (N)		NO	Columbia STATE	10/30	GB
ID STATESMAN	10/30	GB	GREENVILL NEWS	10/25	GB
CHI. SUN-TIMES	10/18	GB	SxFlls ARG-LDR	10/25	MD
CHICAGO TRIB	10/18	GB	Mmphs COMM APL	10/11	GB
Peor. JRNL-STR	11/1	MD	Nvll TENNSSEAN	10/25	MD
FtWyn JRNL-GAZ	10/18	MD	AUSTN AM-STSMN	10/25	MD
INDY. STAR	11/1	GB	DALLS MRN NEWS	10/11	GB
D.M. REGISTER	10/25	MD	F.W. STAR-TELE	10/18	GB
WICHITA EAGLE	10/25	MD	HOUSTON CHRON	10/25	GB
Lvll COUR-JRNL	10/11	MD	Lubck AVLCH-JL	10/18	GB
N.O. TIMES-PIC	10/25	GB	San Antn LIGHT	10/25	GB
Shrevprt TIMES	10/25	GB	SALT LAKE TRIB (N)		NO
PRTLD PRSS-HER	10/25	GB	Burl FREE PRSS	10/25	GB
Balto. SUN (N)		NO	Nrfk VRGIN-PLT	10/25	GB
BOSTON GLOBE	10/25	MD	RICH TIMES-DIS	10/18	GB
BOSTON HERALD	10/29	GB	SEA POST-INTEL	10/18	GB
DET. FREE PRSS	10/4	MD	SEATTLE TIMES	10/4	MD
DET. NEWS	10/11	GB	CHRLSTN GAZETT	10/23	MD
LANS. ST JRNL	11/1	GB	MILW. JOURNAL	10/18	MD
Minn STAR TRIB	10/25	MD	WI STATE JRNL	10/29	GB
StP PIONR PRSS	10/18	SP	CASPR STAR TRB	10/31	GB
Jksn CLAR-LEDG	11/1	GB	W.S. JOURNAL (N)		NO
K.C. STAR	10/23	MD	WASH. POST	10/11	NO
StL. POST-DISP	9/20	MD	WASH. TIMES	8/6	GB
BILLINGS GAZET	10/26	GB	USA TODAY (N)		NO

SUMMARY: Clinton received 53 endorsements, Bush 39 and 8 papers abstained.

NOTE: Perot has not won an endorsement in the HOTLINE 100. However, he has been endorsed by the Bridgeport CONNECTICUT POST (10/22), SYRACUSE HERALD-JOURNAL (10/25), CEDAR RAPIDS (IA) GAZETTE (10/25), and the Red Wing (MN) REPUBLICAN EAGLE (10/25). (N) indicates paper will not/does not endorse. SP indicates a split endorsement. 19 of the HOTLINE 100 which endorsed Bush in '88 have endorsed Clinton this year.

*7 POLL CLOSINGS

All times listed are Eastern Standard Time. In states where polls close at different times, the latest time is listed (DNC release, 10/29).

STATE	TIME	STATE	TIME	STATE	TIME	STATE	TIME	STATE	TIME
GA	7:00	DE	8:00	OK	8:00	NE	9:00	MT	10:00
IN	7:00	DC	8:00	PA	8:00	NH	9:00	NV	10:00
KY	7:00	FL	8:00	TN	8:00	NM	9:00	UT	10:00
SC	7:00	IL	8:00	AR	8:30	NY	9:00	CA	11:00
VT	7:00	ME	8:00	AZ	9:00	RI	9:00	HI	11:00
VA	7:00	MD	8:00	CO	9:00	SD	9:00	ID	11:00

NC	7:30	MA	8:00	KS	9:00	TX	9:00	ND	11:00
OH	7:30	MS	8:00	LA	9:00	WI	9:00	OR	11:00
WV	7:30	MO	8:00	MI	9:00	WY	9:00	WA	11:00
AL	8:00	NJ	8:00	MN	9:00	IA	10:00	AK	12:00
CT	8:00								

***8 ELECTION NIGHT COVERAGE: ALL TIMES E.S.T.**

ABC: Coverage will start with news at 6:30p anchored by Jennings and Brinkley and run until 11 p.m. when they will break for local news until 11:30 p.m. Election coverage will resume at 11:30p and run past midnight. Analysts include Greenfield, Donaldson and Will.

NBC: Coverage will start with news at 7:00p anchored by Brokaw and Gumbel. Coverage will continue to at least 1:00a. Analysts include Russert.

CBS: Election night coverage will start with news at 7:00p anchored by Rather. Coverage will continue until 2:00a. Analysts include Klein and GOP analyst Kevin Phillips.

PBS: "MacNeil/Lehrer" will start its coverage at 7:00p and run well into the night. Analysts will include Gergen and Shields.

CNN: Election coverage starts at 4:30p with "Inside Politics," followed by "Larry King Live" at 5:00p and then "The World Today" at 6:00p. At 7:00p, Shaw and Crier will anchor the coverage. 11 analysts will be on call.

C-SPAN: During the day, talk radio shows (including Rush Limbaugh and Jerry Williams) will be simulcast. From 6:30-8:00p, C-SPAN will simulcast KATV (ABC) from Little Rock, KHOU (CBS) from Houston and KDFW (CBS) from Dallas. There will also be viewer call-in. From 8:00p-3:00a, pres. coverage will be featured at the top of the hour, key Senate and state races from 20 minutes after hour until the top of the hour. Live cameras at the DNC and RNC HQ's, live cameras in USA TODAY's newsroom and live studio guests with open phones. Major state races will include CA, NY, IL, PA, CO, WI, and WA with local media simulcasts and interviews. Simulcast stations: Chicago, Philly, NYC, Denver, Sacramento, Portland (OR). Victory and concession speeches will be aired in their entirety from many other states. Brian Lamb and Susan Swain will anchor. Analysts include ROLL CALL's Morton Kondracke and Jim Glassman, HOTLINE editor Bob Balkin, Brookings's Stephen Hess, CQ's Dave Kaplan, TIME's Stanley Cloud and U.S. NEWS' Harrison Rainie.

NPR: Election coverage starts at 5:00p. with "All Things Considered." At 8:00p., NPR's coverage starts which includes analysis of the Presidential, Congressional and gubernatorial races. At 10:30p, NPR will feature a call-in segment with Wertheimer and Siegal anchoring. Analysts will include CQ editors Phil Duncan and Ron Elving, HOTLINE publisher Doug Bailey and ex-House Maj. Whip Tony Coelho.

***9 CANDIDATE SCHEDULES: THE LAST GRUELING MILES**

CLINTON:	BUSH:	PEROT:
11/2	11/2	11/2
Philadelphia, PA	Madison, NJ	Dallas, TX
Cleveland, OH	Glenolden, PA	
Romulus, MI	Akron, OH	
St. Louis, MO	Louisville, KY	
Paducah, KY	Baton Rouge, LA	
McAllen, TX	Houston, TX	

11/3
Fort Worth, TX
Albuquerque, NM
Denver, CO
Little Rock, AR

11/3
Houston, TX

11/3
Dallas, TX

GORE:

11/2
Raleigh, NC
Columbus, GA
Knoxville, TN
Columbus, OH
Milwaukee, WI
Waterloo, IA
Kansas City, MO
Nashville, TN

QUAYLE:

11/2
Chattanooga, TN
Columbus, OH
Saginaw, MI
Wausau, WI
Chicago, IL
Ft. Wayne, IN

STOCKDALE:

11/2

11/3
Carthage, TN
Little Rock, AR?

11/3
Indianapolis, IN

11/3
Dallas, TX

*10 BUSH & IRAN-CONTRA: ELECTION EVE HOOPS AND WIDENING LOOPS

"A new indictment" of ex-Sec/Defense Caspar Weinberger "provided fresh testimony ... Bush was not truthful when he denied knowing the [U.S.] and Iran were trading arms for hostages." The indictment accuses Weinberger of "making false statements to Congress" (Ullman, KNIGHT-RIDDER/MIAMI HERALD, 10/31). Weinberger's 1/7/86 notes: "Met with President, Shultz, Poindexter, Bill Casey 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" (mult., 10/31). WH press sec. Marlin Fitzwater: "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" (mult., 10/31). Bush's campaign was "rocked by the news, which swept through the president's huge press corps and dominated the evening TV news." Clinton: "Weinberger's note clearly shows ... Bush has not been telling the truth when he says he was out of the loop" (B. GLOBE, 10/31). At a rally in WI, Bush "claimed that over the last 24 hours, Clinton 'panicked' and 'began a series of personal attacks on my character. He basically called me a liar ... He's latching on to these silly little charges in a desperate attempt to stop his free-fall in the polls" (Nelson, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 11/1). WH spokesperson Judy Smith "dismissed the memo as 'nothing new': "This doesn't affect that trust issue" (Lehigh & Kranish, BOSTON GLOBE, 10/31). Weinberger atty Robert Bennett "accused" ind. counsel Walsh "of using this case 'as a vehicle for some other political purpose.'" Bennett charged prosecutors "'went out of their way' to disclose a document that involved Bush 'just days before the election'" (Pincus/Lardner, W. POST, 10/31). Walsh spokesperson Mary Belcher: "This office has no political agenda. We are moving to meet a very tight schedule and a Jan. 5 trial date and have given no consideration whatsoever to the timing of this or any other indictment" (Seper, W. TIMES, 10/31). NEWSWEEK CW down arrow: "New Weinberger note says 'VP favored' arms for hostage deal. Message: you lied" (11/9 issue). USA TODAY header: "Iran-contra note throws Bush on defensive" (11/2).

LITTLE ROCK, YOU'RE NEXT: Clinton comm. dir. George Stephanopoulos called Bush about the allegations on CNN's "Larry King Live." Throughout the first part of the show King questioned Bush on the Iran-Contra affair and re-hashed the different parts of the controversy. Near the end of the show Stephanopoulos called in to bring it up one more time (10/30).

MORE TV: Bush: "It's not helpful, but it just seems a little weird on a Friday before an election that something like this is elevated. But the fact is I've told the truth." Asked if he'd ever wanted to fire Walsh: "I'm not his strongest admirer, but he has got his job to do, and I've got mine" ("Newsmaker Sunday," CNN, 11/1). MTV's Tabitha Soren in her interview with Bush: "By the way, to conduct the interview with the President, MTV News had to agree not to ask him about Iran-gate or Iraq-gate. ... The president is still facing further allegations on the Iran-Contra scandal, but we were not allowed to ask him about that" ("Choose or Lose," MTV, 11/1). Mark Shields: "Bush knocked Clinton off his theme all week; this story knocked Bush off his." Bob Novak: "The people don't care

about it at all." HOTLINE publisher Doug Bailey: "I think the people do care about whether the president told the truth. ... But I think it really is astounding that such an indictment would be handed down Friday before an election." Al Hunt: "This is exactly like Bill Clinton and the draft. The problem here is ... Bush is not leveling with the American public, he has simply not told the truth" ("Gang," CNN, 10/31). Bush Chair Bob Teeter: "Every voter knows there is something a little suspect when some story pops up on the Friday before an election on Iran-Contra. ... As you know and as almost everybody in the press knows if they've read the Congressional testimony on Iran-Contra, there was nothing new revealed Friday whatsoever" ("Today," NBC, 11/2).

***11 BUSH & IRAQ: NO REGRETS ON PRE-WAR DECISIONS**

Bush defended his pre-war actions with David Frost: "I've never seen such a phoney charade trying to equate this with something wrong. From a lot of people who were wrong. Who did not understand and wouldn't ... If I'd a listened to those guys, the critics now, Saddam Hussein would be sitting in downtown Riyadh atop the world's oil supplies with a nuclear weapon" ("Talking With David Frost," PBS, 10/30).

THIS MORNING: Many reports note a DoJ memo indicating the U.S. intelligence community knew about dealings between Iraq and BNL "before those dealings became the target of a criminal probe in 1989" (Smith, W. POST, 11/2). N.Y. TIMES' Baquet & Sciolino cite U.S. knowledge of "rich details" of Saddam's dealings with European high-tech dealers (11/2).

"60 MINUTES": House Banking chair Henry B. Gonzalez (D-TX) on who tried to stop his investigation: "Every one of them." CBS' Wallace fired off likely suspects: Ex-AG Dick Thornburgh? Gonzalez: "Yes." Wallace: Two AGs? Gonzalez: "Yes." Wallace: "The head of the CIA?" Gonzalez: "Yes." Wallace: "Brent Scowcroft?" Gonzalez: "Very much so. He even came to the speaker to see what he could do to stop this." Wallace: "James Baker?" Gonzalez: "He did. In his own inimitable way. Very suavely." Wallace: "Therefore George Bush?" Gonzalez: "That's right." Gonzalez: "The only thing that I saw they had as a sort of a rule of thumb was 'If it doesn't blow up, ship it.' In other words, they may not have a [nuclear] bomb, but they had everything to make a bomb with." Wallace noted that Thornburgh, current AG Barr, CoS Baker, NSA Scowcroft, and Pres. Bush declined interviews (11/1).

***12 PEROT: IT TAKES A TOUGH MAN ...**

"After several weeks of the most vitriolic criticism" of Bush, Perot turned attention to the "relatively neglected" Clinton, asserting he "has the barest qualifications to be president" (Firestone, NEWSDAY, 11/2). At a Santa Clara CA rally, Perot said Clinton's "response to all problems" was "We fixed that in Arkansas": "I studied Arkansas. That's where the chicken feathers come from. I don't have to tell you in Silicon Valley where the high-wage jobs come from. But it's not from raising chickens" (S.F. EXAMINER, 11/2). "Do you want Silicon Valley dominating the industries of the future or do you all want to be raising and plucking chickens out here" (S.J. MERCURY NEWS, 11/2). Perot said compared to companies on the Fortune 500 list, AR "ranks below Toys 'R Us and Chiquita bananas": "Since they're at the bottom on everything, there's no place to go but up" (USA TODAY, 11/2). And, "for the first time in his campaign" Perot "gibed the Democratic ticket on the issue of marijuana smoking":

"Do you believe that it's appropriate to have senior government officials who have used drugs?" (S.F. CHRONICLE, 11/2). W. POST header: "Perot, in a Change of Tactics, Directs Fierce Attack on Front-Runner Clinton" (11/2).

ON AIR DRUBBING: Perot repeated his attacks on Clinton's AR record during his 30-minute infomercial titled "Chicken Feathers, Deep Voodoo and the American Dream" (Perot release, 11/2). But he "reserved his most stinging comments for Bush": "Is there any good news? Well, the Emir of Kuwait got his palace back with all the gold fixtures in his bathroom. He stayed on the Riviera while your sons and daughters fought over there. I tell you, hell will freeze over before I let that happen while I'm in the White House. The point being we got the chicken man from Arkansas and the potato chip man from Maine who says he's from Texas. What does their experience have to do with putting America back to work? Not much" (S.F. EXAMINER, 11/2).

ALSO: Perot gets NEWSWEEK's cover, which asks what's next for him (11/9 issue). David Frost asked Perot if he would run again in '96. Perot: "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it. ... If you intend to win in '92, you don't think that way" ("Talking With David Frost," PBS, 10/30).

*13 CLINTON & ROTC: ANOTHER ENTRY FOR THE MISSING FILE FILE

W. TIMES' Hedges & Seper report Clinton's ROTC file was removed from the Univ. of AR ROTC office by Clinton "representatives and destroyed in 1974 to cover up his maneuvering to avoid the draft." Col. Don Cake, then U/AR ROTC captain, "said two men who said they worked for Mr. Clinton demanded the file in the months before" Clinton's unsuccessful '74 House bid: "I was there when the ROTC commander announced he had gotten authority to release Clinton's file to the people who were demanding it. I will swear to that." Barbara Hausam, then military records clerk at U/AR, said she was "absolutely positive" Clinton "engineered the removal of his own draft file to hide its contents." She said Clinton "signed a form obligating him to serve in the military in return for his draft deferment," something he has denied. Col. Guy Tutweiler, who commanded the ROTC in the mid-1970s, said he "does not recall turning Mr. Clinton's file over to anyone," but did say there was a file on Clinton. Clinton deputy manager Betsey Wright: "Hogwash. This rumor has been around a long time." Cake spent 6-8 weeks working with NBC "in what he assumed was an exclusive relationship that would result in the story being aired." When NBC decided not to run the story, Cake called other news orgs. NBC "declined to comment" on the work, but one NBC source who asked not to be identified said NBC "found nothing to refute anything Col. Cake said or to undercut his credibility" (10/31).

THIS MORNING: N.Y. DAILY NEWS header: "With vote near, Prez raps Bill on ROTC." Bush in MI: "We have new evidence that his friends used special connections to seize his ROTC files and destroy all others." Clinton spokesperson Dee Dee Myers, saying Clinton himself "had no plans to respond directly" to the charge: "There's not a shred of truth to it" (11/2).

MORE: Tamara Kennerly, who dated Clinton while he was at Oxford, made public parts of a 1969 letter from Clinton in which he wrote of "having a hard time adjusting" to the thought of not going to Vietnam. Kennerly: "It's important to show that he thought he was going to Vietnam and that when he found that he wasn't, he found it hard to come to terms with" (AP/ORLANDO SENTINEL, 10/30). David Frost: "Are you proud of your opposition

to the Vietnam war?" Clinton: "Well, I'm proud that I did what I thought was right. ... Mostly, I'm proud of the fact that I've lived a very good and useful life since then" (PBS, 10/30).

*14 THREE-POINTERS

CLINTON & CONGRESS: W. TIMES editorial charges a series of "secret meetings" between Clinton and Sen. Maj. Leader George Mitchell (D-ME): "The flurry of legislation we can expect from a [Dem admin.] will be hailed as proof that Mr. Clinton is a man of action ... What it will actually prove is that we are in for four years of congressional government. We don't even have to write in George Mitchell's name to get the Mitchell Presidency" (11/2).

GORE AND HIS DUMP: W. TIMES' Pruden writes his paper's "story of the toxic waste dump on the farm" of Gore's father was "ignored by the dominant media. The Ozone Man said there was no dump; a Nashville [TV] station hired a helicopter to fly over the farm, found the dump, and put the film on the air" (11/2).

CLINTON & GATT: From a Committee on the Judiciary, GOP release: "A group of House [GOPers] is seeking the appointment of an independent counsel to investigate allegations that the presidential campaign of Bill Clinton sought to delay agreement on world trade talks now underway." The 10 GOP Reps. made their request in a 10/30 letter to U.S. Atty Wm Barr (10/30).

BUSH & ECON. FIGURES: "Suspicion is growing inside and outside the government that the Bush administration manipulated the government-spending process to produce a brighter picture" of the 3rd quarter economy. Some analysts go further, charging "the numbers were tampered with" (Kaslow, C.S. MONITOR, 11/2).

BUSH AND THE GOP: A longtime Bush friend "described the campaign as being like watching a dear friend or relative die of cancer that would not have been fatal if caught early": "We have tried every known cure. We have tried every experiment and still he keeps getting worse. I cannot tell you how sad it is to watch when it didn't have to happen if only we caught this earlier" (Devroy, W. POST, 11/2).

AD HOMINEM, AD NAUSEAM: "There's Ozone, a.k.a. Ozone Man, a.k.a., candidate for vice president on the Bozo ticket, running against an incumbent 'Mister' who thinks the pollsters are 'nutty.' As a mean political season gets meaner in its closing days, the language of politics has turned largely to the invective" (AP/Balto. SUN, 10/31). Gore on Bush: "He seems to like Z's" (L.A. TIMES, 11/2). Clinton: "I don't want to spend the next four days calling names and dividing people ... Let Mr. Bush talk about clowns and bozos and crazies" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 11/1). More Gore: "I might be tempted to stoop to name calling, too ... It would not be right to refer to him as 'Lips.' I'm just not going to do it" (B. GLOBE, 10/31). Bush, asked if he was sorry for using "bozos": "Yes, because it's turned out to be a great big media thing. Yeah. I thought it was funny at the time ... But if it hurt his feelings, being called a bozo, I'm sorry. ... I'll tell what I think it might have hurt. My own -- in what I thought was humor, maybe it hurt my dignity for, you know, doing that, saying something I thought was funny. Make a mistake, admit it" ("Larry King," 10/30).

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===== PREDICTIONS =====

*15 THOSE CRAZY TALKING HEADS AND THEIR NUTTY CRYSTAL BALLS

GURU	POPULAR VOTE			ELECTORS		SENATE	HOUSE	SOURCE
	CLI	BUS	PER	CLI	BUS	GAIN	GAIN	
DOUG BAILEY	--	--	--	339	199	+2D	+1R	GANG-CNN 10/31
FRED BARNES	44%	45%	11%	261	277	---	---	McL-GROUP 10/30
	BUSH COULD -			"LONG SHOT"		---	---	CBS THIS AM 11/2
BOB BECKEL	46+			300+		---	---	CBS THIS AM 11/2
V. BREGLIO	42	43	15	---	---	---	---	PRESS-NBC 11/1
M. CARLSON	44	36	--	---	---	---	---	PRESS-NBC 11/1
E. CLIFT	47	41	12	388	150	+4D	+6R	W. POST 11/1
	47	41	12	388	150	---	---	McL-GROUP 10/30
SEN. DOLE	48	52		---	272	---	---	EVANS-CNN 10/31
PAUL DUKE	"TOO CLOSE			TO CALL"		---	---	W.WEEK-PBS 10/30
H. FINEMAN	BUSH LEADS			CLIN WINS		---	---	W.WEEK-PBS 10/30
SARAH FRITZ	45	40	15	---	---	---	---	W.WEEK-PBS 10/30
DAVE GERGEN	45	42	12	308	230	+1D	+14R	W. POST 11/1
J. GERMOND	49	42	9	325	213	---	---	McL-GROUP 10/30
J. GLASSMAN	42	41	17	250	288	+2D	+18R	W. POST 11/1
PETER HART	45	39	15	---	---	---	---	PRESS-NBC 11/1
AL HUNT	--	--	--	344	194	+2D	+10R	GANG-CNN 10/31
	46	39	14	---	---	---	---	TODAY-NBC 11/2
M.KONDRACKE	48	40	10	351	187	+2D	+18R	W. POST 11/1
KRAUTHAMMER	"DEAD HEAT"			BUSH "EKES IT"		---	---	INSIDE-W 10/31
THEO. LORI	45	37	16	352	186	+3D	+11D	W. POST 11/1
FRANK LUNTZ	42	37	20	400	138	+2D	+7R	W. POST 11/1
C. MATTHEWS	47	39	13	363	175	+2D	+12R	W. POST 11/1
C. McDOWELL	47	44	9	325+	--	---	---	W.WEEK-PBS 10/30
McLAUGHLIN	45	46	8	262	276	+1D	+12R	W. POST 11/1
	45	46	8	262	276	---	---	McGROUP 10/30
A. MITCHELL	48	40	12	---	---	---	---	TODAY-NBC 11/2
BOB NOVAK	47	39	14	280	258	+0	+7R	W. POST 11/1
	--	--	--	287	251	+0	+12R	GANG-CNN 10/31
T.OLIPHANT	CLINTON WINS			- "TIGHT"		---	---	INSIDE-W 10/31
G.PETERSON	CLINTON WINS			- "TIGHT"		---	---	INSIDE-W 10/31
RALPH REED	42	43	15	246	292	+1R	+19R	W. POST 11/1
S. ROBERTS	45	43	12	---	---	---	+20R+	W.WEEK-PBS 10/30
ED ROLLINS	46	39	15	323	215	+3D	+5R	W. POST 11/1
CARL ROWAN	CLINTON WINS			- "WIDE"		---	+0	INSIDE-W 10/31
TIM RUSSERT	44	41	15	---	---	---	---	PRESS-NBC 11/1
	45	40	15	330+	--	---	---	TODAY-NBC 11/2
W.SCHNEIDER	46	42	11	319	219	+3D	+5R	W. POST 11/1
M. SHIELDS	--	--	--	331	147	+4D	+6D	GANG-CNN 10/31
ANN STONE	45	43	11	340	198	+2D	+10R	W. POST 11/1
N.TOTENBERG	CLINTON WINS			- "NARROW"		--	---	INSIDE-W 10/31
M. WARNER	--	--	--	357	181	+3D	+8R	GANG-CNN 10/31
WERTHHEIMER	45	40	14	317	221	+2D	+13R	W. POST 11/1
SEN. WIRTH	54	40	6	380	158	+4D	+6R	W. POST 11/1
	53	47	<10	340+		---	---	EVANS-CNN 10/31

===== SENATE WATCH =====

*16 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
AL	SHELBY	++65	Sellers	21	ANNISTON STAR, 10/24-25
AK	Smith	38	MURKOWSKI	++51	ANCH. DLY NWS, 10/16-17
AZ	Sargent	29	MCCAIN	++51	KVOA/KPNX, 10/24-26
AR	BUMPERS	++59	Huckabee	31	AR DEM-GAZETT, 10/16-18
CA D	Boxer	+44	Herschensohn	43	Field, 10/25-28
	Boxer	+44	Herschensohn	40	KCAL/PMR, 10/27-28
CA	Feinstein	++50	SEYMOUR	36	Field, 10/25-28
	Feinstein	++50	SEYMOUR	37	KCAL/PMR, 10/27-28
CO D	Campbell	++50	Considine	39	D. POST/TV-4, 10/29-31
	Campbell	+47	Considine	39	9-News/Ciruli, 10/25-28
CT	DODD	++56	Johnson	30	HRTFRD COURNT, 10/23-30
FL	GRAHAM	++66	Grant	22	Mason-Dixon, 10/23-25
GA	FOWLER	++51	Coverdehl	35	Mason-Dixon, 10/23-24
HI	INOUE	++60	Reed	18	HON STAR-BULL, 10/23-24
ID R	Stallings	37	Kemphorne	++55	KTVB/PMR, 10/22-24
IL D	Braun	++52	Williamson	32	DAILY HERALD, 10/26-29
	Braun	++51	Williamson	34	CHICAGO TRIB, 10/26-28
	Braun	++46	Williamson	28	COPLEY/PMR, 10/27-28
IN	Hogsett	36	COATS	++58	INDY STAR, 10/28-31
IA	Jones	20	GRASSLEY	++75	D.M. REGISTER, 10/25-30
KS	O'Dell	31	DOLE	++63	Top. CAP-JRNL, 10/26-29
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	38	BOND	++53	POST-DISPATCH, 10/25-29
	Rothmn-Serot	34	BOND	++51	KTVI/PMR, 10/26-27
NV	REID	++56	Dahl	33	KLAS-TV/PMR, 10/23-24
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	+44	D'AMATO	42	PMR, 10/26-27
	Abrams	+38	D'AMATO	35	N.Y. TIMES, 10/24-26
	Abrams	+47	D'AMATO	41	Marist, 10/25-26
	Abrams	++48	D'AMATO	37	NEWSDAY/WABC, 10/23-25
NC	SANFORD	++45	Faircloth	37	Grnsboro N&R, 10/26-27
	SANFORD	+44	Faircloth	38	Raleigh N&O, 10/25-28
ND D	Dorgan	++62	Sydness	32	Univ. of ND, 10/29-30
ND D	Conrad	++57	Dalrymple	30	PMR, 10/27-28
OH	GLENN	++50	DeWine	42	Akrn BCN-JRNL, 10/26-31
	GLENN	50	DeWine	50	COLUMBUS DISP, 10/26-29
	GLENN	++49	DeWine	40	PMR, 10/27-28
	GLENN	+50	DeWine	42	U/Cincy, 10/16-25

OK	Lewis	31	NICKLES	++55	Mason-Dixon, 10/21-23
OR	AuCoin	43	PACKWOOD	+47	Eug REG-GUARD, 10/25-26
	AuCoin	38	PACKWOOD	+40	OREGONIAN, 10/22-26
	AuCoin	43	PACKWOOD	+50	KATU/Hibbitts, 10/22-25
PA	Yeakel	+45	SPECTER	44	KDKA-TV/PMR, 10/27-28
	Yeakel	36	SPECTER	+40	Keystone Poll, 10/24-27
SC	HOLLINGS	++55	Hartnett	41	Col. STATE, 10/26-28
	HOLLINGS	++49	Hartnett	34	Chlstr POST&C, 10/22-23
	HOLLINGS	+37	Hartnett	33	GREENVLE NEWS, 10/19-22
SD	DASCHLE	++58	Haar	34	ARGUS LEADER, 10/21-22
UT R	Owens	33	Bennett	++50	S. LAKE TRIB, 10/26-30
VT	LEAHY	++60	Douglas	29	RUTLAND HRLD, 10/17-18
WA D	Murray	+49	Chandler	43	KOMO-TV, 10/27-28
	Murray	+48	Chandler	43	SEATTLE P-I, 10/26-27
	Murray	+46	Chandler	41	SPOKESMAN-REV, 10/24-25
WI	Feingold	44	KASTEN	+47	MIL. JOURNAL, 10/29-30
	Feingold	+48	KASTEN	40	MIL. SENTINEL, 10/23-24
	Feingold	44	KASTEN	+47	St. Norbert, 10/21-25

NOTE: The COLUMBUS DISPATCH poll in OH, is a "mail-in" survey which has proven traditionally accurate. Interestingly, this survey did not display any undecideds.

*17 CALIFORNIA "A": HERSCHENSOHN PASSES BOXER IN ORANGE CO.

An ORANGE COUNTY REGISTER poll, conducted "recently" by Richard Hertz, surveyed 789 Orange Co. registered voters; margin of error +/- 4% (11/1). STATEWIDE POLLS: An internal Boxer poll, conducted 10/27-29, surveyed 801 adults; +/- 3.5%. An internal Dem poll, conducted 10/29 by Greenberg-Lake, surveyed 700 adults; margin of error +/-3.7% (Boxer release, 10/30). The Field Poll of 1,106 likely voters was conducted 10/25-28, +/- 3.1%. The KCAL-TV poll of 700 LVs was conducted 10/27-28, +/- 3.5% (see HOTLINE, 10/30). Tested: Rep. Barbara Boxer (D), ex-TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn (R).

ORANGE CO. ONLY

STATEWIDE POLLS

	"RECENTLY"	BOXER 10/27-29	DEM 10/29	FIELD 10/25-28	KCAL 10/27-28
Boxer	32%	43%	51%	44%	44%
Herschensohn	51	35	41	43	40

NOTE: In the "B" Senate race, the Orange Co. poll showed Sen. John Seymour (R) over ex-S.F. mayor Dianne Feinstein (D) by only 43-37%. Over a majority of women favored Feinstein but picked Herschensohn over Boxer. The poll also showed Bush regaining his county lead over Clinton 40-30% (REGISTER, 11/1).

BELOW THE BELT PUNCH? CA Dem pol. dir. Bob Mulholland "disrupted" a Herschensohn rally in Chico 10/30 by accusing him of frequenting Hollywood strip joints and bookstores. "A clearly shaken Herschensohn, who has embraced the GOP 'family values' platform, at first refused to comment on the accusations, calling them 'a pretty desperate thing.'" But he later conceded he had visited the Seventh Veil, a nude-dance club -- though he couldn't recall any nudity -- and said he has been a patron of several newsstands that "sell mainstream and sexually-oriented magazines" (Murphy/Shuit, L.A. TIMES, 10/31). The manager of the Centerfold newsstand, which Herschensohn frequents, told reporters Herschensohn "buys both news and political magazines as well as adult magazines." Herschensohn accused Boxer of authorizing the

accusation, calling it "a last-minute smear tactic" (Raine, S.F. EXAMINER, 11/1). In a letter, Herschensohn campaign manager Ken Kachigian, described Mulholland as a "walking stink bomb" and called for his termination, saying Boxer "should join in that action" (Herschensohn release, 10/31). Boxer denied the accusation, saying in a letter to Herschensohn, "I am distressed by and do not approve of the actions taken by Bob Mullohand. ... I want to assure you that I had no knowledge of the charges against you" (Boxer release, 10/31). The Herschensohn camp has since charged Boxer with "lying about its role" in the attack (Herschensohn release, 11/1). The Dem party has "moved to distance itself," saying Mullohand "acted without authorization" and suspending him without pay (Raine, S.F. EXAMINER, 11/1). L.A. TIMES' Hewitt examines how Herschensohn, "whose positions on the issues largely dwell on the margins of what [people] perceive as the 'mainstream,'" could be so appealing to voters. His answer: "Herschensohn comes across to voters as extraordinarily credible -- he can be taken at this word, regardless of the political difficulty that may cause for him" (11/1).

***18 GEORGIA: RACE TIGHTENING, ASPERSIONS HURLED**

"Three days from the rematch of their 1977 election, the U.S. Senate candidates are hurling charges at each other through television and radio ads, the mail, surrogates -- and even personal attacks from the stump." Ex-Peace Corps dir. Paul Coverdell (R) "is focusing on what he calls a pattern of deception by" Sen. Wyche Fowler (D) "that stretches from his statements about the House bank to his 1990 trip to Iraq." Fowler "continues to label Mr. Coverdell as the culprit of their sour campaign, while spending more than his opponent to launch stinging attacks." Though recent polls "give Fowler a comfortable lead," officials in both camps said 10/31 "the race is tightening." Some Fowler supporters "fear the presence of" Libertarian Jim Hudson, "could deprive the senator of the majority voter required in Georgia, setting up a runoff with" Coverdell 11/24 (Sherman, COX/ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 10/31).

***19 ILLINOIS: MEDICAID CASE "CLOSED"**

A COPLEY NEWS poll conducted 10/27-28 by Political/Media Research surveyed 807 likely voters; margin of error +/- 3.5%. Tested: Cook Co. Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun (D) and atty Rich Williamson (R).

Braun	46%
Williamson	28

Under header "Braun reimburses Medicaid; case closed," CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Karwath & Kates report no further action will taken in investigating Cook Co. Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun (D) now that she has reimbursed the state \$15,239.29 for her mother's nursing home care. Braun: "I feel like a great weight has been lifted off my shoulders" (10/31). Atty Rich Williamson (R) was "unwilling to drop the issue" and "kept jabbing": "Carol Braun broke the law. That's why Carol Braun was forced to repay the taxpayers" (CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, 11/1). CHICAGO TRIBUNE header: "Williamson calls rival a 'cheat'; Braun says he is out of touch" (11/1).

CHILD PORN LAW FLAP: CHICAGO TRIBUNE's Hardy looks at Braun's "no" vote against a 5/83 child porn law which Williamson "quietly raised" earlier in the race and then "brought ... to a

crescendo" at their 10/22 debate. Neither Braun nor her staff "apparently saw fit to research the bill" after Williamson raised it. Braun called it a "mistaken vote" when asked for an explanation: "I don't know what happened. ... The vote looks like a bad vote. It looks like it was a decent bill. It should have been voted for. I certainly had no ideological or principled reason not to support that legislation. ... But who's to say? I might have been in the bathroom. ... I wasn't aware until this campaign that that vote even existed." 48 hrs. after that response Braun "acknowledged" she voted "no" and gave "the real reason why." She said if she had to do it over again she would have voted "present." Braun on her "decent bill" comment: "I didn't say that." Hardy writes, "Of course this was not the first time Braun spoke out of both sides of her mouth, and it won't be the last" (11/1).

***20 NEW YORK: RACE STAYS DIRTY; FERRARO AD ENDORSES ABRAMS**

Ex-Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D), who lost the primary to AG Bob Abrams (D) by a slim margin, endorses him in a new ad. In the ad, Ferraro looks "as stiff and unsmiling as a hostage in a ransom video tape" and says it's "critically important" to defeat Sen. Al D'Amato (R) (Stanley, N.Y. TIMES, 11/1). N.Y. DAILY NEW/ROSS & LOMBARDI write, "In an 11th-hour change of heart" Ferraro "threw her support" to Abrams. Abrams said it took "a great woman, a great politician" to do what Ferraro has done. The two exchanged written statements, "but in an unusual departure for a high-profile endorsement," did not hold a press conference together (11/1). N.Y. TIMES header: "Ferraro Backs Abrams, Who Gives Apology." Subhead: "D'Amato Says Impact Will Likely Be Slight" (11/1). Abrams also released a letter from late Sen. Jacob Javits' (R) widow, Marian, which praises his "ability and integrity," but does not formally endorse (N.Y. TIMES, 10/31).

LATE POLLING: Marist College pollster Lee Maringoff, who performed overnight tracking of the state 11/1, has the following observations (last week, Marist had Abrams leading 47-41%): "Last night, Abrams was maintaining and perhaps expanding his numbers. Although there is still a very large undecided -- over twice that of the last weekend in the '88 Senate race. Late-deciders are going more for Abrams. We saw a growing gender gap, so Abrams late emphasis on pro-choice may be having an impact. Also, D'Amato does not look like he is going to run up a large edge in the traditional Republican Upstate areas." Maringoff, summing it up: "This is the worst campaign we've had in New York -- since the Democratic primary in September" (Interview, 11/2).

AD WATCH: D'Amato released a new 30-sec. spot that accuses "millionaire Bob Abrams" of cheating on his own taxes: "Abrams never met a tax he didn't like, except his own." N.Y. TIMES' Janofsky writes, "The charges relating to Mr. Abrams's personal taxes at least reflect partial truth, as tax records would indicate." But Abrams "has not proposed any plan that would raise personal income taxes" (11/2).

DEBATE: Abrams and D'Amato met yesterday for an hour-long debate that aired on WNBC-TV and C-SPAN. "One new wrinkle emerged when Mr. D'Amato insisted that on three occasions before the [Dem] primary, he had appealed to Mr. Abrams not to engage in personal attacks but to stick to substantive issues. But Mr. Abrams recalled, through a spokesman, that Mr. D'Amato had threatened to 'ruin' Mr. Abrams if he referred to Mr. D'Amato's ethical lapses." D'Amato responded: "It's preposterous." Abrams when asked whether D'Amato was "corrupt": "That's going to be

left for criminal prosecutors." D'Amato suggested that Abrams, in paying his taxes late, "was just as culpable for ethical violations as [he] was accused of being." Both candidates invoked Clinton's name repeatedly; D'Amato mentioned Bush's name only twice, once when noting he had opposed Bush's decision to break his tax pledge (Roberts, N.Y. TIMES, 11/2).

MISCELLANY: NY NARAL's Kelli Conlin said 400,000 voters "have been identified as willing to back" Abrams and 100,000 of them are GOPers (N.Y. TIMES, 10/31).

*21 PENNSYLVANIA: CONFLICTING POLLS, ANITA HILL ADS RESURFACE
A KDKA-TV poll, conducted 10/27-28 by Political/Media Research, surveyed 825 likely voters; margin of error 3.5%. A poll by the GOP firm Public Opinion Strategies, conducted 10/28-31, surveyed 1,400 LVs; +/- 2.6% (POS release, 11/1). Tested: Sen. Arlen Specter (R), women's activist Lynn Yeakel (D).

	KDKA	POS
Yeakel	45%	38%
Specter	44	48

NEW ANITA AD: Yeakel is running a new ad which returns to the theme of Specter's role in the Clarence Thomas/Anita Hill hearings in "an attempt to pull wavering Yeakel voters back." ANNCR: "He voted for trickle down economics; he voted for tax breaks for millionaires. ... But in the end he'll only be remembered for one thing." Hill's face appears and Specter is heard saying: "Did you conclude that Judge Thomas was guilty of sexual harassment?" ANCR: "Twelve years is enough." Yeakel manager Eva Gladstein: "We're just reminding people of the fact that Arlen Specter is not known for anything positive that he's been able to accomplish." Some Dems say the ad will "remind wavering voters why they were angry at Specter; others insist it will cause a backlash" (Gorenstein, PHILA. INQUIRER, 11/1). Specter said the "11th hour commercial" proves Yeakel is a "single issue candidate": "She's back to a single issue. That's all she has." Specter said he will not change his strategy or run any new ads (Motley, PHILA. INQUIRER, 11/1). Yeakel joined forces with Clinton and Sen. Harris Wofford (D) yesterday. But Clinton was so hoarse that he spoke only briefly, "delivering a short plug for the two. Clinton and Yeakel are expected to begin today's last full day of campaigning together (Eshleman, PHILA. INQUIRER, 11/2).

RAIN ON YOUR PARADE: Specter "was asked to exorcise himself" from a Halloween parade in Media, PA when Media Mayor Bob McMahon (D) "advised [Specter] that he wasn't welcome to campaign there." During the parade, McMahon "confronted" Specter and asked him to leave and remove his campaign signs. Specter spokesperson Susan Lamontagne called the incident a partisan "stunt" (Hart, DELAWARE CO. SUNDAY TIMES, 11/1). "Specter plans a final trip around the state today, hopscotching by plane" from Phila. to the west, with stops in Johnstown and the Scranton/Wilkes-Barre area (Motley, PHILA. INQUIRER, 11/2).

ENDORSEMENTS: Ex-Phila. mayoral candidate Charles Bowser and union pres. Henry Nichols -- both "influential African Americans who had supported [Specter] in previous elections" -- announced their support for Yeakel. Bowser: "The racist and anti-Semitic right wing has taken over the [GOP]. ... Anyone who helps any Republican will help every Republican" (Eshlemann, INQUIRER, 11/1). State Sen. Chaka Fattah also endorsed Yeakel

(Yeakel release, 10/31).

*22 SOUTH CAROLINA: IF THIS POLL IS TRUE, IT'S OVER

A Columbia STATE/WIS poll, conducted 10/26-28, surveyed 618 likely voters; margin of error +/- 4% (10/31). Tested: Sen. Fritz Hollings (D), ex-Rep. Tommy Hartnett (R).

	STATE 10/26-28	CHARLSTON POST/COURIER 10/22-23	GREENVILLE NEWS 10/19-22
Hollings	55%	49%	37%
Hartnett	41	34	33
Undec.	4	17	30

*23 WISCONSIN: FEINGOLD CAMP AGAIN DISPUTES A MEDIA POLL

A MILWAUKEE JOURNAL poll, conducted 10/29-30, surveyed 600 likely voters; margin of error +/- 4% (10/31). An internal Feingold poll, conducted 10/29, surveyed 600 LVs; +/- 4.5% (Feingold campaign, 11/1). Tested: Sen. Bob Kasten (R), state Sen. Russ Feingold (D).

	JOURNAL	FEINGOLD
Kasten	47%	43%
Feingold	44	52
DK/other	9	5

*24 DURENBERGER: ACCUSED OF 1963 RAPE AND PATERNITY

Sen. David Durenberger (R-MN) is being sued by Joyce A. Rauscher "who claims that he raped her 29 years ago and fathered her son." Durenberger denied the claim "with every fiber of my being" and said he would "take a test to determine paternity." Durenberger was Rauscher's divorce atty in 1963 and she claims he "came to her house one night ... ostensibly to discuss her case, and raped her." Rauscher "produced no proof, only her detailed account of the incident" and her divorce papers "which confirm Durenberger was her lawyer at the time." Durenberger: "I deny what this woman has charged me with. ... Her allegations are totally untrue. If the motivation of this suit is political or monetary, that is very tragic. ... Though I am under no legal obligation to do so, I will submit to appropriate scientific tests that will put this matter to rest." Rauscher is able to file a civil suit so many years after the alleged incident because of a 1991 change in the law that allows victims of sexual abuse to seek damages until 8/1/92. She filed a civil complaint 7/17/92 seeking \$50,000 as compensation for physical and emotional pain and the financial cost of raising the son. Discussions between Rauscher's and Durenberger's attys ended because of Durenberger's "denial of the charges, his unwillingness to meet with Rauscher and refusal to agree to a confidential settlement of less than \$100,000." Durenberger atty Sue Stinger would not comment "on the substance of the conversations": "The proper place to deal with a lawsuit like this is in court and not in the press." Rauscher claims she called Durenberger when she learned she was pregnant and "he didn't deny he was the father or admit he could be." She said she didn't file a police report in 1963 because she was "in a state of shock ... and felt authorities wouldn't believe" her: "This was 1963 and it was very difficult for women to get anyone to believe they'd been raped by someone they knew." She said "money has nothing to do with her suit" and the reason she is coming forward "was that she and her sons had been told by therapists that they needed to confront their troubling pasts." Durenberger's staff "has apparently taken the case seriously, based on the number of meetings and telephone conversations between chief of staff Rick Evans and Rauscher's attorneys" (McEnroe, Minneapolis STAR TRIBUNE, 11/1). Evans said he "was dismayed" at the story as reported by the Star Tribune because "it gave an inaccurate impression that he negotiated with Rauscher and her attorneys." Evans: "I met with them at their request to find out what they wanted, and to demonstrate to them that their attempt to extort money from Senator Durenberger was foolish and useless." Rauscher atty Elizabeth Cloutier: "Ms. Rauscher denies that she is attempting to extort anything from Mr. Durenberger. She is disappointed that he and his chief of staff would attempt to accuse her of extortion just because she is exercising her legal rights to commence a claim for damages against the man that raped her" (STAR TRIBUNE, 11/2).

===== POLL UPDATE =====

*25 ABC TRACKING: CLINTON 42%, BUSH 37%, PEROT 17%
1369 likely voters surveyed 10/29-31, margin of error +/- 3%
(ABC release, 11/1). Final survey date shown.

	10/31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	22	21	20	19	18	17
Clinton	42%	41%	41%	44%	42%	41%	44%	44%	45%	43%	44%	46%	49%	49%
Bush	37	38	37	35	35	34	33	34	32	32	32	30	30	31
Perot	17	18	17	16	20	21	19	17	15	17	16	15	13	12

*26 CNN/USA TODAY TRACK: CLINTON 44%, BUSH 36%, PEROT 14%
2,000+ RVs, including 1,579 LVs surveyed 10/31-11/1 by
Gallup; margin of error +/- 3%. Date shown is the final date of
the two-day rolling track (CNN 11/1-2, USA TODAY, 11/2).

LVs	11/1	10/31	30	29	28	27	26	GALLUP PROJECTION	
Clinton	44%	43%	42	41%	41%	40%	42%	CLINTON	49%
Bush	36	36	39	40	38	38	36	BUSH	37
Perot	14	15	14	14	16	16	17	PEROT	14

RVs	10/31	30	29	28	27	26	25	24	23	22	21	20	19
Clinton	43%	42%	42%	40%	42%	42%	42%	39%	41%	43%	44%	45%	47%
Bush	34	36	36	34	31	31	31	32	30	31	32	32	29
Perot	16	16	16	18	20	20	19	20	20	18	17	15	15

*27 BATTLEGROUND '92 TRACKING: CLINTON 40%, BUSH 36%, PEROT 19%
1,000 registered voters, surveyed 10/30-11/1 (including 500
on 11/1) by the Tarrance Group (R); m/e +/- 3%. Prior to last
night Battleground surveyed 250 RVs nightly to provide a rolling
4-day sample. Prior to this weekend no polling had been done on
Fri/Sat. Date shown is final of survey dates. NOTE TO MEDIA:
Please cite as "Battleground Poll." This is not a HOTLINE poll.

RVs	11/1	31	30	29	28	27	26	25	22	21	20	FAV/UNF	
Clinton	40%	41%	40%	41%	40%	42%	44%	45%	45%	46%	46%	51%	43%
Bush	36	35	36	36	35	34	32	32	32	31	32	45	50
Perot	19	17	17	17	19	18	18	18	17	18	17	50	40

*28 WSJ/NBC (AS OF 11/1): CLINTON 44%, BUSH 36%, PEROT 15%
1008 RVs interviewed 11/1 by polling organizations of Peter
Hart and Vince Breglio, m/error +/- 3% (W.S. JOURNAL, 11/2).

RVs	MOST-LIKELY		NOTE: Those saying they've voted 50% in last 3 years show Clinton up 4%, but it omits young and new registrants.	
CLINTON	44%	44%		
BUSH	36	36		
PEROT	15	15		

*29 LOUIS HARRIS (AS OF 11/1): CLINTON 43%, BUSH 37%, PEROT 16%
1975 Likely Voters interviewed 10/30-11/1, margin of error
+/- 2.5%, release of LOUIS HARRIS and Associates 11/2.

	LVs	DEM	GOP	IND	MEN	WOM	WOULD TRUST THE MOST	MOST LIKELY TO GET ECO. MOVING
CLINTON	43%	74%	13%	39%	38%	49%	34%	37%
BUSH	37	13	70	33	40	37	37	28
PEROT	16	12	16	25	20	13	20	29

*30 CBS/N.Y. TIMES: CLINTON 44%, BUSH 36%, PEROT 17% (AMONG LVs)
2,374 adults, including 1912 Registered Voters were
interviewed 10/27-30, with a margin of error of +/- 2%. The CBS
"Probable Voter" samples of 10/29-30 and 10/27-29 have margin of

error +/- 3%. CBS NEWS releases, NY TIMES 11/1.

PROBABLE ELECTORATE				REGISTERED VOTERS 4-DAY				
	10/29-30	10/27-29	10/27-30	DEM	GOP	IND	MEN	WOM
CLINTON	44%	45%	43%	74%	12%	34%	40%	44%
BUSH	36	35	34	8	69	30	36	32
PEROT	17	15	15	10	14	23	18	13

4-DAY ALL RVs:	FAV	UNF	BUSH JOB	OVERALL	FOR.POL.	ECONOMY
CLINTON	37%	40%	Approve	37%	52%	18%
BUSH	32	50	Disapprove	56	37	75
PEROT	23	41	ECONOMY			
GORE	43	24	Getting better	17%	ELECTION IMPORTANCE	
QUAYLE	27	49	Getting worse	33	VS. PAST YEARS	
STOCKDALE	10	34	Staying same	48	More important	72%
					Less	2% Same 24%

*31 NEWSWEEK/GALLUP (AS OF 10/29): CLINTON UP BY ONLY 2%

1029 registered voters, including 808 likely voters, surveyed 10/28-29 by Gallup, margin of error +/- 3% (RVs), 4% (LVs), NEWSWEEK release 10/31 (11/9 issue).

	RVs	LVs	LVS		18- 30-			WILL	CAMPAIGN	LACKS THE
			MEN	WOM	29	49	50+	WIN	TOO NEG.	INTEGRITY
CLINTON	43%	41%	41%	42%	51%	37%	43%	30%	41%	44%
BUSH	35	39	40	38	37	39	41	57	25	35
PEROT	15	14	15	12	11	18	9	2	19	35

ON PEROT CHARGES RE BUSH
CAMPAIGN AND HIS DAUGHTER

THOUGHT "QUITE A LOT (OR SOME)
ABOUT UPCOMING ELECTION"

Believe there was a GOP plot	26%	NOW	87%	1988	78%	1976	81%
Believe there was no plot	53			1984	74	1972	78
				1980	82	1968	86

*32 12 SOUTHERN STATES: CLINTON UP BY ONLY 3% IN SOUTH

976 LVs in 12 southern states, interviewed 10/24-27. Clinton's lead is 3% over Bush. He pulls one in three white votes, 28% of white men, and 8 of 10 black votes. Bush gets 43% of southern whites, with Perot at 19%. None of the 3 are seen positively by 50% of the voters. (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION 10/31)

*33 TIMES MIRROR: REACTIONS TO CANDIDATES IN FINAL DAYS

531 RVs surveyed 10/23-25, 251 on 10/26-27, 484 on 10/28-29, (m/e of +/- 5%, 7%, 5%, respectively) TIMES MIRROR release 10/30.

LAST POLL DATE	HEARD MOST ABOUT			ONE WITH MORE			ONE WITH LESS		
	IN LAST FEW DAYS			FAVORABLE IMPACT			FAV IMPACT		
10/29	27	25		29	27	25	29	27	25
CLINTON	26%	25%	33%	5%	7%	6%	13%	8%	16%
BUSH	22	15	20	5	5	6	15	19	18
PEROT	39	43	31	10	9	14	23	19	5

*34 THIS MORNING: ABC's "GMA" conducted a mock debate with Sen. Pat Moynihan (D-NY), Perot council/son-in-law Clay Mulford and SC Gov. Carroll Campbell (R); also hosted were Dixville Notch Town Clerk Tom Tillotson and Registrar-Recorder L.A. Co. Clerk Charles Weissburg on the process of counting votes; UNH Survey Center dir. David Moore on NH polls. NBC's "Today" hosted Bush chair Bob Teeter, Clinton chair Mickey Kantor, Perot exec. dir. Orson Swindle and Gallup editor-in-chief Frank Newport. "CBS This Morning" hosted SC Gov. Campbell, CO Gov. Roy Romer (D), CT Gov. Lowell Weicker (I), ex-N.J. Gov. Tom Kean (R); Fred Barnes and Dem strategist Bob Beckel on campaign '92 (11/2).

SUNDAY MORNING: ABC's "Brinkley" hosted Clinton strategist James Carville and Sec/Labor Lynn Martin. NBC's "Meet the Press" hosted DNC chair Ron Brown, RNC chair Rich Bond, Dem pollster Peter Hart and GOP pollster Vince Breglio. CBS' "Face the Nation" hosted NY Gov. Mario Cuomo (D) and HUD Sec. Jack Kemp. CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday" hosted Pres. Bush. An afternoon edition of the show had written questions from viewers answered by Sec/Labor Martin, Clinton media adviser Frank Greer and Ross Perot, Jr. (11/1).

THIS WEEKEND: 10/31: CBS led with Iran-Contra. NBC led with Clinton. ABC was pre-empted by sports. 10/30: "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with Bush. All other nets led with Iran-Contra. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted Clinton comm. dir. Geo. Stephanopoulos, Bush adviser Charlie Black and Perot adviser Orson Swindle. "Larry King Live" hosted Bush. "M/L" focused on the campaign with Gergen & Shilets, Peter Hart, GOP pollster Richard Wirthlin, Joint Center's Eddie Williams and Manhattan Inst.'s Linda Chavez. ABC's "Person of the Week" was American Academy of Family Physicians' Doctor of the Year Kim Bateman. ABC's "Nightline" examined Clinton's record with author Richard Ben Cramer and AR columnists John Robert Starr and John Brummett.

WINNERS AND LOSERS: CNN's Rick Allen picked voters as the winner of the week. The loser was the media: "When we in the media provide information and help people make up their minds we are doing our job. When we try to out-smart them we're losers" ("Inside Politics," 10/30).

AD COP: CNN's Jackson examined the sources and statements used in a recent Bush ad. Jackson labeled the ad's claim that AR was the 45th worst state to be employed in as "incomplete." The ad also claimed AR had the nation's worst environmental policy. But the study's conductor, Inst of Southern Studies' Bob Hall, called Bush's statement "devious and dishonest." Jackson: "When you see that buzzard in the tree, the Bush campaign's portrait of America under Bill Clinton, consider the sources" ("Inside Politics," 10/30).

CAPITAL GANGS' CAMPAIGN OUTRAGES: Al Hunt chose late Bush ads that claim Clinton has been "fiercely protectionist" and that AR does not have a MLKing holiday: "This is not political hardball, this is deliberately lying and it's despicable." Bob Novak chose Clinton for thanking the American Legion for "spurring" his interest in politics by sponsoring the Boys Nation program: "If so, the American Legion does have a lot to answer for" (CNN, 10/31).

WEEKEND QUOTABLES: Clinton strategist James Carville: "I want to know if there's one person that's not on [Bush's] payroll that doesn't think that he knew" ("Brinkley," ABC, 11/1). HUD

Sec. Jack Kemp, asked if Bush's denials are credible: "I don't know. I certainly wasn't in the loop." NY Gov. Mario Cuomo (D): "If I were one of the handlers for [Bush], I would have told them, look, the one word to avoid, especially this weekend with the indictment, is the word 'trust.' ... He's the president. ... At least he should go out with dignity" ("Nation," CBS, 11/1). Mark Shields: "I just want to console Bob Dole on Wednesday, when George Bush loses. He'll be despondent, absolutely despondent" ("Gang," CNN, 10/31). NBC's Russert to Bond: "Does George Bush take responsibility for anything that's happened to America? ... For the record, the debt quadrupled, and for the record, George Bush or Ronald Reagan never sent up a balanced budget. And for the record, the [Dem] Congress sent back a budget with less spending than the Republican budget that was sent up." W. POST's Dan Balz: "There are now three words that are banned at Clinton headquarters -- mandate, landslide, and transition." Bob Novak, on if Clinton wins: "I think the American people may really get nostalgic about gridlock" ("Meet the Press," NBC, 11/1). Perot on unwanted children: "Stop irresponsible sex. Just remember every time you start thinking about it, that Ross said, 'you're not a rabbit'" ("Choose or Lose," MTV, 11/1).

LAUGH IT UP: Jay Leno on Bush declaring he had the "road map to America's future": "Why doesn't he pull over and give it to somebody that can drive" ("Tonight," 10/30). Arsenio Hall talked with a group of children about the election. Male child on why he would vote for Clinton: "Because I think he is good at stuff." The same child on Perot: "He's from a different country and he came here and he had no friends." Female child on how much the president should be paid: "Fifty dollars -- and sixty cents." The group was silent and dismayed when asked what they thought of Stockdale ("Arsenio," 10/30). SNL's Dana Carvey, as Perot at a news conference, showed a picture of Madonna kissing his daughter, allegedly made by the GOP. SNL's Kevin Nealon: "How do we know that this picture came from the [GOP] dirty tricks team and not from your own organization?" Perot: "Now didn't I just tell you where the picture came from? Did I just start talking Portuguese up here and not know it?" Nealon announced the results of an "exclusive" Weekend Update poll: "Bozo" 41%, "Liar" 38%, "Throwing Your Vote Away" 16%. More news from Nealon: "Republicans this week admitted it was true they planned to disrupt the wedding of Ross Perot's daughter Caroline. The GOP says it hired actor Dustin Hoffman to crash the ceremony and yell, 'Elaine!' from the back of the church" (10/31).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====
"Please vote for me. Please, please, PLEASE!"
-- Dana Carvey, as Pres. Bush, on his knees,
"Saturday Night Live Special," NBC, 11/1.

*THE HOTLINE ELECTIO

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. Fill out the form and return it via FAX to (202) 234-5233 BY TONIGHT (MONDAY) AT 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 _____

2:00 P.M. EDT NEWS UPDATE

CAMPAIGN TRAIL (Madison/Lori Santos, UPI) -- A combative President Bush rushed through the last day of his final race for the White House, pressing an underdog campaign in a lightning-strike, six-state swing ending in Texas. Bush, appearing tired and hoarse, remained defiant, as he said at a rain-soaked Philadelphia rally, "We are gonna pull off one of the biggest surprises in political history."

POLL/OHIO (Cincinnati/Reuter) -- President Bush has emerged for the first time with a slim lead in Ohio, but the race is still too close to call, according to a poll. The University of Cincinnati poll, sponsored by the Cincinnati Post, showed Bush with 43%, Clinton 41% and Ross Perot 15%.

POLL/WEST VIRGINIA (Charleston, W. Va./Reuter) -- Bill Clinton leads President Bush by 48% to 30% among residents of West Virginia, with Ross Perot at 11% and 11% of voters undecided, according to a poll released by the Charleston Daily Mail. The telephone poll of 556 state residents was conducted Oct. 26-28. It had a margin of error of 4.2%.

IRAQ/CELEBRATIONS (Baghdad/Reuter) -- There will be dancing in the streets of Baghdad if George Bush loses the election, a top Iraqi official said. "As the speaker of parliament and a citizen, I expect the Iraqis to stage street celebrations if Bush is ousted," Saadi Mehdi Saleh told Reuter. "The Iraqis believe, and they are right, that Bush and not the U.N. Security Council stands behind the ruin and destruction that has befallen their country," Saleh said.

CAMPAIGN/CLINTON (Cleveland/AP) -- Bill Clinton, campaigning in a crucial industrial heartland state, urged supporters to go to the polls Tuesday and "drown out the negative voices that have held us down for so long." Clearly buoyant despite hoarseness caused by laryngitis, Clinton kept up a rugged campaign pace that gave him only a couple of hours of sleep Sunday night and promised to keep him going long after dark on Election Eve.

GATT (Chicago/Reuter) -- Top U.S. and European officials held crucial talks to end an impasse on EC farm subsidies and unblock world trade talks, but a U.S. spokesman said there was little progress. Agriculture Department spokesman Roger Runnigen said the two sides were evaluating an offer initiated by Secretary Madigan which Runnigen described as "a variation on a theme" dealing with EC oilseed production. Runnigen, briefing reporters, would not characterize chances for the talks to succeed in settling the dispute. "There was a pretty good exchange last night," he said, adding that little time had been spent so far on other farm trade issues being discussed under GATT.

###

11:00 A.M. EDT NEWS UPDATE

CAMPAIGN TRAIL (John King, AP) -- Bill Clinton and George Bush crisscrossed the country in a frenzied campaign finale, the President the underdog as Democrats looked to end 12 years of Republican rule. "Put the parade on hold, governor, because I'm going to win the election," Bush told a morning rally in Madison, N.J. He took a moment to remind a partisan crowd that this was the final day of his final campaign, and said, "We simply cannot take a risk on Governor Clinton."

(Madison/UPI) -- A combative President Bush kicked off the final day of his last campaign with a rally in suburban New Jersey. The President took shots at Bill Clinton, the Democratic Party, trial lawyers and the news media, interrupted several times by a chant of "Four More Years." He also attacked "Richard Gere and the Hollywood liberals" who appeared with Clinton Sunday night at a gala rally at the Brendan Byrne Arena in the Meadowlands. More than 5,000 people attended Bush's rally in Madison.

POLL (Reuter) -- A poll taken of likely voters gives Bill Clinton an 8 percentage point lead over President Bush, the Wall Street Journal/NBC News reported. The poll of 1,008 registered voters who say they are almost certain to vote found 44% backed Clinton, 36% Bush and 15% Ross Perot. Robert Teeter said on NBC's "Today" show that the race remained close down to the wire. "On Wednesday morning, I think we are going to see exit polls showing that a record number of voters made up their minds in the last 24, 48, 72 hours," Teeter said.

V.P./TENNESSEE (Chattanooga/AP) -- Vice President Quayle urged Tennessee voters to send President Bush back to the White House "because it is in your interest," despite the presence of Al Gore on the Democratic ticket. "Have courage to stick up for your values. Have courage to do what is right for America," said Quayle. In a break from his usual attack mode, Quayle barely mentioned the Democratic opponents.

CONSTRUCTION (AP) -- Construction spending rose 1.3% in September, the largest increase in five months, the government said. It was the latest sign that the building industry was emerging from the doldrums. The Commerce Department said residential, non-residential and government outlays totaled \$428.5 billion at a seasonally adjusted annual rate, up from \$422.8 billion in August and the biggest advance since spending rose 1.4% last April. But the revised 1.1% August decline was the steepest drop since construction spending fell 1.2% in November 1991 and even larger than the department's 0.8% original estimate.

MANUFACTURING (New York/AP) -- The manufacturing economy resumed its growth in October, boosted by an uptick in production and new orders, according to the regular monthly survey by the National Association of Purchasing Management. The purchasing manager's index registered 50.6% in October, up from 49% in September, which was the lowest point since January. Orders for new business grew again in October after declining for the first time in 17 months during September. Still, only 28% of the purchasing executives surveyed said new orders improved during October; 50% said they remained the same and 20% reported a decline in new orders. ###

#25
POOL REPORT
Newark to Philadelphia
Monday, Nov. 2, 1992

Ron Kaufman came back before takeoff, during a long ~~hold~~ ^{hold} to talk about the polls in the final hours of the campaign.

Asked about Bill Clinton's 29-hour marathon, he said "It did a lot of good for Michael Dukakis in '88. Obviously, if he thought this thing was in the bag, like they contend it is, ~~this~~ it wouldn't be an all-night show. Obviously it shows his campaign is up in the air. Both sides are worried about Tuesday. I guess the only one cocksure he's going to win is Perot."

Kaufman explained the widening gap in the polls by saying that the Bush campaign polls always drop over the weekends. "The problem with all these polls is the undecideds are too small. ~~These undecideds are too small. Anyone who thinks the~~ undecideds are 4 or 5 percent, even today, is not out there knocking on doors, talking to people in the coffee shops. The undecideds are large." He said he talked to operatives in New Jersey, Georgia and Ohio who all report that, according to phone banks, the undecideds are breaking Bush's way.

Asked if anyone had told the president he is going to lose, Kaufman replied "He's going to win. No one I know thinks ~~we~~ we're going to lose."

As motorcade pulled away from Madison, Mr. Microphone was heard to say to the crowds along the ~~leaves~~ ^{leaves} covered streets: "Thank you, thank you, thank you for the great sendoff. Thanks a lot." Michael ~~Bush~~ Bush says the crowd there was 8,600.

Ann McDaniel, Newsweek
Frank Murray, Wash. Times

Philadeolphia to Akron

#26

Nov. 2, 1992

Pool report

President Bush stopped en route to the airport to visit Anthony Cardinal ~~Bovilacqua~~ Bevilacqua, head of the Catholic Archdiocese of Philadelphia. The two men met at the rectory of Our Lady of Fatima Church in suburban Philadelphia. After several minutes the two men emerged together, walked to the nearby limosine and shook hands. Mr. Bush refused to ~~any~~ respond to shouted questions. Several hundred students stood nearby chanting, "We want Bush, we want Bush." George W. Bush was inside the rectory and came out to the porch just before the president emerged. This was one of several visits Mr. Bush has had with the cardinal since the campaign began. The cardinal is very supportive of Mr. Bush's proposal for school choice, which includes vouchers for private and parochial schools. The Catholic vote is a major ~~block~~ bloc in Pennsylvania and most other battleground states. While Bush was inside the rectory, Bob ~~son~~ Teeter joined your pool in the rain. Asked about the president's mood, he said, "He's absolutely confident he's going to win." Asked whether any of the president's top advisors had suggested to Bush that he might lose, Teeter said, "No. Several times a day, I'm going over how we can do it." Teeter insisted that a Bush victory is within the margin of error in most polls. He said he still believes that a third of the states are in play. He predicted Bush will win 200 electoral votes from the traditional GOP base, Rocky mountain and southern states, and pick up the other 70 from the industrial ~~states~~, midwest. Asked whether this campaign was putting to the ultimate test his long-held theory that all presidential campaigns are decided on the final day, Teeter smiled and admitted: "Yeah, it does.".,

Ann ~~Mc~~ McDaniel - Newsweek
Karen Hosler - Baltimore Sun

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON



Mr. William R. Timken, Jr.
2321 Brentwood Road, N.W.
Hills and Dales Village
Canton, Ohio 44708

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1992
(Houston, Texas)

Dear Tim,

Just wanted to send you a quick thank you for all you've done for us throughout this campaign. It's been a tough political year and I'm grateful for the wonderful support from people like you.

I'm in Houston now and tomorrow we'll vote. We're down to the wire and I'm confident we will win.

Barbara joins me in sending our sincere thanks and best wishes to you and Susie.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON



The Honorable Gerald R. Ford
Post Office Box 927
Rancho Mirage, California 92270

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1992
(Houston, Texas)

Dear Jerry,

Just a quick note to say thanks for all you did in Grand Rapids. I am really grateful to have you at my side and appreciate all you've done.

We're in Houston and ready to vote tomorrow. With less than 24 hours to go, Barbara and I are feeling confident.

All our best and family love to you and Betty.

Warm regards,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. Bush', written below the words 'Warm regards,'.

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON



Mr. Gary Robinson
Vice President and General Manager
WEWS-TV
3001 Euclid Avenue
Cleveland, Ohio 44115

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1992
(Houston, Texas)

Dear Gary,

Just a quick note to thank you for a great event with the Ohio Broadcasters Association. I appreciated the opportunity to meet with everyone and to answer some of their questions and concerns. Thanks for all you did to make the event such a success.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON



The Honorable George V. Voinovich
Governor of Ohio
Vern Riffe Center for Government
and the Arts
30th Floor
77 South High Street
Columbus, Ohio 43266-0601

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1992
(Houston, Texas)

Dear George,

Just wanted to send you a quick note of thanks for my wonderful trip to Ohio last week. The people were enthusiastic, the events were a big success and, as always, it was great to have you at my side.

I'm in Houston now and tomorrow we'll vote. We're down to the wire and I'm confident we'll win.
Thanks for everything.

With warm regards to you and Janet,

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1992
(aboard Air Force One)

Dear Andy,

In the rush and crush of the rally, I'm afraid I drew a bit of a blank when you and I had our all too brief chat. The bat you gave me was passed on to my grandson, George, to keep as a family memento. He is a collector of baseball memorabilia. I hope you don't mind.

It was great seeing you again and I am most appreciative of the fact that you attended the rally. By the time you get this, the vote will be over. Right now we are behind, it's the last of the ninth, but we're going to win. Many, many thanks.

Warm personal regards,



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Andy VanSlyke
c/o PITTSBURGH PIRATES
Three Rivers Stadium
Pittsburgh, PA 15212



12 To Andy - sorry about the jacket.
warmest But wish and thanks for
the support. Let's both knock it out of the park
for Ben

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

Mr. R. W. Vater
2044 Grande Avenue, S. E.
Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52403

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON
November 2, 1992

Dear Bob,

Thanks for your suggestions of October 24, as well as the cartoon you received from Walt Braun. It hit the nail right on the head.

We've been campaigning nonstop and, despite the media, I'm convinced I'll win tomorrow. I appreciate so much your support and your thoughts on my acceptance speech.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush", is written over the word "Sincerely,".



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Dear Bob,

Thanks for your
suggestions of Oct. 27.
~~I've taken them to heart~~
and the cartoon you
received from Walt
Braun. It hit the
nail right on the head.

We've been campaigning
non stop and, despite the
media, I'm convinced

I'll win tomorrow.

^{truly}
I appreciate your
support.

Sincerely,



R. W. Vater
2044 Grande Avenue S. E.
Cedar Rapids, IA 52403

President
I thought for you to
see your acceptance
speech 11/3/92 or
Wed 11/4/92

fore I get into my
mal acceptance speech
st. Have a lot of
to thank
refine people who would
All those people
no whole dirty

- keep in their local paper
- B. Those newspapers
re-published some
 - C. The Nat'l Media
 - 1 - Dan Rather
 - 2 - Peter Seller
 - 3 - News 2 or 3 more

Each of the above
in their own way
has turned the good
people who think
for themselves
off, and they voted for
me

My thanks to all
No. 1 for the former
back.

Mr President
10-24-92

R. M. Vetter
2044 Grand Avenue S. E.
Cedar Rapids, IA 52403

I note that the
scenarios are not
looked the last
3 pleads, I have
thank

this due to deal the
order to find evidence
I don't remember the
date and what location
left of today. I am

to get the Master returned
hand the fed reserve
lowered the risk when
you ask a question
More ago, here below
could have 6 pleads
of great power
of power. It is not the will

R. H. Vater
2044 Grande Avenue S. E.
Cedar Rapids, IA 52403



Respected
Boffalot

are negative!
I will have your com-
plaint greatly reduced

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1992

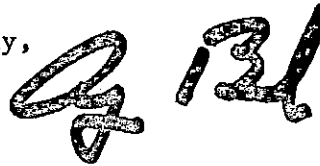
Dear Mr. Borisa,

Thank you for your good letter of October 25, along with your excellent suggestions. I really appreciate your taking the time to outline your views.

The elephants are certainly unique and Barbara and I know they'll bring us luck tomorrow. I'm convinced, despite the media, I will win because of wonderful supporters like you.

With appreciation and best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "G. B.", written in a cursive, stylized manner.

Mr. Drew Borisa
7295 Craigmere Drive
Middleburg Heights, Ohio 44130

Andrew J. Borisa

7295 Craigmere Drive
Middleburg Hts., Ohio 44130
Office 216-642-8272
Personal 216-234-0549

October 25, 1992

Dear Mr President

I am tremendously worried that you will not be re-elected because of how poorly you have allowed your campaign to be run.

A Clinton/ Democrat landslide would be a disaster for America.

PLEASE look at the two comments I have enclosed. This is what the American people need to hear and have addressed.

Elephants are supposed to be a symbol of GOOD LUCK. I am praying these will help you and Mrs. Bush.

I can not believe your people can not address some of the very obvious problems Clinton proposes:

ie: Health Care

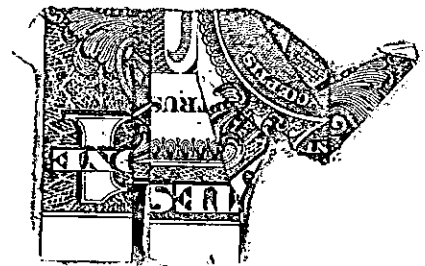
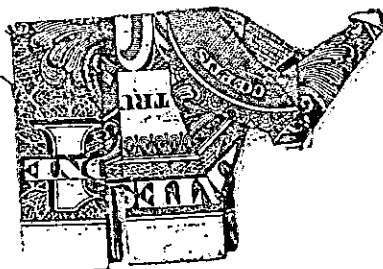
His plan of "play or Pay" would have all employers with good claims experience elect to use a private insurance carrier. Those with poor claims experience terminate their plan and have the federal government take on the poor cases. In the end the federal government only has cases with sever problem - and what will that cost?

If possible, please let me know if you received this. Have someone leave a message at either of the above phone numbers.

Sincerely

Drew Borisa

Drew Borisa



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

Mr. Walter Why
14480 Toepfer
Warren, MI 48089

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

November 2, 1992

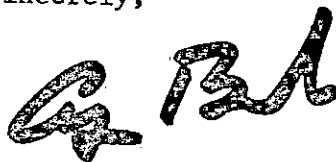
Dear Walter,

Thanks for your letter of October 29, detailing the concerns that have been troubling the nation as well as Macomb County.

Thanks, too, for your constructive suggestions -- they are most helpful.

We have been campaigning nonstop and, like you, I'm convinced, despite the media, I'm going to win tomorrow. However, we couldn't do it without friends like you.

Sincerely,

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

Walter Why ...

14480 Toepfer
Warren, MI 48089
Oct. 29, 1992

Dear President Bush:

Re: Macomb County - a civil affairs plan winner

As you know political analysts are saying the Regan Democrats are essential for you, or any Republican to win the Presidency. And, they add that Macomb County Democrats, the bastion of UAW membership solidarity, represent a micro-sample of Regan supporters. But, you should know that in Macomb County the Democrats since 1994 have been, BUSH DEMOCRATS not Regan Democrats. They always wanted you, not Regan as President. They accepted Regan because he was once a Democrat. They liked you because you were a moderate, not an ultraconservative. Macomb voted for Regan to support your ascendancy to the Office.

Like you, I believe that you are going to win this election. Local polls show that the "Mayor" of the small state of Arkansas is around has about 60% of the County votes. But, there are EASY ANSWERS to three concerns that have been troubling you nationally as well as in Democratic Macomb County. These concerns are:

Your overwhelming involvement in Foreign Affairs, to the detriment of national Civic Affairs.

Your acceding to Democratic Congressional pressure to raise taxes on the middle class.

Your lack of an acceptable plan for Civil Affairs.

Before accepting any of these ideas you may want to check my credentials. An acquaintance of mine, Dr. Steve Wallenherst, of the CIA and temporarily for Desert Storm in office of the Undersecretary in charge Star Wars (he's an Astrophysicist) and sometimes working on government projects of your Vice-President, has Macomb County, Warren city, friends that can verify my trustworthiness. As a former TACOM employee and Boeing Co. (Seattle/Minuteman), and NASA (Huntsville) scientist/engineer I held top-secret clearances.

As for political astuteness, in 1960? I called George Romney's office and told a staff member that Macomb County would support him as a Democrat or likely vote Republican if he ran. He did and Macomb did!

TO ANSWER THE THREE CONCERNS, say/do the following:

Precedence of Foreign Affairs:

Some people are complaining that during the past four years I been so involved with foreign affairs that I neglected business at home. Well, let me say this...

[NOTE:

Say "let me say this..." not "I want to say this..." It's a sales axiom to NEVER say "I want..." instead say, "Consider this..."

"You know this is true... The facts will convenience you... "
NEVER, "I want you to understand..."]

When you're up to your hips, fighting angry alligators, you don't take time out the prepare lunch for your family. You don't even discuss lunch, unless you want to be the meal.

Now that the cold war and the actual and possible hot wars have diminished, and the alligators have retreated, it time to plan lunch and take care of the wounded. And, that what we are going to do, but give us a chance to get it started.

Some people are still complaining, they want a hot meal and all the kindling wood is gone. They forget, intentionally or not, that the firewood was used to stuff the wide-open jaws of those attacking alligators. So, what should we do now? Well, let's begin by cutting some firewood, before we begin cooking the meal.

Let's take a little care of the seriously wounded and take some preventive measures, within our means, to keep life threatening infections from spreading.

ON TAXES --- CALL THE BLUFF OR HUFF of the other candidates.
Turn taxes back upon them !

Yes, I ALLOWED CONGRESS to raise taxes on the middle class workers. And, I admitted it was a mistake. But, neither of my opponents want to lower taxes. Instead they want to raise more taxes!! And, many Democrats support these tax increases. If you listen to some pollsters the vast major of the people not only want to continue these taxes Congress have already passed, but they want to get collect more taxes. Ferot wants to increase gasoline taxes. Essentially this means collecting those taxes from the workers, who drive to work every day. The guy from Arkansas wants to soak the rich, those earning 200 thousand dollars or more annually.

So what's wrong with this scenario? The thing wrong is that I'm being chastised by the press and the other candidates for letting Congress raise taxes. But, they don't even suggest that Congress should lower those taxes, in fact they want Congress to want to continue those taxes and add even more.

Furthermore, the Democratic public seems to agree with the tax increases those candidates would have Congress authorize.

The thing wrong with the scenario is that I appear to be apologizing for raising taxes, when everyone agrees that it was O.K. to raise taxes but more should have be raised in other ways. Thus, it seems that I shouldn't have apologized for raising taxes but for not raising the right taxes.

O.K. so if Americans want to raise taxes on the very rich to thus sponsor better health care, including drug abuse prevention. I'll listen. If Americans want to sponsor a rebuild of the nations

infrastructure, gasoline taxes will help, so I'll listen. If they want to improve education for our children and the jobless, I'll listen.

but, unlike other candidates I won't listen wholeheartedly to a Congress set in the old tax and spend concept. I'll listen to the new Congress that the people are going to elect. Hopefully, Congress will be completely CHANGED and more Republicans will be trusted to hold the line on unneeded taxes. I won't expect the new Congress to override my veto of new taxes designated for effect health care, education and infrastructure rebuilding, especially those pertaining to increasing jobs through enterprise zones and entrepreneurship cost reduction. The adoption of capital gains taxes and punitive Corporation taxes will have to be part of these efforts to spur investments. Programs similar to IRA will need to be available to enable credits and tax deferments for funds invested in current job-creating enterprises.

However, because the new Congress will not be totally changed I will only allow any new taxes to be passed only when the submitted budget contains the provisions for the health, education, commerce and infrastructure changes (excluding CAFE) that the American people expect and excludes pork-barrel politics. But, because Congress won't be completely changed, in order to pass new taxes, Congress will have to have an affirmative vote of at least 55 to 60% to avoid my veto.

PLANNING FOR CIVIL AFFAIRS -- Get Ross and his team to join us.

Ross Perot is right in saying that there are civil affairs plans all over Washington, just waiting to be considered. The problem is sorting out those plans from the special interests of irresponsible persons. The U.S. Chamber of Commerce has a four section plan that could form a basis for discussion. The Arkansas/Tennessee plan has its flaws such as too strong environment controls. Also, the Arkansas plan if extended too far will burden the industrial States such as Michigan, Ohio, Texas and California, to support elaborate welfare programs in States like Arkansas and Mississippi.

How are we to analyse these conflicting plans and work out the details. Well, Gov. Clinton has suggested that Ross Perot should come to Washington as an advisor to the President.

Mr. Perot expertise in commerce, computer education, and perhaps communications are difficult to dispute. Whether Health, Environment or Interior affairs are equally strong points is difficult to ascertain. But, it seems fair to assume that Mr. Perot's offer to come to Washington and work for good government without salary is genuine. Anyone who would refuse to accept such an offer would be foolish. This is especially true since Mr. Perot has convinced a number of Americans that he could convince or otherwise get Congress to agree to passing a responsible cost saving budget. If he is willing to try this, let me be the first to welcome his efforts and aid him as much as possible in my position as President. If he can convince Congress to reduce the national debt only a fraction by cutting waste, he belongs on anybody's frontline team.

many Americans have convinced themselves that Mr. Perot will do what he says he can do. I'm willing to give him a chance in my administration. Mr. Perot will no doubt agree that the true nature of a man is his willingness to serve his country in whatever capacity he is called, without shirking, without dodging his duty, without haggling, without complaining that the duty is unworthy of his status. Therefore, I hereby ask Mr. Perot to join me in Washington, join me in keeping our country strong, noble and in renewing and invigorating our prosperity.

Sincerely Yours,

Walter Why



Alward Air Force One

November 2, 1992

Dear Nancy,

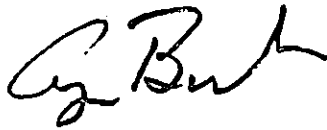
What an uplifting letter yours was! It touched me deeply. Barbara and I love the clown and, yes, it does make us smile. A special thanks to you, Tom, Shannon and Tommy for that great card.

Our train trip through Wisconsin was wonderful. The Chippewa Falls rally was spectacular and the fireworks were the icing on the cake. It was a nice way to end a perfect day on the campaign trail.

I can't tell you how honored I am that you will be casting your first vote for me. I promise I'll never betray the trust you and Tom have placed in me.

Good luck with "Nancy's Creations" and best personal regards to you and your family.

Sincerely,

Thanks so much!! 

Mrs. Tom Anderson
NANCY'S CREATIONS
625 Kimberly Drive
Chippewa Falls, Wisconsin 54729

Dear President & Mrs Bush

Hi, my name is Nam
Anderson, I'm 36 years old
married 17 years with 2
teenage children I have 1 son
My husband Tom drives
some for Mercedes-Benz
work day care in my home
and here things also were
that's just about it about
us.

I guess what I wanted
to say is, there is a lot of
us behind you with our
support and prayers.

I make them flowers
to give as gifts and also
steel, but I like to give
them to people to make
them smile and I can
just imagine how tired
you two are and maybe
that flower will make
you smile I know it
won't much, but it comes
with a lot of love and



Thank you again for
accepting my request and
making my job a truly
enriching experience. I am truly
grateful.

Respectfully,

Mary K. Anderson

P.S. Hope to see you
in Clipping Falls

Mr. President & Mrs. Bush,

WE think you're
doing terrific!

Love and Support,

Nancy & Tom
Shannon & Tommy
Anderson

Gas Kimberly Drive
Chippewa Falls, WI 54729

Every House has it's clown,
Please except this as your
White House Clown - as the
other "two" "Bozo's"
Should be Nowhere
to be found.

↙
This was from my
husband he really
loved your calling
the other 2 boys
and thought my
clown & make fit
right in.

You have our votes on Tuesday.

The Reliable Sou

By Lois Romano

The Monday Interview

David Pryor: A Real FOB

He's an Arkansan to the core, something it's smart to brag about these days. But most importantly, he is an authentic "FOB," and tomorrow—if all goes as he hopes—this man hits pay dirt.

Sen. David Pryor has been a "Friend of Bill" since the latter was a teenager handing out political leaflets on street corners in Little Rock and the former was first running for Congress. Fast-forwarding more than 25 years, it was Pryor who led a contingent of "Arkansas Travelers" to the snows of New Hampshire when Clinton's campaign hit the skids over Gennifer Flowers and the draft.

His tireless work in the vineyards can only benefit the senator if Clinton moves north and Pryor become the odds-on favorite to assume the role Paul Laxalt had in the Reagan years—the president's best friend in the Senate. Indeed, he is said to be much closer to Clinton than his Democratic colleague Sen. Dale Bumpers. It is Pryor who'll be expected to carry much of Clinton's water on what the candidate promises will be a furious legislative agenda starting right after Inauguration Day.

"The first thing I would do is advise all the lobbyists not to dare leave town," Pryor says. "It's going to be white-hot around here. Things are going to happen very quickly."

"Bill Clinton will be calling people at 2 in the morning to ask for their support. He works the phones. He is his own best personal advocate for his programs."

Pryor was a young, small-town lawyer when he first entered politics, successfully running for Congress in 1966. He quickly gained a reputation as one of the few liberal Southerners on the Hill, ardently supporting civil rights and integration.

He returned home after being elected governor in 1974, and was often confronted with news coverage dominated by his colorful wife. Barbara Pryor was promptly criticized for styling her hair in a "fro"—the popular, frizzed-out look of the times. Within a year a mini-scandal



Sen. David Pryor, counting the hours and hoping for the man from Hope.

erupted when she up and moved out of the Governor's Mansion and into a Little Rock apartment.

The couple and their three boys, however, were reunited long before he returned to Washington as a senator in '79.

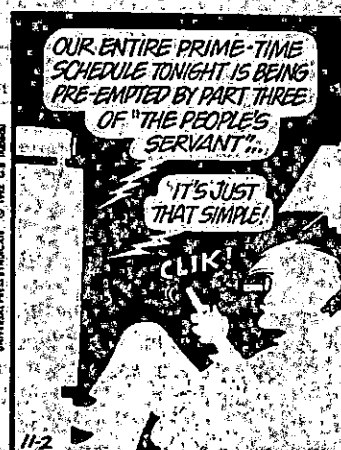
He has spoken openly of his heart attack last year, and friends say it has changed his perspective on life, but hasn't slowed him down much.

He won't get into who should get what job, except to joke that Clinton's iconoclastic political consultant James Carville should be considered for protocol chief. As far as his own future, Pryor dismisses talk that he could have any job he wanted.

"I have the best job there is. There's no job I want," he says. "But I would like a front seat to watch the parade go by."

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

Bill's Excellent Adventure

■ Several Yale classmates of Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly were kind enough to send us his jam-packed, name-dropping update for the October '92 class notes:

"We are still having fun three years into life in the Bush administration," Reilly writes. "All of us were with the President and Mrs. Bush the evening the bombs were falling on Baghdad and the Scud missiles on Israel. The Bushes seated Libbie [Reilly's wife] next to

Vaclav Havel at the recent state dinner for him. And I watched 'Sleeping With the Enemy' with Princess Diana while flying from Belem to London on Prince Charles's plane. So you see, it's not all sewers and Superfund sites."

We're thrilled for you, Bill.



Reilly, tales to tell.

Stumping for Doro's Dad

■ First Son-in-Law Bobby Koch, married to the president's daughter, Doro, is a bit suspect in some GOP circles, having long worked for Democrats. Koch, who now heads the Wine Institute's D.C. office, recounts a speech he gave to an industry group in Bakersfield, Calif.

"I told the I had worked on the Hill and

they booed," he said during President Bush's train trip across Wisconsin Saturday. "Then I told them I had worked for [former House Majority Whip Tony] Coelho and they booed more. Then I told them I had worked for [House Majority Leader Richard] Gephardt and the place went crazy. I thought they would throw me out."

He calmed the crowd down by saying he was now "just another Democrat for Bush."

WE'VE HEARD THAT

■ George Bush implied that he thought Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos had gotten priority treatment when his call got through to the president on "Larry King Live" Friday night—and he was right. Stephanopoulos called a producer mid-show to agitate about getting King to revisit Iran-contra. The producer in turn told

Stephanopoulos to call Bush himself and gave him a special number that put him ahead of all the other callers.

■ Canadian Ambassador Derek Burney is leaving his post to become a top executive at BCE, Canada's main telecommunications company.

■ The Dems are pulling out all the stops for heavy-hitters tomorrow. Clinton fund-raiser Nancy Jacobson is quarterbacking a direct American Airlines flight from National Airport to Little Rock, Ark., at 5 p.m. for VIPs (they pay), some of whom will be ferried from the airport straight to an exclusive election-night dinner party.

■ Sigourney Weaver says she's not taking any chances with an absentee ballot this year. In the area to film "Dave"—a political comedy—she'll fly back to New York tomorrow to vote. "New York has suffered and I think [Clinton] can help," she told us yesterday at a lunch here with media types.



Sigourney Weaver, voting on the fly.

BY DAVID GOTTSCHALK—ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

ing for the man from Hope.

He won't get into who should get what job, except to joke that Clinton's iconoclastic political consultant James Carville should be considered for protocol chief. As far as his own future, Pryor dismisses talk that he could have any job he wanted.

"I have the best job there is. There's no job I want," he says. "But I would like a front seat to watch the parade go by."

DOONESBURY



NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

BUSH AND CLINTON GO NONSTOP IN BATTLING FOR CRUCIAL STATES

PRESIDENT ATTACKS

Tax Policies and Actions to Avoid the Draft Are Raised Anew

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

STRATFORD, Conn., Nov. 1 — Raspy-voiced but outwardly ebullient, President Bush ended the weekend as he began it, banging away at Bill Clinton during a last-shot sweep of states he must win if he is to be re-elected.

In blustery Michigan, before cameras aboard Air Force One and on the airport tarmac in Connecticut, the President leveled new charges about Mr. Clinton's position on taxes and his handling of questions about his efforts to avoid military service as a young man.

Mr. Bush tried to rebut the clear impression that he is descending into a catch-up strategy of deeply negative campaigning in the race's final hours.

"We didn't invite that term, 'Slick Willie. We didn't invite it,'" he said at a rally of about 6,000 party workers at a professional basketball arena in the Detroit suburb of Auburn Hills. "It's come in from Arkansas; it was all through the Democratic primary. We are not going after his character, we're doing what Harry Truman is. We tell the truth, and they think it's hell. So be it."

Tough and Getting Tougher

But Bush aides acknowledged that the final hours of a bitter race are only likely to get more venomous — on both sides, they contended. And that Mr. Bush intends to place Mr. Clinton's character at the core of every speech from now until Tuesday.

"There isn't any campaign that's this close and this tough that won't be even tougher in the last couple days," Mr. Bush's campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter, said in an interview.

He argued, however, that the election has become in many ways a referendum on Mr. Clinton's honesty and integrity, and that it is Mr. Bush's job to persuade the public to vote "no."

"As people focus more and more on the idea of Clinton in the White House — Clinton as President — they're just not comfortable with it," he argued. "That's a national phenomenon, and the trick is to take advantage of it."

Raising New Questions

Mr. Bush made only two campaign stops today, a surprisingly light schedule with so few hours left. But that belied the ferocity of his message and the extent of his efforts to spread it.

Away from the campaign rallies, the President spent hours today before local and national television cameras

Continued on Page A12, Column 1



The Republicans

President Attacks His Rival On Tax Stance and the Draft

Continued From Page A1

making twin attacks on what his aides view as Mr. Clinton's weakest spots: his tax proposals, and his character.

In interviews in Detroit and aboard Air Force One, Mr. Bush raised new questions about Mr. Clinton's stated intentions to revive the economy by making a \$220 billion "investment" in new roads, advanced technology and other basic needs.

Today, the President charged that Mr. Clinton is concealing a different agenda. He cited a 1988 Newsweek magazine article in which Mr. Clinton was quoted as saying that "investment" is a term that can be used to make the unpalatable idea of a tax increase less objectionable to voters.

'His Own Words'

"Let me read you his own words," Mr. Bush said tonight before some 8,000 people at an airport rally in Stratford. "He said, 'There's a lot of evidence you can sell people on tax increases if they think it's an investment.' His own words reveal this duplicity. We're talking about investment, and he means tax increases."

In the Detroit suburb of Auburn Hills, as campaign aides handed out copies of a sworn statement to reporters, Mr. Bush said there is evidence that "friends" tried to advance Mr. Clinton's political career in the 1970's by demanding University of Arkansas records documenting his efforts to avoid military service during the Vietnam war.

"Listen, a lot of people oppose the war, and I understand that," Mr. Bush said. "The point is, there is a pattern of deception."

"Even today we have new evidence, an affidavit that when Governor Clinton first ran for office, his friends used special connections to seize his

R.O.T.C. file and destroy all others. He's got to level with the American people on this one."

In the affidavit, a retired Army colonel, Donald R. Cake, said that while he worked at the university's R.O.T.C. unit in 1973 or 1974, he was told that "representatives of Bill Clinton" had approached the unit's records clerk and demanded all documents in Mr. Clinton's file there.

Later, Mr. Cake swore, he and others in an R.O.T.C. staff meeting were told by the unit's commander, Col. Guy Tutwiler, that the clerk's account was accurate and that the R.O.T.C.'s regional headquarters had deferred a decision on whether to comply with the request. University officials had advised him to release the records, Mr. Cake swore.

Mr. Cake stated in the affidavit that he had decided to make his account public because Clinton campaign officials had called reports of the incident "hogwash."

For weeks, Mr. Bush has called on Mr. Clinton to make good on a promise made last April to release all records relating to his military service.

Today he repeated it, saying: "He has never done that to this day. He's waffling, and ducking."

Withdrew From Unit

At the time, Mr. Clinton was mounting his first political campaign, for the House of Representatives. Four years earlier, in 1969, Mr. Clinton had enrolled in the unit in an attempt to avoid the draft. He withdrew from the unit several months later, at a time when his risk of being drafted had declined considerably.

Mr. Bush was relying in part on a similar accusation in Saturday's Washington Times, a conservative newspaper that has attacked Mr. Clinton all year.

But in an interview before the Wash-

ington Times account appeared, James Davis, a retired U.S. Army colonel who ran the University of Arkansas R.O.T.C. program from mid 1974 to 1980, said that neither Mr. Clinton nor anyone else approached him for records regarding the Governor. He said that he was aware of an "eyes only" file that he inherited from Colonel Tutwiler. He said that he never opened the file nor was he or his predecessor to his knowledge ever asked to

turn the file over to anyone.

In Wisconsin early today for a television interview, Mr. Bush appeared subdued and a bit nettled after being told that one new poll, by CNN, showed him falling further behind Mr. Clinton. Mr. Teeter later challenged the poll, saying that other surveys and the campaign's own data show otherwise.

By the time he arrived in rainy, windy Detroit to stump at a rally in the Detroit Pistons' new arena, the Palace,

Mr. Bush had regained his smile. He punched the air time and again, grinning and pointing when listeners yelled encouragement. And ignored a hoarse growl in his voice to deliver a long, shouted sales pitch for his shrink-the-government agenda and against Mr. Clinton's record.

"There's been a little panic in Little Rock, because I think the goal that Bill Clinton has seen ever since he was studying away in Oxford might be slipping away from them," he said. "He's begun attacking my character, and I'd love to fight this one out."

Responding to a shout from the crowd, Mr. Bush laughed then and said, "Yeah, he is a character."

On Monday, his last day on the road, Mr. Bush will race through New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Louisiana on his way to an election eve reception in Houston, where he will await the returns on Tuesday.

On the Trail, the Contradictory Sides of Bush

By MAUREEN DOWD

Special to The New York Times

LA CROSSE, Wis., Nov. 1 — In the blue caboose where he was sipping tea to soothe his worsening cold, the President was somber.

It was Saturday morning at the start of a scenic train trip through Wisconsin. Barbara Bush was talking to two grandchildren, Sam and Ellie, and looking at presents from supporters. And Mr. Bush was speaking to Ron Kaufman, an aide who had come back to give him new poll numbers indicating that his surge was flattening after a day of news reports suggesting that he was more in the loop on the Iran-contra scandal than he had yet allowed.

Apparently oblivious to the news-

photographer in the room who later described the scene, Mr. Bush did not hide his vexation. He took off his baseball cap and tossed it on the table, and he and Mrs. Bush quizzed Mr. Kaufman about what the numbers meant.

Going Into Campaign Mode

But whenever he stepped out to the back of the train for rallies in Wisconsin farming towns, the President went into the campaign mode his friends call "jet propulsion."

The words tumbled out in a bracing, breathless aria of insults: "The Waffle Man, moving away from it all." "Governor Taxes and the Ozone Man." "Governor Clinton, over the last 24 hours, has been frantically flopping around like a bass on the side of the Arkansas River." "He smokes a little but he didn't inhale. Sure. Who believes that?" "A couple of yuppies dressed as moderates — watch your wallet." "Tell all those Washington — those kind of salon leaders." "These deadly talking heads." "When these instant replay guys come on the television, it doesn't matter what they say."

While Barbara Bush was on the train, Mr. Bush tried to exercise some

restraint. But as soon as she dropped off at dusk, the President began calling people "bozos" again.

"A new Congress is coming in," he told the crowd at his last stop in Chippewa Falls, his voice cracking as the words cascaded faster than ever, "so a lot of these bozos are going to be gone — excuse the expression."

Racing to finish, Mr. Bush truncated his litany of complaints about Bill Clinton's record in Arkansas and sim-

Continued on Page A12, Column 3



On the Trail, George Bush's Contradictory Sides

Continued From Page A1

ply barked, "And on and on and on."

In his final days on the campaign trail, it has been possible to see, in kaleidoscopic array, all the contradictory sides of George Bush: the endearing screwball charm; the cool determination to use whatever line of attack will work, even if Presidential dignity and factual accuracy are sometimes sacrificed; his desire to be seen as a decent man and his puzzlement when his rhetoric of resentment is taken too seriously; his elation at bashing critics and rivals, and his fatigue and frustration at having to justify his actions as President — and now as Vice President — when he feels he has done a good job and is far the superior candidate.

Mr. Bush treats his political persona with a certain good humor and theatrical distance, much like his grandchildren treated the Halloween costumes they wore as they cavorted through the train on Saturday evening. (Sam was a mouse and Ellie was a movie star who grandly assured reporters, as she held out her

An endearing charm, a ferocious message.

trick-or-treat bag, "Money is fine.")

It is as though the Bush campaign mask is an exaggerated behavior to put on in the right season to scare people into giving you what you want and what think you deserve.

The President offered a telling response last week, when he was quizzed in an "Ask George Bush" session in Columbus, Ohio, about his repeated warnings that Mr. Clinton's position on fuel economy levels would cost every Ohio auto worker his job. With a frankness disarming or alarming depending on your point of view, Mr. Bush replied: "I hope I didn't say all the auto workers. Maybe in a hyperbole or an exaggeration for a campaign I did."

As he opens a scare-attack on Mr. Clinton's character, he usually gives

a little laugh, a self-conscious signal to the audience that he is not as harsh a person as his ice-pick prose might suggest. He often grins his way through the worst of what he says. And in the midst of ranting against Mr. Clinton and Congressional leaders and the press, he sometimes throws in a congenial word about how he really likes them, except when they get in the way of his keeping his job.

His manner in his speeches is often strangely at odds with the blistering words.

"I believe that you've got to close your eyes, imagine in that dangerous situation an American leader without any experience, completely untested, a leader about whom literally we know very, very little," he ominously told a rally in Burlington, Wis., on Saturday. "And what we do know is this troubling pattern that I mentioned — this pattern of being on one side, pattern of indecisiveness."

Mr. Bush does not let assertions that he has prevaricated on taxes and the Iran-contra affair slow him down. As he told Larry King on a call-in television show in Racine, Wis., on Friday night, when Mr. King asked if he had ever lied to the public: "I don't believe so. I've said things that didn't work out to be true. I've meant things at the time that didn't work out."

Who? Me?

The President frequently seems taken aback if people judge him by or act on the words he says on the campaign trail. When some network cameramen ran into President Bush and his chief of staff, James A. Baker 3d, having dinner at a restaurant in Billings, Mont., a week ago, they told Mr. Bush that his press-bashing at rallies had incited some ugly incidents. They had been yelled at, yanked at, poked at and spit at by Bush supporters.

The President assured the "photodogs," as he likes to call them, that he had not meant anything personal. Characteristically, Mr. Bush did not fully appreciate the link between words and action, between his "red meat" lines and the resentful reaction of his supporters.

The next day, he began inserting a line, when he started railing against the media, that the press traveling with him should get "amnesty."

"Don't take it out on the cameramen," he told an audience in Michigan. "Some people get so excited there, they were jabbing the American flag into the back of these poor guys. These are the good guys."

Ignoring the Contradictions

Because it is just campaign "hyperbole," the President does not have to acknowledge the contradiction in making punching bags of some

groups — Congressional leaders, lobbyists and the press — that he had once assiduously courted, inviting them for barbecues, movies and state dinners.

And he sees no contradiction in complaining that this has been the ugliest campaign he has ever seen and in making own contribution to that: an endgame that focuses on zinging on character and trust rather than laying out a substantive plan for the future.

As he began one more day racing around the country, Mr. Bush sounded listless and sour in a CNN interview this morning, saying that the press coverage of this campaign had been the worst ever and refusing to explain why his account of his role in the Iran-contra affair was at such variance with the contemporaneous

The President grins during his harshest attacks.

notes of Caspar W. Weinberger, the former Secretary of Defense.

His aides were equally snappish. One Bush aide confronted a New York Times photographer and said of the Sunday paper: "Two Perot pictures. Two Clinton pictures. One Bush picture. Don't think we're not watching."

Two Sides of Baker

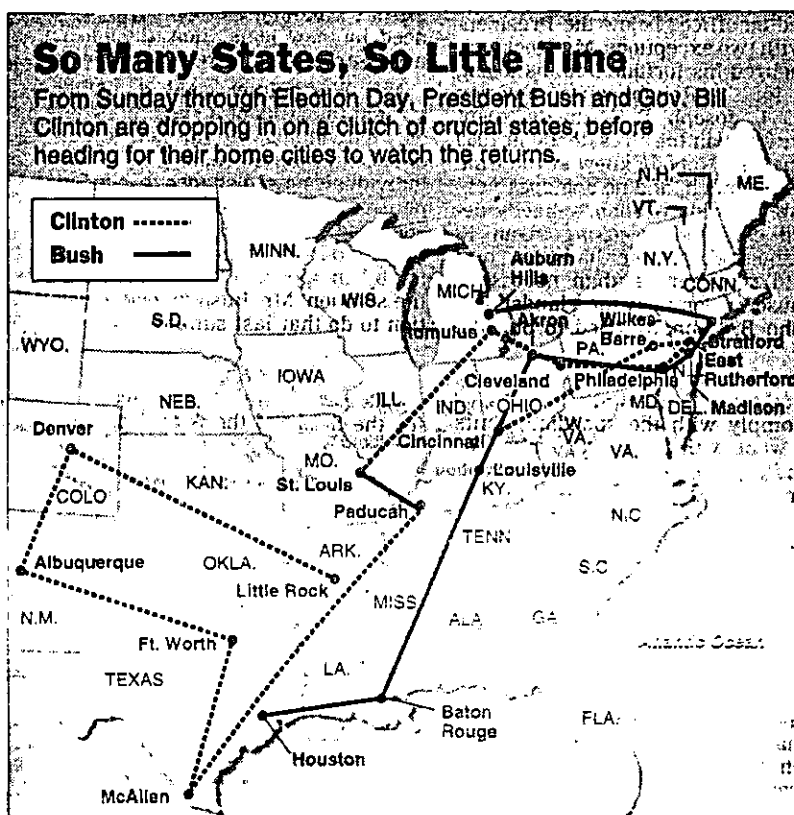
Although Mr. Baker, the man expected to work another political miracle this year, was spotted at moments on Saturday's train trip grimly staring out at the passing farms and autumn foliage, he was his usual debonair, unflappable self when he ventured out in public to watch the President's speeches.

At one point, waiting inside before a rally, Mr. Bush peered out of his train window and saw his old friend and talking to a cluster of reporters.

Mr. Bush grinned and moved his fingers in a pantomime of a chattering mouth.

Mr. Baker grinned back and went over to stand underneath the President's window. The chief of staff did his own pantomime back to the President, of a man bailing water out of a leaky boat. "He thinks I'm leaking," Mr. Baker laughingly told a reporter when he returned.

Asked if he would like a little more time in the campaign — a common lament among Bush staffers — Mr. Baker looked straight at the questioner and replied, "No."



The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

European Suppliers of Iraq Were Known to Pentagon

By DEAN BAQUET
with ELAINE SCIALINO

Four months before President Bush signed a secret order encouraging closer relations with Iraq, the Defense Intelligence Agency provided rich details of the network of European companies President Saddam Hussein used to buy technology that could upset the balance of military power in the Mideast.

A classified 1989 document illustrates how much information about Mr. Hussein's military ambitions and methods was available as the Administration was embarking on its policy of courting Iraq. It shows that United States intelligence knew that British tool-maker Matrix Churchill Corp., which had a branch in Solon, Ohio, played a major role in Iraq's weapons-buying program, yet did nothing to stop its operations.

Mr. Hussein used the company to buy seemingly innocent technology and equipment, then converted it for use in building a homegrown weapons industry, law enforcement officials said.

Did One Agency Tell Another

The existence and timing of the report raise the question of whether Mr. Hussein's arms-buying spree was aided by a lack of communication between United States intelligence agencies on the one hand, and export agencies and policy makers on the other.

It is not clear whether this June 1989 report, written more than one year before Iraq invaded Kuwait, made its way to top policy makers within the Administration, or the agencies that control exports. One Pentagon official familiar with the report, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said it was the kind of document that would be widely circulated among senior Pentagon officials.

If the report was passed on, it raises yet another question: In its pursuit of a closer relationship with Iraq, did Washington allow Iraqi-owned companies in the West to freely acquire weapons technology?

Parts of the June 1989 report, as well as a classified Nov. 6, 1989, report by the C.I.A., were described in broad terms in a floor statement last summer by Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat, as evidence that the Government had information about Mr. Hussein's arms network.

But other Administration and Government officials familiar with the report provided additional information about it, including the warnings about Mr. Hussein's growing power and aggressiveness.

The Administration has repeatedly asserted that it did nothing to encourage Mr. Hussein's military buildup, and that Iraq acquired Western arms technology by lying about the purpose of equipment it bought.

An Intelligence Source

But last week, documents made public in a trial in London revealed that the British Government knowingly allowed Matrix Churchill to buy arms-making equipment because two of the company's British executives were secretly informing it about Iraq's arms buildup. Rather than lose this source of intelligence, the British let the company buy equipment known to be destined to help Mr. Hussein build weapons.

Following disclosure of the documents in London, the Senate Intelligence Committee asked Robert M. Gates, Director of Central Intelligence, what Washington intelligence agencies knew about the relationship between Matrix Churchill and the British Government. Among other things, the committee wanted to know whether American intelligence also allowed the company to buy equipment for Iraq.

The report's warnings about Mr. Hussein mirror the criticism Democrats have leveled at the Bush Administration's policy toward Iraq. Though it is not known if the report was widely circulated, other evidence about Mr. Hussein's arms buildup was presented

to President Bush and senior policy makers during a 1989 National Security Council meeting called to discuss whether economic and political incentives could be used to change Mr. Hussein's behavior.

Richard J. Kerr, former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence, recalled that he told policy makers that Mr. Hussein had maintained his million-man army after the Iran-Iraq war and was already meddling with other countries in the region.

"I tried to give the sense that this guy was dangerous, that he had not changed his spots," Mr. Kerr recalled in a recent interview. "I also said that he had ambitions and that he was going to be dangerous. I don't think his military buildup was ever an issue. No one ever disagreed that he was involved in these weapons programs."

The report described more than a dozen companies in Western Europe as owned or controlled by Iraq. It said that during the latter part of the 1980-1988 war between Iran and Iraq, Matrix Churchill sold Iraq computerized lathes that were used to produce weapons, despite the company's assertion to British export authorities that they were machine tools intended for peaceful purposes. The report also linked the company's Ohio subsidiary to Mr. Hussein's arms network.

The report said secret procurement networks could help developing countries such as Iraq acquire chemical

A lack of contact between U.S. intelligence and export agencies?

and biological weapons and ballistic missiles. It added that such weapons in the hands of Iraq could pose a major threat to United States forces in the Middle East, and disrupt the balance of power in the region. It predicted that such secret networks would become more complex, hampering Western efforts to stop or limit the spread of military technology.

In the months after the reports were written, Matrix Churchill continued to buy Western arms-building technology. Pentagon officials now acknowledge that its Ohio-based subsidiary helped Iraq purchase parts to make howitzers through a Virginia-based supply company.

In addition to Matrix Churchill's Ohio operation, the report also portrayed at least one other United States-based businessman, Anees Mansour Wadi, an Iraqi national with a mansion in Beverly Hills, Calif., as integral to Mr. Hussein's arms-buying network in the West.

The June 1989 document identified Mr. Wadi as head of a British company the report said was buying ballistic missile technology for Iraq. The report said Iraq gained control of the firm between late 1987 and late 1988 and identified its ultimate master as Hussein Kamel al-Majid, Mr. Hussein's son-in-law and the man charged with supervising Iraq's arms buying network.

The Treasury Department seized the assets of Mr. Wadi's United States company, called Bay Industries, Inc., after Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait. Nonetheless, the Government has given Mr. Wadi permission to draw up to \$12,000 a month from his assets for living expenses.

Mr. Wadi's lawyers have said he is innocent of any crime, and has been financially devastated by the Government action.

All but Voiceless, Clinton Storms an Industrial Belt

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

WILKES-BARRE, Pa., Nov. 1 — Gov. Bill Clinton, nearly voiceless from laryngitis, opened a 48-hour drive today through Republican areas in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey in an effort to cripple President Bush in a crucial industrial belt.

"I may have lost my voice, but with your help on Tuesday, we will win a new day for America," Mr. Clinton told a bone-chilled crowd at the airport here today.

At one stop, Mr. Clinton spoke briefly

before ceding the microphone to his wife, Hillary. His shortest speech was 21 seconds in Cincinnati. But at the Wilkes Barre/Scranton International Airport, he spoke somewhat longer to lay out the theme of the day, promising to restore economic optimism and fairness to the White House.

'Race Between Hope and Fear'

"Don't forget there have been a lot of charges and countercharges and ups and downs, but when you strip it all away this election is a race between hope and fear, between the courage to

change and the comfort of the status quo," he croaked. "Between those who say things are fine and those of us who believe that we can do better, that America deserves better and that starting on Tuesday, with your help, it will be a new day for this country."

Mr. Clinton's speaking voice was so bad that supporters at a tailgate party before a pro football game in Cincinnati winced when he tried to speak.

"I want you to remember," he said, just before giving the microphone to

Continued on Page A14, Column 1



The Democrats

All but Voiceless, Clinton Storms On

Continued From Page A1

his wife, "we've fought for a year. We've got two days to go. Fight on."

Mrs. Clinton followed the same course, urging supporters to vote and saying a vote for her husband would "bring this country together."

Mr. Clinton seems bent on portraying himself as a demon for work during the final days of his candidacy, even though a final round of pre-election polls showed his lead over President Bush stabilizing two days before Tuesday's voting.

Aides said he has worked well into the morning hours for the past few days and will take his entourage of three chartered jets more than two-thirds of the way across the country tomorrow and early Tuesday.

Perhaps because he could no longer voice his criticism of the Bush Administration, Mr. Clinton's campaign stops began to take on the aura of pep rallies today, as he turned up his overcoat collar against the chill, worked the crowds and played an impromptu, energetic game of touch football with an aide in a parking lot outside Riverfront Stadium in Cincinnati.

Pop Music and V Signs

At the airport here, to underscore his point about optimism, the Democrat's advance staff played a selection of 1990's pop music, including Paula Abdul's "Promise of a New Day."

Everywhere Mr. Clinton traveled today, he was greeted by supporters holding up two fingers in the traditional V-for-victory sign and chanting, "Two more Days!"

Meanwhile, Mr. Clinton's running mate, Senator Al Gore of Tennessee, spent his part of his final weekend of campaigning in Wisconsin's Chippewa Valley, where he told farmers at a breakfast meeting: "We have the capacity to rise above the limitations they tell us we have. They say it could be worse. We say it can be better."

Mr. Gore closed the speech, delivered in a big, cold barn, by saying that in deciding how to vote Tuesday, "you can pick the course for America's future, you can become part of the change you want to bring about."

Polls Produce Relief

Paul Begala, a senior Clinton strategist, predicted that there would be a "massive turnout" on Tuesday, as support for the Governor begins to solidify into the margin of victory that they hope will deal a dismissive blow to President Bush.

Mr. Clinton and his staff seemed

A last-ditch struggle to cripple Bush in an industrial belt.

relaxed, if not rested, during the campaign's final days. They also seemed greatly relieved that their lead appeared to be strengthening.

"There's an emerging consistency in the polls," press secretary Dee Dee Myers said.

One aide, Bruce Lindsey, said he expected Mr. Clinton to be relaxed enough to catch up on his sleep after voting on Election Day, when he returns to Little Rock after 29 hours of straight campaigning. "He's a lot less hyper than a lot of us about knowing the numbers every minute," Mr. Lindsey said.

Skeleton of a Speech

Mr. Clinton's voice, which seemed to strengthen slightly as the day wore on, lent some unintended levity to the campaigning. "I'm doing my Lauren Bacall," he confided to a reporter Saturday night as he prepared to tape the half-hour election eve program that

will air Monday night.

And in Pennsylvania today Senator Harris D. Wofford, sounding hoarse himself, told the crowd that Mr. Clinton "has given his voice to the nation and to you and to me."

Reporters who are used to clocking Mr. Clinton's stump speeches at just under an hour, noted that his talk here lasted a scant three minutes and four seconds.

"I want to ask you in the closing days of the campaign to remember that this is a big election about big issues," he told the crowd. "I got into this race because I was tired of seeing the people of my state, who are a lot like you, work harder for less. I was tired of seeing 100,000 Americans a month lose their health insurance. I was tired of seeing America squander its opportunities and run the risk of raising the first generation of Americans to do worse than our parents."

"It does not have to be that way. I have worked for a year. Now bring it home on Tuesday so we can lift this country."

The crowd, eager to hear Mr. Clinton speak after waiting for an hour in 40-degree weather, groaned aloud when Mr. Wofford offered to tell them "a little story" about his relationship with Mr. Clinton. But they cheered when he linked their candidate's campaign to their region's plight.

"He has been through the hottest fire American politics has ever had to test somebody," Mr. Wofford said. "And he's come out like fine-tempered Pennsylvania steel."

Mr. Clinton began his day at the Tryed Stone Baptist Church in Cincinnati by asking the Rev. Anderson Culbreath for prayers. "Oh God, you know the schedule," Mr. Culbreath prayed. The choir sang the gospel standard "I Don't Feel No Ways Tired."

On Monday, Mr. Clinton will undertake a nine-state, 4,100-mile campaign blitz, beginning at 7 a.m. in Philadelphia and ending at 10 a.m. Tuesday with his return to Little Rock.

AIDS Panel Head Calls U.S. Efforts Inadequate

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1 (AP) — Government spending on AIDS research is almost adequate, the chairwoman of the National AIDS Commission says, but the Bush Administration has devoted far too little effort to prevention and care for AIDS victims.

"People are literally dying in the streets," said Dr. June E. Osborn, chairman of the panel that was appointed by Congress and the President to be the Government's conscience for the epidemic, which has already killed more than 152,000 Americans.

"This is going to get very, very big," Dr. Osborn said. "It seems big now, but you ain't seen nothing yet."

A Democratic appointee to the commission, Dr. Osborn said she had tried to keep herself and the panel away from partisan politics. She recently declined a request to make a campaign appearance with Gov. Bill Clinton.

In the Public Eye

But the commission, which is set to go out of business next fall, has kept itself in the public eye, often scolding the Government for not doing more or acting faster. The centerpiece of its work was a 1991 report listing 30 recommendations for dealing with the epidemic.

Many of the recommendations involved making health care available and affordable, establishing a national plan for handling acquired immune deficiency syndrome and promoting AIDS education.

In the nine months after they issued the recommendations, members of the commission met with President Bush and the Health and Human Services Secretary, Louis W. Sullivan, urging them to take action. Finally, they issued a statement calling the Administration's response "woefully inadequate." They said Mr. Bush and Dr. Sullivan had failed in critical areas of leadership, including the development of a national plan and support for health care.

The Government's role falls into three areas: prevention, care and research, Dr. Osborn said. "We're doing close to O.K. in one of the three and nowhere near O.K. in the other two," she said in an interview.

The only area in which she says the Government's efforts are close to ade-

quate is research, where the Administration has asked for some \$1.2 billion.

Repeatedly during the Presidential campaign, President Bush has said the Government is spending more than four times that much on AIDS. "He's got that unpleasantly wrong," Dr. Osborn said. "It may be inadvertent, but it's distorting."

What the President fails to point out, she said, is that much of the spending he mentions, including items like Medicaid and Social Security benefits, is beyond his control.

The commission's vice chairman, Dr. David E. Rogers, has already criticized the Administration's response. And Magic Johnson left the commission in September, saying the Administration had "utterly ignored" the panel's recommendations.

After three years of complaining about what needs to be done, commission officials shrug when asked to name just one instance in which the Administration has taken their advice.



Peter Yates, 1988

"People are literally dying in the streets," said Dr. June E. Osborn, the chairwoman of the National AIDS Commission.

Now they are turning their attention to the next administration. If Mr. Bush is defeated, the commission will wait only two weeks before sending the new President advice on what he should do about AIDS during his first 100 days.

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Rocking the Vote

Twenty-one years ago, Congress passed the 26th Amendment giving 18-year-olds the right to vote. Unfortunately, younger voters haven't had much impact on Presidential politics since then. In the last election, only a third of all those 18 to 24 voted. The music channel MTV, the Public Broadcasting System and the Fox network therefore deserve praise for their innovative efforts to build registration among young voters.

MTV alone has registered 100,000 young people with its "Choose or Lose" campaign. It has also interviewed candidates, discussed issues of concern to younger voters, explained the electoral process and offered a political

primer on terms like "spin doctor" and "flesh pressing."

Senator Al Gore answered questions that ranged from the economy to his views on homosexuality. MTV also presented a profile called "Facing the Future With Bill Clinton." Today, MTV reporter Tabitha Soren is scheduled to meet with President Bush.

A PBS show called "Why Bother Voting?" began in September as part of the network's election-year coverage. It uses young comedians. Fox's "Rock the Vote," which also began in September, features popular young musicians and other celebrities.

The purpose is to make voting hip. But maybe something more than "temporarily hip" will eventually emerge — an entire generation committed to political participation.

Television

Projected Network Loser In Presidential Race: CBS

By BILL CARTER

The Presidential race will not be decided until tomorrow, but among the networks vying for political advertising revenue, the returns are already in. The winners included ABC, NBC and CNN; the loser is CBS.

The intense interest in this year's Presidential election has many more people watching television news and talk shows and has generated far more revenue from political commercials than any network executive expected before the year began.

The benefits of the additional interest in the race have not been equally distributed. The political coverage has produced some clear winners, including NBC's "Today" show, which has regained its position as the highest-rated of the network morning shows; CNN's "Larry King Live," which became the candidates' favorite television rendezvous, and the ABC network in general, which dominated the ratings for the debates and solidified its standing as viewers' favorite for news.

On the down side, CBS lost some ratings for its news coverage and some revenue, thanks to debates' taking place during the recent baseball playoffs and World Series and CBS's own decision on how it would sell advertising time this fall.

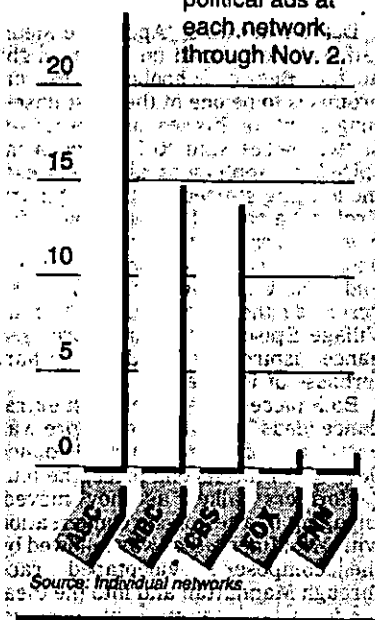
ABC's Advantage

As in most other competitive areas involving the Presidential race, ABC had an advantage in political revenue. Including the last round of political commercials tonight, ABC will take in a bit more than \$24 million from political ads, six times the amount the network had projected it would receive. That compares with \$15 million at NBC, \$14 million at CBS and just over \$1 million on Fox.

(Far less money was spent on ca-

The Voting Season

\$25 million
Revenues from political ads at each network through Nov. 2



Source: Individual networks

The New York Times

ble channels, but even there revenue was unexpectedly high. A spokeswoman for the Turner networks, which include CNN, said his organization considered its more than \$1 million in political ad revenue a significant success.)

For the networks, the biggest and most pleasant surprise, of course, was Ross Perot and his well-heeled campaign, which he conducted almost exclusively on television. He set standards for the purchase of half-

Continued on Page D8



Television

Campaign '92 Already Has A Loser: CBS

Continued From First Business Page

hour and full-hour political infomercials and added greatly to the totals for 30- and 60-second political commercials.

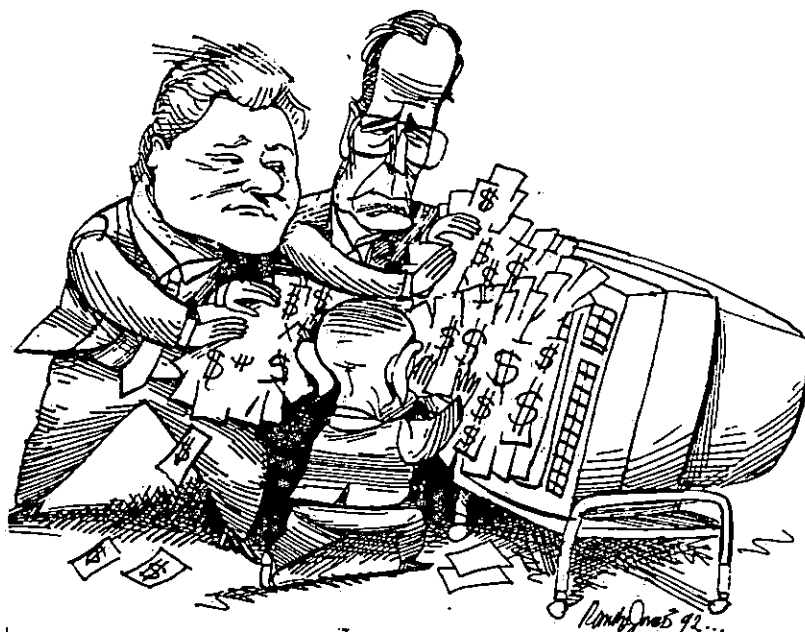
An ABC spokesman said another important factor was the Bush campaign's desperate straits during September. "When Bush was behind in 47 states," he said, "it became crucial to him to buy network political advertising instead of local spots."

A candidate with more even support would probably have spent far more of his advertising budget in local television markets, ABC's spokesman said. Indeed, Gov. Bill Clinton, who enjoyed that wider support through most of the race, spent the least amount of money on network television.

But Peter Lund, executive vice president of CBS's Broadcast Group, said the political cash still did not qualify as a windfall, at least not at his network. He said CBS had to give up about \$18 million in ad revenue to make room for the \$14 million it has picked up in political commercials. "We're not going to make that money back," Mr. Lund said.

He said CBS had sold almost all its fourth-quarter advertising time while ABC and NBC had time unsold that they could sell to the politicians. The advantage for the other networks in selling political time, he said, was that it would tighten prices on the remaining inventory of commercials in this quarter, which may mean they will not have to cut prices at all.

"We would never have had to drop



Randy Jones

our prices because we were all but sold out," Mr. Lund said.

CBS also finished last in the ratings for the debate coverage and saw its weeknight newscast ratings fall off in mid-October. The culprit: baseball. Because it was committed to broadcast the playoffs, CBS did not cover the first Presidential debate at all and then cut short the analysis that followed two other debates. The newscasts lost ground because they were pre-empted in West Coast cities during the playoffs and World Series.

Though CBS will suffer no immediate financial loss from the situation, Mr. Lund said the network could be hurt long term if its news ratings drop. "Consistency pays off in news," he said. "All those pre-emptions for baseball were not helpful."

In contrast, ABC's news division has performed strongly during the political race. The network easily won each rating competition during the debates and is heavily favored to dominate tomorrow night's coverage of the election results. (ABC happens

to be the strongest network on Tuesday night anyway, which usually means that more initial viewers will tune in out of weekly habit.)

ABC executives decline to disclose ad prices. But Cynthia Ponce, the vice president of news sales for ABC, said the network was confident enough of scoring well on election night that it has charged advertisers about twice as much as either other network for commercial time tomorrow night. "We've had a big edge through the political season," Ms. Ponce said, "and we've been able to sell that advantage."

NBC News also expects some long-term benefits from its political coverage. The "Today" show has used a strong showing during the campaign to re-establish an image as the morning show that handles hard news best. And the network's Sunday morning interview program "Meet The Press" expanded to a full hour from a half hour during the campaign with great success. Its ratings have grown 35 percent from last year.

In Arkansas Toxic Waste Cleanup, Highlights of New Environmental Debate

By KEITH SCHNEIDER
Special to The New York Times

JACKSONVILLE, Ark., Oct. 28 — A fence and barbed wire are all that separate this working-class city from the rusted tanks and tons of toxic wastes at the abandoned Vertac Chemical Company pesticide plant.

For more than 30 years, Vertac's operators scattered thousands of steel barrels on the 93 acres surrounding the plant, each barrel filled with the byproducts of a panoply of agricultural poisons now outlawed as unsafe: the insect killers DDT, aldrin, dieldrin and toxaphene and the defoliants silvex, 2,4,5-T and Agent Orange.

After preliminary testing of the site found evidence of a poison considered even more dangerous — dioxin — Federal and state investigators went to Jacksonville in 1979 and found extensive dioxin contamination, not only at the plant, but also in water and soil several hundred yards away.

Vertac has since gone out of business, but its wastes and what to do about them have dominated civic debate here and consumed Gov. Bill Clinton and his aides in Little Rock, 15 miles to the southwest. And what has become clear from all the discussion is this: some environmental groups now say that some techniques used in toxic waste cleanups may be as damaging to the public health — or perhaps more so — than simply storing the wastes.

Mr. Clinton, who has overseen the investigation and cleanup at Vertac for most of the last 13 years, gave final approval on Tuesday to a plan to burn the chemical wastes in an incinerator in what would be the largest cleanup ever undertaken in the United States. But two days later, even as the burning began, a Federal district judge in nearby Batesville took control of the pro-

Opponents of a project ask if the cure is worse than the disease.

gram and ordered the incineration temporarily stopped on Nov. 10 to give scientists time to review the results of safety tests.

If the Vertac project resumes, some two million pounds of wastes from the manufacture of Agent Orange, containing 50 to 100 pounds of dioxin, will be burned by January. Critics say the project could cause a public health disaster here, while supporters defend Mr. Clinton's decision, saying it would permanently rid Jacksonville of Vertac's poisons.

Is the Cure Worse?

The dispute here offers a lesson in one of the troubling inconsistencies of the modern environmental movement. More than a decade ago, after the discovery of toxic waste pollution in the Love Canal neighborhood near Niagara Falls, N.Y., environmental groups warned of thousands of abandoned toxic waste sites around the country. Congress responded by passing new laws to control hazardous wastes.

Now, many of these same groups are battling just as hard to slow or halt the cleanups. Among the national environmental groups that have helped opponents here are Greenpeace and the National Toxics Campaign, a Boston group.

Unfavorable publicity about the Vertac project contributed to Mr. Clinton's reputation as a leader with a less than sterling environmental record, his

aides said. "He's been beaten up pretty bad over this," said Kenneth L. Smith, Mr. Clinton's top environmental adviser.

Because of the extent of the contamination at the plant and its location so close to Jacksonville's center, the Environmental Protection Agency regards the Vertac site as among the most dangerous toxic waste sites in the country. Along with the 2,700 barrels of wastes contaminated with dioxin, tens of thousands more barrels remain to be dug up and disposed. Cleanup work has already cost \$24 million and could continue here for another decade at a total cost of \$200 million, according to the latest estimate.

Arguing for Rule Changes

The Vertac project has become typical of toxic cleanups around the country in which the costs escalate amid interminable delays caused by Federal rules aimed at gaining public trust. Mr. Smith said the Governor believed that unless changes were made in the rules and the public began to accept some degree of risk, either fewer toxic-waste cleanup projects could proceed or ever larger sums of taxpayer money would be siphoned from the Government's budget for all environmental programs.

More than \$11 billion in Federal funds are now spent annually to restore lands spoiled by chemical and radioactive wastes. According to Federal budget documents, the program is by far the fastest growing segment of the nation's environmental budget.

Officials in the Environmental Protection Agency, the Energy Department, the Defense Department and the Nuclear Regulatory Commission agree that the Government lacks enough money to conduct the thousands of cleanups now scheduled without altering Federal rules and changing public expectations.

Escalating costs and interminable delays plague cleanups.

In Jacksonville, the principal source of public concern has been the existence of dioxin, a chemical byproduct of heating chlorine-based chemicals. The hazards of dioxin are now a matter of considerable scientific dispute and are under evaluation by the E.P.A.

A Measure of Hyperbole

But opponents of the incineration project here, who have done excellent investigative work tracking the state's progress, have used a healthy measure of hyperbole to raise questions about how the burning of the Vertac wastes will affect residents. They assert that immune system disorders, sudden infant deaths, birth defects, breast cancer and other illnesses will result if the dioxin-contaminated wastes are burned here.

One resident, Sharon Golgan, described her work leading the opposition in an interview this week. "We are out to stop this project any way we can," she said. "We've found them lying to us about how good this incinerator is in destroying dioxin. And we've seen enough sickness in this community to make us worried about what they are doing to us."

To a counter such criticism, Mr. Smith said, Governor Clinton has periodically visited Jacksonville and ordered his health department to review accusations that the wastes are causing illnesses. In 1985, after a Jacksonville family said poisons from the plant might have killed their infant son and

caused an older child to develop seizures, Mr. Clinton asked the state health department and the Federal Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta to investigate. Both, according to Thomas McChesney, the state epidemiologist, "found nothing."

In 1986, state health authorities collected urine samples from 100 children in Jacksonville and 100 samples from children in Conway, Ark., which does not have a chemical plant. The study found that children in both communities had similar levels of chlorine-based compounds in their urine. All of the pesticides made at Vertac were derived from chlorinated chemicals.

In 1990, Governor Clinton gained Federal support for a new round of

health studies in Jacksonville, the first phase of which has been completed but not yet released to the public. Ms. Golgan and other residents say the public disclosure of the results is being delayed until after the election because of the damaging information they say the study may contain. Mr. McChesney and other state officials denied that, saying that the study is being reviewed by other scientists, a normal procedure.

"The Governor always kept the goal in mind of doing something to eliminate the threat out there," Mr. Smith said. "He kept at it because he always felt that leaving the wastes just sitting there was the worst thing that could happen."

New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Chronicle

■ An ensemble will weigh in against President
Bush ■ Recognizing the Agnellis as
extraordinary stewards of heritage.

Once more a musical ensemble will raise its collective voice in song, inspired by the election, when an impromptu group calling itself the Women of Substance Chorale assembles at noon today across from the White House to serenade President Bush with farewell songs. Or at least they hope it will be farewell.

The effort is an offshoot of the Getting It Gazette, a feminist newsletter distributed at both nominating conventions and three times since. "They keep saying that the fat lady hasn't sung," said JANE O'REILLY, a founder of the gazette and an organizer of the singing. "Actually she hasn't sung for about a decade. The fat lady is a feminist and has a voice of her own. She will raise it for all the women candidates who will win on Tuesday."

Explaining the group's name, BARBARA PARKER, a public-relations executive in Washington and a leader of the event, said there was no minimum weight for participants. "But if a skinny little thing wants to be in it, we'll pad her," she said.

Last week more than 100 women, calling themselves the Clintones, got together to record songs to benefit the campaign of Gov. BILL CLINTON.

MATILDA CUOMO will make the welcoming remarks and HENRY A. KIS-

SINGER will present the honors when GIOVANNI AGNELLI, the chairman of Fiat, and his wife, MARELLA, receive the Hadrian Award of the World Monuments Fund today. The award, for fostering appreciation and preservation of art and architecture, will be given to the Agnellis at a luncheon in the Pierre Hotel.

Through Fiat, Mr. Agnelli has helped save such imperiled Italian buildings as the Palazzo Grassi in Venice and the Palazzo d'Azeglio in Turin. Mrs. Agnelli spearheaded the development of FAI, a national trust for historically significant buildings and landscapes.

"What is unusual is that rarely do prizes go to a Mr. and Mrs., who, each in their own right, have a very real claim on an award of this distinction," said J. CARTER BROWN, a trustee of the World Monuments Fund and director emeritus of the National Gallery of Art in Washington. "Venice is the first thing everyone thinks of in terms of needing help in preservation, and they have led the way there and elsewhere."

Some 500 people are expected at the luncheon, among them BUNNY MELLON, BARBARA WALTERS, LEE IACocca, I.M. PEI, ANGIER BIDDLE DUKE, KATHARINE GRAHAM and AMALIA LA-CROZE de FORTABAT.

NADINE BROZAN

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Would Clinton Have to Fight Greenspan Over a Stimulus?

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1 — Gov. Bill Clinton and Alan Greenspan have been circling each other warily for weeks now. If the Democratic nominee becomes the President-elect, they might start wrestling.

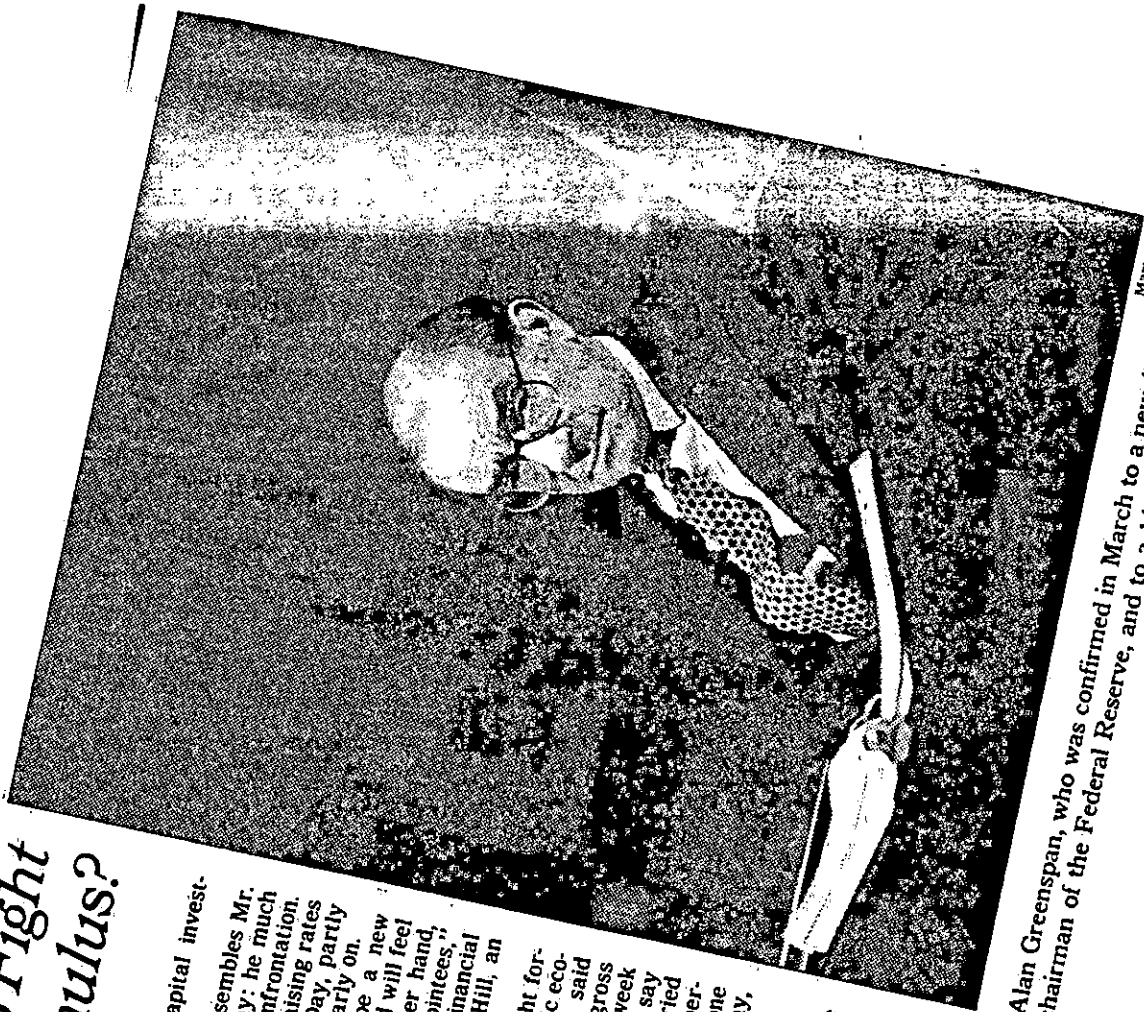
Then again, they might not. Many people who might not move to parse the Fed's every word see inevitable conflict between a Clinton drive to turbocharge the economy and the central bank's mandate to keep inflation in check.

They predict an interest rate increase soon after Inauguration Day. Pressures on a Democratic President for a stimulus package are expected to be intense, and Mr. Greenspan said as long ago as January, when President Bush proposed a modest collection of growth measures, that he thought such steps would do more harm than good.

But people familiar with the way both men operate find another sequence of events equally plausible.

Yes, a Clinton Administration would undoubtedly want to burst, not crawl, out of the starting blocks as far as economic growth is concerned. And yes, the Fed fears that the economy is still struggling to reduce their debt burdens. Another consideration is that not

Continued on Page D5



Alan Greenspan, who was confirmed in March to a new 4-year term as chairman of the Federal Reserve, and to a 14-year term on its board.

Marty Kahn

Would Clinton and Greenspan Fight?

Continued From First Business Page

cutting could backfire. "The longer the Fed waits to use monetary policy, the more it invites a greater fiscal response later on," said Henry Kaufman, who heads his own economics consulting firm in New York.

Mr. Kaufman argues that further cuts are needed to strengthen growth. And if the Fed lowered short-term rates today, that could help housing starts and tug downward on long-term rates.

But then again, forgoing a cut in rates now might make it easier for the governors to avoid raising them early next year.

One thing is certain: if Mr. Clinton is elected, monetary policy will no longer be the only economic policy-making game in town.

Another sure thing is that Mr. Greenspan, who was confirmed to a new four-year term as chairman as well as a full 14-year term on the Fed's seven-member board in March, will raise rates faster if a Clinton Administration enthusiastically embraces fiscal stimulus. The Fed, like the bond market, would have a stronger reaction to a \$75 billion program than to a \$35 billion one.

"I think the Fed will be treading water during the first six months of 1993," said David M. Jones, chief economist at Aubrey G. Lanston & Company. "But in the second half, when the effects of fiscal stimulus will begin to show up, then the prospect would be likely that they'll tighten."

Trying to Influence the Fed

To keep the Fed from stepping on the monetary brakes, Mr. Clinton and his lieutenants would doubtless be working overtime in their first few months in office to persuade the Fed not to fret about stimulus because the

The Fed might see stimulating the economy as an inflation threat.

economy is so lackluster. And if the governors dug in, then the Clinton Administration would probably borrow a page from President Bush's playbook and put pressure on them behind the scenes.

"An aggressive Administration, eager to get the economy going, normally puts pressure on the Fed to do their bidding," said Scott E. Pardee, a former Fed official who is chairman of Yamaichi International America.

For now, the Arkansas Governor and the Fed have both been paying close attention to the markets — the politician because he wants to reassure them and the central bankers because they look closely at inflationary expectations to help determine how to jigger interest rates. And recently the prices of long bonds have fallen, partly because investors believe that Mr. Clinton will win and adopt more expansionary policies than President Bush.

Allan Meltzer, an economics professor at Carnegie-Mellon University, argues that the Fed should not hesitate to roll out the heavy artillery if it sees price stability under assault. Professor Meltzer, a well-known inflation hawk, said, "It would be the height of folly for the Fed, having paid the heavy cost of bringing inflation down, to run the risk that inflation be allowed to creep upward again."

Perhaps fearful of criticism that he is not serious about cutting the defi-

cit, Governor Clinton has shied away from embracing fiscal stimulus. But his aides admit that if the economy is weak early next year, he may back stimulus, insisting that this would be tied to a stringent, long-term plan to cut the deficit.

The one high-profile statement Mr. Clinton has made about the central bank pleased Fed officials. During the first Presidential debate, on Oct. 11, he said, "Their policies so far, it seems to me, are pretty sound."

Noting that the Federal Reserve has cut rates two dozen times, Gene Sperling, economic issues coordinator for the Clinton campaign, said, Mr. Clinton "thinks there haven't been major problems with Federal Reserve policy."

"He feels the Fed is not at the heart of our economic problems," Mr. Sperling said.

Whether Mr. Clinton will still feel that way a year or two into a Presidential term is another question.

Toshiba's Price Cuts

By The Associated Press

The Toshiba Corporation says it will cut prices on some of its portable computers by 14 percent to 25 percent, effective today. The move follows months of price cutting by other leading makers of personal computers. The Toshiba models will now carry list prices of \$2,199 to \$7,499. Toshiba said the actual selling prices would be below those of comparable models from the Compaq Computer Corporation and I.B.M. Toshiba also said it would introduce its first portable computer in the United States that is controlled by writing on its screen with a special pen instead of typing on a keyboard.

An Odd Aircraft's Tenacity Shows Difficulty of Cutting Arms Budget

By LOUIS UCHITELLE

For years the Defense Department has denounced the V-22 Osprey, an aircraft that takes off like a helicopter but flies like a plane, as impractical and unaffordable. Two of the five prototypes have crashed. But the department continues to finance the plane anyway. And now with the election approaching, both President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton, along with members of Congress, have committed themselves to building this hugely expensive plane — illustrating how maddeningly difficult it is for the nation to cut its military spending.

Though the cold war is over, new

weapons like the Osprey, the giant C-17 transport plane or a proposed new aircraft carrier seem to have taken on lives of their own. If these weapons go into full production, they will add tens of billions of dollars in the 1990's to the military budget, now nearly \$290 billion a year.

Business as Usual

It is, in many ways, business as usual despite the changed times, as the maneuvering behind the Osprey seems to make clear.

"We can still get a program like this by overpromising on performance and underestimating future costs," said Franklin D. Spinney, a Defense Department program analyst, who is critical of his own department as well as military contractors. "You spread subcontracts around the country, so that it is hard for Congress to pull back. You get Congress and the President locked in. And we at the Pentagon then accept programs that do not meet specifications."

Even Defense Secretary Dick Cheney has said the Osprey is too costly and offers too little improvement over a conventional helicopter for transporting troops and equipment. On several occasions he has declined to spend the money that Congress appropriated for the aircraft. "I remain convinced that we can find lower-cost alternatives to satisfy the needs of the armed forces," he wrote Congress as recently as July.

Yet Mr. Cheney, bowing to pressures from Congress, the Pentagon and the

Continued on Page D4, Column 1



Aircraft's Political Support Increases

Continued From Page A1

weapons manufacturers, agreed last week to release money so that development of the Osprey could continue. Mr. Clinton describes the Osprey, with its wing-tip engines that tilt up 90 degrees for takeoffs and landings, as an outstanding example of weapons technology worth the price because of future civilian applications.

The Pressure

Deluging Congress With Letters

Much of the pressure to keep such costly projects going, even when their usefulness is questioned, comes from the contractors whose factories might have to close without them. In the case of the Osprey, they are Boeing Helicopter in suburban Philadelphia and Bell Helicopter Textron in Fort Worth.

In 1988 Boeing was so confident that the Defense Department would buy nearly 700 Ospreys that it bought a huge field next to its blue-and-gray factory complex along the Delaware River to expand its production line. The factory, with 6,800 employees, five cafeterias and private medical, police and firefighting teams, is the crown jewel of the company's military and space group.

Boeing and Bell also spread the work around, subcontracting 50 percent of the parts to nearly 2,000 companies in more than 40 states. Grumman on Long Island, for example, has made the prototype tail section; General Electric in Binghamton, N.Y., the flight control system, and Bendix in

Eatontown, N.J., the electric generator.

But the progress and costs of the project were not encouraging. The two crashes, in 1990 and last summer, did not help, and the Defense Department held up the money and stopped the work.

Now underbrush chokes the empty field and Boeing says that if it does not get to build Ospreys, or some other new weapon, the Philadelphia complex could be closed or drastically cut back by the year 2000.

Supporting Military Contractors

"We are looking for anything that might sustain us and fit with our military business," said B. Dan Pinick, president of the Boeing military and space group.

Currently, the assembly line is crowded with old Army Chinook helicopters being rebuilt and upgraded. But this multibillion-dollar work will run out in five or six years.

So Boeing and Bell lobbied intensely to build the Osprey.

The subcontractors let their representatives in Congress know that the Osprey would generate local jobs. Grumman's Washington lobbyists, for example, called on members of Congress from New York and the South and reminded them that the Osprey's tail sections — nine have been made so far for \$15 million — were produced at plants on Long Island and in the South. "I would venture to say that these visits are quite normal," said Renso L. Caporali, chairman of Grumman.

Boeing Helicopter concentrated on Congressional committees that vote on military spending bills. "You brief the members on the V-22 program and explain why it is needed and define and delineate for them where the subcontractors are," said Robert Torgerson, a Boeing spokesman.

Sometimes the presentation is quite graphic. Mr. Spinney said General Dynamics, trying to sustain financing for the F-16 jet fighter, had sent a letter last month to each member of Congress, with a map showing every Congressional district in a given state "and the amount of money going to those districts and the number of subcontractors in each district."

"What military contractors do is carpet bomb Congress with letters like this," he said.

Such tactics pay off. Mr. Cheney released the money, and on Oct. 23, Vice President Dan Quayle told thousands of Boeing employees in Philadelphia that the awkward-looking Osprey would go ahead. Four more prototypes are to be built in a final stage before production.

The Tactics

Making Projects Too Costly to Halt

The Osprey has already cost \$3.6 billion since efforts began to develop it in 1986. And Mr. Cheney's recent directive released an additional \$1.5 billion. These development costs are more than double the original \$2.4 billion estimate.

Cost overruns have been more the rule than the exception for years.

Boeing and other contractors argue that the overruns have come about because the technology has often been new and because the Pentagon has constantly changed the specifications after a project is under way. Or weapons have gone into production before they were fully designed and then had to be rebuilt to fix mistakes — a cold-war practice intended to

produce new weapons quickly.

While these factors play a role, some Defense Department officials argue that the extra outlays have actually been encouraged by the Pentagon and the contractors on the theory that it has been harder to cancel a project if great sums of taxpayer money have already been spent on it. The agency and its contractors "don't choose to run the necessary intermediate tests; they want to keep a pro-

gram going until it is too late and too expensive to stop," said A. Ernest Fitzgerald, a Defense Department supervisor of the C-17 project who became famous in the late 1960's as the Pentagon whistle-blower who exposed cost overruns on Lockheed's C5-A transport plane.

Mr. Fitzgerald said the Pentagon has routinely permitted mistakes and accepted weapons with defects. "Later, we give out money to fix the

defects," he said. "I don't know of a single big program that does not work that way."

Without disputing Mr. Fitzgerald's view, Mr. Caporali of Grumman put the issue in a more favorable light.

"Knowing that you have to put the very best foot forward in order to compete successfully for a contract, you certainly don't put forth a performance profile that assumes all the bad things will happen," he said. "So the odds are that you will enter into a weapons program that is very difficult to execute as laid out."

Boeing estimates that the most recent proposal, building 612 Ospreys over a decade, would cost more than \$22 billion. But the actual price may be several times that sum, Mr. Spinney and others warn.

The Future

Paving the Way For Civilian Model?

Officials of the campaign of Bill Clinton, who are more bullish on the Osprey than the Bush Administration, argue that the military's experience with Ospreys will pave the way for a less costly commercial version.

"Once you have test and flight hours in the military, you prove safety to civilians," said Daniel Sakura, a military industry expert on the Clinton campaign staff. "The important thing is that you preserve a production base, and you preserve the skills necessary to make a tilt-rotor aircraft, which means you preserve Boeing Helicopter."

In the first Presidential debate, Mr. Clinton cited the V-22 as an outstanding example of "dual technology" in military spending. The military version would be adaptable to commercial use but would also follow a post-cold-war strategy "of moving small military forces rapidly" to places like the Persian Gulf.

Indeed, some studies, including those sponsored by Boeing Helicopter and Bell Helicopter, say the tilt-rotor plane is ideal for 300-mile flights between downtown "vertiports," or from small-city airports to congested urban airports. Because the tilt-rotor requires so little landing and takeoff space, it would relieve congestion, thus reducing Federal outlays for new airport construction. And it would give the United States a new export.

Cost and the Environment

But other experts say noise and environmental problems, high fuel and maintenance costs and the price tag make the plane impractical for commercial purposes.

"It is not clearly demonstrated that you can generate a large enough passenger demand at a ticket price that can support commercial tilt-rotor production," said Kevin Dopart, project director of a tilt-rotor study by the Office of Technology Assessment, a Congressional agency. "Upgrading our existing rail system to high-speed trains might be a better, less expensive alternative."

Nevertheless, Mr. Clinton has endorsed the Osprey. And in doing so he may, if elected, be committing the nation to another round of heavy military spending. "What we are dealing with," Mr. Spinney said, "is a pattern of spending behavior that has become acceptable over a period of time."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

METRO MATTERS/Sam Roberts

If Pollsters Could Only See Welfare Center on 14th St.

THE Waverly Income Maintenance Center on West 14th Street in Manhattan was not on any Presidential candidate's campaign itinerary. Nor do pollsters or pundits regularly go there to take the electorate's pulse. But just one visit to the second floor, where people wait to apply for welfare in an office that suggests the apprehension and pain of a hospital emergency room, would explain why Gov. Bill Clinton will win tomorrow — at least in New York.

Particularly if Michael Mathew, Brian Pierce or John Riley were there, as they were the other day. Waiting with scores of others for some form of benefits, they defied two fundamental stereotypes about welfare. They had never applied before or even envisioned themselves needing public assistance; they are white.

Mr. Pierce, a 30-year-old unemployed hairdresser, needed \$2,500 to avoid eviction from the Manhattan apartment he shares with his girlfriend, who is also unemployed.

Mr. Riley, 47, a consulting engineer who emigrated from England 30 years ago, was burned out of his apartment and needed help while he replaced documents that would enable him to resume work.

Mr. Mathew, 34, a costume-jewelry maker, was looking for a loan while he looks for another job after the company for which he worked had laid off two of its five employees.

"A couple of years ago we had so many orders we could have worked seven days a week," Mr. Mathew said. "Now, they just don't need us. It's a luxury business, and when the economy slows down this is the first thing to go."

As a result President Bush may be next.

The number of people on welfare in New York City, more than one million, is the highest in nearly two decades. The proportion may be the largest ever. Many have lost their jobs, are afraid they might or know someone who has during an Administration that may be just starting to jump-start the economy. Measured by that experience, change may seem preferable. Against that backdrop of fear, welfare has not emerged as the political hot potato that many people figured it would. In the New York Senate debate yesterday between Attorney General Robert Abrams and Alfonse M. D'Amato, welfare was not even mentioned.

"A big reason Bill Clinton is still leading George Bush in the polls is that welfare has not, contrary to what I expected, become the 'Willie Hor-

ton' of 1992," Lawrence M. Mead, a professor of political science at New York University, wrote. "But welfare has hardly been an issue in the campaign. The chief reason, of course, is that the country's economic problems have commanded center stage."

The country's economic problems have placed some people who might ordinarily be susceptible to the welfare-as-Willie Horton appeal perilously close to welfare themselves.

Staking claim to the political center in early primaries, Mr. Clinton said even last spring that he would favor New Jersey's request for a Federal waiver that would enable the state to freeze payments to women on welfare who have more children — an experiment that even Mr. D'Amato, the Republican-Conservative, is embracing very tentatively. Mr. D'Amato, his spokeswoman said, "supports the concept of responsibility, but it's too soon to judge the effectiveness" of the New Jersey rule.

More intelligent judgments about welfare in general might some day be rendered under Section 1381 of the tax bill that Congress is about to send to the President. Drafted by Senator Daniel P. Moynihan, the provision invokes the Employment Act of 1946, which required an annual economic report to the President and the calculation of unemployment rates. Section 1381 provides for an annual report on welfare dependency, annual goals for recipients and expenditures and sets an interim goal of reducing dependency, from 13 percent to 10 percent for families with children.

The development of the unemployment rate, Mr. Moynihan recalled, "changed the debate concerning this central dilemma of industrialization."

In 1990 twice as many households were receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children as the number of households and individuals' collecting unemployment compensation. Just a relatively small proportion can ever be weaned from welfare with work. And even that number depends on the availability of jobs.

At so-called income-maintenance centers grim applicants study an eight-page handbook of instructions on how to complete the five-page form for public assistance. The form blandly asks whether the applicant has "a burial space," among other resources.

"I never thought I'd be here," Mr. Mathew said as he awaited an interview at the Waverly center. "But I paid taxes all my life, and it's only fair for the Government to help me now that I need it."

CAMPAIGN ALMANAC

Countdown to Election Day

GEORGE BUSH

President Bush continued to fire away at Bill Clinton's character, as aides said the oratory on both sides was likely to get even uglier in the final two days of the campaign. His voice was weakened but Mr. Bush appeared upbeat as he swept through a string of states he must win if he is to return to office. While his language was tougher than usual, he tried to blunt the impression he has dropped into a last-ditch, fiercely negative campaign. At a rally in Michigan, the President told 5,700 party workers that the name "Slick Willie" was not his invention. "We tell the truth, and they think it's hell," he said. "So be it."

BILL CLINTON

Suffering from laryngitis, Gov. Bill Clinton could barely speak as he began a two-day press into Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, as part of a strategy to strike at President Bush in Republican areas of critical industrial states. His voice was so weak that his attacks on Mr. Bush had to be severely curtailed. The Governor's wife, Hillary, did most of the speaking throughout the day, and at one stop Mr. Clinton managed to talk only 21 seconds. But at an airport in northern Pennsylvania, he warned a crowd about the Republican assaults to his character and promised to restore economic optimism and fairness to the Presidency.

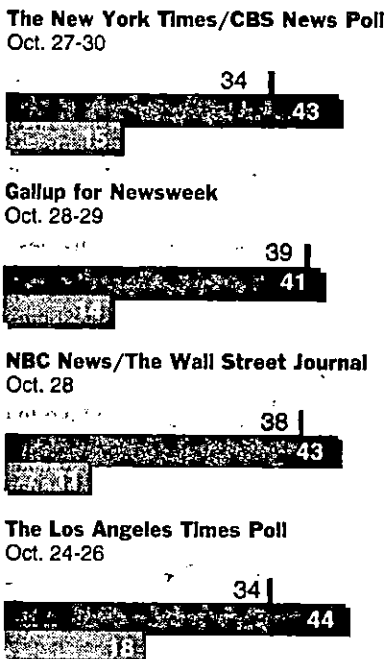
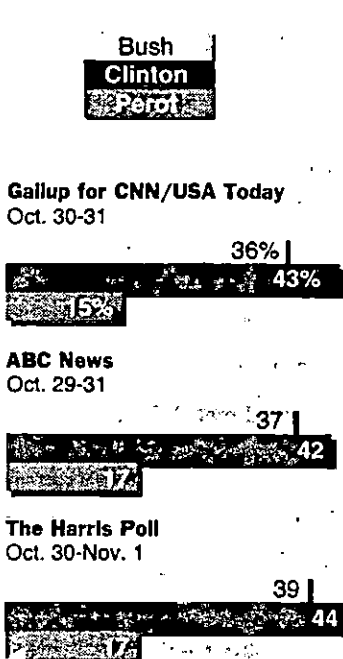
ROSS PEROT

Ross Perot launched the most blistering attacks of his campaign, turning the main force of his fire from President Bush to Mr. Clinton. At a rally in California, Mr. Perot seemed to go out of his way to criticize Mr. Clinton, questioning his morals because of his experimentation with marijuana, ridiculing his record in Arkansas and even dismissing his ability to play the saxophone. Mr. Perot did not entirely halt his attacks on the President. "As you're sitting there watching all this stuff," Mr. Perot said, "say, If I ran a small business, if I had a small business, would I hire either one of these guys to run it?"



Lee Romero/The New York Times

RECENT POLLS



Clinton Edges Farther Ahead

Three new nationwide polls have found Gov. Bill Clinton still leading President George Bush, with Ross Perot in third place.

When the three polls are averaged, Mr. Clinton leads with 43 percent, Mr. Bush has 37 percent and Mr. Perot has 17 percent.

The Harris Poll, conducted with 1,675 likely voters Friday through Sunday, found Mr. Clinton ahead by five points.

The CNN/USA Today poll by Gallup with 1,579 likely voters conducted Friday and Saturday showed Mr. Clinton with a seven point lead over Mr. Bush, an increase of four points in his lead since the last Gallup poll release a day earlier. The ABC News poll of 1,369 likely voters taken Thursday through Saturday had Mr. Clinton ahead by five points, two points more than their previous release.

All three polls have a margin of sampling error of plus or minus

three percentage points.

A tracking poll involves interviewing with fresh samples daily over an extended period of time with results combined and released two or three days at a time.

A Star Ledger/Eagleton Poll of New Jersey conducted Oct. 23 to 29 with 801 likely voters found Mr. Clinton with 42 percent of the vote to Mr. Bush's 30 percent and Mr. Perot's 18 percent. The poll has a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three to four percentage points.

Mr. Clinton is also leading in a Michigan poll of 500 likely voters. Mr. Clinton received 41 percent, Mr. Bush 32 percent and Mr. Perot 18 percent in the poll conducted Wednesday through Friday by Market Strategies Inc. for The Oakland Press, WDIV-TV and WJR Radio. The poll has a potential sampling error of plus or minus five percentage points.

The New York Times

Traders Wary of Growth Signals

Contrarians Fear A Robust Recovery

By JONATHAN FUERBRINGER

There has been enough new economic data recently to suggest that it is time to wonder just how weak the economy is and how long it will stay that way. If these straws in the wind do portend some growth, then there may be trouble in the bond market.

"There is some anecdotal evidence to say there is some growth," one bond trader remarked last week. But the economy, he added, "is the last thing on the minds of investors right now, so that is why that could surprise them."

Referring to the October employment data to be released on Friday, the trader said, "if the number is strong this market will be blown away."

Rate Drop Assumed

The conventional wisdom is that regardless of who is elected President tomorrow, the economic fundamentals of slow growth and low inflation will underpin the bond market for the immediate future. This means that even though interest rates have backed up in the last month, they will begin to come down again. The drop should be quicker after a victory for President Bush, but given the economy, the fall should be inevitable even with the uncertainty that would accompany a victory by Gov. Bill Clinton. There is no Perot victory in this forecast.

"I hate it, but I think there is some logic to the conventional wisdom," said Nicholas Sargen, the chief investment officer at Prudential's Global Fixed Income Advisers.

But some contrarian economic signals could mean enough change at the margin to shake the confidence in the certainty of the pro-bond, pro-lower-interest-rate outlook.

A sense of what might happen came Friday, when the market was surprised by the September report on new single-family home sales. Instead of rising to around 582,000 sales at an annual rate, as had been expected, they jumped to 617,000. But with a big revision, to 623,000, in the initially reported August rate of 570,000, the September figure was officially reported as a decrease.

But the market saw through the statistical quirk. Bond and note prices were down for the day, with the price of the 30-year bond falling 17/32 while the yield jumped to 7.62 percent.

Signs of Economic Growth

Among other growth signals are these: an end of the decline in bank lending, which has been a central villain in the downturn; the leveling off of initial jobless claims to their lowest point in two years; talk of better-than-expected Christmas retail sales; a recent upturn in inventories, and the stronger-than-expected 2.7 percent growth in the nation's third-quarter gross domestic product.

Of the bank lending, some data show commercial and industrial loans up \$7 billion in the last three weeks after falling \$40 billion in the last two years. "There are a lot of indications this could have, including a firming of the economy," said Ken Safian, the president of Safian Investment Research in White Plains.

Initial unemployment claims rose by 8,000 in the week ending Oct. 17 to 375,000. But on the basis of a four-

week moving average, claims are at their lowest level in two years.

Richard B. Hoey, chief economist at the Dreyfus Corporation, said retail stores could do well at Christmas. And he was not ready to dismiss the G.D.P.'s quarterly 2.7 percent growth as a one-time shot. "Domestically the economy is better off than it was two months ago," he said. But at the same time, the slowdown in Europe and elsewhere has cut into the American export sales which have been supporting the economy for some time.

Edward Yardeni, chief economist at C. J. Lawrence, said that if the upturn in inventories was voluntary it would produce a rise in credit demand.

When summed up, this list of little signals has pushed Mr. Yardeni and his colleagues at C. J. Lawrence to shift their outlook for the economy. "We still see little if any growth in the current quarter," he said in the firm's weekly newsletter. "But we no longer believe that all the risks are on the downside. We are willing to consider the possibility that economic activity might surprise us on the upside next year."

James S. Fralick, principal senior economist at Morgan Stanley & Company, sees another factor that could bolster the economy if Mr. Clinton wins.

"My sense is that after the first of the year the press is going to be more positive for Clinton and that we will have a pop in consumer confidence," he said. "With that pop there will be a spill over into production so I am expecting a pickup in activity."

And, he concluded, "I think that the pickup in activity together with the focus on the effect of the Clinton program on the budget deficit will push interest rates higher earlier next year."

Obstacles to Swift Recovery

Not everyone supports this outlook. Elliott Platt, director of economic research at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette, argued that the economy faces too many obstacles to grow beyond a range of 2 to 2.5 percent next year.

Economic Calendar

Listed below are the scheduled release dates for major economic indicators this week.

Monday

Construction Spending	Sept.
Purchasing Managers' Report	Oct.

Tuesday

Leading Indicators	Sept.
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Wednesday

Factory Orders	Sept.
Auto Sales	Oct.

Thursday

Productivity	3d Qtr.
Weekly Jobless Claims	

Friday

Employment	Oct.
Consumer Credit	Sept.

Among the problems he cited are the high vacancy rate in commercial real estate, which is bad for the construction industry; the continued decline in military spending; the low level of consumer confidence, which is hurting, among other things, auto sales; the spending restraints on state and local governments, and the slowdown of the economies in Europe and the rest of the world.

"I don't see that we are on a major move to a buoyant economy," he said.

But the bond market can be very sensitive to the slightest change, especially when it goes against expectations. So it would only take a few out-of-line economic reports — not a thundering recovery — to jar the market.

"Bond markets are vigilantes, and it is our role to be ahead of things," said Theresa Havel, director of fixed income at Neuberger & Berman, meaning that any unexpected development will be seized upon by traders and dealers. The paradox is that stronger-than-expected growth could eliminate the need for and worry about a Clinton stimulus program but still spook the bond market to higher interest rates.

Monday,

Nov. 2, 1992

George Bush, Caught in the Loop

Challenged about his role in the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran when he was Vice President, President Bush has been on all sides of the issue. When the scandal first broke in 1986, he said he supported President Reagan in a diplomatic initiative that went awry. Soon he was saying he was deliberately kept "out of the loop" and therefore didn't know about the strong objections of the Secretaries of Defense and State.

Now, confronted with mounting evidence that he was very much in the loop and totally aware of the hostage-ransom program, Mr. Bush comes full circle and returns to the Ronald Reagan defense: It was a diplomatic overture, never an arms-for-hostages deal.

Mr. Bush was confronted Friday evening with a newly released 1986 memorandum by Caspar Weinberger, then Defense Secretary. The memo clearly aligns him with Mr. Reagan's decision to seek release of five hostages "in return for" selling Iran 4,000 anti-tank missiles. On the "Larry King Live" program, this was Mr. Bush's reply:

"However, to this very day, President Reagan didn't feel that that arrangement was arms for hostages. I said I supported the President of the

United States. I have testified to that. . . . And if that was Caspar Weinberger's opinion, fine — go ask President Reagan if he thought it was arms for hostages . . . and he'd say no. . . . [They were] trying to work with moderates; they weren't dealing with the people who had the hostages. It's a whole history that this poor guy is trying to resurrect four days before the election."

Despite his complaint about the timing of these charges, it's never too late to seek Mr. Bush's full accounting. But Mr. Reagan's amiable if dubious claim that the deals were with moderates, not kidnappers, is not available to Mr. Bush.

It's now clear that in mid-1986 — a full six months before Mr. Bush admits to hearing about arms-for-hostages — an Israeli official and a member of the National Security Council staff told him that the transactions had become sequential: first a weapons shipment, then a hostage release, then more arms, then another hostage.

Mr. Bush said Friday that he had no objection to the special prosecutor's release of his secret testimony. That's worth pursuing, even at this late hour, in an election campaign in which the President has made such an issue of trust.

Vote for Ross Perot?

Citizens who prefer Ross Perot have every right to vote for him. But hard realities suggest that their votes will almost certainly be wasted if their hope is to catapult Mr. Perot to the White House. These votes will be little more than heartfelt gestures of protest.

Worse, they won't even be wise votes. Whatever his virtues, Mr. Perot is ill suited to govern. And a vote for him may confuse the contest between the only real choices, thus weakening the winner's mandate.

Mr. Perot brought many good things to this campaign — a frontier willingness to buck the odds, an original style, many bold ideas and a lot of his own money. Sensing widespread disenchantment with political paralysis and economic decline, he became a national civics teacher, educating the public on the need for shared sacrifice.

His program, however, was hardly a platform. While he was often challenging on Topic A — the economy, especially the deficit — he said little on Topics B through Z: education, the environment, and a range of other issues that any President inevitably confronts.

Like his program, Mr. Perot also has holes. For all his homespun honesty on economic issues, his day-to-day behavior bespeaks a smart, manipulative, imperious and impatient man. Set aside the reporters' dossier of Mr. Perot's past life, full of real or alleged plots against him and real or alleged vendettas organized by him. The portrait that

emerges from his speeches, interviews and public exchanges in 1992 alone is that of a man poorly versed in the arts of compromise and negotiation on which effective leadership depends.

The candidate who said he would never stoop to the issue of "character" has raised questions about his own. Advertising himself as merely a humble "servant" of "the little people like me," he abruptly quit the race in July without consulting his volunteers. Having pledged to avoid negative campaigning, he perversely interrupted his own surge a week ago when he accused Republicans of nefarious schemes for which he had no proof.

Still, Mr. Perot remains an attractive alternative for citizens who yearn for change. But is he a plausible alternative? When he hit 22 percent in one poll, he appeared to be inching close enough to make the case that a vote for him was no longer "wasted." Since then, he has leveled off, suggesting that in purely practical terms a vote for Mr. Perot is now a vote for nothing.

Indeed, Democrats would argue that a Perot vote that might otherwise be theirs is a vote *against* change — since Mr. Clinton represents the only real alternative to the Bush-Reagan years. Mr. Bush would argue that a vote stolen from him deprives him of the chance to do better.

One way or another, Mr. Perot has already seized the attention of the country and the candidates. That is sufficient reward for one who would make an insufficient President.

A Quiz for Candidates

Among the works of the author, who died in 1980, were 11 books of poetry, two biographies and one book that even she found hard to classify. "One Life" is a collage of documentary and poetry based on the life of Wendell Wilkie, who ran for President against Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1940. A passage from the book, published in 1957, is reprinted below.

By Muriel Rukeyser

Q. Why should anyone seek to assume the burden of the Presidency?

Willkie: I am 48 years old. I've done a lot of thinking on our problems. I have certain ideas about our government. I want to do something about it.

Q. Why should anyone seek to assume the burden of the Presidency?

Roosevelt: Somebody has to face it.

Q. Which do you consider the better answer? Give your reasons.

On a separate sheet, you may submit your own answer. Write legibly. In marking these papers, spelling will be taken into consideration, as

well as neatness, family background, religious practices, sexual practices, superstitions, penmanship, color of hair, color of eyes, color of skin (area visible when fully clothed), color of skin (area invisible when fully clothed), color of distinctive body markings, color of political beliefs at the following ages: 7, 13, 18, 20½, 24, 29, 35, 41, 50, 80; color of political beliefs one month after start of first remunerative position, color of political beliefs one month after loss (for whatever reason) of fifth remunerative position, color of 15 typical friends, color of employee (present), color of five typical enemies, color of landlord (present); color of campaign backers: (1) over \$5,000, (2) under \$5,000; attitude toward England, attitude toward 20 selected corporations, attitude toward U.S.S.R.; attitude toward any four of the following: (1) children, (2) the tariff, (3) baseball, (4) Charles Chaplin, (5) hybrid corn, (6) old age, (7) the movies, (8) theater in Washington, (9) vice in Washington: (9a) financial, (9b) sexual, (9c) supernatural, (10) regular church attendance,

(11) your nearest Chamber of Commerce, (12) spirituous liquors, (13) quiet evenings at home, (14) human burial, (15) masturbation, (16) mothers, (17) group games for growing children, (18) the party system in the U.S.

Your views on
sex, hybrid corn
and human burial.

Write an essay of not more than 200 words on any of the following: (a) New England and the South, (b) mining and farming, (c) oil wells and relief, (d) war and peace, (e) male and female, (f) brandy and Scotch, (g) good and evil, (h) God.

This is from the forthcoming "Muriel Rukeyser Reader," edited by Jan Heller Levi.

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

To Remember After E-Day

WASHINGTON

Are you ready for the first pre-post-mortem of the '92 election? Here are some of the late hits and last-minute maneuvers that we can do without next time around.

1. *Polling switches.* The Gallup organization crossed the line from reporting to manipulating when it suddenly changed its methodology in the campaign's final week. Overnight, "likely voters" rather than "registered voters" became the basis for the closely watched percentages, instantly changing a six-point differential to a two-point gap.

If the Gallup organization, polling for CNN and USA Today, turns out to be right, other pollsters will henceforth weight their results on similar guesstimates of degrees of likelihood of respondents' actually voting. But the final-week switch in weighting misled a great many people into thinking the raw data was radically changed and a Bush bandwagon was rolling.

People who take and publish polls have an obligation to compare apples to apples, or to make a big, public point of it when switching the comparison to yesterday's oranges.

2. *Campaign finance reform.* Using the loose change in his own fortune, Ross Perot outspent the publicly financed candidates on television at the end by three or four to one. Not illegal; the Supreme Court has held it would infringe free speech to limit anybody's private spending. But it's not fair for any one candidate to use a huge financial advantage to dominate the airwaves and cables in the final stage of the campaign.

Five wrenches in election gears.

How to remove the inequity without limiting free speech? Require all candidates to file their spending plans 30 days in advance; then the Federal Election Commission could raise the publicly financed candidates' subsidy to match the private spenders. A billionaire would be restrained if he knew the others would charge him with forcing higher public spending.

3. *F.B.I. dirty trick.* After hearing the tall tales of Mr. Perot and his conspiracy consultant, the F.B.I. in Texas launched a "sting" to induce the head of George Bush's campaign in Texas — a man who had shown no predisposition to wiretap, bug or dirty-trick anyone — to commit a crime.

Incredibly, this entrapment was approved by the Director of the F.B.I., William Sessions, in Washington. He hotly defends his wrongful intrusion into political campaigns and threatens his readiness to tempt an honest official again when the next conspiracist points a finger.

Sunshine civil libertarians who shyly looked the other way when the F.B.I. used a sex lure to entrap the District of Columbia's mayor must now face the music: in the name of crime-prevention, the F.B.I. is in the business of crime-creation. With Mr. Bush's Attorney General in a personal war with Director Sessions, nobody can take the corrupt custodians into

custody. Where is Senate Judiciary? Who will rid us of this power-abusive presumption of guilt?

4. *Government statistics watch.* A Halloween "October surprise" to benefit the President was predicted here last summer; I suspected a strike at Saddam Hussein, with the bombers knocking over Qaddafi and Castro on the return home.

Instead, with the economy, stupid, the paramount issue, the final week of the campaign saw a surprisingly rosy estimate of the economy's third-quarter growth from Mr. Bush's Commerce Department. This provided some desperately needed ammunition to fire off a declaration that there won't be a triple dip.

In a month or so, we'll get the revised figures. If G.D.P. growth is 2.7 percent or higher, I will express chagrin at my lack of faith in the bureaucracy; if it's 2.2 percent or less, and Mr. Bush has won, suspicious souls will reach down there and demand an accounting of the projections.

5. *Independent counsel restraint.* In handing up his second indictment of Cap Weinberger, Judge Walsh supplied more evidence that blew away Bush protestations of having been out of the arms-for-hostages "loop."

Was Vice President Bush in the Casey-Poindexter ransom camp? Yes; his denials ring ever more false. Was the independent counsel right to drop this bombshell four days before the election? No; the indictment should have been handed up weeks earlier, or sealed — special prosecutors should stay outside politics.

Those are for Wednesday. Meanwhile, there's Tuesday. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Abroad at Home

ANTHONY LEWIS

Foul Words and False

BOSTON

My father was in the textile business. When I was perhaps 12 years old, he came home from the office one night looking stunned. He told my mother this story, and I listened.

Another man in the industry had made a bargain with him. That day my father discovered that the man had not carried out his promise. My father telephoned and asked him what had happened. He said: "So I lied."

It was not anger that I heard in my father's voice; it was bewilderment. He was an upright man, and it was beyond his understanding that someone would have no shame. "So I lied."

That childhood episode came back to me during the last days of President Bush's campaign. More than any incumbent President in memory he has been a candidate without shame. Lies, hate, vulgarity: Nothing has been too shameful for George Bush.

He referred to Bill Clinton and Al Gore as "these two bozos." Attacking Senator Gore's views on the environment, Mr. Bush called him "ozone man" and then just "ozone."

It is the name-calling of a child, a playground bully. Listening to such talk from the President of the United States, a young person said: "It makes me feel sad for America."

And the lies. I was in a New York taxi the other day when on a radio news broadcast there was Mr. Bush attacking something that he said Governor Clinton had proposed on increasing AIDS research. The taxi driver, amazed, exclaimed: "That isn't what Clinton said." I was not amazed. No one could be who has followed Mr. Bush's falsehoods in this campaign.

The lies are so shameless that they have buffaloeed the press. Generally, campaign coverage has improved. The press has done more this year to watch out for deception, especially in political advertising. But reporters still have trouble confronting the President of the United States when he is untruthful.

Sam Donaldson of ABC News is not a shy person. But the other night, interviewing President Bush, he asked how Mr. Bush could blame Congress for spending too much when his own budget proposals over the years would have produced about the same spending levels. The President said that was not so. But it was exactly so. And Mr. Donaldson let him get away.

The big lie that has now been definitively exposed is Mr. Bush's repeated statement that as Vice President he did not know we were sending arms

to Iran in exchange for hostages.

Several official sources, American and Israeli, had said that Mr. Bush was thoroughly informed — indeed was a participant. Then came last week's clincher: the contemporaneous notes of Caspar Weinberger, then Secretary of Defense, showing that Mr. Bush favored the deal when a crucial White House meeting on Jan. 7, 1986, considered a proposal to sell 4,000 TOW missiles to Iran in return for the release of five American hostages.

(The Weinberger notes were disclosed in a court filing by the independent counsel on Iran-contra, Lawrence E. Walsh. It was a powerful example of the need for an independent counsel on such politically charged matters. No one would expect candid conduct of the case if Attorney General William Barr, who is busy covering up the Iraqgate scandal, were in charge of Iran-contra.)

George Bush's falsehoods have none of the justifications sometimes offered for lying. They are not white lies, to save hurt feelings. They are

George Bush's endgame.

not lies to serve some great cause. They are only lies, small and large, to serve George Bush's ambition.

The foul words and falsehoods that have spewed from Mr. Bush in the last days of the campaign show us a man in a frenzy for something — anything — that might work. They show us a man without the inner values that restrain human conduct: a man without a core.

These last days have degraded the most important office in the country. They have made the Presidency a symbol of hate and division instead of unity and dignity.

The strange thing about the 1992 campaign is that the challenger has acted more like a President: Win or lose, Bill Clinton has campaigned with respect for the office. That may be why The Economist of London, a conservative magazine, concluded its lead editorial last week by saying that Mr. Clinton as President could "bring Americans, black and white, rich and poor, closer together. Despite the risks, the possibilities are worth pursuing. Our choice falls on him." □

Perot, Like 'Twin Peaks,' Started Strong and Went Downhill

By FRANK RICH

Ross Perot, who has conducted his campaign largely by television in the weeks following his post-debate boom, may be a victim of a phenomenon more insidious than real or imagined Republican dirty tricks: the "Twin Peaks" syndrome.

"Twin Peaks" was the ABC television series whose bizarre, at times paranoid, all-American characters and tall, at times hallucinatory tales became a national craze in 1990. Its lofty Nielsen numbers abruptly plummeted, and cancellation soon followed, however, once subsequent episodes grew glacial in pace and stubbornly refused to answer the pressing plot question, "Who killed Laura Palmer?"

Mr. Perot's own television series, a costly procession of "infomercials" seen in prime time, seems to have followed up its phenomenal debut by peaking prematurely much as "Twin Peaks" did. And its final episodes, last night's half-hour attack sitcom titled "Deep Voodoo, Chicken Feathers and the American Dream" and tonight's Election Eve special, may be too late to reverse the trend in either Mr. Perot's Nielsen or Gallup numbers even if he displays the photograph allegedly doctored to brand his daughter as a lesbian.

A Stunning Opener

The series' opening episode, a half-hour of "Plain Talk about Jobs, Debt and the Washington Mess" broadcast Oct. 6, stunned the public, the pundits and the television industry with its strange esthetics and high ratings. Though the show consisted of nothing other than Mr. Perot addressing a camera in close-up to elucidate a series of pie graphs and bar charts, it drew a larger audience that night than such other network offerings as "Quantum Leap," "Going to Extremes" and a

National League playoff game during which Ted Turner and Jane Fonda could be seen doing the Atlanta Braves's tomahawk chop.

A close examination of the subsequent episodes reveals why they have not held on to the pilot's audience. Ross Perot, the mini-series, is not likely to be easily confused by viewers with such thematically related past hits as "Rich Man, Poor Man," "Roots" and "The Civil War."

In "Ross Perot: Solutions," the immediate

A good beginning is fine but not enough. The plot has to move forward.

follow-up to "Plain Talk," Mr. Perot repeated many of the points of the first program, sometimes in verbatim language. The main variations in dramatic format from the first episode were the use of a larger typeface in the charts and the substitution of a black, metaphorically named "voodoo stick" for the original, chrome pointer.

Wing Chair Autobiography

Two later episodes, in which Mr. Perot recounted his biography, did not deliver much more action. From a wing chair in what looked like an anonymous chain-hotel suite in an edge city, Murphy Martin, a retired Dallas television anchor turned Perot campaign media consultant, asked his boss such questions as, "Ross, where did you grow up?"

Mr. Perot responded with rambling answers that included an impressively detailed house-by-house tour of his boyhood newspaper route in Texarkana and a G-rated narrative of his courtship of his "world class" wife, Margot. An account of the legendary rescue of two Perot employees from Teheran contained four impotent repetitions of the phrase "to make a long story short."

Heard at such uninterrupted length, the candidate's high-pitched drone was unlikely to endear him to any but the most devoted fans of "Deputy Dawg." Mr. Martin, the sonorous interviewer, looked and sounded somewhat like Johnny Carson's former sidekick, Ed McMahon, but managed to outdo him in obsequiousness. Mr. Martin's questions were so robotically recited that it was hard to tell for sure if his and Mr. Perot's portions of their "conversation" were filmed on the same set on the same day.

Getting to Know Ross

Perhaps sensing that his image was being damaged by overexposure, Mr. Perot turned two of last week's episodes over to a gallery of supporting character actors and restricted his own appearances to peppy cameos pushing the familiar sound bites.

In "The Ross Perot Nobody Knows," the format echoed one of television's vintage hits, "The Millionaire," in much the way that "Plain Talk" recalled the glory days of "Sunrise Semester."

A parade of ordinary citizens, all beneficiaries of the candidate's private acts of charity, sat in what looked like the same hotel suite as the series' previous installment and, to the accompaniment of upbeat elevator music, testified to Mr. Perot's humanitarian qualities. Like John Beresford Tipton, that fictional television philanthropist of the 1950's, Mr. Perot made gifts of cash and clout to those

who suffered calamities ranging from wartime imprisonment in Vietnam to a skiing accident in Colorado. But while the speakers were said to be among Mr. Perot's "best friends" and those "who know him well," they usually referred to him as Mr. Perot and sounded as if they were reading from a teleprompter.

Betting Your Hat

The next episode, "You Bet Your Hat He Can Win," alternated excerpts from a Perot rally speech with encomiums from Perot supporters attending the rally. The half-hour program was reduced to recycling some of the same ordinary, baby-clutching citizens repeatedly. One fan compared the candidate to Mikhail Gorbachev. Mr. Perot likened himself to Lech Walesa and Will Rogers.

Unfortunately for Mr. Perot, "You Bet Your Hat He Can Win," which was broadcast on Oct. 28 and repeated last night, was overshadowed by his appearance on another, far more highly rated television program: the Oct. 25 episode of "60 Minutes." The "60 Minutes" program whetted the television public's appetite not for more testimonials or even flip charts but for answers to the questions Mr. Perot raised about Republican conspiracies.

Mr. Perot has yet to oblige. Much as "Twin Peaks" never satisfied the public on the question of who killed Laura Palmer, so he has allowed his own series to trail off into tedium by refusing to provide the identities of all the villains who are pursuing him and by failing to exploit the lurid melodramatic details of all their plots.

No doubt Mr. Perot's television campaign would have fared better if its prototype had been the geographically appropriate "Dallas," albeit with a kinder, gentler — and pint-sized — J. R.

In an Odd Mood, People Tolerate Perot Spending

Y, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1 — Americans are occasionally outraged over political interlopers trying to buy governorships, or seats in Congress. But the spectacle of a billionaire businessman trying to purchase the Presidency hardly seems to stick in the national craw.

There are a lot of reasons: from the fact that Ross Perot does not seem to be succeeding, to the fact that the public has a long agenda of other political sins to get burned up about, many of which Mr. Perot gripes about, too.

But even so, the level of public worry about the influence of this kind of money in politics is strangely low, especially in contrast to the debate provoked by the family money spent in the Presidential campaigns of John F. Kennedy and Nelson A. Rockefeller.

Although neither President Bush nor Gov. Bill Clinton is complaining for fear of alienating supporters of Mr. Perot, some of their more thoughtful supporters are talking about the issue.

Senator Harris Wofford, a Pennsylvania Democrat, says he challenges voters to think about whether much power should be in the hands of one very rich individual. He said the problem grew from a "radically wrong" decision by the Supreme Court in 1976. The decision, *Buckley v. Valeo*, held that limits on how much of his own money an individual could spend in pursuit of office violated freedom of speech.

'Politics as a Hobby'

Representative Henry J. Hyde, Republican of Illinois, called Mr. Perot's spending frightening. He said that while reformers had succeeded so much in labeling all ordinary campaign contributions as tainted, "wealthy people as they get bored with the country club may take up politics as a hobby."

The public's experience with candidates' buying office, or trying to, with their own money is largely concentrated on offices below the Presidency, with two exceptions. Mr. Rockefeller poured his fortune into his losing race for the Republican nomination in 1964. Joseph P. Kennedy spent heavily to win the Presidency in 1960 for his son. Nobody knew at the time just how much, and no one does yet.

As a candidate, John Kennedy deflated concern by joking about it. Once he said his father had wired him not to spend more than necessary because "I won't pay for a landslide."

John B. Connally tried to buy the Republican nomination, but with other people's money, in 1980. He chose not to accept Federal matching funds or comply with the spending limits that went with them. But while Mr. Connally, the darling of the boardrooms, raised \$12.7 million, he won only one delegate. Pat Robertson, counting on small contributors, also passed up Federal money in 1988, but did not do much better.

Missing Element

This time, even though the office is more important than a statehouse or a seat in Congress, the element that usually raises concern is missing.

That is a rich candidate spending much more than an opponent relying on conventional fund-raising. There was Mark Dayton almost doubling David Durenberger's spending in the 1982 Minnesota Senate race. Or John D. Rockefeller 4th inviting bumper stickers saying, "Make Him Spend It All, Arch" when he defeated Arch Moore for Governor of West Virginia in 1980.

The \$80 million Mr. Perot said Saturday that he would spend, is after all, about equivalent to the \$55.2 million Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton got from the Federal Treasury for the general election. And, as Fred Wertheimer, the president of Common Cause, observed, once so-called "soft money" and party money is added in, each of them will probably spend more than \$100 million this year.

As Mr. Hyde suggested, the public sometimes finds a virtue in an individual's spending his own money rather than someone else's. West Virginia Democrats responded on Mr. Rockefeller's behalf with an "At Least It's His" bumper sticker, and in fact, Mr. Moore later went to jail for corruption.

Distaste for Politics

Dislike of the political parties and establishment fund-raising schemes has led to widespread tolerance of Mr. Perot's approach.

But there are other views. Senator John C. Danforth, Republican of Missouri, said he felt the problem of Mr. Perot's money was especially serious because he did not go through any sort of vetting by a political party, but nominated himself and spent freely to make it look as if he had a real following.

Even if little has been heard until now from the public, there are also

With so much else
to hate, Americans
don't seem to
resent the money
being spent.

arguments that the financing of Mr. Perot's candidacy demonstrates the need for new legislation, though not necessarily at the Presidential level.

Mr. Wertheimer said it demonstrated the risks of a system "where only individuals who raise large sums of special interest money or wealthy individuals have a chance to run competitive races." He argued that spending limits and enough Federal money to match high personal spending by an opponent if necessary were the solution. Mr. Bush vetoed legislation to do that last summer.

Against Limits on Gifts

Curtis Gans, head of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, had a contrary view. He said: "Ross Perot is the best argument why the \$1,000 contribution limit is a stupid idea." With the present system, he said, only a billionaire could seriously challenge the status quo. He said that limits on contributions were "silly, restrictive and counterproductive," and that so long as donations were reported, the public could judge candidates and whether they had sold out.

Mr. Perot's constituency, of course, is untroubled. To the public, he seems free of evil outside influences, and, after all, he made the money himself and is spending it as he likes. They accept his unselfish view of himself, expressed this way on Saturday in Kansas City:

"I lay \$60 million on the table and put my family through hell because I love you and I love my country."

Perot Backers Weigh Risk of Wasting a Vote

By DIRK JOHNSON
Special to The New York Times

PLANO, Tex., Nov. 1 — They do not like it. They resent it. They mourn it. All the same, most of them believe it: Ross Perot cannot win.

Here in the heart of Perot country, a gleaming Dallas suburb with a get-down-to-business ethos, many of his supporters say they find themselves torn between idealism and realism as Election Day nears.

Do they cast a vote for Mr. Perot, if only for symbolic reasons? Or do they choose between George Bush and Bill Clinton, if only for practical reasons?

"I really want to vote for Perot," said Jan Chester, a 43-year-old sales manager. "But if I do that, am I helping to elect someone I don't want? I guess I'll probably end up voting for Bush."

And then he shook his head. "Wait, I don't know," he said with a pained expression. "I really should vote my conscience, shouldn't I? Maybe I will vote for Perot. It's just that I really don't want Clinton. And if I vote for Perot, that helps Clinton."

He threw up his arms. "I guess I won't make up my mind," he said, "until I'm on the way to the polling place."

Wild Card in Election

The wild card in the election on Tuesday belongs to voters who profess support for Mr. Perot. If big numbers of them bolt at the last minute, the outcome of the race could be determined by the direction they go. Polls show that Perot supporters are twice as likely as others to say they might change their minds.

In Texas, a state the President almost certainly needs to carry, support for Mr. Perot has given Governor Clinton a shot at winning here. But a serious drop in support for Mr. Perot, especially in places like Plano, would increase the President's prospects.

A Perot supporter from the start, Sally Jones, a 33-year-old administrative assistant, said she was having second thoughts. Nothing in the campaign or the debates has changed her view; it is her reading of the polls.

"I like what Perot says and I want to vote for him, but I don't want to waste my vote," she said. "But then, I think, I'm part of the problem. If people like me just went ahead and voted for him, maybe he would have enough support to win. It's just that now it seems like a lost cause."

For Perot, Against Clinton

If she ultimately decides against voting for Mr. Perot, she said she would vote for President Bush — or, more accurately, "against Clinton."

This conservative region north of Dallas, overwhelming for Mr. Bush in 1988, has been a Republican stronghold. The population has burgeoned here in the last 20 years, as several companies, like J. C. Penney, have established headquarters here.

But cutbacks in recent years have left many people, some of them formerly highly paid executives, without jobs. The downturn has soured some Republicans on Mr. Bush. And Mr. Perot, who is regarded here with a neighborly pride, captured the support of people who liked his business savvy and tough Texas talk.

In the windows of new brick homes in subdivisions here, Perot signs far outnumber those for the other candidates. And a majority of the 50 or so people interviewed over the weekend said he remained their favorite.

Support Is Softening

But discussions with those Perot supporters revealed a softening in support for the entrepreneur. Some say they are still hurt by Mr. Perot's withdrawal earlier in the race. Others worry about his talk of conspiracies and plots.

"I thought Perot was interesting for awhile, but then he got a little too interesting," said D. J. Thompson, 42, who runs a sign company. "Being President isn't like being a majority stockholder. You can't just jump on top of a Senator and start hollering at him. It doesn't work that way in Washington."

"Like everybody else, I'm not thrilled with Bush. But I'll vote for him. I don't want another Jimmy Carter."

But more than anything else, they hesitate about voting for a candidate with little chance of winning.

Pat Schmidt, a 41-year-old housewife, agrees that a vote for Mr. Perot is a wasted vote. But for her, it is too late. She has already voted for him in Texas's early balloting program and she regrets it. "Now I look at the polls. And I think about Arkansas. And I wish I had voted for Bush."

To be sure, not all supporters of Mr. Perot believe his cause is lost. "You can't trust these polls. Perot's got a lot of support they don't see," said Bob Carson, 50, who was recently laid off by an oil company.

Nonetheless, he said he feared that many Perot backers were falling off.

"We're a nation of sheep," Mr. Carlson said. "But I'm sticking with Perot. If you don't vote for the man you want, that's what I call a wasted vote."

And other Perot backers say they do not see much difference between Mr. Bush and Governor Clinton. "I'm for Perot and I don't have a second choice," said Rick Askenazi, a 21-year-old photographer. "If Perot doesn't win, it doesn't much matter whether it's Bush or Clinton."

Perot volunteers here have been working hard to stem defections. One large sign here took aim at the doubters: "If you vote honestly, Perot will be elected President."

Criticism of Deserters

Mike West, 27, who works in sales for an electronics company, said he considered it shameful that some Perot supporters might desert. "You're supposed to vote for the candidate you like best."

But Mr. West, an ardent supporter of Mr. Perot, has not yet decided to follow his own advice. "The thought has crossed my mind to vote for Bush," he said.

A few people who backed Perot initially say they will vote for Mr. Clinton, although they seem to be in the minority in Plano.

"I generally think of myself as a Republican, but I'll be voting for Clinton," said Dale Ricefield, a 45-year-old computer analyst. "The Republicans have let the country go downhill."

In Mr. Clinton, he added, the Democrats have finally picked a moderate.

In the view of some Perot supporters, like Joy Beckner, a 38-year-old flight attendant, those who worry about wasting their votes are missing the point. To them, sending a message via Perot is a victory in itself.

Delivering Perot's Message

"Maybe if Perot gets 20 percent, then the next President will look at that and say, 'Hey, I better pay attention to what this guy is saying,'" she said. "It's his ideas that are important. He

doesn't have to win to get them across."

But that line of thinking does not sway Diana Morris, who has opted for Mr. Bush. In conversations at work, she said she came to understand two things: "First, that most of the people were for Perot, and second, that most of us agreed we didn't want Clinton,"

she said.

It was folly, she said, to stand on the sidelines and let other voters decide who will run the country for the next four years. "Finally, I said, 'Wait a minute. Either Bush or Clinton is going to be sitting in the White House next year. If you want to make a difference, you better pick between those two.'"

"All the News
That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Candidates Are Given Papers' Endorsements

By The Associated Press

Gov. Bill Clinton was endorsed by at least seven newspapers' editorial pages yesterday, while President Bush picked up six endorsements and Ross Perot got one. The paper that favored Mr. Perot was in his wife's hometown, and Mr. Bush was tapped by a newspaper partly owned by Vice President Dan Quayle's family.

The Tribune-Review newspaper of Greensburg, Pa., the town where Margot Perot was born, abandoned its tradition of backing Republicans in favor of the independent. "Enough of Bushism. We can do better," the Tribune-Review's editorial said.

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In Final Hours, Battling For a Luring Sound Bite

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1 — On Monday, Gov. Bill Clinton is planning to visit eight states. President Bush is hitting eight states in two days, and even Ross Perot ventured forth from Dallas over the weekend to attend rallies in four cities.

CAMPAIGN WATCH

At each stop, the candidates shake hands and thank the crowds. But don't let the autograph signing and the baby kissing fool you. The candidates are not there for their supporters. They are there for the local reporters.

At this point in the campaign, the only thing that matters is the message the candidates are getting through in the news media. And in critical states like Ohio, which is now considered a toss-up, the Presidential race could be decided in the final hours of the sound-bite battle. Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Clinton are visiting the state again on Monday, and both are taking time out from their schedules for one-on-one interviews with Cleveland newscasters that will be broadcast on election eve.

Perot as an Afterthought

Based on 48 hours' worth of monitoring the coverage here, Mr. Clinton appears to enjoy a slight news media edge over Mr. Bush as the battle for Ohio enters its last day. The tightening in the polls provided a heavy dose of bad news for the Arkansas Governor on Friday. But over the weekend, hardly a story went by on the "trust issue," once Mr. Bush's favorite, without a companion piece on the Iran-contra affair. And by the time the Sunday morning news shows rolled around, Mr. Perot had been reduced to an afterthought.

In terms of advertising, Mr. Clinton is spending heavily on local television in Ohio, while the Bush campaign is relying more on specially targeted radio.

Here is a report from the front:

FRIDAY, 6:30 P.M. All three major networks lead their newscasts with the latest polls, which show President Bush gaining on Governor Clinton, and with the latest disclosures in a 1986 memorandum by Caspar W. Weinberger, Secretary of Defense in the Reagan Administration, about Mr. Bush's involvement in the arms-for-hostages deal with Iran.

The memo gives Mr. Clinton an opportunity to slam the President. But even as he accuses Mr. Bush of diminishing "the credibility of the Presidency" he looks depressed, as if he has just been thinking about the possibility of spending four more years in Little Rock, Ark.

Mr. Perot is nowhere to be found. But he makes the news anyway with reports about his plans to actually campaign over the weekend.

FRIDAY, 11 P.M. It is hard even to find the local newscasts for all the political advertising crammed into the breaks. There are commercials for the Ohio Senate race, for three Congressional races, for county commissioner, for sheriff and for countless judges.

Mr. Clinton attends a rally in Springfield and gets a nice, long sound bite on WJW-TV, the local CBS affiliate and Cleveland's highest-rated news station. "Be on the cutting edge of change, Ohio," he tells the crowd.

During the next station break, a Clinton campaign commercial is sandwiched in between a few more advertisements for judges.

SATURDAY, 8 A.M. The NBC program "Today" broadcasts interviews with three undecided voters. One is leaning toward Mr. Bush, one toward Mr. Clinton and one toward Mr. Perot. But the one who is leaning to Mr. Perot, Dave Wylie of San Diego, seems to have one eye on the polls.

"I'm supporting Ross Perot, but if he cannot win, I think it's more important to see George Bush voted out of office, and I'll probably swing over to the Clinton camp," he says.

SATURDAY, 2 P.M. While other radio stations in Cleveland are occupied with college football, WCCD, a Christian station, is broadcasting "The Hal Lindsey Weekend Review." A caller named Lynn phones the show to say he is voting for Mr. Bush because the President opposes abortion and gay rights. But Lynn is concerned about Mr. Bush's membership in secret societies, like Yale's Skull and Bones.

"A thousand points of light is said to be a buzzword for the Masons," he notes.

Soon after Lynn hangs up, a Bush campaign commercial goes on, warning that Mr. Clinton's policies will destroy the American family.

SATURDAY, 4 P.M. WOIO, Cleveland's Fox Television station, begins a three- and a half-hour broadcast of the "Twilight Zone." Mr. Perot's

A last dash at trying to get news coverage.

commercials appear frequently during this television celebration of the weird and inexplicable.

SATURDAY, 6 P.M. It's Halloween, and what candidate can resist a good horror story?

"I ask you to close your eyes and imagine, in a crisis situation, an American leader totally without experience," President Bush says.

Mr. Clinton says, "Just imagine what you're going to feel like when you wake up on Nov. 4 and read 'Four more years.'"

In addition to the reports from the campaign trail, WJW broadcasts a segment on Ku Klux Klan members who have been demonstrating in nearby Parma. Some Klan members carry placards supporting President Bush.

SATURDAY, 11:30 P.M. "You want to play a game here? You want to play footsie? All right, I thought we'd have a press conference, talk about the issues, but fine, let's get into this. Two years ago — and I have not revealed this until now for reasons I will not go into — two years ago in the middle of the night at my home in Dallas, I was awakened by a disturbance outside on my lawn. So I went outside and engaged in hand-to-hand combat with four men and a small dog. Now, I took the four men out and was about to tie up the dog when it looked up at me and said, 'Aren't you Ross Perot?' ... That dog spoke perfect English. Now listen very carefully. Who is the world leader in talking dogs? Well, you don't have to be a Washington insider to know it's the Republican Party. I rest my case." — Dana Carvey, playing Mr. Perot on the NBC program "Saturday Night Live."

SUNDAY, 10 A.M. On the NBC News program "Meet the Press," Rich Bond, the Republican Party chairman, and Ronald H. Brown, the Democratic chairman, meet once again to swap their unabashedly partisan predictions.

"George Bush has pulled ahead," Mr. Bond says. "He's going to win. He has surged."

Not so, says Mr. Brown. "The electoral map looks very daunting for George Bush and very good for Bill Clinton," he says.

On all the Sunday morning news programs, much is made of the newest disclosures about the arms-for-hostages deal. Asked about the issue on the CBS News program "Face the Nation," Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York says, "I'd rather not talk about it." But when pressed, the reticent Governor relents: "He said he was in the loop, he wasn't in the loop. He's caught and it's embarrassing. And I'm not happy about that. He's the President of the United States, at least he should go out with dignity."

SUNDAY, 6 P.M. Apparently at this point, even showing up in Ohio is not enough to get a candidate a sound bite on the local news. Governor Clinton visits Cincinnati, and Vice President Dan Quayle attends church in Portsmouth. Each gets pictures, but no words on WEWS, the local ABC affiliate. **SUNDAY, 6:30 P.M.** Mr. Bush tries to revive the T-word with new assertions that Mr. Clinton tried to have his Reserve Officers' Training Corps file expunged.

"Even today we have new evidence," he says on ABC, the only network whose evening news is not pre-empted by football. "An affidavit that when Governor Clinton first ran for office his friends used special connections to seize his R.O.T.C. file and destroy all others. He's got to level with the American people on this kind of thing."

Mr. Clinton, who has lost his voice, croaks out a brief remark: "Fight on. Don't give up. Go." And Mr. Perot simply holds up a headline: "Dewey Beats Truman."

Perot Assails Rivals as Unfit to Run a Small Business

By STEVEN A. HOLMES

Special to The New York Times

LONG BEACH, Calif., Nov. 1 — In his most stridently negative attacks on his Presidential rivals since he re-entered the campaign, Ross Perot lambasted President Bush and Bill Clinton, suggesting that he would not hire either man to run a small business. He also seemed to question the Democratic nominee's morals because of past use of marijuana.

Speaking before a crowd of supporters at a rally in the Long Beach Arena, the first of two appearances today in California, Mr. Perot seemed to go out of his way to criticize and ridicule Mr. Clinton. At the beginning of his speech Mr. Perot turned toward the Dixieland combo that had playing to warm up the crowd and referred to the Arkansas Governor's ability to play the saxophone.

"You guys call area code 501 first thing Wednesday morning," he said, "you might get him real cheap." That is the area code for Arkansas.

Attack on Two Flanks

Mr. Perot's quip set the tone for his speech, which assailed Mr. Clinton in language that had previously been absent in the independent candidate's campaigning. In past appearances, including those in Florida and Missouri on Saturday, Mr. Perot directed most of his fire toward the President, and seemed to mention Mr. Clinton only in passing. Today both the Republican and Democratic candidates came under withering attacks.

Mr. Perot's comments reflected a new 30-minute commercial broadcast tonight, after the rally, that attacked Mr. Bush's record as President and

Mr. Clinton's stewardship of Arkansas. In addressing the crowd of about 11,000 he made several references to the ad and asked people to invite 10 friends to their homes to watch it.

"When you look tonight, as you're sitting there watching all this stuff, say, if I ran a small business, if I had a small business, would I hire either one of these guys to run it?"

Enthusiastic Crowd

The crowd — which was similar to the audiences at virtually all Mr. Perot's rallies in that it included people of all ages, but virtually no blacks or other minorities — roared back, "No!"

At one point, Mr. Perot asked the crowd, "Do you think that the President of the United States should be good role models for your children?" When they crowd cheered, Mr. Perot went on to ask, "Do you believe that it's appropriate to have senior Government officials who have used drugs?"

"It's up to you; it's up to you."

"But I'm just a college kid and if it seems like everybody at the top can do anything they want to, any time they want to, violate all the rules and just wipe us out — everything that I've been taught at home and in church and in Boy Scouts, then that's going to change my moral and ethical standards."

Mr. Perot did not explain whom he was referring to when he mentioned drug use. But of the candidates, only Mr. Clinton, as well as his running mate, Al Gore, admitted past use of marijuana.

Dispute on Arkansas Jobs

In tonight's show, Mr. Perot took a leaf from the President's playbook and disparaged Mr. Clinton's claim of cre-

First Bush was a special target. Now Perot fires at Clinton.

ating on average more jobs in his state than were created in the nation as a whole. Mr. Perot asserted that many of the new jobs in Arkansas were low-wage jobs in the state's chicken industry.

Quick Clinton Response

"One out of five jobs in the last 12 years created in Arkansas has been created in the poultry business," Mr. Perot said on the show. "Now this is not an industry of tomorrow. This is honest work. It is hard work. The people who do it are world-class people, but if we decide to take this level of business creativity nationwide, we'll all be plucking chickens for a living."

Giving further evidence that a further scene that in its final days the Perot campaign is taking the air of a professional operation similar to the Republicans and the Democrats,

Perot aides gave reporters copies of a "fact sheet" on Arkansas that attempted to bolster his assertions.

In neither the ad, nor the speech today, did Mr. Perot mention his proposals, like those for tax increases, spending cuts and tax incentives for some businesses, which he sees as the solution to the nation's economic ills.

The Clinton campaign, which until recently paid scant attention to Mr. Perot, responded quickly to the candidate's charges, releasing a rebuttal to the Texan's claims that Arkansas had not improved with Mr. Clinton as Governor. "Ross Perot has claimed for months that he's tired of politics as usual, but his latest infomercial is exactly that — politics as usual," the Clinton campaign said in its statement. "His 11th hour attack on Bill Clinton and the people of Arkansas is nothing but a multimillion-dollar smoke screen designed to distort the record of the only candidate who can bring real change."

Today's rally had all the trappings of the political convention Mr. Perot had hinted he would have last Spring before he abruptly quit the campaign. The crowd was festooned in various Perot T-shirts and many wore plastic imitations of straw hats. As is often the case, many in the crowd criticized the news media, and indeed, at one point the chant went up, "Mind Over Media!"

Still smarting from the skepticism that greeted Mr. Perot's explanation that he quit the Presidential race in July because of fears of a Republican plot to embarrass his daughter and disrupt her wedding, the campaign gave reporters copies of the personal diary Sybil Stockdale, wife of his Vice-Presidential nominee, James B. Stockdale, for the week of July 12.

In the diary, the entry for July 16, the day Mr. Perot quit, stated: "Ross called at 8:30 a.m. and told us he'll announce withdrawing in 30 min. at t.v. He said it's really because because Press will expose dirt on his daughter who'll be married in Aug., but that's confidential."

For Those Who Yearn for More Polls

President Bush talks a lot about "nutty" polls. It is hard to say what the margin of error is on that assertion, but now that the end of the trail is in sight, here is a final sampling of surveys that never made the front page.

A souvenir stand at Washington's Union Station has sold more than 20,000 campaign buttons thus far this year. The breakdown in sales: 44.5 percent for Gov. Bill Clinton, 38.5 percent for Mr. Bush and 17 percent for Ross Perot.

But until a week ago, Clinton buttons accounted for 50 percent of all sales.

Results from the National Student-Parent Mock Election, in which more than 4.6 million votes were cast: 45 percent for Mr. Clinton, 30 percent for Mr. Bush and 24 percent for Mr. Perot.

Mr. Clinton carried 35 states, good for 459 electoral votes, with only 270 electoral votes needed to win the

Presidency.

Poll takers from Quinnipiac College in Hamden, Conn., recently questioned the heads of 400 households in the New York-New Jersey-Connecticut metropolitan area.

Their findings: 31 percent would prefer to have Mr. Clinton as a guest for Thanksgiving dinner, as against 26 percent for President Bush and 23 percent for Mr. Perot.

Also, 33 percent said they would prefer Mr. Bush to baby-sit their children, as against 25 percent for Mr. Clinton and 15 percent for Mr. Perot.

And then there's the real straw poll, in which almost 1.5 million moviegoers at General Cinema theaters have chosen either a Bush, Clinton or Perot straw for their drinks. Latest results: 40.4 percent for Mr. Clinton, 34.8 percent for Mr. Bush and 24.8 percent for Mr. Perot.

This poll boasts that it has never failed to pick the winner.

Bush in Minnesota, At Auto Speed Only

Just about every poll indicates that Gov. Bill Clinton is well ahead in Minnesota, by 15 points or more. In fact, the situation there for President Bush seems so bleak that his campaign has not bothered to schedule a stop in the state.

But yesterday he made it to Minnesota anyway. As he headed for the airport after a stop in La Crosse, Wis., just across the Mississippi River from Minnesota, his caravan swung across the river momentarily, briefly traveled down a stretch of rural Minnesota highway, then swung back across the river into Wisconsin.

"We're getting to every state possible," explained Torie Clarke, the Bush campaign spokeswoman.

In Their Own Words

PRESIDENT BUSH

In an interview yesterday on the CNN program "Newsmaker Sunday."

"I'm delighted that the campaign will end, and I still feel very confident of victory because I believe the polls have just been totally out of whack. And so I've just driven down on the message — economy, which is better than people have thought and they're now seeing that, and then I think trust and character. I believe that's why I'm going to win, is people are going to say, 'Look, he may have made some mistakes but we trust him with the major problems of this country, trust him with a crisis if it arises, trust him with our families.'"

GOV. BILL CLINTON

In comments yesterday at the Wilkes Barre-Scranton International Airport.

"Don't forget there have been a lot of charges and countercharges and ups and downs, but when you strip it all away this election is a race between hope and fear, between the courage to change and the comfort of the status quo. Between those who say things are fine and those of us who believe that we can do better, that America deserves better and that starting on Tuesday with your help, it will be a new day for this country."

ROSS PEROT

In a speech at a rally yesterday in Long Beach, Calif.

"Do you think that the President of the United States should be good role models for your children? Do you believe that it's appropriate to have senior government officials who have used drugs?"

It's up to you, it's up to you. But I'm just a college kid and if it seems like everybody at the top can do anything they want to, anytime they want to, violate all the rules and just wipe out everything that I've been taught at home and in church and in Boy Scouts, then that's going to change my moral and ethical standards."

Running for Office Cuts Time at Office

Some folks laughed early in the primary season when Gov. L. Douglas Wilder of Virginia dropped out of the 1992 Democratic field, explaining that he did not have enough time to run Virginia and also run for President. At that point in the race, the Governor was so low in the polls that he hardly registered at all.

So just how much time does it take to make a serious run for President if you are already a Governor?

Today is the 306th day of 1992 and, according to Arkansas state officials, Bill Clinton has thus far spent 255 of those days, at least in part, out of the state. That's roughly seven of every 10 days away from the office.

Addendum: When he ran for a fifth term as Governor in 1990, Mr. Clinton promised to serve his state full time and not to run for President if re-elected.

Altering a Verse Just for Quayle

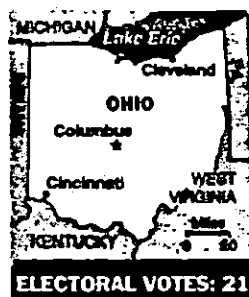
On his last campaign swing through Florida, Bill Clinton got a musical boost from Jimmy Buffett, best known for wasting away in "Margaritaville." The folk rocker, pumping up a crowd at Tampa, poked a little lyrical fun at Vice President Dan Quayle with this altered verse from his big hit:

"Some people claim that there's a woman to blame — but I know, it's not Murphy Brown's fault."

B. DRUMMOND AYRES Jr.

Split Down the Middle

With Democrats dominating the industrial north and east and Republicans predominant in the rest of the state, Ohio has a fluid balance of power that in recent years has edged toward the conservative. The Governor and most of the House delegation are Republicans; both Senators are Democrats. But Senator John Glenn, facing dissatisfaction with incumbents and a strong challenge from Lieut. Gov. Michael DeWine, is considered vulnerable on Tuesday.



Population

1980: 10,797,630

Other
1.1%
Black
10.0%

White
88.9%

Hispanic origin 1.1%

People of Hispanic origin can be of any race.

1990: 10,847,115

Other
1.6%
Black
10.6%

White
87.8%

Hispanic origin 1.3%

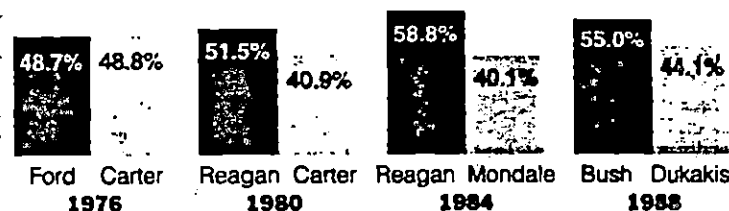
Registered Voters

October 1988
6,275,638

October 1992
6,542,931

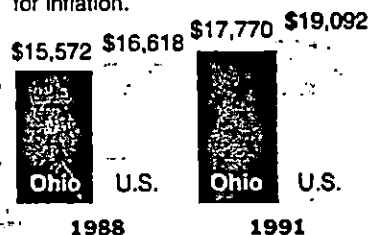
Voters are not registered by party.

How Ohio Has Voted in Presidential Elections

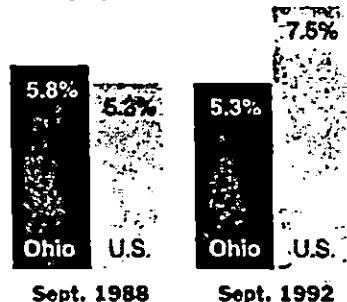


Per Capita Income

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



Unemployment



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

Bush Surges in Ohio, His Big Battleground State

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

CLEVELAND, Nov. 1 — Ohio is one place where George Bush's surge is real. In the crucial belt of states stretching from New Jersey to Michigan, where his fate and that of Bill Clinton may well be decided on Tuesday, this is the President's best hope.

The struggle for Ohio's 21 electoral votes is very, very close. It often is. Harry S. Truman carried the Buckeye State by only 7,500 votes in 1948, and Jimmy Carter won by just 11,000 in 1976. The state has been closely balanced politically since the Civil War, which is why so many Presidential candidates have come from here.

In the superheated 1992 Presidential campaign, Ohio has truly been, as its auto license plates proclaim, "the heart of it all." By the time the voting begins on Tuesday, Mr. Clinton and his running mate, Senator Al Gore, and their wives will have made 45 visits to the state; President Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle and their wives will have made 28 trips here.

"Jump ball," said Gerald Austin, a leading Democratic campaign consultant here, when asked on Friday to pick a winner.

Clinton's Lead Shrinks

This morning's final round of state polls showed Mr. Clinton with a slight

The battle for Ohio's 21 electoral votes is intense.

advantage, considerably smaller than a week ago or two weeks ago, and not big enough to be statistically significant.

Both The Akron Beacon Journal's phone survey and The Columbus Dispatch's mail poll, whose methodology is unorthodox but whose track record is peerless, concluded on Saturday. The Beacon Journal put the Arkansas Governor up by 6 percentage points, 42 percent to 36, with Ross Perot at 18 percent and 4 percent undecided. The Dispatch put Mr. Clinton at 41.1 percent, Mr. Bush at 39.6, Mr. Perot at 19.3.

The margin of sampling error in the Beacon Journal poll, which covered 833 registered voters, was plus or minus 3.5 percentage points. In the Dispatch poll, to which 1,980 people responded, it

Political Pulse Ohio



was 3 percentage points.

"There has been a lot of flirtation with Clinton, a lot of dissatisfaction with Bush, but eventually flirtation has to end," said Mike Curtin, the political director of the Columbus Dispatch. "As the election gets closer, people are second-guessing themselves, wondering whether Clinton's offering the kind of change they want."

'A Spent Bullet'

"It shifted last weekend and early this week," said Prof. Alfred Tuchfarber, a political scientist at the University of Cincinnati. "In effect, the Clinton message on the economy has become a spent bullet. It has done all the damage that it can do. Bush's message about Clinton's character is not as compelling, but it started later and it still seems to be working, at least in Ohio."

The change has to do with focus, Professor Tuchfarber argued.

"Voters know they're choosing the most important person on earth when they vote for President," he said. "They don't spend much time on it in June or August or September. But come late October, they look into the candidates' eyes and hearts and judge."

The President said all along that the last week to 10 days would prove decisive. For weeks and months, Ohio Republicans were wringing their hands as Mr. Clinton piled up a substantial lead. Only two weeks ago, Gov. George V. Voinovich, a Republican, told a visiting correspondent that his party would lose the state "unless George Bush can do a better job between now and Election Day to define who Bill Clinton is in terms of his experience."

Bush Move Is Late

That, of course, is what the President has sought to do, in his radio and television advertising and his stump speeches, since the final debate two weeks ago. The question is, did he start too late? And if so, why did an experienced politician make such a blunder?

Representative Willis D. Gradison, a Republican from Cincinnati who was a classmate of the President at Yale, said he did not entirely understand Mr. Bush's actions.

"He's found his voice, but it certainly took him a while," Mr. Gradison said.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

"I've known him a long time, and I sense that, like me, he enjoys government more than politics. That may be part of the explanation for all this."

Robert Bennett, the state Republican chairman, said: "We're tighter than a drum, but we think Clinton peaked out a week or so ago. People started to realize that Arkansas is no bigger than greater Cleveland, and they're worried whether he knows what he's doing. We're picking up Perot voters, and I think he'll lose half his people by Election Day, with the bulk coming to Bush-Quayle."

The dimensions of Mr. Bush's surge, and his new-found vigor and optimism, were on display last week at an ebull-

ri, a border state.

Since 1964, the state has been an unusually reliable mirror of American voting, varying from the national pattern by not more than a percentage point or two.

This time, Mr. Ruvalo argued, Mr. Clinton will prevail almost entirely because of hard times in northern and eastern Ohio, in the arc of industrialized large and small cities stretching from Toledo through Cleveland to Ash-tabula, then down to Youngstown and Steubenville. His main worry, the Democratic leader said, is Mr. Bush's big edge in spending on television here, combined with what he termed Mr. Clinton's "misguided" decision to seek votes in the Rocky Mountain states last week rather than concentrating on the Midwest.

The television spending in this state is awesome. In Cincinnati alone, candidates for all offices will have spent \$3.7 million on the three major stations between Sept. 1 and Nov. 3, and that does not count the network commercials bought by the Presidential campaigns.

Republican Tradition

One reason Mr. Bush is in better shape here than in neighboring states like Michigan and Pennsylvania lies in Ohio's Republican tradition, which has reasserted itself at the last minute in many a close contest. John F. Kennedy often said that this state broke his heart, turning out to cheer him but not to vote for him.

Another reason is the economy. While Akron and Youngstown and other cities in the industrial north and east may have suffered, things have been much better in Cincinnati and especially in Columbus, a white-collar town, headquarters of the Limited clothing chain and of the fast-growing Banc One, that has become the state's largest city.

If the race is as close as it seems, the religious right could hold the key here. Prof. John Green, the director of the Ray C. Bliss Institute of Applied Politics at the University of Akron, estimated that the Christian Coalition, the political organization of Pat Robertson, had raised \$13 million nationwide, and he said that it might prove especially effective in southern and central Ohio this year.

"Their target is three-quarters of a million voters in this state," he said, "and everyone they can get to the polls will vote a straight Republican ticket. With the defection of a lot of the Reagan Democrats back to Clinton, those are votes Bush desperately needs."

Perot seems to be hurting the Clinton campaign.

lient rally in Cleveland, where the President's campaign had been becalmed, and other events in Dayton and Columbus.

Senator Howard Metzenbaum, Cleveland Democrat, said that Mr. Bush had looked "limp and wan and whiny" until the final debate, but that now "he's hitting Clinton hard and often, and, frankly, he's scoring."

The Senator agreed with Mr. Austin and Mr. Bennett that Mr. Perot was cutting into Governor Clinton's vote. He said he had urged the Democratic high command to put "some believable surrogate" on television — he mentioned Paul Newman, the actor — to appeal directly to Perot voters in the final hours to switch to Mr. Clinton.

"I have felt the Perot people would switch off him," Mr. Metzenbaum added, "but now I have my doubts, unless we really pound away at him. All those millions on television give him credibility."

James Ruvalo of Toledo, a Democratic National Committee member, said he continued to believe, like Mr. Metzenbaum, that Mr. Clinton would eke out a victory here. That would have a certain historical symmetry: of the three Democratic Presidential nominees to carry Ohio since World War II, two were Southerners like Mr. Clinton — Mr. Carter and Lyndon B. Johnson — and the other, Truman, came from the Southern-influenced part of Missou-

Radio Advertising

Ads, Late and Nasty, Rule the Waves

By RICHARD L. BERKE

As bleary-eyed Americans hit their alarms yesterday morning, other alarms went off: Gov. Bill Clinton will steal your job. President Bush is a liar. The Democrats will tamper with Social Security. The Republicans are fanatics.

Even the most facile flip jockeys could not escape the fear and oratory dished out across the radio dial this weekend. By waiting until the last possible moments to broadcast their nastiest ads, the campaigns could distort the truth while running little risk of getting caught until after Election Day.

More than on television, radio messages can be tailored to demographic and geographic markets, as they were yesterday. On several black-oriented radio stations, for example, the Bush campaign is running an ad warning listeners that a vote for Mr. Clinton would "be turning the clock back." In Arkansas, the announcer says, "blacks are poorer, less educated and more likely to be unemployed than African-Americans elsewhere in the country."

Instead of directly assaulting his opponents, the ever unpredictable Ross Perot went for something different: he blanketed radio markets with ads promoting his 30-minute paid political program that ran last night on ABC and NBC, against the CBS News program "60 Minutes."

'Watch the Feathers Fly'

"You won't believe what Ross Perot has to say Sunday night," an announcer says. "Tune in and watch the feathers fly." Needless to say, Mr. Perot's television commercial needles Mr. Clinton about the chicken processing industry in Arkansas.

Radio stations across the country reported heavy election-weekend time buys from the Presidential and local campaigns, which in many cases bought up every available second of ad space.

Listeners could punch all the buttons or hit search and scan, but they could not escape the onslaught.

Listen to a Bush radio commercial in Raleigh, N.C.: "President Bush wants to protect and sustain the family," the announcer says, while Mr. Clinton would "undermine the family structure."

'Something Frightening?'

Listen to a Democratic Party advertisement in San Francisco. "Want to hear something frightening?" the announcer asks. "It's the Republican platform on abortion. They want to make abortion illegal, even if a woman

is raped, even if she's a victim of incest, even if her life is in danger. Sound extreme? That's because right-wing fanatics like Pat Robertson helped write it."

Radio is much more accommodating than television for last-minute time purchases, and the campaigns took full advantage for a barrage of attacks and counterattacks. WWDJ-FM in Philadelphia is so loaded with political ads in the closing days, said Dan Sullivan, the sales manager, that "our regular advertisers are screaming because they can't buy any time."

In several markets, the Bush campaign used local examples to try to scare listeners into thinking that a Clin-

Listeners are swamped by a tide of negative commercials.

ton Presidency would cost them jobs. "Bill Clinton talks a lot about Arkansas jobs," the announcer says in an ad being broadcast in Cleveland. Then, as the volume rises on a foreboding soundtrack, he adds: "Clinton doesn't say he's been stealing jobs from other states. Ohio is one. Spicer Transmission in Toledo closed down, fired its workers and moved to Arkansas."

The ad quotes a Clinton adviser saying that the Governor will "do whatever it takes to attract companies to Arkansas." But the point of the ad was somewhat confusing because, presumably, people would want a President who knew how to attract jobs.

Distortion Alleged

Greg Haas, director of the Democratic campaign in Ohio, lashed out at the Bush ads in the state, saying, "They misstate, misquote and misuse the facts of Bill Clinton's record and economic plan."

That has not stopped the Bush campaign from running variations around the country. Here's an ad in Chicago that cites a study with which Democrats take issue: "Based on a University of New Mexico study, Clinton's massive defense cuts will cost over 31,000 Illinois jobs. So remember Governor Clinton stole jobs from Acme Frame Products. President Clinton could take a whole lot more."

The Republican National Committee hit the airwaves in several cities with ads that, because of Federal election restrictions, do not mention candidates directly but said voting Democratic would be a mistake.

"You don't always get straight talk from a political ad — this one is different," says a Republican commercial in Greenville, S.C. "The Democrats will raise your taxes by \$150 billion and increase spending \$220 billion," the announcer says with certainty, even though the Democrats dispute those figures.

'Who Will We Trust?'

Not content to stop with taxes and spending, the ad warns that while the Democrats would fiddle with entitlements, "the Republicans will never touch Social Security."

In Kansas City, Mo., listeners to another Republican Party ad are asked, "Who will we trust?"

A Bush ad heard in Philadelphia is more direct as it seeks to convince listeners in a tri-state market. "You can't trust Bill Clinton," the announcer says. "He's wrong for you and wrong for Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware." The announcer also accuses Mr. Clinton of promoting "radical environmental regulations."

The Clinton campaign bought airtime to respond to such harsh accusations with harsh accusations of its own. An announcer breathlessly decries to listeners in Philadelphia, "George Bush's radio ads are full of lies." To counter the Republicans' accusations about lost jobs, one ad accuses Mr. Bush of encouraging American companies to "move jobs to Central America."

It is not all charges and countercharges. Mr. Perot has saturated radio markets with ads that feature the Texas businessman appealing for votes: "You've got to stop letting these folks telling you you're throwing your vote away. You've got to start using your head."

But mostly, the election-eve ads prove one thing to radio listeners. No matter how fickle the finger, there is no escaping fate: nasty political messages are unavoidable.

G.O.P., Hopeful of Big Gains, Sees Its Chances Fade

By ADAM CLYMER
Special to The New York Times

ATLANTA, Nov. 1 — A historic partisan shift toward the Republicans might have come from this year's House elections. But no serious challenge to 38 years of Democratic control has developed, and no state offers better examples of why not than Georgia does.

Not only are Republicans failing to gain as much as they hoped from redistricting, the war in the Persian Gulf and the general anti-incumbency mood. But this state also displays the unforeseen Democratic advantages that affect House contests nationally.

Three Democratic women could win by arguing that they represent change. Three or four very conservative Republicans may squander districts that the G.O.P. could have won with moderates. And the economy and a long, flabby Presidential campaign depress all Republican efforts.

Georgia also reflects the nation in nonpartisan ways that are likely to change Congress as much as any partisan shifts. At least 6 of the 11 Representatives elected Tuesday will be freshmen, joining as many as 125 others. Not since 1948 have there been so many new members. And Georgians will contribute to the striking increases in the number of women and blacks in the House.

Great Expectations

Nationally, it once seemed plausible that Republicans, who now hold 166 House seats out of 435, could gain 35 to 40 and assert ideological control over the House by allying themselves with with conservative Democrats, much as they did in 1981. Now gains of 15 to 20 seats seem more likely, with only trivial impact on the House.

Similarly, Georgia Republicans hoped to go from 1 seat out of 10 in the 102d Congress to 5 or 6 of the 11 in the 103d. Now it seems improbable they will have more than three, and none of their candidates are safe.

While national polling cannot measure individual House races, the latest New York Times/CBS News Poll offers general encouragement to Democrats. Forty-five percent of the 1,912 registered voters polled by telephone from Tuesday to Friday said they would vote for a Democrat for the House. 35 percent preferred a Republican.

But the rise in Democratic hopes generally is far from reassuring to individual members. From coast to coast, incumbents are attacked for voting themselves a pay raise, for overdrafts at the House bank and for travel abroad. And if they have committed few or none of those particular sins, members like Representative Richard



Newt Gingrich, the No. 2 Republican in the House leadership, has been attacked over checks and the car he gave up months ago and is taking more hits over incumbency than anyone else in the delegation.

Ray in west-central Georgia find themselves attacked for not preventing them.

Many Incumbents Worry

All over the country, House members are finding it hard to know if they have successfully countered attacks. Powerful incumbents of both parties are clearly at risk. Democrats like Representatives Les Aspin of Wisconsin, chairman of the Armed Services Committee; Vic Fazio of California, head of the party's campaign committee, and Steny Hoyer of Maryland, chairman of the caucus, all have real reasons to worry.

So do Republicans like Representative Bill Goodling of Pennsylvania, the senior minority member of the Education and Labor Committee; Don Young of Alaska, the top Republican on the Interior Committee, and, right here, the No. 2 Republican in the House leadership, Newt Gingrich. Mr. Gingrich, attacked over checks and the car he

gave up months ago, is taking more hits over incumbency than anyone else in the delegation.

Lesser-known lawmakers are at least as vulnerable, and dozens feel threatened. Their fear has often led them to use the first negative advertisements, and, if they follow most consultants' advice, not to try to explain that the 1990 pay raise was justified or that no taxpayers' money was lost at the bank. "You respond by attacking your opponent on another issue," said Neil Newhouse, a Republican consultant, who said the pay raise was deserved — but politically "indefensible."

Party, Not Individuals, Survived

There are no political vaccines that guarantee an individual protection against anti-incumbency. But Georgia offers a prime example of how a party can be protected.

Two vulnerable Democrats, Representatives Ben Jones and Charles



Hatcher were defeated in primaries. Sanford Bishop, a black former state legislator in the Americus area who defeated Mr. Hatcher, a Representative with 819 overdrafts, and Don Johnson, who defeated Mr. Jones in Athens and the Augusta suburbs, are clear favorites on Tuesday.

Nationally, a postwar record of 19 incumbents were defeated in primaries. At least nine Democrats and two Republicans in that group would have had a hard time winning the general election. Another 53 House members retired or sought other offices. Many of those who stayed on anyhow are in jeopardy, like two Ohioans whose problems seemed over when they won their primaries, Representatives Bob McEwen, a Republican, and Mary Rose Oakar, a Democrat.

Reapportionment, the process of reallocating House seats because of population changes, and redistricting, the actual drawing of the new maps, both promised Republican gains. Georgia went from 10 to 11 seats, and the Justice Department blocked two plans until the state created a second and third black-majority district.

G.O.P. Benefit Foreseen

Republicans hoped that packing black, Democratic voters into districts of their own would drain other Democrats of black support. On the surface, that approach seemed to work here, certainly better than it did where skillful political cartography in Texas and North Carolina seemed to keep other Democrats safe.

Redistricting brought Republicans their biggest gains in California, where a remarkably unfair pro-Democratic map of the 80's was replaced with a neutral one, and in Illinois, where six Democratic incumbents were squeezed into three districts.

But the party was not ready to capitalize here, nominating several candidates favored by the Christian right who seemed too extreme to be able to carry the new districts. The clearest case is Daniel Becker in North Georgia. He runs television advertisements showing body parts from aborted fetuses and assails homosexuality as "depravity and perversity."

The same pattern can be found in other states from California to Michigan. Democrats in 1992 were much more successful in picking candidates who could seize the political middle.

War Advantage Ebbs

Another early Republican hope was the popularity of the war in the Persian Gulf, and the opportunity to label both individuals and the Democratic Party as insufficiently supportive of American troops. The issue has no vitality today, here or anywhere else.

Instead the underlying issue is the lagging economy. Its impact is less severe here than in the Northeast. But candidates like Barbara Christmas in the Savannah area or Cathey Steinberg here are getting somewhere with promises to work to create jobs. Nationally, Spencer Abraham, the co-chairman of the National Republican

The House: 5 Races to Watch

Races that typify some patterns in a year of change.

CALIFORNIA

Representative Duncan Hunter, 44, a Republican and a six-term incumbent, is facing an unexpectedly tough challenge in a very Republican district. His Democratic opponent, Janet M. Castil, 55, is a teacher with little political experience, but 399 overdrafts on the House bank are a problem for Mr. Hunter.

GEORGIA

Abortion is a crucial issue in this Republican-majority district in the Atlanta suburbs, where no incumbent is running. Cathey Steinberg, 50, the Democrat, has campaigned for abortion rights and labeled her Republican opponent, John Linder, 50, an extremist. He calls her a liberal.

IOWA

Iowa lost a seat through reapportionment and two incumbents were thrown together. Representatives Dave Nagle, 49, a Democrat, and Jim Nussle, 32, a Republican, are fighting about Congress itself. Mr. Nussle wore a paper bag over his head to protest the bank scandal; Mr. Nagle is an effective insider and proud of it.

NORTH CAROLINA

This is one of 17 new districts drawn to insure election of minority candidates. Eva M. Clayton, 58, a Democrat, is heavily favored to defeat Ted Tyler, 57, a Republican, and become the state's first black Representative since 1901.

WISCONSIN

Les Aspin, the 54-year-old Democrat who heads the Armed Services Committee, is facing a tough anti-incumbent campaign as he seeks a 12th term. The Republican, Mark Neumann, 38, a builder, has surprised him with lavish spending.

Congressional Committee, concedes, "Because of the economy, we've had to play defense to a larger extent than we'd have liked."

This is also plainly a state where renewed enthusiasm for the Democratic Presidential ticket and Republican doubts about President Bush have given the Democrats a clear advantage. In the last week, Republicans have been much readier to be seen as Mr. Bush's allies. But that narrows, rather than erases, the energy gap.

Women are the other dramatic measure of how Georgia strikingly reflects improved Democratic chances. Cynthia McKinney, a black state legislator, beat a field of men to win the nomination in an almost-safe black district that winds through rural Georgia from the Atlanta suburbs to Savannah. Ms. Christmas, a school principal, is a classic example of how women come across as outsiders this year.

A Democratic Chance

Ms. Steinberg, a State Senator from Atlanta, may defeat John Linder, a very conservative former lawmaker, by emphasizing abortion rights in an upper-income, strongly Republican district where the Republican convention played badly to many women.

A near-doubling of the current total

of 28 women in the House seems likely, with most of the newcomers Democrats.

The biggest imponderable in this election remains the strength of anti-incumbency. Ross Perot's Presidential candidacy fanned an already strong flame of anti-Washington sentiment. Thomas E. Mann, director of governmental studies at the Brookings Institution, called Mr. Perot's backers "contrarian and susceptible to the worst conspiracy theories about government," natural enemies of incumbents.

The would-be freshmen are often decently financed. Thirty-one challengers had raised at last \$200,000 by Sept. 30. And with incumbency a less valuable commodity than it once was, the foes of incumbents may not need as much money. As Alan Secrest, a Democratic consultant, put it, "A little negative for a challenger goes a lot further than it has in the past."

But it is mood, more than money, that seems to matter. A New York Times/CBS News Poll found in late October that only 22 percent of Americans said they could "trust the government in Washington to do what is right" always or most of the time. That is the lowest percentage ever measured by the Times and CBS News.

The Economy Elbows Other Issues Aside

■ Campaign: Despite a cascade of rhetoric on other subjects, financial well-being will be uppermost on the voters' minds at polls Tuesday.

By JAMES RISEN
and JONATHAN PETERSON
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—"It's the economy, stupid."

That poster hanging in Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's campaign headquarters in Little Rock says it all about what really matters in the 1992 presidential election.

Jobs, income, and economic growth have been the touchstones of a bitter campaign that has largely been framed by voter anxieties over the nation's economic future. To an extraordinary degree, the American public seems to have had a thirst for straight talk on those issues this year. And each time George Bush, Bill Clinton, Ross Perot—and the media itself—have changed the subject, the public has wrenched the political debate back to the economy.

For most of the campaign, the economy has acted like a millstone around Bush's neck, dragging down his reelection prospects.

But in the last week, he has been buoyed by a new government report showing that the economy grew more rapidly than expected in the third quarter—at a 2.7% pace. Bush insisted that the report—the last major piece of economic news before the election—seemed to show that the nation had finally pulled out of its doldrums.

Although some economists warned the growth rate may be revised downward, the latest figures still raise new questions about the direction of the economy on the eve of the election.

Economists agree the economy is slowly recovering, and no longer seems in danger of falling back into recession. The nation has, as Bush often recites on the stump, now experienced six straight quarters of economic growth, dating back to the spring of 1991. The recession, technically defined, probably ended in April or May of 1991.

"The economy is scraping the bottom, but may be showing some signs of life," observes Sung Won Sohn, chief economist at Norwest Corp. in Minneapolis.

But the final snapshot of the economy that will be in the minds of American voters as they go to the polls Tuesday will not be a rosy one. Growth remains anemic, and the unemployment rate has hardly budged in months.

At 7.5%, the jobless rate was higher in September than during the depths of the recession in early 1991; roughly one million jobs have been lost in the last year alone. In California, where the September unemployment rate of 9.4% was nearly two percentage points higher than the national average, the outlook seems even more grim.

Corporate cutbacks of middle managers nationwide have spread the pain to the broad professional classes, adding to the anxious sense that few jobs are safe.

What's more, the underlying structural problems of the American economy—a prolonged credit crunch in the financial system, a massive restructuring of the defense establishment, public and private debts that hinder national savings and investment—have still not been fully addressed.

Many metropolitan areas continue to suffer from a surplus of shopping malls,



PATTY WOOD. For The Times

Residents line up to vote Friday in Houston, where they could vote early.

office buildings and other remnants of the 1980s that have pummeled the real estate market and banks.

While corporations and families have gradually, painfully, begun to pay off the debts amassed in the 1980s, debt burdens remain far above the levels that prevailed before the Reagan era.

So far most Americans, the economy today seems stuck in a gray zone between recession and recovery, where old definitions of boom and bust don't quite fit. Some economists even have begun to dub it a "growth recession."

"It looks like there is a tiny recovery, but it takes a magnifying glass to see it," observes Allen Sinai, chief economist of the Boston Group Economic Advisers, a New York research group.

"The third-quarter growth figures are positive, but the underlying fundamentals really haven't changed—employment is still weak, and consumer confidence is still weak," adds Ross DeVol, a senior economist at the WEFA Group, a Bala Cynwyd, Pa., forecasting firm.

Bush, in his final campaign push, has been doing his best to fight the perception among economists, Democratic politicians and the general public that last week's upbeat report overstated the health of the economy.

"For 11 months, Gov. Clinton and a bunch of the other liberal Democrats were running around saying everything that was wrong with me and everything that's wrong with America, and now we see the American economy is growing, not shrinking, and we are going to win this election," Bush said in a rally in St. Louis on Friday.

Clinton has sought to dismiss the latest figures and pound away at his basic theme that Bush has allowed the nation to drift into economic purgatory. "For one thing, unemployment has hardly dropped at all," Clinton said in a television interview Friday. "How can you look at 12 years of people working harder for less money and say, well, we have one good three-month period. Let's forget about it all and say trickle-down economics works."

Economic reality seems somewhere between the rhetoric of the two major candidates.

In fact, the economic picture is mixed—and confused. For every positive number, there seems to be an offsetting negative one to throw off forecasters. True, growth has resumed and all of the recessionary losses in the nation's output of goods and

services have been recovered. But economic growth is still less than half of the pace of the average postwar recovery and has been insufficient to restart the job-creation process.

"The economy continues to putter along," notes David Wyss, an economist with DRI-McGraw Hill in Lexington, Mass., who describes the uneven pattern as a "stairstep" mode of growth. "It's moving, but there's not strong momentum."

One of the most puzzling economic trends of this puzzling year has been the continuing decline in consumer confidence, which is perhaps the best proxy for how Americans feel about the economy as they head to the polls.

Consumer spending, which represents two-thirds of the nation's economy, did show some modest improvement in the third quarter. Retail sales are showing signs of strengthening. And personal savings have dipped, another hint that people were willing to make big-ticket purchases in recent months. But surveys of consumer confidence show that public expectations for the future have been sinking.

On the same day last week that the government issued its upbeat news about third-quarter growth, the Conference Board, a business research group, reported that its consumer confidence index fell again in October to 53, the fourth straight monthly decline and the lowest level since last winter's doldrums.

Many economists find it difficult to understand why consumer confidence continues to fall in the face of other reports of gradual, if inconsistent, economic improvement.

A study by the WEFA Group, for example, has found that trends in four other economic indicators—the inflation rate, the unemployment rate, short-term interest rates and disposable income—have in the past offered fairly accurate predictions of consumer confidence. But based on those indicators today, the consumer confidence index should be 10 to 15 points higher than its current level.

The explanation for today's downbeat attitudes may lie in the unique nature of this economic cycle. The downturn, which began in July, 1990, has turned into the longest period of recession and subsequent weak growth since World War II, and its very length has generated a new and anxious consumer psychology.

Most slumps since World War II have given way to vigorous turnarounds, with

growth reaching the 6% range in the first year of recovery. The current recovery, however, has puttered along in the 1% to 2% range, despite a spurt of 2.9% in the first three months of this year.

Now, more than two years after it began, the current business cycle's outcome still seems uncertain to economists and average Americans, prompting lingering fears over personal economic and job security.

"The problem is that there are too many structural problems that are simply not being addressed," says Robert Harmata, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International.

The timing of the structural shifts in the economy have also conspired to make the downturn feel even worse. For example, the decline in the defense establishment has accelerated just as other long-term problems—such as the savings and loan crisis—were finally beginning to be addressed in Washington.

Just in the last year, 175,000 jobs have been lost in the defense sector at contractors and subcontractors, according to a study by the Defense Budget Project in Washington.

"I think the economy is growing at a moderate rate now, but we are seeing a massive shift out of defense, and so we are getting a slower recovery as a result," notes Lee Hoskins, former president of the Federal Reserve Bank of Cleveland.

Those deep-seated factors are likely to take years to work themselves out of the economy's system.

So far, for instance, consumers and businesses have found that unwinding the debts built up during the 1980s is an exceedingly slow process. For families, total household debt still equals 94% of total after-tax income; in 1981, total debt was just 69% of income.

Given all that, perhaps the most remarkable thing about the American economy is that it is healing as well as it appears to be. The broad consensus among economists is that the nation's economy will turn in a poor fourth quarter but still will grow at an annual pace of about 1.8% for all of 1992. That is a much better performance than was posted last year when gross domestic product, the nation's output of goods and services, contracted by 1.2% on a year-over-year basis.

And things may look slightly better for the next President. Growth could hit 2.7% next year, according to the Blue Chip Economic Indicators newsletter, a pace that might put a dent in the stubborn unemployment rate.

"We are laying the foundation for stronger, more sustainable growth," says Mark M. Zandi, an economist with Regional Financial Associates in West Chester, Pa. "The problem is, it's not going to happen right away."

When will the recovery begin to accelerate? One wild card is the international picture. Early in this cycle U.S. exports offered a glimmer of hope. Now, a global downturn is dampening the outlook for U.S. sales in foreign markets.

But the return of fast growth will depend at least in part on when consumers and businesses believe they have cleared away enough of the debris from the 1980s, and are ready to get out of their funk.

"The critical point will come when consumers and companies think they have reduced their debt levels enough to begin spending and taking on debt again, and the timing of that is something that is impossible to predict," says Rosenblum of the Fed. "In the 1990s, will people be willing to assume the debt levels they had in the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1970s, or the 1980s? Nobody knows."

Candidates Try to Catch Ride on Wave of Change

■ **Politics:** The call for reform is this year's key issue, but meeting voter expectations may be a tricky task.

By RONALD BROWNSTEIN
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

In a year of sudden reversals and political hairpin turns—when the improbable is no longer extraordinary—the one constant has been the voters' overwhelming hunger for a fundamental change in the nation's course.

Over the past year, that current has been strong enough to carry forward presidential candidates who might have been viewed as eccentric under more placid circumstances: conservative columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, former California Gov. Edmund G. (Jerry) Brown Jr., former Massachusetts Sen. Paul E. Tsongas and Ross Perot.

And now, in the campaign's final days, that discontent remains the election's driving force—one so powerful that it is likely to shape the presidency of whoever wins next Tuesday. "The 1988 election was about tinkering," said Democratic pollster Mark Mellman. "This is about profound and fundamental change."

As they race to the wire, all three presidential contenders are jostling to ride that wave. Each man is portraying himself as a reformer—and trying to paint his opponents as defenders of the status quo.

In the process, they have established high expectations for reform in both the political process and the government's operation that will pressure whoever takes office next January. "They are all responding to a palpable disgust in the electorate with politics as usual in Washington," said Will Marshall, president of the Progressive Policy Institute. "So they will be under pressure to do something dramatic if elected."

If there is a common thread to the turbulent politics of 1992, "it is the desire to start over," said James P. Pinkerton,

counselor to President Bush's reelection campaign. "The feeling that we can do better, that the world does not consist of what power brokers in Washington can agree to in a smoke-filled room."

That impulse has produced political upheavals that confounded the experts all year. During the primaries, Brown, Tsongas and Buchanan all ran much better than expected with an anti-politician persona and a call for dramatic reversals in policy.

That same desire for reform is powering the term-limit movement—which has placed initiatives to limit state and congressional terms on the ballot in 14 states. Polls in all those states show the initiatives leading, typically by margins of 3 to 1, said Kristine Kirby, communications director of Americans To Limit Congressional Terms.

Responding to that public sentiment, roughly three dozen U.S. senators and representatives have signed the group's pledge to support limits on their own terms, which may require a constitutional amendment. So have over 170 House and Senate candidates, primarily, but not exclusively, Republicans. Meanwhile, 15 House members, nine Senate challengers, and almost 70 House challengers have signed the grass-roots "Lead or Leave" organization's pledge that they will cut the deficit in half by 1996 or not seek reelection.

Nothing, though, has demonstrated the depth of the voters' dissatisfaction more than their lasting interest in Perot. An improbable candidate from the outset—a populist billionaire with no record in public office and a mercurial temperament marked by a penchant for conspiracy theories—Perot shot into contention in the presidential polls this spring by promising to "look under the hood" in Washington and find new solutions unencumbered by partisan or ideological bickering.

Even more telling has been Perot's success at reviving his bid this fall after he

stunned his supporters by suddenly quitting the race last July. With his efforts seemingly moribund, Perot electrified his campaign during the presidential debates by re-establishing his identity as an outsider committed to shaking up Washington. In the debates, in his ads and in his recent interviews, he has cast a wide net over both his opponents as tools of the status quo. In Denver on Wednesday, he labeled them "two candidates that were funded and paid for by . . . foreign lobbyists and special interests."

Perot has run into new problems with his unsubstantiated accusations that White House dirty tricks prompted his departure from the race last summer. But, like Tsongas and Brown before him, Perot has "set a standard of outsider honesty and fundamental change," that both of the other candidates have to meet, said Stanley B. Greenberg, Bill Clinton's pollster.

Indeed, since Perot's revival, both Clinton and Bush have turned the volume back up on reform messages that both had muted.

When he declared his candidacy last fall, Clinton came out of the blocks offering a platform of fundamental reform within his own party and the government. Casting himself as an outsider from Washington, Clinton criticized Congress, promised to "reinvent government" by streamlining bureaucracy and said he would restructure social policy to demand "personal responsibility" from the recipients of government aid.

During much of the fall, though, Clinton has sublimated that message to a single-minded critique of Bush's economic record; during the three debates, Clinton's calls for reform disappeared almost entirely.

Now, in the final hours, Clinton is struggling to retake the reform ground that Perot has occupied. In his speeches, he declares himself the only candidate who "has never been part of the Washington Insider Establishment"—a veiled reference to Perot's lobbying activities and ties to presidents from Richard M. Nixon to Ron-

ald Reagan. And Clinton is once again trying hard to convince audiences that he has produced "a new Democratic Party" committed to campaign finance and lobbying reform and a recognition "that government cannot solve all our problems."

First in Denver, and again Friday in Nashville, Bush made his most determined effort in weeks to identify with the reform urge. The President told his audiences that he was committed to "a conservative activist government" that would shake up the schools, the health care system and the legal system through market-based reforms that "give individuals, businesses and families the means to make their own choices through competition and economic opportunity."

Those ideas, Bush argued, offered more fundamental change than Clinton's agenda. Compared to the Administration's plan to promote competition by providing parents vouchers to send their children to private school, Clinton's educational reform ideas amount to "tinkering around the margins," the President declared.

Each candidate has imperfect credibility as a reformer. Most of the ideas Bush now trumpets occupied little of his energy over the past four years. Clinton's call for shaking up Washington rings hollow to some who recall his close relations with powerful interests in Arkansas. And Perot's temperament leads some to wonder whether he could stay the course long enough to pound reforms in campaign financing and the budget process through a reluctant Congress.

But, Marshall and others believe, the substantial influx of new representatives to Congress next year—over 100 new members are expected—will provide a powerful momentum for both political reform and new directions on domestic policy.

And, despite their differences, there is substantial overlap between all three contenders on such issues as reviving the inner cities—a confluence that reflects a broader intellectual consensus among younger policy analysts on the left and the right.

Analysis

ON THE CAMPAIGN

Talking Heads, 'Nutty' Polls and Bush

The media turn into the President's ally in accenting his new 'fire.' But they take a harsher look at Perot.

By THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL

WASHINGTON
In the final crucial days of the race for the White House, those television "talking heads" and media manipulators that President Bush has said he "can't stand," emerged as his sudden ally in his bid to save his job.

Throughout much of the week, the media made much of the President's new "buoyancy" and "fire" in their morning and evening newscasts. Having steered clear to an unprecedented degree of daily stump coverage during the last few months, the major networks returned to it just as Bush was hitting stride on the trail.

He also owed a special debt to the way several media outlets treated what he last week termed those "nutty" polls. In perhaps the key boost for Bush's hopes of upsetting Democrat Bill Clinton, the press cited upon a public opinion survey that even some White House officials thought exaggerated how tight the race had become.

"Clinton is trying to hold a shrinking lead," warned Andrea Mitchell of NBC on Wednesday. "Republicans are coming home to Bush."

The week ended roughly for Bush, however, as all three evening news shows led with disclosure of a 1986 memo from then-Defense Secretary Aspar W. Weinberger that raised new questions about whether Bush has been truthful in discussing the extent of his knowledge of the Iran-Contra scandal. The CBS Evening News with Dan Rather called the memo "a bombshell."

As the race counted down, the media also took a harsh new look at independent Ross Perot in the wake of his allegations that one of his daughters was the target of Republican "dirty tricks." One report on NBC came close to rendering a judgment—unusual for the American press—that the Texas businessman was unfit to be president.

Clinton, meanwhile, frequently was the least visible of the candidates on the airwaves, as has often been the case. When he did show up, it was typically in a defensive posture as he was cast as a one-time prohibitive front-runner whose lead was suddenly endangered.

Bush's "surge" began in earnest on Tuesday, when all three networks led with the news that the gross domestic product index of economic growth had risen by a higher-than-expected annual rate of 2.7% in the third quarter.

Bush spent the next three days flogging the figure as proof of the economy's vigor, as well as the media's bias toward his Administration. If the press were more objective, he argued, Americans would have had a more positive attitude about the economy, and thus would have bought more goods, which would have sparked even more growth and resulted in more support for his reelection.

The economic news was "casting fear into those talking heads on TV," Bush railed from the stump on Wednesday. Vice President Dan Quayle appeared on CNN's "Larry King Live" and ABC's "Nightline" armed with charts depicting an improving economy. And both Republicans complained that the third quarter growth figure was receiving short shrift in news reports.

Actually, some of the accounts—such as the one on NBC—treated the new number as plainly positive. But others were more skeptical.

"There is a divergence between this report and economic reality," Merrill Lynch economist Bruce Steinberg said on ABC's "World News." Economist Allen Sinai added: "We are a good way from being where we're back in business."

For all his gripes, Bush's biggest bounce came from numbers generated not by his Commerce Department, but the media itself—by those very "nutty" polls.

Last weekend, some surveys began indicating that the race was narrowing from the double-digit lead Clinton had been holding. Then, on Wednesday, a poll conducted by the Gallup Organization for CNN and USA Today suggested the race was a statistical dead heat among respondents it defined as those most likely to vote. Clinton led by two percentage points among this group, within the poll's margin of error of plus or minus 3 points.

The poll was frankly anomalous. Four other surveys surfacing by Thursday gave Clinton 7-to-10 point leads. But the network news coverage generally suggested the race was closer than that. NBC News, for instance, led its Wednesday evening broadcast by saying the margin was

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MEDIA: Ally to Bush

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anywhere from 2-to-7 points, ignoring a Los Angeles Times Poll released that day that showed it at 10 points.

The CBS "Evening News" led its newscast with the CNN poll Wednesday. The lead story on NBC's "Today" show Thursday morning began: "The lead is down to five points."

If Bush benefited, perhaps even unduly, from this week's press coverage, Perot did not.

The week began with Perot telling CBS' "60 Minutes" that he believed a report he had received that the White House was going to smear one of his daughters by releasing a phony, sexually compromising photo of her and disrupting her August wedding ceremony. That was one reason he dropped out of the race in July, he claimed.

Amid angry, vehement White House denials, Perot could offer no proof to back up the claims. And on Monday, Perot demonstrated his temper was stronger than his sense of news management when he burst into an aide's press briefing to denounce reporters for asking further about the story. The moment led all three network newscasts that night.

"I don't have to prove anything to you people to start with," Perot was shown saying, his aides appearing startled and intimidated.

The network newscasts did not take Perot gently into that good night.

On ABC, reporter Morton Dean examined Perot's renewed claim that Vietnamese-funded hit squads once broke onto his property, apparently with the aim of harming his family, and found much to contradict the Texan's account. For instance, Perot said one of his dog handlers had chased off the purported assailants; Dean put one of the handlers on camera, who proceeded to deny knowing anything about any such incident.

On NBC, correspondent Lisa Myers said Perot's allegation of Republican dirty tricks and his reaction to questions about it raised "questions about his character, truthfulness and fitness to be President."

Expanding her report, Myers said Perot was "so notorious" for taking "liberty with the truth" that one unnamed source had told her that at his former computer services company, "lying was known as 'Rossing.'" The phrase was put on the screen so viewers would not miss it.

By Tuesday, all the networks were noting the loving dad and humble servant of the people depicted in Perot's infomercials was a different man than the one the public was seeing live and unscripted in news interviews and briefings. What's more, ABC's Jeff Greenfield questioned whether the Perot ads had actually delivered the substantive solutions to the country's problems he said they would. And many of the statistics in Perot's first chart-laden critique of the American economy, NBC's Myers reported, were incorrect.

Amid the early focus on Perot and the mid-week spotlight on the polls, Clinton was generally pushed to the background. On Monday, for instance, ABC did not even do a Clinton story. NBC and CBS, meanwhile, featured him reacting to the Bush-Perot flap.

By Wednesday, all three networks were showing Clinton attacking Bush as someone who was not qualified to talk about trust, but then decrying attack politics. It was a message at best mixed, at worst two-faced.

For a candidate who once planned to end the campaign with a series of uplifting speeches on the issues, Clinton not only had changed his strategy to some degree, but he was likely not thrilled with how the media filter was distilling his final messages.

Clinton Takes a Different Road to Reach Black Voters

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Before a Mr. Rushmore-like painting of seven revered and deceased black heroes, a tuxedoed Bill Clinton stood in a darkened hall recently to dedicate himself to an audience of black Americans.

The 10-minute speech by the Democratic presidential nominee to the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation Dinner in Washington expressed a simple, direct and unspoken—though clearly understood—contrast to the last 12 years. Clinton did not have to spell out a course of action to win their support.

Rather, he swore to the 4,000 black diners that if they helped him fulfill his quest to win the presidency, he would provide "full

participation, full partnership" in a Clinton White House.

"If I change my address, I will only be a tenant there," he said. "You still own the place, and I want you to act like it."

For Clinton, the moment was special only because it occurred in the harsh glare of a spotlighted public gathering. More typical of his efforts to court black support was the private, closed-door fundraiser held hours earlier and a few blocks away at a downtown Washington art museum. That reception, hosted by some 60 affluent black American business owners, produced \$600,000 for the Arkansas governor.

"This was a historic event," Rodney Slater, one of Clinton's top black aides, said immediately after the fund-raiser. "This represents

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BLACKS: Clinton Breaks Tradition in Courtship of Bloc

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the fact that African-Americans want to be key players in the Clinton Administration. When they can raise that kind of money—that's more than African-Americans have ever raised for anybody—you can bet the candidate will pay attention to them."

Like all contemporary Democratic presidential candidates, Clinton is counting on overwhelming support from the nation's black voters to propel him to victory. But to achieve that, he has taken a significantly different approach than the party's previous nominees.

Clinton has avoided offering himself as a benefactor of black Americans through dramatic, highly publicized appeals to them or by proposing a host of social programs. Rather, the Arkansas governor has conducted an almost stealth-like campaign within black communities, quietly collecting chits from influential leaders and middle-class blacks while limiting efforts directed at poor, ghetto-dwelling African-Americans. And in targeting middle-class blacks, he has tried to blend their political and economic concerns into the same mix of issues aimed at attracting the highly coveted white suburban voting bloc.

He has done this in order to claim a larger share of the white vote—especially suburban white males, who polls have suggested viewed previous Democratic presidential candidates as too eager to genuflect to black demands. No Democrat since Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964 has won a majority of the white vote, a major reason the party has lost all but one presidential election since then.

With this strategy, Clinton sought to give his campaign an inclusive middle-class cast, effectively defusing race as an issue and avoiding the need to reassure white voters that he would not unduly bend toward poor and needy blacks.

primary season—at a time when Jackson's disdain for the Arkansas governor was undistinguished—were Reps. John Lewis of Georgia, Mike Espy of Mississippi and William J. Jefferson of Louisiana.

These three, like others, are not especially well-known nationally. But for the Clinton camp, what counts is that each commands strong and favorable name identification among blacks in their home states. And while in large measure these politicians offered their early support based on their association with Clinton as a fellow Southerner, it also reflected the new pragmatism among them.

Waters, a national co-chairwoman of the Clinton campaign, most vividly illustrates this phenomenon, given her past close ties to Jackson. Echoing countless other black elected officials, she makes clear that winning the White House is what matters to her this year, not the strategy the candidate employs to get there.

"I don't question it at this point," she said. "I want George Bush out of the White House so bad, I'll buy [Clinton's] strategy."

Like Waters, Rep. Craig Washington (D-Texas) is unconcerned about Clinton's primary focus on white, middle-class, suburban voters.

"He needs to go where he can get votes that I can't get for him," Washington said. "The fact that he doesn't come into black churches every Sunday and that he doesn't campaign in black communities [to avoid] turning off Joe Willie Six-Pack doesn't bother me. He doesn't want to send them back to help the Republicans."

Inda Faye Williams, associate professor of government and politics at the University of Maryland, said statements like those from black elected leaders—most of whom were faithful Jackson supporters in the past—reveals the "12 years of pent-up leadership hopes" among black leaders.

Surprisingly, as Clinton has pursued this strategy, polls have shown he has garnered increasingly enthusiastic support from black voters. A recent survey of 850 blacks by the Washington-based Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies showed more than 80% giving Clinton highly favorable marks on questions of knowledge, fairness and leadership.

In fact, if there has been any genius—or luck—to Clinton's handling of black voters, it has stemmed from amplifying the hard-edged pragmatism with which many black political leaders and their constituents approached the 1992 campaign. Minimizing conflict within their ranks, they have kept their eyes fixed on the prize: returning a Democrat to the White House. And Clinton appears to have been the beneficiary of this growing political maturity among black voters.

"We're smart," Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Los Angeles), one of Clinton's earliest and most important black backers, said recently. "We know where our best interest lies. Even if it means that we campaign a little bit differently and not in the ways that we have before, we are out to win, and we can win with Bill Clinton."

Overall, blacks make up about 1-in-6 of Clinton's voters, according to recent polls. In the final Times national pre-election poll, released last week, he was favored by 78% of black voters, with President Bush and independent candidate Ross Perot each backed by 9%.

Many of these voters are the legacy of the Rev. Jesse Jackson's unsuccessful 1984 and 1988 campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination, which excited political passions among blacks and swelled voter registration rolls within their communities.

Democratic nominees Walter Mondale in 1984 and Michael S. Dukakis in 1988 each publicly enlisted Jackson to their cause in hopes of gaining the allegiance of his followers. But while both Mondale and Dukakis harvested the vast majority of black votes cast in their respective races, neither was able to generate a huge turn-out among African-Americans. That was especially apparent four years ago, when the failure of blacks to turn out in large numbers was seen as a major reason Dukakis lost close races to then-Vice President Bush in several states, including Illinois, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Missouri.

Clinton, during most of his campaign, took the alternative approach of keeping Jackson at arm's length while beckoning an aspiring breed of black leaders to supplant him as a link to black voters.

Among the first black officials to join the Clinton cause early in the

She also said that "many black selected officials chafed during the last two [presidential] elections over their own roles as leaders because Jesse was always the one out front. Clinton has answered their prayers by giving them room to maneuver."

Ironically, in the campaign's final hours, Clinton finds himself more dependent on black votes in some key states than many of his advisers anticipated. As many polls have shown the race tightening, the Arkansas governor's fate appears increasingly tied to a heavy turnout among traditional Democratic constituencies, including blacks.

That's especially true in two key regions. It appears Clinton needs a high black turnout in the Midwestern battleground states of Michigan and Ohio—where blacks cast 8% and 12%, respectively, of the votes four years ago—and in such hotly contested Southern states as Georgia and Louisiana, where blacks constituted about a fifth of the vote in 1988.

These political realities have helped lead to a rapprochement between Clinton's campaign and Jackson. The campaign is hoping Jackson can help spur a big turnout among blacks for the Democratic ticket. And the civil rights leader, for his part, is quietly cooperating in hopes of gaining clout within a Clinton Administration.

Meanwhile, some blacks have remained lukewarm toward Clinton, worrying that his campaign strategy will serve only to get him elected without demonstrating a real commitment to helping poor blacks. These leaders were distressed that the well-publicized bus tours that helped define the Clinton campaign immediately after the summer's Democratic National Convention focused on small towns and rural America, where the crowds were made up mostly of white faces.

"We're going to have to put a lot of pressure on Brother Clinton once he gets in the White House," said Cornell West, director of Afro-American studies at Princeton University. "I hope he wins, but I recognize he's not a true warrior for cause."

After a flurry of complaints that the campaign was avoiding black voters and ignoring their issues, Clinton's staff squeezed in time for him to campaign a few weeks ago with a delegation of black congressional leaders as they barnstormed several Southern states in a get-out-the-vote effort sponsored by the Democratic National Committee.

Still, the bus trip failed to quell all of the concerns. Even some of those who joined in the journey dubbed it "The Back of the Bus Tour."

Bush Cites Trust; Clinton Upbeat

■ Democrat: Arkansas governor is down to a whisper as laryngitis takes hold. But new polls fuel his quiet confidence.

By CATHLEEN DECKER
Times Political Writer

EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J.—With confetti flying and spirits soaring, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton revealed Sunday in an emotional climax to his 11-month campaign for the presidency, urging 20,000 supporters to "fight on" for another day to insure victory on election day.

One more day remains—one that Clinton will fill with a 30-hour, 4,106-mile journey to 10 states—but Sunday night's get-out the vote rally in the Brendan Byrne arena here served as an emotional conclusion, in symbolic symmetry with the Democratic National Convention that sent him and running mate Al Gore into the general election.

"My fellow Americans, in this last year and a month I have done everything I could to reach the heart and the mind of America," said Clinton, his laryngitis-stricken voice rasping painfully. "I have done everything I could to make you believe that we could close the gap in this country between what is and what ought to be in the lives of every man and woman and every boy and girl in America."

"And I ask you now to remember that the long walk is still to be consummated by Election Day. . . . I ask you to remember that there are 36 hours in which we can fight on, fight on for victory, fight on for a new future for America."

As he spoke, his ebullient supporters chanted "One more day!"

The night was intentionally reminiscent of the triumphant close of the convention, held just across the river in New York City last July. The same Mylar confetti fell from the ceiling, the same music blared and running mate Al

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CLINTON: Day of Quiet Confidence

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Gore even took a turn dancing with his wife Tipper as he had done during the convention.

Gore, like Clinton, spoke emotionally of the close of their quest, in remarks laced with gibes at President Bush and Vice President Quayle.

"This campaign has been a long and arduous campaign but one filled with excitement and hope," he said. "We are about to prove as a nation that nothing can stop us now."

"... We believe that it is time to end the division that they [Bush and Quayle] have promoted, to bring out people together, and we believe that it is time for leadership to bring forth from our nation the best that is within us."

He, too, added a plea against complacency: "Remember, there is still a lot of time between now and when the polls close."

The get-out-the-vote rally was linked by satellite to six other gatherings around the country, including one at the Museum of Flying in Santa Monica.

Clinton said that 100,000 people watched the revelry in all seven sites.

The rally closed out what had been a day filled with undeniable confidence for the Democratic presidential nominee, even if his voice was down to a croak.

In Cincinnati on Sunday morning, the Democratic presidential nominee was able to rasp out only 21 seconds of talk before his mouth opened and nothing came out.

"We've fought for a year. We got two days to go. . . . Fight on. Don't give up. Go!" he whispered.

In Wilkes-Barre, Pa., where he managed three minutes of talk, Clinton remonstrated against a last-minute barrage of criticism from the Bush and Perot campaigns.

"Don't forget there've been a lot of charges and countercharges and ups and downs, but when you strip it all away this election is a race between hope and fear, between the courage to change and the comfort of the status quo," he said, "between those who say things are fine and those of us who believe that we can do better—that America deserves better."

Clinton's untimely bout of laryngitis may have been painful, but it did nothing to dampen spirits on a campaign that was breathing easier with the publication of new polls suggesting that his lead has stabilized and in some cases increased.

The governor's aides ascribed the governor's voice troubles to overuse and lack of sleep. At several points in the campaign, Clinton's voice has gone raw—in New Hampshire in February, when he was struggling to maintain his candidacy, and in the spring, when he was forced to take a week off to regain his voice.

Such was the state of Clinton's confidence on Sunday that he never so much as mentioned Bush's name nor that of the third man in the race, Ross Perot.

In his stead, Clinton's staff issued a broadside aimed at the half-hour infomercial Perot ran on television Sunday night, calling it a "multi-million-dollar smokescreen" that demonstrated his "detachment from reality."

The Perot commercial attacked both Clinton and Bush. In response,

the Clinton campaign released two pages of statistics contradicting Perot's criticisms of Clinton's record in Arkansas.

"During the entire program, he never once mentions how he would rebuild America; he only attacks the other candidates," said Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos. "He offers no solutions, because he doesn't have any."

At heart, however, neither the candidate nor the campaign appeared to be truly worried about Perot, or even President Bush.

A CNN tracking poll—which inspired fear among the Clintonites earlier this week when it cited the margin between Clinton and Bush at a razor-thin one point, showed an eight-point lead for Clinton on Sunday morning. Other polls as well showed a comfortable lead for the Democratic presidential nominee, and internal campaign polls set the gap at about seven points.

"There's an emerging consensus in the polls and that's reflected in our internal polls," said spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers.

Despite his confidence and his laryngitis bout, Clinton still planned to end the campaign with an underdog's schedule. In a surge that begins at dawn Monday, Clinton will appear in the key states of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Missouri, Kentucky, Texas—twice—New Mexico, Colorado and finally Arkansas.

The journey was scheduled to last 29 hours—if it ends on time, which was questionable—and clock out at 4,106 miles. The strategy behind the locations was simple.

"They're big states, without exception states that the Republicans won in 1988, states that, many of which, the Republicans need to win this year for an electoral majority," said Myers.

The barnstorming schedule demonstrated Clinton's strength going into the final 24 hours before the polls open.

Surveys taken last week in the individual states showed Clinton with leads in all but Michigan,

which was a toss-up, and Texas, which Bush controlled.

Clinton had planned one Texas stop but then threw on another, indicating the campaign's hope that Bush's lead in his adopted home state was withering.

Where Clinton will not go was also telling. As recently as last Tuesday, Clinton was in Florida, as part of his longstanding effort to wrest that state from Republican control.

The fact that Florida is not on the list of states to be visited in the closing 24 hours suggests that the Democrats have conceded it—which, of course, they would not admit. Myers characterized it instead as "tough."

Clinton does have the luxury of not having to worry about three states worth 109 electoral votes—California, Illinois, New York—that the Democrats have struggled to win in recent years to no success. Bush won them all in 1988 but has no shot at them this year.

Strategy within the last days of all but the closest electoral contests can be overstated; in many cases—and the Clinton camp believes this to be one—the die is cast with some time remaining on the clock. Still, Clinton was pressing ahead to show his determination.

In Cincinnati, where he opened his day at church, the choir greeted him with a hymn: "I Don't Feel No Ways Tired." And he looked the part. At a tailgate party near Riverfront Stadium before the Cincinnati Bengals-Cleveland Browns football game, he bounded onto the stage and saluted Mayor Dwight Tillery with a rambunctious high-five.

"My voice'll be better by this afternoon, and I'll be there Monday. I'll be there Tuesday," Clinton said.

After his raspy, 21-second speech, Clinton—perhaps to demonstrate that his illness was limited to his vocal chords—tossed around a football with his strategist Paul Begala.

PICKING A PRESIDENT

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE IN ACTION

The President and vice president are the nation's only elected officials who do not gain office by direct vote of the people. When Americans cast their ballots in the presidential race, they are actually voting for "electors" pledged to their candidate. The number of each state's electors is the total of its two Senate seats and its House seats. These electors, who constitute the Electoral College, make the actual selection for President. The development of political parties has made the system largely ceremonial. Here is a look at how it works:

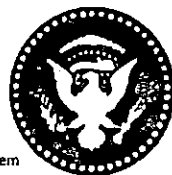
1. Each party within a state selects a group of electors for each candidate—mostly party loyalists.
2. When Americans vote Tuesday, they will actually be voting for the states of electors pledged to their candidates. In all but two states, a winner-take-all system is used: The candidate who wins the most votes in a state gets all of its electors. Thus, even if a candidate wins California by only one vote, he is awarded all of its 54 electoral votes. To win the presidency, a candidate must receive 270 electoral votes.
3. On Dec. 14, in a mostly procedural step, the electors will meet in their respective state capitals to cast their votes.
4. On Jan. 6, the president of the Senate will open certificates containing the votes.

* Maine and Nebraska use a slightly different system to award electoral votes.

■ If they don't reach 270: If no candidate receives 270 electoral votes, the House selects the winner. Each state would get one vote, cast as a majority of its representatives chooses.

■ The system's purpose: The framers of the Constitution set up the Electoral College after rejecting direct elections as well as a proposal that Congress choose the nation's leader. The compromise was this system of indirect vote.

■ Trivia time: Two candidates have been elected directly despite receiving fewer popular votes than their opponents: Rutherford B. Hayes in 1876 and Benjamin Harrison in 1888.



AN ELECTION NIGHT SCORECARD

A majority of the electoral vote, 270, is required to win the presidency. Here's a scorecard for tracking Tuesday's night's winner:

Electoral votes	Clinton	Bush	Perot	Electoral votes	Clinton	Bush	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		
District of Columbia	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		
Mississippi	7			Vermont	3		
Maine	4			Virginia	13		
Maryland	10			Washington	11		
Massachusetts	12			West Virginia	5		
Michigan	18			Wisconsin	11		

After 9 Months of Campaigns, Voters Are Ready to Decide

■ **Election:** Some made up their minds early. The others—"persuadables"—have been the prime targets of the campaigns.

By DAVID LAUTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—For nine months they have watched presidential candidates debate and advertise, argue and attack. They have thought about taxes and trust and change and, above all, the economy. And now, finally, voters have about made up their minds.

For some, the choice has been easy. "I haven't changed. I'm still strongly pro-Bush," said Dutch Dreyer, a 74-year-old retired salesman in Carrollton, Ga. "I think he's done a good job. I think he's being blamed for the evils of Congress, for their spendthrift ways."

Others continue to agonize. "I just said to my husband at dinner tonight, 'I really don't know what I want to do Tuesday,'" said Martha Ouellette, a mother of two in Nashua, N.H., still trying to make up her mind whether to vote for independent Ross Perot or join her husband in supporting Democrat Bill Clinton.

Voters like Dreyer—people who know from early on how they plan to vote—make up the largest share of the electorate. But it is people like Ouellette who give elections their volatility. Those voters—the "persuadables," in the lingo of campaign consultants—make up the prime targets for all the millions of dollars and thousands of hours that campaigns expend.

Those voters also have been a chief focus for the news media. During this campaign year, Times reporters have interviewed scores of voters across the country, concentrating on the "persuadables" in order to gain insights into how the election looks to the people at the receiving end of all those political messages.

As the year has stretched on, the interviews have shown one marked change: Voter anger about the process, so palpable at first, seems to have subsided. Voters still voice unhappiness about too many negative ads, too much arguing about personalities. But over many seem to share the sentiment of Tom Lambelot, a 30-year-old manager at a New Hampshire engineering firm. "The process isn't perfect," he said. "But when all the smoke cleared, it worked pretty well."

In particular, many of the voters interviewed recently cited this year's wave of talk-show appearances by the candidates as a major improvement in the way campaigns are conducted—a development that gave them much more information about where the candidates stand on the issues of the day.

"The call-in shows have been a big help," Ouellette said. "You actually hear questions that you might ask. . . . It's not in-depth, but it gives you an idea of how the candidates think and what they might do."

The campaigns themselves have found a similar shift in voter attitudes. While many voters still see both Clinton and Bush as flawed candidates, polls show that overall, both men have more favorable ratings than they had in June.

Many of the voters interviewed recently cited this year's wave of talk-show appearances by the candidates as a major improvement in the way campaigns are conducted.

Perot's rating has fluctuated more widely.

"In our focus groups, the change [in voter attitudes] comes through in the degree of interest people have in the election," Clinton pollster Stanley B. Greenberg said. Earlier in the year, polls showed many potential voters had turned away from politics altogether, saying elections were irrelevant to their lives. Today, by contrast, campaigns find less alienation and more of a sense that the election does matter.

"That's one of the reasons I think we'll get a high turnout this year," Greenberg said. "Perot probably helped that. Even though his message is anti-system and anti-establishment, he has also helped voters say, 'Big issues are under discussion, people are talking about important things.'"

The most important of those "important things" has, of course, been the economy. In the beginning as in the end, that one issue has dominated the contest. Few voters talk much about issues such as race, abortion or family values—questions that many analysts had expected would dominate the contest. And for all its importance, foreign policy and national security seem to have played little role in this first post-Cold War election.

In the winter, as snow fell in New Hampshire, the primacy of the economy became apparent as the Ouellettes, Marthas and Gens, talked of how economic change was tearing them away from their Republican moorings, making them think about voting Democratic.

In March of 1991, Glen Ouellette lost his job with a high-technology firm in Massachusetts. By the time his state's first-in-the-nation primary rolled around in February, he had been out of steady work for nearly a year. Not long after the primary, he found a full-time job, but one that pays far less than he had made before.

"It's a small company, but it seems to be catching on. I hope to grow with it," he said, voicing the optimism about the future that has so long been a part of the American character.

But his recent experiences have tempered that optimistic view. "I don't see our standard of living going back to where it was a couple of years ago," he said, "but we're holding our own."

Until this year, Ouellette had voted for Republicans. His brush with economic disaster made him begin to change his mind. "This economy is not going to heal itself," he said. "It's going to take some investment and some work."

But it took repeated disappointments from Bush to finally seal Ouellette's vote. "I kept waiting for him to come around," Ouellette said. "It sounded for a while like he was going to. But it was always, 'OK, we've got serious problems,' and then I kept waiting for the next sentence. He never said what he would do about them."

Jim and Lucia LeVan also felt disappointment with Bush. But in the spring, as the first robins began appearing on the small and tidy front lawns of their middle-class neighborhood in Allentown, Pa., they shared their worries that Clinton lacked the experience for the job.

Five months later, the campaign has only deepened their worries about the Arkansas governor. As they talk about him, their words echo many of the attacks that Bush's campaign has leveled against him. And in their case, the attacks have succeeded. They will stay with the GOP.

"I will vote for Bush," Lucia LeVan said. "As the campaign progressed, it became easier because I didn't like the other choices."

"There are some areas that I'm still not happy about with Bush," she added. "But I just see us going back to the Jimmy Carter years if we get Clinton."

Her husband voices similar thoughts. "I don't know that I'm totally happy with Bush either," he said. "But Clinton's flip-flopping—it doesn't strike me as the kind of person who should be running the country."

The emphasis on character has made the campaign too negative, he said. "I'm not happy with that approach. But, yeah, I'm influenced by it. Therein lies the problem."

As for Perot, he never had much appeal for the Pennsylvania couple. "He's just got no experience as

an elected official," Jim LeVan said.

That's the point, would be Mike Baer's response. In late summer, Baer and his wife, Lynn, a suburban couple living outside Dayton, Ohio, voiced disgust with the political process and mourned Perot's departure from the race.

With Perot back in, they intend to stick with him.

"I was starting to lean toward Bush," Baer said, "but I wasn't happy with it." Perot seems to be

more intent on fixing the economy than crapping around the way the others are," he said.

Baer concedes that Perot "sort of hurt himself" with his allegations last weekend about Republican dirty tricks aimed at one of his daughters and her August wedding. "Some people think he may be a little paranoid," he said. "I was a little disappointed he brought it up."

But to Baer's mind, Perot is the only candidate willing to make the

changes the economy needs, and everything else is secondary. "A lot of people, when they walk into the voting booth, will say, 'The heck with it. We've had Democrats. We've had Republicans. And nothing really good has happened,'" he said. "They're liable to give Perot a shot."

In any case, "he may not win," Baer said. "But I'm going to vote for him."

Times researcher Edith Stanley in Atlanta contributed to this story.

Gore Adds Personal Touch in Last Campaign Days

■ **Running mates:** His button-down approach to the issues has lately been punctuated by flashes of emotion and departure from prepared texts.

By SAM FULWOOD III
TIMES STAFF WRITER

KALAMAZOO, Mich.—Like a salesman who senses that the buyer is eager and time is slipping away, Democratic vice presidential nominee Al Gore has pulled out all the stops in recent days to close the deal that would send Bill Clinton and him to the White House.

Normally a cautious campaigner and stickler for details of the campaign's detailed economic theme, Gore has been expressing himself with a rare intensity that for him might be mistaken for reckless abandon.

This has permitted his crowds to see the Tennessee senator's personal and emotional colorings, previously well hidden beneath his blue-suited and buttoned-down image.

For example, Gore has taken to noting signs that he likes in nearly every crowd. Earlier in the campaign, he was so focused on what he was saying that he often appeared not to notice such signs and rarely challenged the hecklers who inevitably appeared.

On Sunday, however, Gore deviated from his speech here at Western Michigan University to draw attention to several signs, including one that read: "I Love Mr. Ozone." That one, featuring a reference to the moniker President Bush has used to ridicule Gore's environmental activism, gave Gore a reason to highlight his environmental positions and take a few potshots at the President.

"He seems to like Zs," Gore said, noting that Bush frequently refers to him as "Mr. Ozone," "crazy," and a "hozo."

Then, Gore attacked Bush's claim that his dog knows more than the Democratic ticket about foreign policy. "Maybe it was Millie that told him to roll over and play dead on domestic policy," Gore said.

Gore often uses dry ridicule to blister the President, and lately he has shown a newfound eagerness and a greater willingness to interrupt texts of his speeches to do so.

At a campaign rally Thursday at Lamar University in Beaumont, Tex., Gore paused in his remarks to challenge a particularly aggressive group of Bush supporters. As the youthful demonstrators chanted in an effort to drown out Gore's message, the candidate asked them if they supported parental leave without pay to care for a sick child.

The hecklers were momentarily thrown off stride, and Gore declared that Republicans are only interested in disruptions and diversions.

As Gore has expressed the nation the last

few days, he has drawn attention to issues, such as the environment and community responsibility, that are important to him. He devoted a speech to the environment last Friday, for example, giving the topic more attention than it has had so far in the campaign.

Last Tuesday night a Gore speech in Ft. Collins, Colo., was canceled when a crude bomb was found at a high school where he was to speak. The vice presidential candidate insisted that his schedule be changed to permit a return to the Colorado college town, where he delivered a personal and eloquent message on racial harmony on Saturday.

"Here, in Ft. Collins, people started reaching into their hearts and reaching out to their neighbors," he said with emotion. "And you have joined hands and joined voices to deliver a clear message about your community and your commitment to each other. You have a gift in the community. Treasure it. Honor it. Teach it to your children so they can pass it on to their children."

Maria Romash, Gore's press secretary, said that Gore has made a conscious decision to change the tone of his speeches as the campaign draws to close.

"For a good part of this campaign, he talked about the Bush Quayle plans and the Clinton Gore plans and the differences between the two," said Romash. "Now, he's trying to say [what he feels] about us and about you as a nation. . . . That he hasn't before."

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BUSH: Focuses on Trust

Continued from A1
about the steps he took to avoid the military draft.

An account of the incident first appeared in Saturday's editions of the Washington Times, and the officer, retired Army Lt. Col. Don Cake, signed an affidavit at the request of Bush aides Saturday evening.

The GOP knew of Cake's allegations last September and tried to interest several news organizations, including The Times, in them. The Times interviewed Cake but could not corroborate key elements of his story.

That Bush chose to give the claims prominence in the waning days of his campaign reflected his continuing need to highlight the traits that he contends render his rival unqualified for high office. "The bottom line is we simply can't take the risk on Gov. Clinton," the President shouted from a podium placed beneath a banner that proclaimed "Bush Wins!"

"His experience and character simply do not match the criterion for the Oval Office."

In the affidavit, which Bush campaign aides released as Bush finished his speech in Auburn Hills, Cake said two co-workers told him in late 1973 or early 1974 that two Clinton representatives had demanded and eventually taken from the office Clinton's ROTC file. Cake admits he did not see the alleged Clinton representatives, and says one of the people who told him this was his boss at the time, Col. Guy Tutwiler—then the commander of the university's ROTC program.

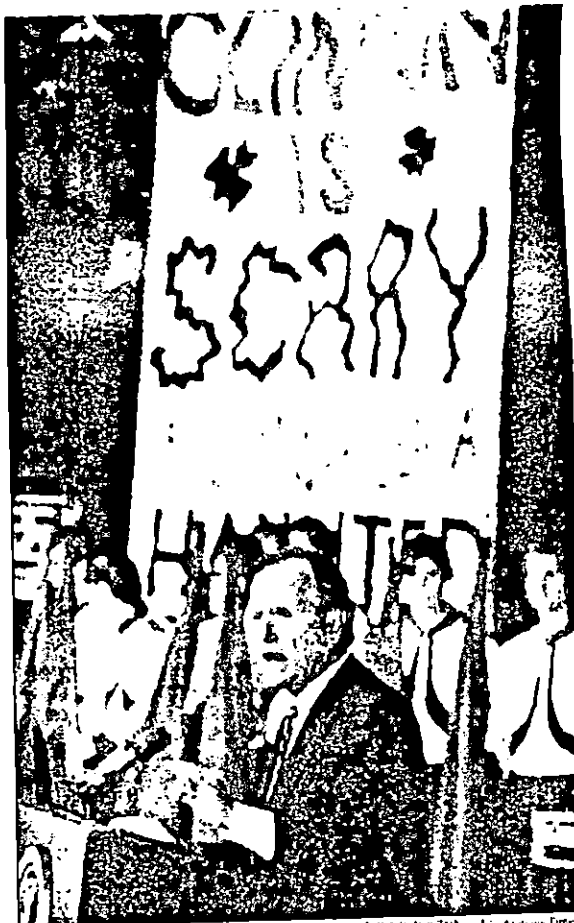
Last week, The Times contacted Tutwiler, a Republican who is supporting Bush; he denied Cake's story, although he said he wished it were true. The retired colonel said the only document he remembered involving Clinton was the Dec. 3, 1969, letter to the ROTC backing out of his commitment. Tutwiler said he sent that letter to his commanding general at Ft. Riley in Kansas, on his own initiative, because he considered it politically sensitive. This was in 1974, he said, just as Clinton was involved in his first political campaign, a losing effort to win a seat in Congress.

As Bush flew from Wisconsin to Michigan to Connecticut and on to New Jersey, he repeated in every rally and television interview what has become his familiar refrain: that integrity should matter more than any other trait in the quest for the White House.

With internal Republican polls suggesting that many Americans have not yet finally decided how to cast their votes, White House strategists said that the appeal was intended to overcome Clinton's lead by persuading his supporters to decide, at the last minute, they "better not" vote for him.

Bush found his offensive somewhat stalled, however, during an uncomfortable interview on CNN in which he met with a series of questions about his role in the Iran-Contra scandal. That topic has been the focus of Clinton's counterattacks on character issues, and an uncharacteristically testy Bush made a number of bitter statements during the interview.

In the interview, Bush expressed displeasure with the decision of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh to issue a second indictment of former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger only four days before the election. That indictment included disclosure of a note Weinberger drafted at the height of the affair, listing Bush as supporting the initiative to swap arms



President Bush speaks at a rally in Detroit, Mich., Sunday afternoon.

for hostages. The President, whose previous accounts appeared to be contradicted by the note, did not rule out the prospect of firing the special prosecutor if reelected.

"I am not going to discuss what I'll do about that," Bush said. But "I think it's been a big witch hunt."

A CNN USA Today tracking poll, which earlier in the week showed the President closing to just 1 percentage point behind Clinton and sparked hope in the Bush camp, late Sunday showed Clinton's lead widening to 44% to 36%.

Bush aides emphasized, however, that other polls showed the race holding steady at the national level, and they said that internal polling in key states showed the President to be making gains in Georgia, Wisconsin and Pennsylvania. Campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter said that he still believes Bush stands "a very good chance" of winning.

The President himself was clearly weary in the final hours of what will be a nonstop nine-day campaign blitz. But he gave no public hint of any internal despair, and he told a crowd here that he had "never wavered and I never will" from his confidence that he will win reelection.

But as his aides weighed polls and other evidence to plan for a crucial final day of campaigning, they expressed uneasiness at the signs that the race might no longer be tightening.

In Michigan, where a Detroit News poll showed Clinton holding a 10-point lead, GOP strategists who have regarded a victory in the state as crucial to the Bush electoral battle plan said that their task scope has become unexpectedly difficult. They said that they hope Bush victories in states like Connecticut, Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Tennessee—all of which have been leaning toward Clinton—could help to make amends should Bush fall short in a state he had hoped would end up in his column.

But the tentative road map for Bush's final day on the campaign trail today served to underscore how little room he has for error

With Clinton holding apparently insurmountable leads in California, New York and Illinois, all-but-final plans call for Bush to try to shore up his own prospects in the battlegrounds of Ohio, New Jersey and Texas, while aiming also at upsets in Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Louisiana.

As he braced for that final blitz, Bush on Sunday maintained an oddly languid public pace, appearing at just two rallies over the course of the day. But aboard Air Force One and at each stop, he gave interviews to local television journalists at an almost nonstop pace, a strategy regarded by aides as the most effective way for the President to get his message to voters.

At the rallies, however, Bush remained relentlessly defiant. Seizing on reports that Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein is planning a massive street party to celebrate his ouster, Bush inspired patriotic eruptions both in Michigan and Connecticut as he vowed once again to confound his wartime foe.

"They are not going to have a demonstration in Baghdad, because they're going to have to contend with me for four more years," he said.

Bush voiced similar disdain for Clinton, whom he suggested had plans to play his own saxophone in an inaugural procession. "Hold the phone, Bill," he counseled his younger rival in an appearance in Auburn Hills, Mich. "You are not going to be in the White House, and you are not going to have that parade."

He went on in Connecticut to mock Clinton's youthful aspirations to high office by pledging to give the Democratic political tribune a chance to mature a little more in Arkansas—a reference to Clinton's 1992 loss to backing out of his ROTC commitment. And as he urged faith in one his supporters, he reminded them of a lesson that he said Clinton might not have learned as a Rhodes scholar.

"It's not the pollsters, it's not the pundits, it's not the talking heads telling you how to vote," he said. "The American people make up their own minds on Election Day."

■ **Republican:** The President hammers away at character issue as he raises new questions about rival's ROTC documents.

By DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITER

STRATFORD, Conn.—With his bid for reelection down to its penultimate day, President Bush rushed Sunday from the Midwest to the Northeast to sound a closing-hours appeal for Americans to cast their votes on the basis of trust.

Sensing opportunity in the debate over integrity, Bush fended off questions about his own role in the Iran-Contra scandal and instead demanded that voters scrutinize evidence of Clinton's ambition, his alleged duplicity and his Vietnam-era draft record.

He distilled that message into pure form at a nighttime rally in a packed airplane hangar, saying that the choice facing the nation on Tuesday is "who best to accept the trust of the American people to be in that Oval Office?"

But a closely watched national poll showed his own support slipping and Bush, who must still pick up support in states crucial to his comeback hopes, also went out of his way throughout the day to call attention to a new charge of abuse related to Clinton's records.

First in a Michigan sports arena and then in this small Connecticut town, Bush thundered with outrage about the sworn claim by a former military officer that Clinton allies had acted in 1974 to seize records about the Democratic candidate's military draft history.

As the Oakland County, Mich., arena rocked with chants of "No way, Bill," the President, whose prospects rest heavily on the industrial state, blamed the alleged seizure of Reserve Officer Training Corps records on Clinton's "friends and special connections." He demanded anew that the Democrat "level with the American people."

Please see BUSH, A5

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Bush Bypassed Last Chance to Spur Economy

■ **Commerce:** The President rejected a priming plan that economic adviser Michael Boskin proposed last year, sources say.

By JAMES RISEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—In hindsight, some White House officials now say, it was probably President Bush's last chance to deal forcefully with the long-ailing economy in time to make a difference for his reelection hopes.

In the fall and winter of 1991, Michael Boskin, Bush's chief economic adviser, proposed a temporary economic stimulus package containing significant tax cuts, coupled with a long-term deficit reduction plan calling for caps on future government spending.

But the package was scuttled by the President's other senior advisers, who believed that recovery was just around the corner and who wanted to avoid another bruising tax and budget battle with Congress, according to White House officials who requested anonymity.

So the opportunity slipped away—and with it, perhaps, the President's final chance to take bold action on the economic issues that have dominated the 1992 presidential campaign.

Boskin's anti-recession plan would have required the President to officially declare an economic emergency, a dramatic move designed to demonstrate that Bush was taking the nation's economic woes seriously.

By law, the declaration would have allowed Bush to temporarily suspend some of the rules of the 1990 budget agreement, which restricts the Administration's ability to cut taxes unless it finds some way to immediately make up for the lost federal revenue.

Liberated from the restrictions of that accord, Bush then could have proposed a major tax cut equal to 1% of the nation's gross domestic product, or roughly \$50 billion to \$75 billion a year.

The tax cut was designed to get the economy moving again, but it would have increased the federal deficit in the short term. So Boskin proposed that the Administration tie the tax cut to a multi-year deficit-reduction effort calling for even deeper spending cuts, to take effect automatically in two or three years when the economy was in better shape, sources said.

The package included proposed limits on the future growth of rapidly growing entitlement programs, such as Medicaid and Medicare. Such proposals to cut entitlements would have been highly controversial, but a commitment to long-term deficit reduction would allow Bush to maintain credibility with the financial markets. Any stimulative package that did not address the ballooning national debt could have prompted the markets to drive up interest rates on fears of rising inflation and heavier federal borrowing demands.

Boskin's plan was never adopted by the Bush Administration. In an interview, he declined to discuss past policy disputes.

But sources said Bush and his other senior advisers dismissed the proposal. Not only were they convinced that the economy would recover in time for the election, but they were also reluctant to reopen their bloody battle with

Please see **ECONOMY, B6**

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

ECONOMY: Top Bush Advisers Disliked Plan Urged by Boskin

Continued from B5
congressional Democrats over the 1990 budget agreement. As part of that controversial deal, Bush had made his fateful decision to renege on his "read-my-lips" campaign pledge not to raise taxes.

Indeed, a major tax cut proposal might not have fared well in Congress last year. At the time, the Democrats seemed more intent on revving up the economy through increased federal spending than through Republican tax reductions. Proposing an aggressive tax-cut stimulus plan might have projected boldness, but it would have come to naught if Congress considered it a partisan ploy.

Still, the Administration's reluctance to take action throughout 1991 reflects a serious misreading of the economic outlook. Many economists now say that some sort of stimulus program—roughly the size proposed by Boskin—was just the sort of shot in the arm that might have revived the economy. The effects of a stimulative package adopted in the fall of 1991 probably would have begun to kick in by mid-1992, giving Bush badly needed momentum heading into the fall campaign.

"If a stimulus package had been passed late last year, I happen to believe that George Bush would be getting reelected right now," said Allen Sinai, chief economist of Boston Co. Economic Advisers, a New York research firm. Sinai urged Bush to consider stimulus proposals in a White House meeting last year.

In retrospect, the Administration's failure to take dramatic action on the economy last year now appears to observers both inside and outside the White House to have been a significant miscalculation.

"It was a lost opportunity," said David Hale, an economist at Kemper Financial Services in Chicago.

"I suspect that Bush now regrets he didn't do it," noted Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Gold-

man Sachs International and a leading Democratic economist. "That clearly was the last chance to take action."

Even economists who have endorsed Clinton believe that Bush might have staved off a Democratic challenge this year if he had successfully pushed for an economic stimulus package last winter.

"If Bush had done a stimulus package of about \$50 billion, he'd be getting reelected," noted Rudy Dornbusch, an economist at MIT who has endorsed Clinton.

Many economists believe that the idea of adopting a fiscal stimulus package will resurface as soon as the campaign is over. The next president may have to try to jumpstart the sluggish economy almost immediately after taking office in January.

Boskin initially promoted his economic recovery plan in the fall of 1991, and again during the budget planning process later in the winter. But it proved too drastic for other Administration officials.

Bush's top domestic advisers—Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, White House Chief of Staff John Sununu and Budget Director Richard Darman—thought the recession was ending and that Bush's triumph in the Gulf War would carry him through the election.

As a result, they disagreed with Boskin over the need for Bush to change his economic rhetoric and policies, sources said.

In addition, several sources said, the Administration's bitter battles with Congress over the 1990 budget agreement had left Sununu and Darman wary of doing anything that would require Bush to go back to Capitol Hill seeking major economic legislation. Bush himself was said to be reluctant to go to the mat with the Democrats again.

By the fall of 1991, however, private analysts were becoming increasingly pessimistic about the

prospects of recovery, and so was Boskin. Gulf War euphoria had dissipated, consumer confidence was plunging and the Federal Reserve's long series of interest rate reductions seemed to be having almost no effect on economic activity.

The recession, which supposedly had ended the previous spring, seemed to be rearing its head again on the eve of the 1992 election season. Boskin believed that Bush had to take action quickly.

But to Boskin's dismay, the grim new developments were not being acknowledged in Bush's public comments, which remained consistently upbeat.

The President sounded out of touch, telling the American people the economy was on its way back, that good times were just around the corner.

Through the fall, Boskin was blocked each time he tried to get the President's comments changed to reflect the more somber reality. He found that his personal access to the President had all but evaporated.

Finally, Boskin delivered an ultimatum to Sununu. Either the chief of staff would let him talk privately to the President, or Boskin would resign.

Sununu relented, and Boskin told Bush that the economy was in much worse shape than his senior staff was letting on. And, he warned, 1992 wasn't going to be much better.

Bush listened, and responded. Almost immediately, his rhetoric was toned down, and phrases were inserted into his speeches that indicated that he recognized that people were hurting, that the economy was still troubled.

Still, Bush was unwilling to move beyond rhetoric, and fiscal policy remained effectively frozen. The White House's economic strategy continued to rely primarily on the Federal Reserve to boost the economy through lower inter-



Associated Press

Michael Boskin

est rates.

In early 1992, Bush proposed an economic growth package, but a far more modest one than the plan advocated by Boskin. Unveiled in his State of the Union address in January, the White House package was purposefully small and "deficit neutral" so the 1990 budget agreement would not have to be suspended or renegotiated. That would prevent Congress from saving the existing budget rules, but it also lessened the potential impact on the economy.

The package was quickly brushed aside by the Democrats in Congress, and hopes for a White House anti-recessionary program soured.

Ultimately, Bush was forced to launch his reelection campaign without a stimulus program in place to improve the short-term economic outlook.

And that, above all, is the issue on which American voters seem most unforgiving. A recent University of Michigan survey found that public approval of government economic policies is at its lowest level since World War II.

"A fiscal stimulus program would have been good economics, and even more, it would have been good politics," argued Sinai. "There are not many Presidents who don't try to fix the economy in time for an election."

Comment

ON BUSINESS

Voters Seek Only Return of Prosperity

Americans want their dream back; Tuesday's winner will be asked to take action to revitalize economy.

By JAMES FLANIGAN

No need to bite your fingernails over what lies ahead for business and the economy after Election Day.

Simply ask the question: What do the American people want? That's what will guide the U.S. economy in the next four years.

It has happened before. In 1980, the voters' desire to curb 12% annual inflation decided the election and the economic policies of the following decade.

This year again there is an overriding issue—economic stimulus. Voters want Tuesday's victor to get things moving again.

That doesn't mean necessarily they will vote for Democratic candidate Bill Clinton. President Bush has pledged to stimulate the economy by cutting taxes on income, business profits and capital gains. Voters would reelect him if they wanted to minimize government involvement in the economy.

An electoral nod to Clinton, on the other hand, would be a vote for more government involvement—although voters are not eager for more taxes.

As for Ross Perot, his candidacy is less a potential winner than an expression of how seriously the American people want to get the country moving. "There's anger out there, more than the statistics on recession would lead you to believe," says economist John Rutledge, a onetime adviser to Reagan. "A lot of Americans see their dreams shattered—and they want the dream back."

So, stimulating the economy will be a priority no matter who is elected. And in terms of business and investments, that means higher interest rates, possibly higher taxes on small business owners, doctors and entertainers, and new techniques to make government budgets more business-like—because the next President will need an unprecedented awareness of global financial markets.

Those markets are already speaking up. "The bond markets have concluded that the economy will move faster. That's why short and long-term interest rates have been rising in the last month," says Patricia Klink, head of Advisers Capital Management, a firm that counsels institutional investors on fixed income securities.

The markets are ambivalent—investors want to see the economy pick up, yet they fear it moving too fast. Klink believes rates will fluctuate as market fears swell and subside, but small investors would be unwise to lock into long-term bonds at today's rates—although prudent to get a mortgage sooner rather than later.

But if Clinton spending programs or Bush tax cuts threatened to balloon the federal deficit, the international bond markets would stop them by sending interest rates through the roof.

Global investors are not devils. They are corporate and pension fund investors from the United States and other countries who depend on stable, non-inflationary returns because they have pensions to pay, obligations to meet.

Governments ignore them at their peril. In 1981, France's first left-leaning government in 23 years tried to put socialist programs into effect. But the markets recoiled, interest rates soared, the French economy fell into recession and did not prosper until President Francois Mitterrand adopted conservative policies.

Clinton is aware, say business executives backing him, that his government would have to walk a fine line to boost the economy without disturbing global markets.

That's one reason he would change federal accounting to introduce a capital budget for long-term investments. "In future, the government would only borrow to finance education and training, research and development and infrastructure," says Robert Shapiro, a Clinton adviser from Washington's Progressive Policy Institute.

The capital budget would include activities promising benefits over time—such as water treatment plants or college loans. The cost of such plants and loans could be amortized over many years, as a business would account for them. All other expenditures, including interest on the national debt, would be treated as current expenses.

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FLANIGAN: Voters Want Dream Back

Continued from B5
rent expenses.

The benefit of such budgeting is that it makes distinctions, as you do at home when you set different priorities for spending on education or home improvement and money spent on vacations or movies.

The effect of a capital budget, which business has urged on government for years, would be to restrict future borrowing and set limits on deficit spending.

But that's the future. In the messy present there is a \$300-billion federal deficit. Bush would reduce it by spending cuts—so far unspecified. Clinton says he would raise taxes on high incomes and on foreign companies. One proposal is real, the other is phony.

A hike on incomes over \$200,000 would increase taxes on "owners of small and family businesses, attorneys, doctors and entertainers," says Philip Holthouse of the Los Angeles accounting firm Holthouse, Carlin and Van Trigt. That may not do much for economic stimulus, but it would raise revenue. A new tax bracket would be created for higher incomes—"35% sounds about right," said a leading Congressional Democrat recently.

But not much would be gained by trying to tax foreign multinationals, who have been in a long-running argument for years with the Internal Revenue Service—just as U.S. companies argue with foreign governments. If a Clinton government were looking for \$45 billion in new taxes from multinationals, it would be disappointed.

But those are details. The big economic story will be a try for faster economic growth and the dream renewed. May whoever is in office succeed.

Clinton Wows an Ever-Angry Electorate—in Iraq, That Is

■ Politics: In a defeated nation where Bush is the devil, Democrat wins by default.

By MARK FINEMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

BAGHDAD, Iraq—As clocks counted down the final hours of the U.S. presidential campaign Sunday afternoon, there were no undecideds left among the shoppers at Haider Abbas' little fruit stand in Baghdad's Al Kasaba neighborhood.

"I will cut off the head of my baby and swallow it if it would make Bush lose," housewife Zainab Ismael said calmly as she bought a few eggplants and peaches.

Shopkeeper Abbas was a bit more circumspect. "I will just dance in the streets if Clinton wins," he said, weighing a sack of Iraqi dates for another customer beside a small portrait of a smiling President Saddam Hussein.

"For us, you see, Bush is not a human being," added Sadiq Mahmud, a barber just down the street. "We don't know Clinton. But we know Bush. Bush bombed our factories, our buildings, our bridges. Bush, well, he is the devil for us."

An unscientific sampling, to be sure. But after dozens of other such interviews here in the land the United States and its allies bombed heavily 1½ years ago to end Hussein's occupation of Kuwait, it is fairly safe to say Iraq is Bill Clinton country—at least at the grass-roots level—if for no other reason than by default.

What was also clear as the U.S. campaign neared its end over the weekend was that, regardless of the outcome, the Iraqis may well have followed it even more intently than most Americans.

Never before in Iraqi history has a U.S. election been so closely watched by so many—the 18 million men, women and children of Iraq for whom despair has become daily routine after more than two years of international trade sanctions that have crippled their economy and cut their daily food intake in half.

Every evening for weeks now, most Iraqis have craned over battered transistor radios, wining or smiling as the latest opinion polls were announced on the Voice of America Arabic-language service. Each morning, they have pored over Baghdad's state-run newspapers, laughing heartily over the daily political cartoons that depict a sweating George Bush falling off cliffs, crumbling under rocks or jogging into black abysses with his running shoes and shorts blowing off.

So keen is the interest in the U.S. presidential race here in Baghdad that the value of the Iraqi dinar on the currency black market has become something of a bellwether of subtle shifts in the political polls thousands of miles away. After a year of holding stable at 30 dinars to a dollar, last month the dinar's value surged to less than 20. The reason: Democrat Clinton was far ahead of President Bush in the opinion polls. Suddenly last week, the dinar fell back to 25; Bush apparently had narrowed the margin to just a few points.

Behind such fluctuations is a logic that Iraqi officials and intellectuals reject—that Clinton and a new Administration would soften on the sanctions and ultimately permit Iraqi oil exports, which would restore the dinar's value and drive down prices.

"We are under no illusions," one senior government official said. "The Democrats are backed by the Zionists. They are even more pro-Israeli and anti-Iraq than Bush."

We don't want a change of presidents in America. We want a change of policy. But, of course, it is an emotional issue for most Iraqis. After all, Bush destroyed our country."

In the words of Qasim Bakri, a director general in the ministry that has made extraordinary progress in rebuilding Iraq's bomb-battered power plants, telecommunications buildings, roads, bridges and factories: "To us, America is damaging Iraq, damaging the people of Iraq, damaging everything living in Iraq. So we don't care who is going to come as President to the United States. . . . America is the enemy of Iraq."

Perhaps the closest reflection of the personal election view of Hussein—who, despite his personal hatred for Bush, has not publicly endorsed any of the candidates—came from his eldest son a few days ago in a lengthy discourse on the polls in his daily newspaper, Babil.

"We can hardly hope that the American Administration will change its stand toward Arab issues, whether George Bush stays or goes," declared Uday Hussein, the paper's owner. "The American Administration will continue its hostile policies against the Arabs. And Clinton has gone so far as to announce that he will support the Israeli state unconditionally."

Uday Hussein took the official line on the elections a step further, though, using the widespread popular discontent in the United States that has formed Clinton's popular base to liken Bush to a Third World dictator.

"It is well-known to us that the West and the United States hate any dictator, and they hate a strong personality to come to power because such a

person would rule a country as he likes. But Bush is becoming this sort of person. His ideas don't go in line with Congress and the aspirations of the American people."

In Iraq's tightly controlled society, however, where the people already have such a ruler in Saddam Hussein, such analyses take deep hold not only at the grass-roots level but equally among the merchant class, professors and senior bureaucrats—even some who were educated in the United States.

Ahbas Shaiya, a street vendor who sells cigarettes by the hundreds at Baghdad's Shorja Market, for example, said he has concluded from weeks of listening to the Voice of America that the United States is not a democracy.

"This election is just a show, a cover," he told a rare American customer Sunday. "If you look closely, you have no real choice. Perot is a millionaire. Bush and Clinton are millionaires. Only the rich can become President of the United States. Why don't you choose a leader from your general population? Isn't that what democracy is?"

As for last-minute weekend predictions of the election's outcome, most of Baghdad's armchair observers gave Clinton the edge. It was only at the new Museum of Solidarity and Challenge, a vast collection of photographs and models depicting the allied war destruction and Iraq's postwar reconstruction, that an articulate, U.S.-educated bureaucrat named Ahmed Angurli emphatically predicted that Bush will be reelected.

"I think Bush will win because there is a large silent majority in America," said Angurli, who graduated with economics degrees from a small college in Texas when Lyndon B. Johnson was President. "When they go to the polls on Tuesday, this silent majority will vote for Bush."

Asked whether that would be good for Iraq, he smiled. "No. But actually it makes no difference. Some people think if Clinton becomes President, there will be a change. Many will celebrate. But I know it's just not true. Both men are very hard on Iraq. Either way, there is no hope for us."

'I will cut off the head of my baby and swallow it if it would make Bush lose.'

ZAINAB ISMAEL,
Baghdad Housewife.

Democratic Forces lost the confidence vote because the Movement for Rights and Freedoms, a predominantly Turkish party that usually sides with Dimitrov's party, switched allegiance to the opposition Socialists to protest what it sees as highhandedness in the governing party.

But whether the arms-trading charges are true or not, they serve as a stark reminder of the historical pressures on Yugoslavia's neighbors to jump into the deadly conflict.

The fall of the Sofia leadership also adds to the nationwide turmoil that has produced a revolving-door procession of governments and hampered efforts to create a post-Communist order.

More than a month after elections in Romania, populist President Ion Iliescu is still stymied in his attempts to broker a coalition government from among the diverse parties in a badly divided Parliament. Although he promised in his inauguration speech Friday to work toward political and economic reform, Iliescu may have to join forces with extremist factions who hold the balance of power if he wants to seat a new government.

Fears of an alliance between Romanian nationalists and neo-Communists have galvanized radical elements in Romania's Hungarian minority in the weeks since the Sept. 27 election, raising the specter of ethnic confrontation, especially in the tense region of Transylvania.

Albania, the poorest and most isolated of the Balkan countries, is reported by diplomats who have recently visited Tirana to be marginally more stable since a March vote brought a non-Communist government to power. But the Democratic Party won the leadership in part on a promise to help ethnic Albanian brothers in the Yugoslav province of Kosovo, where a savage clash with heavily armed Serbian police is looming.

Kosovo is a province of the republic of Serbia, but Albanians make up 90% of its 2 million residents. Serbia's strongman president, Slobodan Milosevic, has deployed tens of thousands of security troops to Kosovo, ostensibly to protect the Serbian minority from repression. But the ubiquitous police presence and official attempts to eradicate Albanian language and culture have poisoned relations between the two communities, threatening an explosion of armed conflict.

Kosovo and Macedonia are considered to be the most dangerous venues for the spread of the Yugoslav war because both have the potential to draw foreign countries into what so far has been a battle among the fragments of the former Yugoslav federation.

Albania, which has a military cooperation agreement with NATO member Turkey, could move in to protect fellow Albanians in Kosovo, probably drawing in the Albanian minority in Macedonia.

Macedonian involvement could quickly escalate into a full-scale Balkan war.

Although landlocked and tiny, Macedonia has a strategic location that makes it an important crossroads for both sides in a potential regionwide conflict. It lies between Greece and Serbia, which remain nominally allied despite harsh U.N. and European Community sanctions against the Serb-dominated remains of Yugoslavia. Macedonia also would provide the geographic link between Albania and Bulgaria, providing a land bridge between those allied against Serbian aggression. But such a bridge could further isolate and antagonize Greece.

The Greek government, reeling under triple-digit inflation and a political crisis, has held up recognition of Macedonia by fellow members of the European Community by claiming that the former Yugoslav republic has no right to use that name. The absence of formal relations with Macedonia could tie the hands of foreign mediators who might be summoned to intervene in a crisis.

The 53-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has sent delegations of observers to Kosovo and Macedonia to serve as what CSCE spokeswoman Elizabeth Pryor calls "an early warning system."

"But if the people of the region are intent on killing each other, there's nothing we or anyone else will be able to do to deter them," Pryor said, noting that the CSCE has no military wing and therefore no means of intervening in armed conflict.

Quayle Continues to Hint That Clinton Lacks Fidelity

By PAUL RICHTER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

CINCINNATI—Vice President Dan Quayle Sunday made a last frantic dash through the swing state of Ohio, dropping hints as he went that Democratic standard bearer Bill Clinton lacks faith.

Speaking to reporters at the airport here, Quayle said that what the American people want "is a President who has been faithful to his country, faithful to his promises, faithful to his family. And George Bush certainly is that man."

Asked if he specifically was calling Clinton unfaithful, Quayle replied "I let others answer that." Quayle repeatedly has attacked Clinton's faithful-ness. He has only hinted about allegations regarding Clinton's unfaithfulness to his wife.

Quayle flirted with that topic again Sunday when he charged that Clinton had failed the character test applied by Democrats when the late Sen. John Tower (R-Tex.), nominated to be secretary of defense by then-newly elected President Bush, was defeated in his confirmation battle.

Quayle said that, in discussing Tower's nomination, Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) "talked about women. He talked about alcohol. He talked about conflict of interest. He talked about three categories." Quayle asserted that Clinton failed "the Tower test" because of his varied and contradictory statements about his draft record. But the vice president stopped

short of directly condemning Clinton for infidelity. The vice president revisited the trust theme during a stop in Portsmouth, Ohio.

"Would you trust Bill Clinton to take care of your family?" Quayle asked a crowd of several hundred at the U.S. Grant Middle School. "Would you trust Bill Clinton with your children?"

As the crowd responded with a resounding "No," Quayle added, "Then let's hear what we don't exchange George and Barbara Bush for. Bill and Hillary Clinton."

Quayle visited the two to be in the state of Ohio in Portsmouth, Ohio, where he had to make his first 15 months of his life. He lived in the state for a few weeks. His father was advertising sales in a town at the Portsmouth Times.

The vice president used the visit to try to make a favorite point: that despite the multimillion-dollar fortune of his maternal grandfather, Eugene Pulliam, he came from modest beginnings.

"This is another example of the country's silver-spoon background that you people in the media have been reporting all these years," he told reporters as he left the house.

The Quayle campaign also touted a win in the western Kentucky city of Hopkinsville that horizontal rains and tornadoes forced cancellation of a later Quayle rally in Louisiana, another state where the race is tight.

Comment

ON THE WORLD

President's Next Crisis: 3rd Balkan War

*The flash point for a war
involving Greece, Turkey,
Bulgaria, Serbia and Albania
could be Slav Macedonia.*

BY TAD SZULC

WASHINGTON
The next President faces the most dangerous international crisis since the end of the Cold War. In the southern Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean, a real Greek tragedy is in the making, with Western spectators, so far, blithely ignoring the warnings offstage. Even today, all the ingredients for what may be the third Balkan war of this century are present there.

The most likely flash point for a wide-ranging war involving Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Serbia and Albania is the Slav "Macedonian socialist republic." When the former Yugoslav republic declared independence last year, Greece was furious. To Greeks, Macedonia is a name belonging exclusively to them, harking back to Alexander the Great of Macedonia and his father, King Philip II.

Moreover, Greece suspects that the Slav Macedonian majority has territorial designs on Greek Macedonia. It has battled, thus far successfully, against recognition of the new entity by the European Community. Athens, where patriotic furor over the Macedonian issue overwhelms all else, is willing to accept the republic if it agrees to call itself Skopje, its capital, and drops the Macedonian star and sun rays from its flag and emblems. But the Slav Macedonians refuse to compromise.

Turkey, Greece's nemesis since it gained independence from the Ottoman Empire more than a century and a half ago, wasted no time in recognizing Skopje, which the Greeks interpreted as a hostile gesture consistent with what they regard as Turkish ambitions to become the regional superpower. The only other countries to recognize Skopje are Bulgaria, which has claims on Macedonian territories and is said to entertain dreams of a "Greater Bulgaria," and Russia, which apparently strives to regain influence in the Balkans.

A conflict over Macedonian territories would inevitably pit Greece against Turkey, both of them members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Though Turkey is regarded as a secular state dominated by the Muslim religion, ethnic sensitivities are easily aroused.

These attitudes may well push Turkey into deeper involvement in the Balkans if the Serbs, as generally expected, turn their attentions to the former Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo. Kosovo, wedged between Albania and Macedonia, has 1.7 million Muslim Albanian inhabitants—90% of its population—and most experts assume that the Serb regime in Belgrade, under Slobodan Milosevic, will strike for full control of the province as soon as it has completed the partition of Bosnia between itself and the Croats.

Milosevic, who deprived Kosovo of its local leadership three years ago, considers the province his "southern front," fearing growth in the Albanian population and seemingly contemplating more "ethnic cleansing." In a report released last week, Tadeusz Mazowiecki, an official human-rights investigator for the United Nations, said he found early signs of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo.

Indications are that explosions in Kosovo and Macedonia could come simultaneously, perhaps in a matter of months, and become merged into a single, ever-expanding conflict, with Greece and Turkey the principal initial adversaries.

For three decades, Greece and Turkey have been at odds over the future of Cyprus, a highly strategic island in the eastern Mediterranean that was split into Greek and Turkish communities following the 1974 invasion by Turkey's armed forces. A U.N. force stationed there for the last 28 years maintains the peace, but recent diplomatic efforts at an overall settlement are not progressing. The two nations have other unresolved problems.

Turkey's President Turgut Ozal warned recently that if Bosnian clashes are not stopped, "[the fighting] might inevitably spread to a much wider area and could turn into a disaster that might engulf the whole of the Balkans."

Clearly, such a scenario would affect fundamental U.S. interests. Has Bill Clinton or George Bush given the Balkans the attention the region so desperately merits? Or are we to witness another drama in silence, a vastly greater one than Bosnia-Herzegovina?

Tad Szulc, author of "Fidel: A Critical Portrait," recently returned from a trip to the eastern Mediterranean.

Democrat's Lead Significant; Bush Battles Discontent

■ **Presidency:** Despite tightening in popular-vote polls, Clinton retains a large margin in electoral votes.

By ROBERT SHOGAN
Times Staff Writer

WASHINGTON—This year's presidential election is grinding to a close. White House strategists are looking for a narrow victory for the Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, while President Bush struggles to put off an upset by overcoming the nation's persisting mood of discontent.

Meanwhile, maverick Ross Perot, having apparently helped Bush narrow Clinton's lead in the polls of late, seems headed toward the biggest share of the popular vote won by any third-party or independent candidate since 1968. But with Perot's recent surge in

eloping off or declining in the polls, analysts suspect that the main impact of his candidacy may be to serve as a symbol of protest rather than influence the contest's ultimate outcome.

In the battle between Clinton and Bush, Republican strategists point to the President's gains in public opinion surveys and talk optimistically about his prospects of staging an upset so dramatic it would make Democrat Harry S. Truman's stunning 1948 triumph pale by comparison.

"If you look at the national polls and look at the national trend line, we'll pull into a tie on Monday and go ahead on Election Day," Bush campaign pollster Fred Steeper said. Please see W1A1PUP, A6

Continued from A1

"I think it's a 50-50 call who wins the election right now," Bush senior adviser Charles Black told reporters Friday. "I'd rather be the person who has the momentum than the one losing voters."

But Clinton's partisans claim that Bush's momentum has been halted, and perhaps reversed. As evidence, they cited a new poll published in the New York Times on Sunday that showed Clinton ahead of Bush by nine percentage points, 43% to 34%, with Perot at 15%. The survey, taken Tuesday through Friday, had a margin of error of plus or minus two percentage points.

A poll published by the newspaper a week ago Sunday had put Clinton's lead at five points.

Steeper said his last national poll, completed Friday, gave Clinton an advantage of "five or six points" over Bush.

Clinton aides said their polls on Friday put him ahead of the President by seven points.

Bush's political position unquestionably has improved from a few weeks ago, when he trailed in most polls by double digits. But events late in the week may have toughened his bid to finally pull ahead of Clinton.

A federal grand jury investigating the Iran-Contra arms-for-hostages deal released a note on Friday written by former Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger that cast doubt on Bush's long-standing claim that he did not know the U.S. weapons sale to Iran in 1986 was intended as an inducement to gain the freedom of U.S. hostages.

■ FROM SUNDAY EDITIONS

But apart from this development, it is mainly the harsh calculus of the Electoral College that argues against Bush's chances. Indeed, role reversal has occurred in the 1992 campaign, with the President finding himself needing the type of last-minute surge that recent Democratic presidential candidates vainly hoped for as they sought the 270 electoral votes required to win the White House.

"Bush is in the position that Michael Dukakis was in 1988 and (Walter) Mondale was in 1984, of desperately seeking 270 electoral votes," said Mickey Kantor, Clinton's national campaign chairman.

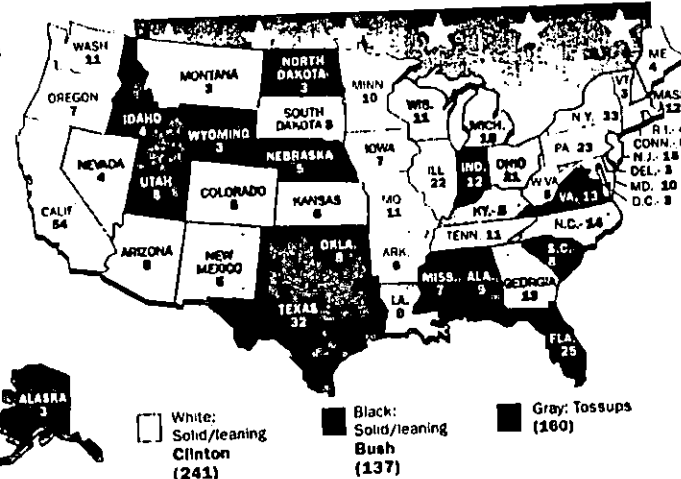
A Republican win on Tuesday, conceded one GOP consultant who helped guide the President to victory in the 1988 campaign, would require a whole series of hard-to-control circumstances to go the President's way and tip numerous states into his column. "All it takes is one sneeze or one hiccup and it can't happen," he said.

A Times state-by-state assessment outlines the advantage Clinton enjoys going into Election Day and the dimensions of the challenge confronting Bush.

Based on poll data, interviews

Down to the Wire

Based on polls and interviews with political experts, Bill Clinton remains close to the 270 electoral votes needed to claim victory. President Bush's chances depend on his ability to claim nearly all of the remaining tossup states.



Sources: Public and private poll data, interviews with Republican, Democratic and independent political analysts, Congressional Quarterly

The Associated Press

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A Times state-by-state assessment outlines the advantage Clinton enjoys going into Election Day and the dimensions of the challenge confronting Bush.

Based on poll data, interviews

with a range of political experts and past voting trends, Clinton is favored to win 18 states and the District of Columbia. That gives him 241 electoral votes, only 29 short of 270. Bush is favored in 14 states, with 137 electoral votes.

Another 18 states with 160 electoral votes are rated as tossups. Thus, to win the election, Bush must win 133 of those votes—meaning virtually every tossup state.

The graveness of the President's predicament is underlined by his difficulties in the nation's 10 most populous states. Three of these—

California, without which no Republican has won the White House this century, New York, a traditional Democratic stronghold, and Illinois, bellwether of the Midwest, are generally conceded to be all but locked up for Clinton. Together, they account for 109 electoral votes.

Pennsylvania, with its 23 electoral votes, is viewed to be leaning to Clinton, although aides to Bush on Saturday said they believe that the race is tightening there. As a result, Bush tentatively plans a foray to Philadelphia on Monday.

Clinton's advisers, taking no chances, dispatched him to the state Friday and scheduled two more visits by him before Election Day.

At a rally in Pittsburgh on Friday, Clinton could hardly be accused of over-confidence concerning the state. "I need Pennsylvania, I need western Pennsylvania, I need Pittsburgh," he declared. "I can't win without you."

As for Bush, two of the top 10—Texas, with 32 electoral votes, and Florida, with 25, are counted as imperative for him to win. "I concede to you, if we lose Texas or Florida we'll have a very tough time of winning," senior Bush adviser Black said.

Florida now seems reasonably safe for the President, the Clinton campaign privately concedes it to him. Texas, however, remains surprisingly uncertain, GOP pollster Steeper said.

Although the expectation remains that Bush will carry it, native son Perot could siphon off enough votes from conservatives and moderates to give the state to Clinton. The Democrat is planning one more campaign visit to the

state on Monday. Of the four remaining top 10 states—Ohio, Michigan, New Jersey and North Carolina—most analysts figure Bush needs to win at least three and possibly all four recent public and private polling suggests that will be no easy task.

His best chances are in Ohio, a Republican bastion which only two Democrats—Jimmy Carter in 1976 and Lyndon B. Johnson in 1964—have carried since Franklin D. Roosevelt's 1936 landslide, and North Carolina, where Clinton is at a disadvantage because the black population is not as large as in most other Southern states.

In both states, Bush and Clinton are running about even in the polls.

But in normally Republican New Jersey, which gave Bush 57% of its vote in 1988, a poll released Sunday by the Eagleton Institute of Rutgers University gives Clinton 45% of the vote, 37% for Bush and 17% for Perot. The survey of 580 likely voters has a margin of error of plus or minus 4%.

In Michigan, Republican hopes for a Bush win have been built around the charges that Clinton's advocacy of tougher fuel efficiency standards would cost auto industry jobs. GOP strategists also have hoped Perot would attract discontented voters who might otherwise support Clinton.

But on Friday, a poll released by the Detroit News gave Clinton 43% of the vote to 33% for Bush and 17% for Perot. The survey, conducted Wednesday, had an error margin of plus-or-minus 4 points.

"Perot gave us a scare [in the state] last week, but it seems to have stabilized," said Don Sweitzer, Clinton's Michigan coordinator.

Times staff writers Douglas Juhl and David Lauter contributed to this story.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Clinton Not Qualified to Lead U.S., Perot Says

■ Campaign: At rally and in TV spot, Texan departs from usual attack on Bush to blister Democratic foe.

By JOHN M. BRODER
Times Staff Writer

Ross Perot, who until now has seemed single-mindedly devoted to denying reelection to President Bush, on Sunday unloaded on Bill Clinton as unqualified "through background and experience" to lead the nation.

At rallies in Long Beach and Santa Clara and in a blistering half-hour television "infomercial" broadcast on two networks Sunday night, Perot cited a numbing list of statistics about Arkansas' record on income, economic growth, education, the environment and social welfare under Clinton's stewardship as governor.

Before 12,000 screaming, stomping supporters at the Long Beach Arena, Perot also raised the Democratic presidential nominee's youthful experimentation with marijuana and hinted that Clinton lacks the "moral and ethical standards" required of a public servant.

"Do you think it is appropriate to have senior government officials who have used drugs?" he demanded.

"No!" the crowd thundered.

Perot again scored Bush for

alleged mismanagement of the savings and loan crisis and ridiculed the President for claiming credit for the end of the Cold War.

He said neither Bush nor Clinton was qualified to operate a small company, let alone a superpower.

"If you had a small business, would you hire either one of these guys to run it?" Perot asked. The huge arena crowd responded in chorus: "No!"

In a speech that ran nearly 90 minutes, he urged his followers to reject both major-party nominees and give him a mandate "so we can take our country back."

He predicted that he would carry all 50 states "and drive everybody nuts."

But despite the crowd's energy, as Perot's lengthy speech continued the audience began to leave. By the time he finished, about 2,000 seats were empty.

He gave a similar speech to between 7,000 and 8,000 people in Santa Clara later.

The 30-minute TV ad, dubbed "Chicken Feathers, Deep Voodoo and the American Dream," triggered a detailed response from the Clinton camp, which called it a "multimillion-dollar smoke

Please see PEROT, A5

PEROT: Blast Includes Clinton

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"infomercial" that "takes the 'info' out of 'infomercial.'"

Perot cast the election as a choice between "chicken man," "potato chip man" and himself. He called Clinton "chicken man" because poultry is a leading industry in Arkansas; he referred to Bush as "potato chip man" because one of the President's top advisers was once quoted as saying he did not care whether the United States produced computer chips or potato chips.

"If we were just planning a picnic instead of trying to plan a future for our children, chicken and potato chips might be exactly what we need," he said. "But in the serious business of our country's future and our children's future, isn't it fascinating that we have two of the three contenders who just don't have any business experience or money management experience...?"

Perot contended that neither Clinton nor Bush fully appreciates the importance of creating jobs in industries such as microelectronics, biotechnology, telecommunications, computers and robotics—which he described as "industries of the future."

Perot said the only bright spot in Arkansas' economy was the growth of the poultry industry, which he said accounted for one of every five jobs created in Arkansas over the last 12 years. But, Perot said, "this is not an industry of tomorrow."

"The people who do it are world-class people," Perot said, "but if we decide to take this level of business-creating capability nationwide, we'll all be plucking chickens for a living."

The Clinton camp denied those statistics specifically, saying "only 8.4% of the jobs created in Arkansas" from 1969 to 1991 involved the poultry industry.

Perot also said that Arkansas ranked at or near the bottom of the national scale on violent crime, wages, high school graduation rates and overall environmental quality. Perot's United We Stand organization issued a fact sheet supporting his attack on Arkansas, citing statistics from the Census Bureau, the Institute for Southern Studies, the National Education Assn. and the Sourcebook of Criminal Justice Statistics.

Perot, who in the last debate compared Clinton's home state to a corner grocery store, noted that Arkansas has only 2.4 million peo-

ple—fewer than the Dallas-Ft. Worth area. Its economic production is so small, he said, it would rank behind Toys R Us, Chiquita Brands and Quaker Oats if it were a corporation.

Perot added: "What you need to ask yourself tonight is, 'If you put this kind of thinking to work in Washington—across our great country—with its huge population and its diverse population, what are the odds we would have an improvement? Or would it be regressive? What are the odds that a person who has been unable to make more dramatic change than this in 12 years in a tiny rural state would be able to face and solve the problems of our great nation?'"

Clinton's communications director, George Stephanopoulos, issued a point-by-point rebuttal to Perot's charges. He said that Arkansas leads the nation in job growth and income growth, that it has the highest graduation rate in the South, that its air and water are among the purest in the nation, and that poultry-processing jobs account for only 3% of the state's total.

Most of the thousands in the Long Beach Arena were committed Perot backers, but at least a few remained unconvinced two days before the election.

Peggy Topp, a Long Beach housewife, said that she came to the rally because she could not decide between Perot and Bush.

After hearing Perot speak, she said she "probably" would support the independent "because he's for the people and I like that."

But she said she doubted he could win, although he still has "a chance."

"I voted for Bush four years ago, but I think we need something new," Topp said.

Mario Borunda, who runs an upholstery shop in Norwalk, said he was undecided before attending Sunday's rally, but he is "pretty sure now" he will vote for Perot.

"I'm a Democrat all the time, but not this year," Borunda said.

After the rally, an incident involving Perot supporters and a local television reporter occurred outside. Linda Douglass, political reporter for KNBC-TV, tried to deliver a live summation of Perot's speech when she was surrounded by 50 to 75 angry Perot supporters who chanted, "We want Perot!" and "Tell the truth."

They surrounded the station's live transmission truck and began to rock it. Police kept their dis-

tance, but other reporters came to Douglass' aid. An angry half-hour dispute ensued between members of the media and Perot supporters, until a Perot staffer came out and urged the crowd to disperse.

Although Clinton took the brunt of Perot's fire in the television spot, the Dallas tycoon reserved a fair measure of disdain for the incumbent.

"The President, in all candor, ignored our economy as vice president and President," Perot said.

He blasted the Bush Administration for its "hands-off, closed-eyed, hands-over-the-ears management" of the country and the economy. And he said that Bush had refused to accept any responsibility for the nation's ills.

As he may have exaggerated the flaws of Clinton's management of Arkansas, the Dallas tycoon also may have stretched the truth in describing the foreign policy failings of the President.

He said in the television commercial that Saddam Hussein remains in power in Baghdad with his nuclear, chemical and biological capabilities intact. The U.N. team responsible for monitoring these programs says that Hussein's military capabilities have been set back a decade or more.

Perot also accused Bush of cozying up to President Hafez Assad of Syria, whom he said bore responsibility for the Beirut embassy bombing in 1983 and the downing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, which killed 270 people. But U.S. intelligence agencies have never been able to prove a direct link between Damascus and these terrorist acts.

On Sunday, the Perot campaign also released a page from the diary of Sara Stockdale, wife of Perot's vice-presidential running mate James B. Stockdale, which purportedly supports Perot's claim that he withdrew from the presidential contest in July because of GOP threats against his daughter.

In Mrs. Stockdale's diary entry for July 16, the date of Perot's withdrawal, she writes that Perot called to tell her and her husband that he was quitting the race that morning. "He said it's really because Press will expose dirt on his daughter who'll be married in late Aug. but that's confidential," she wrote.

Staff writer Sara Fritz contributed to this story.

Comment

ON ENTERTAINMENT

Vote Is In on Campaign Coverage

BY HOWARD ROSENBERG

With the grueling presidential campaign coming to an end Tuesday, the results are in today on how the media fared in coverage. As in every election, there have been winners and losers.

Winner. MTV, for its get-out-the-young-vote crusade as part of regular campaign coverage that spoke to the youth crowd without being condescending. MTV was never better this campaign than when it had Al Gore in to be quizzed by a studio audience and moderators Kurt Loder and Tabitha Soren. It was Soren, especially, whose precise, informed, incisive questions stood out. If only someone had had the foresight to suggest her as a press participant in some of the televised presidential debates.

Loser. Rush Limbaugh, for rarely elevating his anti-Clinton-Gore harangues on TV above shrill, sophomoric name-calling. By all reasonable criteria, Limbaugh is a burlesquing entertainer, not a serious political commentator. But what passes as entertainment on Limbaugh's radio show, comes across on his syndicated TV series as wild flailing devoid of any philosophical underpinning. He represents the *nyeh nyeh nyeh nyeh* school of political analysis.

Winner. Linda Douglass, for insightful work this season on KNBC-TV Channel 4 that affirmed her standing as, far and away, the best political reporter on L.A. television. Unlike most of her counterparts assigned to politics, Douglass is not only experienced and well-informed but also scrupulous about never reaching too far or saying more than she knows, even when asked a dopey leading question by one of Channel 4's anchors.

Loser. Bryant Gumbel, for smirking—and at times almost laughing—his way through interviews with Ross Perot on NBC's "Today," as if the Texas billionaire deserved ridicule merely because of his unorthodox campaigning. Gumbel was much more deferential with President Bush and Bill Clinton.

Winner. Bill Moyers, for his weekly PBS series, "Listening to America," which has been a beacon of intelligence throughout a campaign in which many in television have spent much of their time listening to each other.

Loser. Late voters in the West, for possibly getting their clocks cleaned by the networks. On Tuesday, Westerners again may see the presidential race called by the networks before they have a chance to get to the polls. In past elections, ABC, CBS, NBC and CNN have used the results of exit polling to project a presidential winner before the closing of some states' polls (with CBS leading the pack in 1988 when anointing George Bush at 6:20 p.m. PST), and they promise to do so again Tuesday if they get the opportunity.

There's no knowing whether other races and election issues would be affected should potential voters be stopped in their tracks by early projections. But that's possible.

The issue may be moot should the vote be so close that the election hinges on California. But if not, well, networks will be networks.

Winner. Maidenform, for its current commercial that achieves the improbable by simultaneously encouraging Americans to vote and to buy the firm's bras.

The spot begins with fast-cutting frontal shots of females (from the neck down) wearing buttons with an assortment of political messages. In addition, one woman wears a red ribbon signifying support for the battle against AIDS. Then, as the Maidenform signature appears on the screen, a narrator speaks: "If you've got something to say, now is the time to get it off your chest." That's called getting creativity off your chest.

Loser. Sally Jessy Raphael, for providing a forum in the week of the Democratic National Convention for a woman (not Jennifer Flowers) who claimed—while offering no evidence—to have had an affair with Clinton nine years ago. The woman said she was coming forward now to call attention to Clinton's alleged inattention to women's issues.

Even Raphael said she doubted the story. Then why promote it on national TV? Obviously, the talk-show host believes strongly in the public's right to know unfounded rumors about presidential candidates.

Winner. Larry King, for shrewdly using the presidential campaign to transform himself and his CNN talk show into national institutions.

Please see ROSENBERG, B11

ROSENBERG

Continued from B8

Before 1992, King was a mere star, heading popular talk shows on radio and TV. Since virtually fathering Part 1 of Ross Perot's presidential candidacy on his CNN series, however, King's fame has exploded, his show becoming a revolving door for presidential and vice presidential candidates and their spouses, culminating with last week's separate 90-minute appearances by Perot, President Bush and Clinton. King is not just on the map; thanks to the presidential campaign, he is the map.

Loser. Larry King, for becoming the campaign's equal opportunity pussycat. An occasional tough question from a caller wasn't enough to offset either the softballs that King lobbed at the candidates or his acquiescence when their responses amounted to little more than self-serving propaganda.

Proponents of this format argue that it's educational without being confrontational. In fact, viewers did learn something about Bush, Clinton and Perot from this show. They learned that the candidates knew how to handle Larry King.

Winner. Sam Donaldson, for proving that rudeness pays when interviewing presidential candidates skilled at being evasive when asked questions they don't want to answer.

After earlier complaining about the deference and passivity of King and other interviewers, that ABC bully Donaldson got his own crack at Bush and Clinton in separate interviews last Thursday night, and on several occasions virtually badgered each candidate into giving direct answers to his questions. When they appeared to be dissembling, he interrupted and pressed them for responses.

It wasn't polite and it wasn't pretty, but it was pure Donaldson. More important, it was effective.

Loser. Spin doctoring, for polluting the airwaves with partisan spewings that made a gas mask mandatory equipment for watching much of the campaign coverage. What a travesty it was that the media regularly gave these insincere political hucksters the opportunity to propagandize voters, all the while knowing that the predictable things they were saying about their candidates were nothing more than rehearsed campaign rhetoric. Everyone in the media knew this was a sham, yet just about everyone perpetuated it anyway.

Clinton Wows an Ever-Angry Electorate—in Iraq, That Is

■ **Politics:** In a defeated nation where Bush is the devil, Democrat wins by default.

By MARK FINEMAN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

BAGHDAD, Iraq—As clocks counted down the final hours of the U.S. presidential campaign Sunday afternoon, there were no undecideds left among the shoppers at Haider Abbas' little fruit stand in Baghdad's Al Kasaba neighborhood.

"I will cut off the head of my baby and swallow it if it would make Bush lose," housewife Zainab Ismael said calmly as she bought a few eggplants and peaches.

Shopkeeper Abbas was a bit more circumspect. "I will just dance in the streets if Clinton wins," he said, weighing a sack of Iraqi dates for another customer beside a small portrait of a smiling President Saddam Hussein.

"For us, you see, Bush is not a human being," added Saddiq Mahmud, a barber just down the street. "We don't know Clinton. But we know Bush. Bush bombed our factories, our buildings, our bridges. Bush, well, he is the devil for us."

An unscientific sampling, to be sure. But after dozens of other such interviews here in the land the United States and its allies bombed heavily 1½ years ago to end Hussein's occupation of Kuwait, it is fairly safe to say Iraq is Bill Clinton country—at least at the grass-roots level—if for no other reason than by default.

What was also clear as the U.S. campaign neared its end over the weekend was that, regardless of the outcome, the Iraqis may well have followed it even more intently than most Americans.

Never before in Iraqi history has a U.S. election been so closely watched by so many—the 18 million men, women and children of Iraq for whom despair has become daily routine after more than two years of international trade sanctions that have crippled their economy and cut their daily food intake in half.

Every evening for weeks now, most Iraqis have craned over battered transistor radios, wincing or smiling as the latest opinion polls were announced on the Voice of America Arabic-language service. Each morning, they have pored over Baghdad's state-run newspapers, laughing heartily over the daily political cartoons that depict a sweating George Bush falling off cliffs, crumbling under rocks or jogging into black abysses with his running shoes and shorts blowing off.

So keen is the interest in the U.S. presidential race here in Baghdad that the value of the Iraqi dinar on the currency black market has become something of a bellwether of subtle shifts in the political polls thousands of miles away. After a year of holding stable at 30 dinars to a dollar, last month the dinar's value surged to less than 20. The reason: Democrat Clinton was far ahead of President Bush in the opinion polls. Suddenly last week, the dinar fell back to 25: Bush apparently had narrowed the margin to just a few points.

Behind such fluctuations is a logic that Iraqi officials and intellectuals reject—that Clinton and a new Administration would soften on the sanctions and ultimately permit Iraqi oil exports, which would restore the dinar's value and drive down prices.

"We are under no illusions," one senior government official said. "The Democrats are backed by the Zionists. They are even more pro-Israeli and anti-Iraq than Bush.

We don't want a change of presidents in America. We want a change of policy. But, of course, it is an emotional issue for most Iraqis. After all, Bush destroyed our country."

In the words of Qasim Bakri, a director general in the ministry that has made extraordinary progress in rebuilding Iraq's bomb-battered power plants, telecommunications buildings, roads, bridges and factories: "To us, America is damaging Iraq, damaging the people of Iraq, damaging everything living in Iraq. So we don't care who is going to come as President to the United States. . . . America is the enemy of Iraq."

Perhaps the closest reflection of the personal election view of Hussein—who, despite his personal hatred for Bush, has not publicly endorsed any of the candidates—came from his eldest son a few days ago in a lengthy discourse on the polls in his daily newspaper, Babil.

"We can hardly hope that the American Administration will change its stand toward Arab issues, whether George Bush stays or goes," declared Uday Hussein, the paper's owner. "The American Administration will continue its hostile policies against the Arabs. And Clinton has gone so far as to announce that he will support the Israeli state unconditionally."

Uday Hussein took the official line on the elections a step

further, though, using the widespread popular discontent in the United States that has formed Clinton's popular base to liken Bush to a Third World dictator.

"It is well-known to us that the West and the United States hate any dictator, and they hate a strong personality to come to power because such a

person would rule a country as he likes. But Bush is becoming this sort of person. His ideas don't go in line with Congress and the aspirations of the American people."

In Iraq's tightly controlled society, however, where the people already have such a ruler in Saddam Hussein, such analyses take deep hold not only at the grass-roots level but equally among the merchant class, professors and senior bureaucrats—even some who were educated in the United States.

Abbas Shaiya, a street vendor who sells cigarettes by the hundreds at Baghdad's Shorja Market, for example, said he has concluded from weeks of listening to the Voice of America that the United States is not a democracy.

"This election is just a show, a cover," he told a rare American customer Sunday. "If you look closely, you have no real choice. Perot is a millionaire. Bush and Clinton are millionaires. Only the rich can become President of the United States. Why don't you choose a leader from your general population? Isn't that what democracy is?"

As for last-minute weekend predictions of the election's outcome, most of Baghdad's armchair observers gave Clinton the edge. It was only at the new Museum of Solidarity and Challenge, a vast collection of photographs and models depicting the allied war destruction and Iraq's postwar reconstruction, that an articulate, U.S.-educated bureaucrat named Ahmed Angurli emphatically predicted that Bush will be reelected.

"I think Bush will win because there is a large silent majority in America," said Angurli, who graduated with economics degrees from a small college in Texas when Lyndon B. Johnson was President. "When they go to the polls on Tuesday, this silent majority will vote for Bush."

Asked whether that would be good for Iraq, he smiled. "No. But actually it makes no difference. Some people think if Clinton becomes President, there will be a change. Many will celebrate. But I know it's just not true. Both men are very hard on Iraq. Either way, there is no hope for us."

'I will cut off the head of my baby and swallow it if it would make Bush lose.'

ZAINAB ISMAEL,
Baghdad Housewife

Messages in the polls

On another topic, USA TODAY says there's more to opinion polling than winners and losers.

With so many presidential polls today, up from a handful in 1972 to more than 250 in this campaign, confusion — even irritation — is the order of the day.

Take today's results.

Clinton leads by 8 points in the USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup poll from only a 1 point lead on Friday. That same day, ABC reported Clinton ahead by 9 points.

Polling methods and shifting voter sentiment account for the variations and surely give many voters doubts about the validity of polls.

But the value of polls is not so much in the headlines as in the details that get less attention.

Beneath the surface, scientific samplings of public opinion are telling us a great deal about ourselves and influenc-

ing the policies candidates adopt.

Tens days ago in a poll taken for USA TODAY, 46% of the respondents said they were worried about being able to pay medical or health costs.

In a *New York Times*/CBS poll, 44% of the respondents said they feel the next generation will be worse off.

Numbers like those, which have held up for months, are the reason Bill Clinton, George Bush and Ross Perot are competing to define themselves as the candidate of change — and why health reform is marching toward the top of the political agenda.

Polls give ordinary people — not media pundits or inside interests — the principal role in politics.

Their effect can be read in every speech and — if the candidates are smart — in the actions they take after Election Day.

► Clinton leads, 1A

COMMENT

Western voters lose in exit poll shuffle

Two critics say arrogant network bigwigs should wait until real polls close before projecting presidential winner.

Imagine getting ready to leave your home Tuesday so you can vote — and hearing that the presidential election has already been decided.

A sample ballot is in your hand. But before you get out the door, a TV network news anchor is announcing that based on nationwide polling of people who have already voted, the next president of the United States has already been determined.

Would you be angry if this happened to you? Would you wonder whether to bother voting?

For millions of citizens in Western states, this is not a hypothetical situation. It will happen Tuesday night.



By Jeff Cohen, Fairness and Accuracy in Reporting, and Norman Solomon, author of *The Power of Babble*.



If you are a Westerner who cannot vote by late afternoon, the TV networks are making a pledge. Read their lips: They will try to "project" the presidential winner before you get a chance to vote.

This has happened to West Coast voters before.

In 1984, the three major networks all declared President Reagan reelected before 6 o'clock. In the closer national election of 1988, George Bush's victory was proclaimed on CBS and ABC at about 6:20 p.m. — nearly two hours before polls closed.

Studies show that thousands of people decide not to vote after hearing that a winner has been declared. Some people — after hearing the news — have even left their places in line at the polls. The outcomes of local elections can be affected.

So why can't the TV networks simply wait until voting booths close before they declare a winner? The simple answer: It's show biz! And arrogance.

Eager to build ratings, the networks defend early projections as healthy competition — reporting the news first.

"We're not in the business of withholding news," says ABC. A spokeswoman for NBC insists her network "has an obligation not to suppress its knowledge of when a presidential contest is over." But the contest shouldn't be "over" until voters finish casting their ballots.

Network hypocrisy knows no bounds. This summer, NBC delayed reports of Olympic results in order to boost ratings for its Olympics coverage. But now the network claims that delaying exit-poll results a couple of hours would be "censorship!"

Rather than delay projection of a winner, CBS Vice President Joe Peyronnin proposes "a uniform poll closing time. If the polls close at 9 o'clock in New York, they would close at 6 o'clock in Los Angeles."

Talk about arrogance! TV bigwigs are suggesting that millions of voters who can't get to the polls by 6 p.m. should just give up the franchise.

A Washington-based group, the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, has been crusading — without success — to get the TV networks to declare a presidential winner only after the polls close on the West Coast. If you support the idea, contact the networks: Demand that they act responsibly in the interests of democracy.

OPINIONLINE

What people are saying about the presidential campaign

Did Bush break the 'bozo barrier'?

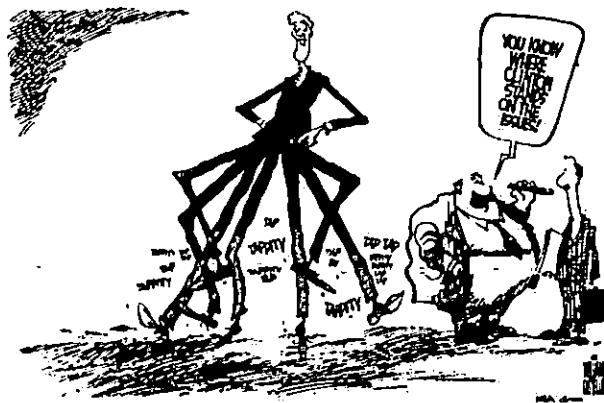
LESLIE H. GELB, columnist in The New York Times: "Reaching new heights of eloquence in describing Bill Clinton and Al Gore, President Bush declared that 'my dog Millie knows more about foreign affairs than these two bozos.' Whether Millie's command of Mr. Bush's specialty surpasses that of the two Democratic contenders remains to be seen. Their record is yet too slender to render a final bozo balance sheet. Mr. Bush's record, however, is ample. ... By slapping the bozo label onto a man who might be elected president in two days, Mr. Bush has broken the bozo barrier — and has invited measurement by that same exacting standard."



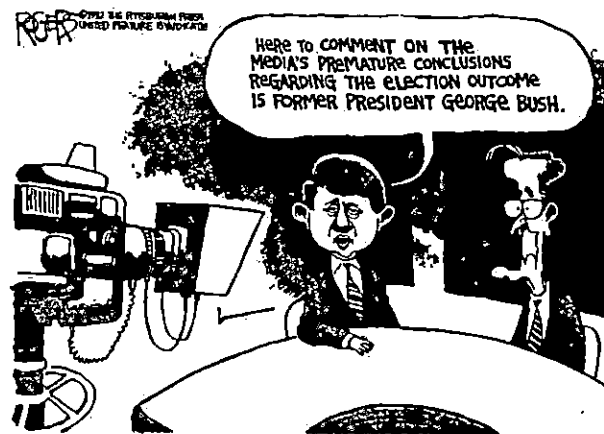
Tim Dillon, USA TODAY
Goodman

ELLEN GOODMAN, syndicated columnist: "To the shock of assorted cynics and television programmers, this fall was one long political prime time. ... Now pollsters who tell us what we already know say that the elusive thing called 'voter interest' is up. ... More important for those who will worry about spectator democrats, it appears that the couch-potato citizenry is ready to spring up from its reclining position and vote on Tuesday. Why? ... This is the first year in a long time the old woman's movement slogan — the Personal is Political — struck a chord. It sounded a whole national anthem."

DAVID BRODER, syndicated columnist: "Important as the contests for president, Congress and the thousands of other offices on Tuesday's ballot may be, the long-term



William Costello, Newspaper Enterprise Assoc.



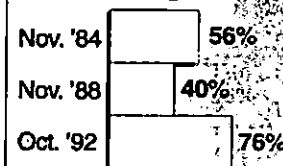
Rob Rogers, The Pittsburgh Press, United Features Syndicate

significance of the 1992 election may lie elsewhere. The nation seems almost certain to undertake a large-scale experiment in limiting the tenure of its legislators with consequences no one can foretell with any certainty. ... Proponents have argued that term limits will help cure everything from pork-barrel spending to special-interest influence and voter apathy. Skeptics like myself assert that they are far more likely to diminish political competition, weaken the legislatures' capacity to stand up to strong executives and enhance the influence of non-elected bureaucrats and special-interest lobbyists."

KEVIN PHILLIPS, author, in the Los Angeles Times: "Perot has done powerful things no independent presidential candidate has ever done: lead the Republican and Democratic contenders in national polls; spend \$60 million of his own fortune campaigning, and even flirt with absurdity on 60 Minutes. Now, however, there's a slim chance he could do something else unprecedented: divide the pro-change vote and re-elect a worn-out president he despises and a majority of his fellow citizens say they want defeated. All it might take is targeting millions of dollars on TV to wind up with 14%, 15% or 17% of the ballots and so undercut the popular favorite."

CLARENCE PAGE, syndicated columnist: "During the presidential debates President Bush advocated 'vouchers' which would allow parents to spend public money on tuition to private or religious schools. His opponent, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, also favored 'choice' and 'competition,' but limited to public schools. No vouchers. ... Voucher visionaries offer a form of triage that rewards those students whose parents have the most resources ... but does next to nothing for the hard-luck cases who need help the most."

Respondents finding elections interesting



Source: New York Times/CBS News poll

By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

ENDORSEMENT WATCH

Endorsements from some black and Spanish-speaking newspapers, as well as university newspapers:

LOS ANGELES SENTINEL: "President: Hon. Bill Clinton. As *Emerge Magazine* says, he's 'the best white man for the job.'"

ATLANTA DAILY WORLD: "Their (Clinton, Perot) limited experience and qualifications make them unqualified for the powerful office of the presidency. ... Our nation and the free world need wise, able and courageous leadership as never before. President Bush will give it, and we ... endorse his deserved re-election."

ARKANSAS (Little Rock) STATE PRESS: "While behooves black Americans not to expect miracles from Bill Clinton the president, at the least, we have reason to hope that our next president is one who includes Americans in his plans and his promises. ... For black America ... Bill Clinton is our only choice Nov. 3."

EL DIARIO LA PRENSA (New York): "We simply cannot be ignored any longer. Our vote is crucial in the states ... and in the coming years it will be even more so. There's little doubt that a vote for Bill Clinton next Nov. is a vote 'of hope.' ... Many Spanish-speaking voters, however, will do so with great reservations due to the lack of attention paid to them."

LA RAZA (Chicago): "We carefully weighed the ability and experience of George Bush ... however, the damage incurred during his administration and the subsequent negative statistics in employment, education, health and housing ... swung the balance of our opinion toward Bill Clinton as the most capable candidate for president of this nation."

NOTRE DAME: "The Observer respectfully endorses George Bush, with hopefulness and lingering reservation. While Bush's first term has been an undisputed success in terms of foreign policy, we agree that times have changed and he, too, must change."

NORTHWESTERN: "The Daily Northwestern strongly and enthusiastically endorses Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. ... The Old Guard has had its turn running the country; now it's time for the next generation to take over."

VANDERBILT: "Bill Clinton's priorities reflect the issues which are most important to today's college students. He is concerned about funding education for all."

UCLA: "We at the Daily Bruin believe George Bush has failed us in the past four years: as students, as workers, as families, as Americans. Fortunately, Bill Clinton gives us great hope that one man can make a difference."



The Washington Times

Bush: Banking on trust

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

DETROIT — President Bush staked his re-election hopes yesterday on public doubts about his opponent's character, clinching his case by citing new evidence Bill Clinton conspired 18 years ago to destroy ROTC records in which he lied to avoid being drafted.

"The bottom line is you cannot have this pattern of deception and deceiving," Mr. Bush said during an arena rally at the Palace at Auburn Hills near Detroit. He was thwarted earlier by CNN's Frank Sesno when he tried to discuss the latest episode in the draft-avoidance saga during a live interview.

"Even today we have new evidence — an affidavit — that when

Governor Clinton first ran for office, his friends used special connections to seize his ROTC file and destroy all others," Mr. Bush said here and at an airport rally in Stratford, Conn., later.

"Let's slam-dunk the governor from Arkansas on Tuesday," Mr. Bush said in the Michigan speech, adopting the jargon of the arena's regular tenants, the Detroit Pistons, and rejecting suggestions that he tone down what some have called "ugly" rhetoric.

He ignored staff speculation about flickering polls and Electoral College tallies to focus on his last-ditch issue, claiming he'd been suffering in silence for 11 months.

"I can dish it out. We'll see if they

see BUSH, page A10

MBER 2, 1992

BUSH

From page A1

can take it," Mr. Bush said, scoffing at Mr. Clinton's plan "to play his saxophone in the White House" and noting that plans are under way for a Clinton inauguration.

"Hold the phone, Bill. We are going to show that you're not going to be in the White House and you're not going to have the parade and the press are going to be wrong about you," Mr. Bush said.

"The bottom line is we simply cannot take the risk on Governor Clinton — character, inexperience — his experience and character do not meet the criterion of the Oval Office," Mr. Bush said.

The Washington Times on Saturday reported that during Mr. Clinton's unsuccessful 1974 campaign for Congress his associates retrieved and destroyed incriminating files from the University of Arkansas Reserve Officers Training Corps. Mr. Clinton won acceptance in the ROTC program in what he now concedes was a bid to avoid the draft.

Mr. Clinton had not disclosed to ROTC officials or in those application papers that he had received two induction notices and had organized anti-war demonstrations in England. Either admission would have disqualified his ROTC application.

"He's got to level with the American people on this kind of thing," Mr. Bush said at yesterday's rally.

Bush campaign officials simultaneously issued a statement, along with a copy of the affidavit mentioned by the president, in which a principal source quoted by The Times confirms the facts under oath.

"That Bill Clinton can only say he is 'shocked and disoriented' while others are making sworn statements about his dishonorable maneuvering speaks volumes about his lack of character," said deputy campaign manager Mary Matalin, who was traveling with the president.

"If indeed Clinton is telling the truth, why doesn't he swear to it just like Don Cake did?" Miss Matalin asked.

Retired Army Lt. Col. Donald Cake gave the affidavit to Bush campaign officials who inquired about the report in The Times, saying he did so after Clinton campaign officials called the report "hogwash."

"My reaction to this decision [to release the records to Mr. Clinton] and the reaction of other persons in

the ROTC office was total outrage," Mr. Cake says in the affidavit, which also spelled out the process by which the files were turned over to Clinton associates.

Mr. Bush called the matter the latest illustration of Mr. Clinton's character.

Mr. Bush showed his exasperation when he tried to raise the issue in a CNN interview but was ignored. Instead, he was grilled over what he knew at the time about the 1986 weapons sale to Iran.

Recalling the 1988 campaign when reporters wrote that he was "dogged by Iran-Contra," Mr. Bush said people are tired of the issue.

When Mr. Sesno told Mr. Bush that people didn't believe him, the president snapped, "Too bad because I've told the whole truth, and if I hadn't, you can bet this highly partisan Congress would have tried to make something of it."

Angrily demanding whether the entire 30-minute interview would be devoted to the topic, Mr. Bush said: "I've answered 450 questions, a lot of it under oath, 3,500 staff questions."

"We now have new reports about ROTC records being destroyed and you have different [Clinton] stories on different sides and I haven't done that."

As if he hadn't heard, Mr. Sesno responded with yet another Iran-Contra question.

The atmosphere was even more tense and electric during off-camera breaks at the La Crosse, Wis., county Republican headquarters where the "CNN Newsmakers" show was staged.

Mr. Bush, who previously has had

excellent relations with Mr. Sesno, glared silently as the commentator tried several times to ease the tension with smiles and light comment.

"It's almost over," Mr. Sesno told Mr. Bush during the last break, but Mr. Bush made no sign he heard.

Mr. Bush, who often ridicules "Sunday talking heads," might have gotten an early sign of how it would go when Mr. Sesno greeted him to the show.

"Welcome, Mr. President, to one of those nutty Sunday talk shows," Mr. Sesno said with a grin.

Mr. Bush got a lot of mileage yesterday out of a Baghdad wire story, pronouncing himself "thrilled" that Saddam Hussein planned a celebration party Wednesday for Mr. Clinton's victory.

"Hold the phone, Saddam. They're not going to have a demonstration in Baghdad, because they're going to have to contend with me four more years," Mr. Bush said at a rally here with seven high school bands and countless cheerleaders.

Among campaign-produced signs held by the crowd: "Hillary has fat ankles," "No sex or Gore in the White House" and "Hillary doesn't trust Bill. Why should we?"

Anticipating criticism over raising the draft issue again, Mr. Bush sought once again to explain his focus on questions of truth.

"Listen, a lot of people opposed the war and I understand that. That's not the point here," he told the predominantly young audience.

"The point is there is a pattern of deception. On one side of the issue one day and another side the next. And you cannot do that in the Oval Office," Mr. Bush said.

Because we care

Jesse Jackson is urging the city's religious leaders to participate in a twilight prayer vigil this election eve at Freedom Plaza in opposition to the D.C. death penalty referendum proposed by Sen. Richard Shelby, Alabama Democrat, and the U.S. Congress. Members of the Coalition to Vote No on the Death Penalty Referendum, in a letter signed by Mr. Jackson, warn the clergy that executions ordered in the District could be carried out in other states, where among the methods are "firing squad and hanging."

Not to worry.

Utah, the only state with a firing squad still on call, gives evil wrongdoers the more humane option of lethal injection. And while one can still insist on being hanged in Montana, Delaware and Washington state, officials also will let you depart by way of needle.

Tuesday breakdown

There's a lot more at stake tomorrow than the heated presidential and congressional contests. The National Conference of State Legislatures says voters will decide on a total of 6,255 state legislative seats that are up for re-election. Of the current 7,461 legislative seats, 4,419 are held by Democrats, 2,966 by Republicans, and 11 by independents. Currently, the Democrats control both chambers in 29 states, and the Republicans control both chambers in six states.

And if you're fed up with the mudslinging of the warring sides, consider Nebraska, where the legislature is nonpartisan and unicameral.

No kidding

From a conservative Heritage Foundation news release: "With Patrick Buchanan's isolationism, Dan Quayle's 'family values,' Jack Kemp's empowerment strategy for the poor and William Weld's mix of

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Does advocating legal prostitution and marijuana make William F. Buckley Jr. a conservative leader?

economic conservatism and social liberalism, there is much confusion over just what it means to be a conservative these days."

So in an attempt to define a conservative, Heritage will bring together some of the best conservative minds in the nation for a series of lectures over the next few months. Might we suggest including a so-called "leader" of the conservative movement, William F. Buckley Jr.

Here's a guy, New American magazine points out, who has long advocated the legalization of marijuana, agreed with the Panama Ca-

nal giveaway, said he would probably join the Marxist-dominated African National Congress if he were a black South African, has endorsed homosexual rights legislation, pushed for foreign aid giveaways to Russia, charged Pat Buchanan with anti-Semitism, wants national service for youth and favors legalized prostitution. Still confused?

I say

They're having a jolly time in London betting on the Bush-Clinton battle, and by lunchtime tomorrow British bookmakers expect \$2 million in bets. "We originally expected to handle \$1 million in bets, but now we expect to reach the \$2 million barrier . . . when the book closes," said Ladbrokes' Paul Austin. Fun-loving Bill Clinton has remained the favorite among Britons with Ladbrokes offering odds of 1-3, although odds against his majesty, President Bush, retaining the throne had closed to 2-1 and were narrowing. The little prince, Ross Perot, is way outside, with only a 33-1 chance of winning.

Then and now

Sen. Al Gore, as quoted during the 1989 Senate hearings on the nomination of John Tower to be Secretary of Defense:

"Even though we may feel that personal issues . . . ought to be kept entirely out of consideration unless brought into play by conclusive and overwhelming evidence, these issues [womanizing and alcohol abuse] have nevertheless made their marks. Are we entitled to ignore them?"

"Are we entitled . . . because of

uncertainty and uncomfortableness over the nature of the evidence, are we . . . entitled to completely ignore the matters which have been brought to the attention of this committee, albeit in an unsatisfactory form?"

"I believe not."

Party partying

Beer Drinkers of America, a national consumer organization, has sent "Election Night Survival Kits" to congressional candidates and their staffs, sans suds. Instead, the beer drinkers are promoting responsibility during tomorrow night's celebrations, and to drive home their point they've sent each candidate a breath tester to estimate blood-alcohol levels.

Moles beware

The American Federation of Government Employees — Local 2607, in its current Department of Education newsletter, the New Word, announced that six unnamed education managers have received union nomination for the Viper Award, which is reserved for "managers who exhibit behavior like snakes that are famous for their meanness and sneak attacks on unwitting victims."

The union also issued a "Mole Alert" directed against political employees in the current administration who might soon be out of a job: "These creatures of the dark are everywhere this political season. As the election nears, political appointees . . . will all be seeking 'non-competitive,' competitive appointments to career slots. Once these creatures burrow in, they are hard to locate. Please be sure to let the union know if there are moles in your [workplace]. The New Word will be listing mole sightings as they are reported."

Rest assured, taxpayers, The New Word is published with union funds.

— John McCaslin

Winner faces low plurality, maybe lowest

By Donald Lambro
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

If the polls are an accurate reading of the voters' deep division in the presidential campaign, whoever wins tomorrow will end up being elected by a narrow, perhaps historically low plurality of the American people.

That means that the man who will sit in the Oval Office for the next four years would rule without a clear mandate for change from a majority of the voters.

The latest polls show Bill Clinton and President Bush in a virtual dead heat, with independent candidate Ross Perot trailing far behind at 14 percent. If the election results are anywhere near those percentages, and if the voter turnout remains near the 50 percent range, whoever wins would become president with one of the lowest pluralities in 80 years.

"We could be talking about a historically low plurality, but the [Clinton] numbers are still not down in the key electoral states," said Curtis Gans, director of the Committee for the Study of the American Electorate.

For Mr. Bush, who is already weakened by a sluggish economy and a low job approval rating, a victory with a slim plurality would put him in the position of having to work with a Democratic Congress that

would view him as a lame duck president without any real political power.

For Mr. Clinton, who has never been able to fully recover from his deep character wounds, a narrow plurality victory would hardly be a compelling endorsement of his calls for substantive changes in the nation's domestic policies.

But some analysts believe that as the incoming president, Mr. Clinton would have a longer honeymoon period in which to build a mandate to get his program through Congress.

"With Bush it's much more serious because the media and the Democrats in Congress will be arguing that he has no mandate to do anything," Republican political consultant David Keene said.

"But with Clinton, the media and the people on Capitol Hill would be saying that his election represents a new chance for change," Mr. Keene said. "And because of that he would get a longer honeymoon than normal."

The last president to win the White House with less than a majority of the vote was Richard Nixon, who was elected with only 43.4 percent of the vote in a three-way race in 1968.

Yet Mr. Nixon not only got many of his programs through Congress as he prosecuted the Vietnam War while seeking a negotiated settlement, but he went on to win reelection in 1972 in a landslide over Sen. George McGovern.

On the other hand, presidents who



President Bush waves to supporters. If he wins tomorrow, he may do so with the lowest plurality ever given to a president, analysts are predicting.

have won with narrow majorities, such as John Kennedy and Jimmy Carter, did not get many of their domestic programs through Congress, even with considerable majorities in both houses.

Still, historians have to go back to the presidential election of 1912 to find pluralities as low as the latest polls suggest that either Mr. Bush or Mr. Clinton might receive. In that election, Woodrow Wilson won the presidency with 41.8 percent of the

vote in a three-way race, defeating President Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, who was running as a third-party candidate.

Whoever wins will be facing a substantially changed Congress, with as many as 100 to 150 new faces in the House and perhaps a dozen new faces in the Senate. Congress is expected to be made up of a possibly stronger Democratic majority in the Senate, and a slightly reduced Democratic majority in the House.

That would give Mr. Clinton the opportunity to get much of his domestic program passed.

"They [the new Democratic members of Congress] would want to burnish their reputation too," said Mr. Gans, who foresees the Democrats teaming up with Mr. Clinton to pass "four to five to six major pieces of his economic plan very early in his first year."

"That would include national community service, a voter registra-

tion program, mandated family leave, spending for public service employment and infrastructure and his education proposals," he said.

"If Clinton wins, you are going to see the Democrats enacting D.C. statehood, taxpayer funding of congressional campaigns, repeal of the Hatch Act to get federal employees involved in elections, all calculated to perpetuate themselves in power," said Sen. Phil Gramm, Texas Republican.

By the way...

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The Washington Times

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992 *

SUZANNE FIELDS

Just about this time four years ago George Bush spoke for all of us, then and now: "Election Day will be a tremendous relief, tremendous."

Conversations will change radically. Maybe we can call a halt to the absurd and the inane. We can hope we never have to listen to another joke about the spelling of a word that rhymes with tomato. May Murphy Brown get the ratings she deserves now that she's got a male nanny (a "manny"? for her baby).

George Bush, win or lose, ought to be acknowledged as a man who would never ruin a young woman's wedding. Bill Clinton, whether in the White House or back home in Little Rock, can put his Elvis impersonation back in the closet, along with the sax (if not necessarily the sex).

Even if every woman on every ballot wins, can we retire the phrase the "Year of the Woman" that sounds more like the announcement of a Chinese New Year than a political observation — right up there with the Year of the Dragon, the Rat and the Boar? We should recognize that women win for the same reasons men do, by toughing it out and persuading the voters they're better.

Isn't it amazing that the feminists who are so earnest in their outrage at the word "woman" placed with a hyphen before doctor, lawyer, construction worker or firefighter, nevertheless insist on making it a big deal when it comes to politics?

We should put certain political slogans to bed, too.

The phrase, "Read my lips," can

Suzanne Fields, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

The final campaign daze

be retired, along with "a thousand points of light," since George Bush never understood what speechwriter Peggy Noonan meant by either idea, anyway. If Bill Clinton makes it to the Oval Office, he'd better bring a magic set with top hat and rabbit to show us how he can be "pro-growth and pro-environment," or "pro-business and pro-labor," or offer a "middle class tax cut and reduce the deficit."

Voters are cynical about campaign promises, but President Bush's vow not to raise taxes may look like a little white lie next to President Clinton's broken promises.

No matter who is the next first lady, full hips will be in fashion and chocolate chip cookies will be the afternoon snack of choice, beating out jelly beans and pork rinds. Whether Barbara or Hillary give teas in the White House, doting motherhood (or grandmotherhood) will be flaunted. A refashioned Hillary will imitate what came naturally for Barbara. (Tipper and Marilyn have already established maternal images.)

The power of pillow talk, with or without separate pillows, will be debated again only if the Clintons move into the White House, and Hillary

see FIELDS, page E4

FIELDS

From page E1

Clinton is likely to make us remember Nancy Reagan and Rosalyn Carter, the last "high negative" first ladies, as sweetness and light.

A Democratic victory will be hardest on the fiftysomething crowd that will confront the first president and vice president, younger than they are, for whom Vietnam not

It's difficult to remember a single visual image from this campaign that's comparable to Mike Dukakis in a tank or Willie Horton on the loose.

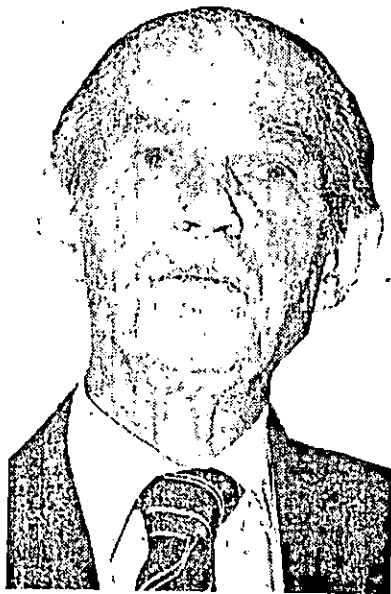
World War II is the touchstone for contemporary history and manhood (even if it's a touchstone the new president tried never to touch).

As we begin to look back on this campaign, so dominated by television, it's difficult to remember a single visual image comparable to Mike Dukakis in a tank or Willie Horton on the loose. Fair or not, those images became powerful symbols of substantive issues. Voters saw Mr. Dukakis as soft on crime, and Willie Horton as crime.

If George Bush pulls off his comeback of the century, he will do it because he persuaded voters to question Bill Clinton's character and his ability to lead. If Bill Clinton wins, the economy will have made the difference.

It wasn't an awful campaign, but it wasn't a great one. Nevertheless, may the best man win. Hail to the Chief.

Verdict begs appeal to Yeltsin



Alger Hiss

The government of the Russian Republic has delivered a serious blow against the honor of American justice. It will be up to President Boris Yeltsin, one of whose closest advisers delivered that blow, to deal with that aspersion at the earliest possible moment. The White House and Congress must demand a response from Mr. Yeltsin, because America's reputation as a country living under a rule of law is at stake.

According to the New York Times Oct. 29, Gen. Dmitri A. Volkogonov, chairman of the Russian government's military intelligence archives, told a lawyer for Alger Hiss, who was convicted of perjury in 1950 for denying he had been a Soviet spy:

"Not a single document, and a great amount of materials have been studied, substantiates the allegation that Mr. A. Hiss collaborated with the intelligence services of the Soviet Union."

According to Gen. Volkogonov, the secret police archives confirm that Whittaker Chambers, Hiss' accuser, had been a member of the American Communist Party, but they did not confirm that Mr. Chambers had had any contact with Soviet intelligence. That, of course, implies that Mr. Chambers' important autobiography, "Witness," is a total lie as far as his description of his own and Hiss' activities are concerned.

His partisans, and there have been many, will draw great comfort from the Russian exoneration of Hiss. The American government, whether the White House or the Con-

gress through its committees, must immediately demand access to the archives and an examination of Gen. Volkogonov's evidence or lack of evidence because this claim raises one of the gravest questions of all: If Hiss, according to Russia's secret police files, was innocent, isn't it possible that all the others convicted or accused by Mr. Chambers or other informants of spying were also innocent?

In other words, the fact 22 jurors of 24 (the first trial of Hiss ended in a hung jury because two jurors held out) had found Hiss guilty as charged and that appeals courts re-

jected his pleas and that he served a jail sentence, that there was probative evidence of Hiss' guilt — all this has been reversed by a Russian general. This is to say the American judicial system failed Hiss because a Russian general could find no evidence in the secret police files.

Are we to accept Gen. Volkogonov's "verdict" without further investigation? I can understand why Alger Hiss at his press conference cheered his "exoneration" and why Oliver Stone is, one can assume, planning another one of his "documentary" movies. But is Gen. Volkogonov to be the last word on American jurisprudence?

The Hiss case sparked one of the most important public debates of the 1950s since it involved charges of Soviet penetration of the highest levels of American diplomacy and government. Hiss had been a top State Department official when the charges of Soviet espionage and finally an indictment were brought against him as having been part of a ring of Soviet spies not only in the State and Treasury Departments but in other departments as well.

These exposes, which antedated the rise of Joe McCarthy, became a major issue in the 1952 presidential campaign. They helped bring about the election of Dwight Eisenhower, the Republican standard-bearer. The Hiss-Chambers affair itself became a watershed in the intellectual wars of the 1950s.

Gen. Volkogonov's testimonial to Hiss' innocence is an intervention into the internal affairs of the U.S. government. Such intervention is perfectly proper if he believes that there has been a momentous miscarriage of justice, a frameup. But since Gen. Volkogonov is now directly involved in the Hiss case, his evidence must be tested by direct questions to him. If he will not permit such an examination, Mr. Yeltsin must be asked to intervene.

Here are some questions for Gen. Volkogonov:

(1) What guarantees can he give that the secret police files were not tampered with or destroyed? In 1989, a dissident Soviet journal, "Glasnost," reported that when Vladimir Terbilov had been minister of justice and later chairman of the Soviet Supreme Court, he had ordered the destruction of Soviet legal files dating from Stalin's bloody 1930s to the 1950s — 5,000 dossiers a month! Can Gen. Volkogonov guarantee that before he took control of those files (and we don't know when that was) that similar destruction or transfer of secret files did not occur?

(2) Just what do the files on Whittaker Chambers show? In his autobiography, Mr. Chambers names names, dates and places. His testimony was credible enough for American courts and 22 of 24 American jurors. Are those hundreds of pages in Mr. Chambers' autobiography lies?

(3) Since Gen. Volkogonov has exonerated Hiss, perhaps he will tell us whether those people who testified under oath before congressional committees and American courts to have been in the service of the Soviet

see BEICHMAN, page E4

ask Gen. Volkogonov to make public the Hede Massing file. The late Mrs. Massing testified that she had been a Soviet agent. Was that a lie? Let's see the Massing file, the files on Noel Field, Donald Hiss, Winston Burdett, Izzy Stone, Harold Ware, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, William Remington, Judith Coplon and hundreds and hundreds of others who may — or may not — have been in the service of the Soviet secret police. Gen. Volkogonov opened this Pandora's box; he cannot close it now when the honor of American justice has been stained by his allegations.

(4) Gen. Volkogonov must make public all the files on Hiss so that we can know on what basis he has exonerated the onetime American diplomat. His word isn't good enough. Is Gen. Volkogonov telling us that there is no Alger Hiss file at all?

(5) Since it is clear from Gen. Volkogonov's statement about Mr. Chambers that the secret police had access to the membership lists of the American Communist Party, I ask Gen. Volkogonov to tell us whether Hiss was himself a party member.

I think it is incumbent upon President Bush to order CIA Director Robert M. Gates to seek Mr. Yeltsin's approval for examination by trained archival experts in the CIA of the secret police files. The Russian government had every right to control access to its archives. But no more. By having allowed Gen. Volkogonov to impeach American justice Mr. Yeltsin must now permit our government to seek the truth. Gen. Volkogonov must not be allowed to be the last word on American jurisprudence because instead of clarifying the Hiss affair he has only succeeded in entangling it in the affairs of the secret police who are still in power, no matter what is said.

In fact, Gen. Volkogonov reminded me of a story told about the great French diplomat, the Duc de Talleyrand. During one of the post-Napoleonic four-power meetings, an aide burst into the chambers of the worldly wise French foreign minister with the somber announcement that the Russian ambassador had just dropped dead. Talleyrand looked pensive for a moment and quietly asked, "I wonder what his motive was."

Arnold Beichman, a research fellow at the Hoover Institution, is a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Washington Times

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992 *

CAMPAIGN '92

LATEST POLLS

How the presidential candidates stood yesterday in three daily tracking polls.*

CNN/USA Today



ABC News



CBS/New York Times



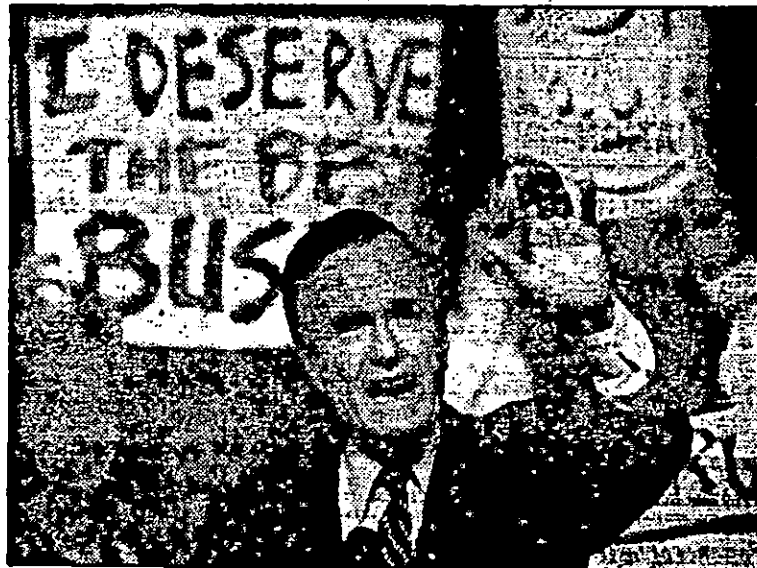
* Margin of error for all polls is plus or minus 3 percentage points.

The Washington Times

The Washington Post

Bush, Perot Lash Clinton

Democrat Upbeat as Race Draws to Close on Negative Note



President Bush campaigns in Auburn Hills, Mich., his fourth visit in eight days to the state, where Democratic nominee Bill Clinton holds the lead.

Bush Near the End: Hope Against the Odds

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

A dozen years ago, when George Bush was taking his first steps toward the White House, Michigan made his hopes soar and then broke his heart. The polls suggest it may do the same on Tuesday.

Yesterday Bush was in Auburn Hills, outside of Detroit, for his fourth visit to Michigan in eight days. Bill Clinton still leads in the state, and Bush's repeated visits there evoke memories of his first run for national office in the 1980 Republican primaries, when he relentlessly campaigned in Michigan after he had effectively lost the nomination to

Ronald Reagan. Everyone knew he was a loser but Bush. And the voters of Michigan.

Bush won the primary, but that same May day Reagan accumulated enough delegates to clinch the nomination. With a finger-shaking lecture to "mournful pundits" who kept saying he was done, Bush kept on, in much the same way he perseveres in these final days of his last campaign, single-mindedly and sometimes goofily attacking Clinton as the hours and minutes of his comeback fight run out.

Encapsulated in a traveling campaign roadshow that offers little time for the introspection and reflection Bush eschews, the

See BUSH, A16, Col. 4

The Washington Post



President Bush greets supporters at Selfridge Air Force Base after arriving for campaign rally in Auburn Hills, Mich.

President Keeps Hope Against the Odds In Waning Moments of Last Campaign

BUSH, From A1

President is telling aides he will ultimately steal the "Comeback Kid" title. He apparently believes it. Late last week, said one senior aide, "He went into handler-robot. He said, 'I know what I'm doing now. You guys put me on the plane, send me where I need to go and leave me alone.'"

Bush told White House Chief of Staff James A. Baker III, his friend, only real handler and chief political adviser, that he wanted to see no more overnight tracking polls, no more state-by-state electoral breakdowns, no more numbers and projections, according to another aide.

"We all talked about it," said one of Bush's team. "His attitude was, 'Don't dwell on Wednesday, don't worry about it, don't look back. Let's finish this thing. I believe I can win and that's what keeps me going.'"

Describing his state of mind Friday night on the "Larry King Live" show, Bush said: "Jim Baker came to me and he said, 'Here's a list of the electoral [breakdowns] and where we stand on the overnights.' I said, 'Jimmy, let me tell you something: I'm not interested. I want to keep my mind going on getting my message out. I'm going where the schedule says . . . you know, just keep on going.'"

Watching the overnight polls, he said, "would just drive me crazy" and "if I looked up . . . I'd get discouraged."

While Bush campaigned through the heart of Wisconsin by train on Saturday, Baker and campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter, instead of Bush, played electoral math, aides said. With lists of states and numbers of votes spread out on train tables, the two engaged in the ultimate political game of "if," according to one source: If we lose Michigan, we can make it up in Wisconsin, if we lose Connecticut, we

can make it up in North Carolina; maybe we'll win Tennessee.

Campaign aides acknowledge, as they have for two weeks, that it is not likely all the ifs will occur, but they argue it is possible. "We are keeping hope alive," said one. "We had made all the ads, done the last schedule, got the message done—there is nothing more we can do except take this last ride and hope."

For the past week, Bush has been accompanied by friends who had been with him in every campaign

The president is telling aides he will ultimately steal the "Comeback Kid" title.

for a decade or more. Besides Baker there is Margaret Tutwiler, who was Bush's second paid political staff member back in 1978; David Bates, who began carrying his bags and taking down names of supporters in 1979; and Rose Zamaria, who worked in his Texas congressional offices and came with him to the White House.

They are, as Aliza Glen, communications aide and another early supporter, said, "Bush lifers," and they will go with him to Houston on Tuesday for the verdict.

Two weeks ago, one of the lifers described the campaign as being like watching a dear friend or relative die of cancer that would not have been fatal if caught early. "We have tried every known cure. We have tried every experiment and still, he keeps getting worse," the Republican said. "I cannot tell you how sad it is to watch when it didn't

have to happen if only we caught this earlier."

Bush's aggressive performance in the final of the three presidential debates wiped out the almost palpable sense of despair that had descended on his closest associates, reviving for this final drive the embers of hope and, for a time last week, a sort of manic optimism.

As the polls showed the race getting closer, the president was energized, cheered on by massive crowds much the same way Michael S. Dukakis was four years ago.

By the weekend, however, the mania was replaced by a sense of resignation among Bush aides: What would be would be.

Bush himself insisted to King that he has "literally not thought about losing" and compared this final campaign of his as being behind in sports but playing your best every moment. But the president knows that many Republicans, in his own camp and out, believed two weeks ago that he had given up, that his curiously passive performance in the first two debates was a clear sign he believed, even if he never told anyone so, that his presidency was lost.

"I've had some criticism from our own people," Bush said Friday night, people who asked, "What the heck. Has this guy lost his fight? My not being out there slugging back made people wonder, 'Does the president got the, you know, has George Bush really got the drive to do this?'"

Bush said he revived himself, and the conventional wisdom that the race was already over two weeks ago apparently helped him to do it. "I don't like it, being written off, especially the Republicans," he told King. "I don't like it one bit. . . ." Having been decreed "dead and buried," Bush said, "It makes me say I'm going to show they're wrong."

Roots of Bush's Iran Credibility Gap

Weinberger Note Is Latest Challenge to '87 Statements on Arms Sales

By Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writer

President Bush's latest Iran-contra credibility problem had its roots in a 1987 interview and an autobiography published that same year in which he attempted, while vice president, to distance himself from the then-unfolding Reagan administration scandal.

In both the book and the interview, Bush said he was "out of the loop" when the plan to sell arms to Iran was formulated and unaware that the secretaries of state and defense strongly opposed it.

In an Aug. 5, 1987, interview with *The Washington Post*, Bush said: "If I'd sat there and heard [Secretary of State] George Shultz and Cap [Defense Secretary Caspar W. Weinberger] 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."

In his campaign autobiography he

wrote: "In retrospect there were signals along the way that gave fair warning that the Iran initiative was headed for trouble. As it turned out, George Shultz and Cap Weinberger had serious doubts, too. If I'd known that and asked the President to call a meeting of the NSC [National Security Council], he might have seen the project in a different light, as a gamble doomed to failure."

In his 1988 campaign for the presidency and over the past four years of his own administration, Bush has had to deal with a series of Iran-contra documents and testimony that challenged his 1987 statements. In most cases he was able to ignore the new material or supply a response that muddled the issue.

A Weinberger note, describing a Jan. 7, 1986, White House meeting to discuss the Iran arms sales, was released Friday in an Iran-contra indictment of Weinberger. It provides the most direct contradiction to Bush's statements made five years ago.

The note makes clear that Wein-

berger considered the deal for sending 4,000 TOW antitank missiles to Iran in exchange for the release of five American hostages as an arms-for-hostages swap. He also writes that he and Shultz objected to it and that Bush was present and apparently showed his approval.

Back in 1987, after his *Post* interview, Bush was asked about the Jan. 7, 1986, meeting and an aide responded, "[Bush] doesn't recall it as a showdown session, and it's possible he was not there for all of it."

In succeeding years, Bush has had to revise that. White House counsel C. Boyden Gray last month said only that "records show" Bush attended the meeting.

Faced with the Weinberger note, Bush has modified what he knew about Shultz and Weinberger opposing the deal. Yesterday on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday," Bush said, "I didn't know . . . how strongly they felt about it, that there was a kind of ravaging fight going on, and I did know, and I've said that, and I've testified to that."

For the past three days, on "Lar-

ry King Live" and elsewhere, Bush has been arguing that there is nothing new about the Weinberger note by reading about the Jan. 7, 1986, meeting from the report of the House-Senate committees that investigated the Iran-contra affair.

But that congressional report describes Weinberger and Shultz as continuing "to object strenuously" to the Iranian arms sales.

The report also introduces another little-noticed conflict with Bush's autobiography and past statements. It says that at a Jan. 6, 1986, national security briefing of the president, which Bush attended, it was "decided there would be a full NSC [National Security Council] meeting the following day [Jan. 7] on the proposal" to sell arms to Iran. That information conflicts directly with Bush's repeated claim that there never was an NSC meeting on the Iran initiative.

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

Mollie Dickenson

Bush's Assassination of the Brady Bill

George Bush has hidden from the American people his responsibility for the recent defeat of the Brady Bill. Just last weekend, both George and Barbara Bush were on television announcing their strong support for a crime bill in the next Bush administration, the president declaring that Congress had allowed his crime bill to languish on Capitol Hill while murderers and rapists ran rampant. The truth is, however, that the long-negotiated, 200-page, Biden Crime Bill, which contained the Brady bill, was ready for a vote before Congress adjourned this fall. For Bush, the problem was the Brady bill.

Bush had said that he would veto the Brady bill if it were sent to him alone but would sign it if it were attached to a comprehensive crime bill. The Brady bill, after enormous effort by police and civic organizations, had already passed both the House and the Senate. Once it was attached to Congress's crime bill, however, Bush set out to make certain it would never

reach his desk for action. He had no intention of either signing or vetoing any bill with the Brady measure in it. Neither did he wish to give the Democratic majority in Congress any credit in an election year for helping Americans cope with increasing crime. But the Brady bill was the important thing, according to numerous Hill watchers, because of its great popularity and the high visibility the bill had achieved by being named for Bush's fellow Republican, former White House press secretary Jim Brady, shot and disabled in the 1981 assassination attempt on Ronald Reagan.

The Biden/Brady crime bill was killed at 2:30 a.m. on Oct. 2 the final, all-night mediating session, by Bush operatives who refused to budge, as they had before, on a highly technical provision relating to the rights of death row inmates to appeal their convictions. Sen. Joseph Biden even offered to remove the death-row problem from the bill and committed himself to passing it later. The media-

tion had been going on for months, as had constant threats of Republican filibusters. Bush made sure that Biden would not have enough votes to stop a filibuster. In the end, only three Republicans, in effect, voted for the Brady bill, and it lost.

"I feel betrayed by the whole process after working for four years on this bill, with people suffering out there and police officers putting their lives on line," says Robert Scully, president of the 135,000-member National Association of Police Organizations. "I told the president in May, 'Please, don't kill the crime bill over people who are on death row and will never commit another crime against anybody. There are important things in the crime bill.' I lay the blame clearly with the Bush administration."

To police officers, the Brady bill symbolized that the country was at last going to stem the tide on handgun crimes. Taken in by Bush's tactics were Dewey Stokes, president of the 240,000-member Fraternal Order of Police, and Richard Darling, Chairman of the National Troopers Coalition, both of whose organizations endorsed Bush in the expectation he would allow Brady to become law. So it is not surprising that most Americans are unaware that Bush took on and defeated Jim and Sarah Brady and their modest handgun measure, while quietly signaling to the gun lobby that he has stood fast against gun control. Bill Clinton has called for the Brady bill since he first entered the race.

In the seven years since Sarah Brady joined Handgun Control Inc., more than 13 million handguns have been produced in this country; more than 150,000 people have died by handguns—murders, suicides and accidents. Under the Bush administration, murders have increased 25 percent—from 8,915 to 1988 to 12,090 in 1991. The Brady bill requires a five-working-day waiting period and a background check on the handgun purchaser. Ninety-five percent of Americans support the Brady bill and cannot understand why it does not become law. Why is their will continually being thwarted on this important issue? Ross Perot even calls it a "timid" bill.

But all along, Bush has had his eye on that tiny minority of narrow-minded and emotional Americans who are subject to manipulation by the National Rifle Association. Reagan and Bush have used them cynically and masterfully to win their elections. Put several of these single-issue constituencies together, and you have a 2, 3 or 4 percent margin of victory. It's that simple. In defeating the Brady bill, candidate Bush has probably sold out his principles and contributed to the deaths of innocent people. Tragically, that is how the game is being played.

Mollie Dickenson is author of "Thumbs Up: The Life and Courageous Comeback of White House Press Secretary Jim Brady."

The Washington Post

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Clinton's Hedge

PITTSBURGH—At the final stage of his brilliantly staged procession to the presidency, Bill Clinton displayed a weakness that gave his opponents hope and his supporters anxiety.

The Democratic nominee was in Pennsylvania and Ohio, four days before the election pounding away against George Bush, because Clinton's once formidable lead in those two essential states had become paper thin. The shrinking was caused by eleventh-hour doubts by voters about his character—doubts magnified by his performance here.

The night before his Pittsburgh visit, Clinton had gratuitously injected himself into a complicated airline-industry struggle by opposing a plan for British Airways to buy into USAir. But faced here by worried Democratic politicians and angry USAir employees, Clinton hedged. He satisfied nobody and worried many.

Here is the Achilles heel of a skilled political warrior who has survived adversity and stepped to the doorstep of the White House. What he did in Pittsburgh probably will not lose him Pennsylvania or the election but suggests that the character issue is not merely the invention of Republican politicians.

The final days of the long campaign are not what Clinton and his high command had intended: a state-by-state procession of high-flown prose. The narrowing of his lead, nationally and in key states, is attributed by Democrats to the delayed impact of merciless Republican bludgeoning of him.

Pennsylvania, virtually given up for lost by the GOP a month ago, had diminished to a 4 percent Clinton lead in his own internal polls and 6 percent in the GOP tracking. His lead was even less in Ohio. That's why Clinton was in Pittsburgh and Springfield, Ohio, Friday.

Clinton's task was to counterattack against Bush without letting his temper and his proclivity to meanness get out of hand. He handled it well in both places, but was tripped up by that airline problem.

On Wednesday night, in answer to a question by CNN interviewer Larry King, he joined Ross Perot's opposition to the British Airways-USAir deal. Clinton professes to be a free-trader, but in fact his opinions on this, as on other questions, are free-floating.

His proclivity for tough nationalistic talk could not resist meddling in an issue he could well have left alone. What's worse, he seconded Perot's absurd contention that the deal threatens the American aircraft industry—a notion that conveniently fits Clinton's campaign theme of an eroding industrial base.

Clinton's stand was not good news for Democrats in Pennsylvania, a state suddenly in play on Nov. 3. Pittsburgh, racked by recession, is a

He had gratuitously injected himself into a complicated airline-industry struggle.

major hub of USAir. The airline cannot survive without the British cash injection.

When Clinton arrived here, Allegheny County Commissioners Tom Forester and Pete Flaherty handed him a letter noting that U.S. access to British routes was well and good, but this was life or death for

USAir—and thus for Pittsburgh. In the crowd were hundreds of USAir employees—many of them wearing Clinton campaign buttons—furious with his stand.

So, Clinton hedged, backing away from outright rejection but conditioning his support on "access" to the British market.

"There he goes again," said Tom Guzzi, an ardent Democrat and one of Clinton's local coordinators—a comment that suggests Republican charges of waffling have hit home. "He just lost 40,000 votes," said Robert Kmetec, a ticketing employee at USAir. "I am very unhappy."

If George Bush indeed pulls a political miracle tomorrow with the greatest comeback of all time, the only reason will be that the country finally could not trust Bill Clinton. He showed why in Pittsburgh Friday.

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The Washington Post

On the Clinton Plane: Battle Fatigue and a Dose of Fear

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

ABOARD THE CLINTON PLANE SOMEWHERE OVER THE BAT- TLEGROUND STATES, Nov. 1

Now that November is here at last, now that everything has been exhausted except the bottomless pit of campaign clichés, now that flight attendants roam the aisle with the demeanor of Civil War nurses administering to amputees ("Advi! Bayer? Maalox?" they inquire soothingly), now that the weary press posse would gladly trade lean and bright leads for clean and white underwear, now that Bill Clinton has lost his voice for the last time—now finally it is obvious: Win or lose, the bubble will soon burst.

"The bubble" is what surrounds the traveling road show of any presidential campaign. It includes the candidate, the staff, the press, the plane, the bus and all the electronic gear of the 20th-century hustle—after all, even in the television era, someone's still got to get out there and do the job—yet it is not so much a tangible phenomenon as a metaphysical one, a way of looking at things, at once cynical and cozy, but mostly just weird. It is where you find both the real story and yet an utterly false one, a speed-blurred picture of a very large country.

The bubble is addictive yet debilitating. "Camp Pain" is what those in the Clinton version have chosen to call their particular

experience. But as they count down the days and hours to go, dog-tired and brain-numb, flu-struck, limping and, in one case, partially paralyzed, they do so with a certain wistfulness. Because even though people inside the bubble often drive each other nuts, they have lived side by side like a huge, clamoring family—one that is about to break up. Forget the stump speech talk about mustering the courage to change. Change is coming on Election Day whatever the outcome, and its imminent arrival is filling the bubble dwellers with feelings of anxiety and fear as much as relief.

Clinton aide Paul Begala lamented as he was trudging across an airport tarmac yesterday that as much as he

See PLANE, D9, Col. 1

PLANE, From D1

misses his wife and newborn son, and as much as he wants his boss to reach the Oval Office, he expects to free fall into a deep depression Wednesday morning simply because a way of life he has grown accustomed to will end.

"That's if Clinton wins," Begala said. "If he loses, I won't be depressed because I'll be dead—I'll shoot myself."

Wendy Smith, Clinton's trip director, said she was depressed for two months after the end of the 1988 Dukakis campaign and expects to suffer again. "You don't spend this much time with people even in college," Smith said. "You're together almost 24 hours a day for a year, and then you don't see them at all—it's separation shock."

There are anxieties of all sorts inside the bubble. CNN's Gene Randall is worried about finding a place to live. He's gone through the campaign as a fairly wealthy homeless person, lodging in an endless string of hotel rooms. USA Today's Adam Nagourney worries about how to cover the White House from his beloved isle of Manhattan, if Clinton wins: It is inconceivable that this quick-witted New Yorker could reside anywhere else. Karen Ball of the Associated Press worries in her gently ironic way how she will fill the dramatic void in her life.

Steve Cohen, the kid of Clinton's traveling staff, known affectionately as "Scoop," sat outside an event in Pittsburgh the other day trying to sort out his ambivalent feelings about the impending bubble burst. It reminded him, he said, of his years as a camp counselor when four days before the end the trunks would appear on the front porch of the lodge. "First I'd get happy about the thought of going home," he said, "and then I'd think about the reality of leaving that special place and going back to real life and, I don't know how to describe it, it was a kind of a funny mix of sadness and loss."

Dogs' Days

If a moment marked the beginning of the Death March this campaign year, the political equivalent of trunks in the bunkhouse porch, it might have come in Louisville Wednesday night when Larry King asked Bill Clinton, "Aren't you whipped?" by the grueling pace, and the Big Guy, as the press has come to call him, responded, "No, I'm pumped!" As Clinton recited states still to visit—five one day, eight or 10 another—and boasted that he only needed four hours of sleep a day and could afford to be tired when the election was over, the press corps reacted in a fashion that has become rather routine this year: by hissing and muttering at the television monitors.

Back in February, when his candidacy was almost out of the hunt, Clinton vowed to stay tough until "the last dog dies." By Louisville on the Wednesday of the final week, some of the dogs were on their last legs. CNN's Randall said when he arrived at an arena he thought was the Meadows in New Jersey, he wondered why all the speakers had Southern accents—then he realized he was in Kentucky. That night ended at 1:45 a.m. at a hotel in downtown Toledo.

where the 140-member press corps was chewed out by a desk clerk for failing to form straight waiting lines.

As Susan Feeney of the Dallas Morning News waited she could not help thinking about her fiancé, Steve Hirsh, a producer for ABC News, who was traveling in the other bubble with President Bush. They communicate mostly by sky-page beepers, and Hirsh had beeped her hours earlier, meaning that as usual he and the regal presidential traveling party were resting comfortably in some four-star hotel while she was still out there hacking around with Clinton with miles to

go before she slept. Lest she feel too sorry for herself, however, he would be quick to remind her that he had to arise at 4:30 to prepare for a spot on the morning show.

Nagourney reentered the bubble the next day in New Jersey after dropping off for 12 hours to write a long story, and he came back with the stunned look of a man who had just emerged from a yearlong coma. "It was terrible to realize how cut off from reality we are on the plane," he said. "When I got off the plane I had a totally different perception of what was going on. It was scary."

The bubble that night was at city hall in Jersey City, where Clinton gave a speech on AIDS. The candidate was in one room speaking, the press corps was in another, listening over a loudspeaker. Priscilla Painton of Time was on the floor, using her raincoat as a pillow, notebook in her lap. Radio reporters carefully hooked their tape recorders into the common sound box, while daily print reporters placed theirs at the foot of a giant loudspeaker as though making votive offerings at a Druid shrine.

And there sat Nagourney at a desk in the middle of the room, rocking back and forth in his inimitable Jewish-prayer typing style, transcribing Clinton's speech as it was being delivered, the quiet tap-a-thwap-a-tic-a-pop-a-tap of his keyboard pounding in rhythm with his bob and sway, his face aglow

Down to the Wire and Out of Steam

The Washington Post

tied "The Rope Line From Elm Street." It began:

"The famed governor of a small state worked a quarter-mile-long rope line, for about 45 minutes, on East 11th St. in Davenport—actually, the historic village of East Davenport. It was lined with quaint, nauseatingly picturesque storefronts (get me back to Manhattan, please God) with names like: Nana's College and Graduates' Marketplace. Clinton advance people there. Right. This was without question the longest rope line in the history of rope lines; it was renamed ROPE LINE FROM HELL about halfway through when it started to rain."

Nagourney typed out his pool report, rated by his colleagues as the best of the year, came to an end with the words "the plane is crashing and I want to get this done"

The plane did not crash. The bubble moved on to Milwaukee, for a town meeting, Clinton's favorite form of entertainment, and some bowling and then a red-eye trip to Cincinnati for another ragged-line check-in at another hotel in the middle of the night.

And then it all started to blur: the bubble, the Death March, Camp Pain, the Big Guy's high, soft, rasping, pleading voice echoing from tape recorders in the darkened bus, the flashing lights of the motorcades, Halloween masks, battleground states, tracking polls, skipping Louisiana, going back to Texas, Clinton's lucky, no, he's smart, born with a horseshoe, where are we going? thump in the plane, President Gore jokes, rope lines, three more days, two more days, Dana Carvey, another rumor, trickle down, Bozo the clown . . .

Wisconsin's up in the air, Karen lost her recorder, Lorraine thinks we landed too fast, Walter Shapiro's vocabulary is down to 500 words, another dog dying, poor Walter, oh Time, never on time, time is running out, what time is it? it's time for us to go, not yet, not until 4,100 miles, not until Philadelphia and Cleveland and Detroit and Paducah and St. Louis and Mollen and Fort Worth and Albuquerque and Denver and, and, and . . .

In a darkened hallway, somewhere in a battleground state, Catherine Decker of the Los Angeles Times turned to her bubbled colleagues, the Camp Painers, and muttered: "I wonder when the last time was when we had it?"

"Had what?" she was asked by two women colleagues, smirking at the possibilities.

"Our minds," she said.



Bill Clinton being interviewed by Larry King about the grueling pace of the campaign: "Aren't you whipped?" "No, I'm pumped!"

had some more merchandise to push. Chuck Stewart and Bruce Bernstein are dying, it is not all pain. On Friday the bubble moved to Pittsburgh and Susan Feeney got what is known as a Mom-Op, which is traveling lingo for a chance to see your mother. Theresa Kachniko was waiting for the youngest of her five children in the lobby of the Pittsburgh Hilton, and when she saw Susan more and capitalized on their inspiration by marketing a line of T-shirts and sweat, complete with a red-nosed caricature of the candidate on the back. No truer words were ever spoken on a campaign plane than when Stewart uttered of his colleagues: "The press guys will buy anything."

The camp lived up to its name late Sunday afternoon when the bubble moved north from Atlanta to Iowa. It was a rainy, cold, miserable afternoon, a cloudy that Clinton, never at a loss for words, ditched his speech and told everyone to go home so they would no get sick. Of course he had been staking hands with people behind a security rope for an hour before that, with Nagourney, as the designated pool-reporter for the press corps, being behind. His pool report was trying to do their press-corps hustle.

Chuck and Bruce are never too tired to do their press-corps hustle and on Death March Saturday they would reach a bed at 3:30 in the morning in suburban Atlanta.

Upstairs, in the hallway outside the press filing center, more dogs were dying. Photo dogs this time, as the still photographers are called. They were sprawled on the rug, lights out, literally and figuratively. And there were eight more hours to go before they would reach a bed at 3:30 in the morning in suburban Atlanta.

by the first hug from mother Kachniko since June.

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The Big Blur

Chuck and Bruce are never too tired to do their press-corps hustle and on Death March Saturday they

The Washington Post

In Final Blitz, a Blur of Polls,

Pontification and Sound-Bite Slogans

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Shortly after 9 p.m. Friday, President Bush told CNN's Larry King that new evidence about his role in the Iran-contra affair amounted to nothing but "phony allegations" being trumpeted by the Clinton campaign.

At the same moment, Bush also was on PBS, deflecting questions from David Frost about the "Iraqgate" scandal. "If I'd listened to those guys, the critics now, [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein would be sitting in downtown Riyadh," Bush said in a taped interview.

The final weekend of the presidential campaign has been a blur of images flickering across the television screen: Cher calls Ross Perot on Larry King. A Bush ad portrays Bill Clinton's Arkansas as a barren wasteland ("Bill Clinton wants to do for America what he's done for Arkansas"). Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos calls Bush on Larry King. A Clinton ad rattles off his supporters ("Bill Clinton's economic plan, endorsed by over 600 economists"). The president tells Larry King he's sorry he called Clinton a bozo. Perot speaks to the camera in his latest ad ("This is no time to waste your vote on politics as usual"). Bush and Perot appear on MTV. Bush

calls in to George Michael's "Sports Machine."

Through it all, those "nutty talking heads," as Bush calls commentators and reporters on television, serve up a smorgasbord of polls and pontification, with nearly all of them—from "Capital Gang" to "Meet the Press"—predicting a Clinton victory.

NBC's Tom Brokaw rattles off polls showing Clinton with leads of 1, 4 and 10 percentage points. CBS's Dan Rather says the latest Iran-contra evidence "raises new questions about whether Mr. Bush is telling the truth." ABC's Ted Koppel says that "some of the things Ross Perot has said and done over these past few months are, to put it bluntly, weird."

After a year in which their campaigns have churned out millions of words, each candidate is trying to distill the essence of his message. For Bush, it is fear of Clinton—"the character issue" and "the trust issue," as he told CNN's Frank Sesno yesterday. For Clinton, it is the need for change after four years of failed economic policies. For Perot, it is a rejection of two-party gridlock in favor of a maverick outsider.

The candidates are pouring their remaining funds into advertising—at a cost of up to \$300,000 for 30 seconds—with Perot's self-financed spots appearing most frequently. "For people who have already

made up their mind, it reinforces the message," said Kathleen Hall Jamieson, dean of the Annenberg School of Communications. "For people still undecided, this period is extremely confusing. It's just charge and countercharge and a lot of speculation about who's going to win."

Perot, who once promised to do no negative ads, assailed Clinton as well as Bush in a 30-minute commercial last night. Using his patented flip charts, Perot compared Arkansas to a "corner grocery

store." "I'm just a cur dog in this campaign. . . . Trickle down [economics] didn't trickle. . . . I'll be under the hood fixing the engine."

Bush: "The economy is not in such doldrums as Governor Clinton and 'Ozone' [Sen. Albert Gore Jr.] would have you believe. . . . Organizing demonstrations against your country in a foreign land. . . . What he really needs to do is level with the American people."

Bush told Katie Couric on "Today" that it was a "mistake" for him to have opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act—then turned his admission into an attack. "If you make a mistake, say so. That's the difference I've got with Governor Clinton," he said.

Over time, Bush tends to lapse into stream of consciousness. "I am thrilled about it. I am absolutely—I'm driving down to the wire with—I've never felt more energetic," he told Frost. "You weren't in this country at the time. And one of the things I'm a little upset about the media, about the national media—always separate out the local media, the photographers, the guys that carry the cameras, but it's these talking heads—and for a while, there was a spate of stories that George Bush is in bad health. We couldn't shake it. Doctor would go out and reveal health records and talk about—I have never felt about—I feel like a spring colt, going right down to the wire."

Clinton tends to speak in technical paragraphs. "Tax incentives for private-sector growth and investment tax credit for new plant and equipment, capital gains tax for long-term investment in small business, new technology investments, housing investments. . . ." he told ABC's Sam Donaldson. "Increase investment in highway programs, high-speed rail programs, other new technologies that will produce high-wage jobs, solid-waste recycling and other environmental cleanup technologies."

Perot tends to offer homely analogies. "I promise you this: If the American people send me to Washington, you won't find me in the White House," he told King. "I'm going to be like [Wal-Mart founder] Sam Walton used to be; I'm going to be standing out there in the aisles of the stores listening to my customers. You're not only my boss, you're my customer."

Snappy answers are invariably repeated. "Was the deficit all Congress's fault?" CBS's Paula Zahn asked Bush. "Yes," he said. "They appropriate every dime."

"They appropriate every dime, David. They tell me how to spend every dime," Bush told Frost.

Some oversaturated viewers might well endorse Bush's observation in the Frost interview: "As soon as the election is over, we'll get back to normal times. Elections can get ugly, David."

THE AIR WARS

store" and derided the state's poultry industry, saying that if Clinton is elected, "we'll all be plucking chickens for a living." He also quoted from a bitterly anti-Clinton editorial in the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette, which has opposed the governor for years.

In this final media blitz, interviewers ask the same questions over and over again: What did Bush know about arms for hostages? Why did Clinton avoid the draft? Can Perot prove his charge that Republicans plotted to disrupt his daughter's wedding?

Viewers hear the same sound-bite slogans again and again.

Clinton: "The American people are working harder for lower wages than they were making 10 years ago."

The Washington Post

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Clinton Sounds Upbeat As Bush, Perot Attack

Urging his supporters to "fight on" until Tuesday, Bill Clinton came under fierce assault from President Bush and Ross Perot yesterday over his character and record as the presidential campaign hurtled toward its conclusion on a sharply negative track.

His voice reduced to a croak, Clinton hustled through Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey sounding increasingly upbeat about his chances of winning the election, as public and private polls showed him with a steady lead over Bush.

Bush, on the defensive over the Iran-contra affair, tried to turn the voters' attention to Clinton's draft record, charging that friends of Clinton had helped destroy his Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) files in Arkansas in the 1970s.

Calling on Clinton "to level with the American people" about his draft record, Bush said his rival was unfit to be president. "The bottom line is we simply cannot take the risk on Governor Clinton," he told a raucous rally in Auburn Hills, Mich.

The president's campaign released a statement by a former University of Arkansas ROTC officer alleging that Clinton's records were destroyed shortly before Clinton first ran for office in 1974. Others involved in the matter dispute the charge, and Clinton's campaign labeled it false.

Perot, who has spent much of the campaign dueling with Bush, suddenly turned on Clinton yesterday with a slashing attack on Arkansas and Clinton's record on the economy, education and the environment in a 30-minute television commercial aired on two networks. At a rally in California, Perot also labeled Clinton a poor role model for having experimented with marijuana.

The Clinton camp issued a rebuttal.

See CAMPAIGN, A17, Col. 1

CAMPAIGN, From A1

tal of Perot's charges and took a swipe at the Texas independent for practicing "politics as usual" with his negative attacks. Clinton's communications director George Stephanopoulos said Perot's "11th-hour attack" was "nothing but a multimillion-dollar smokescreen designed to distort" Clinton's record.

Perot, however, did not spare Bush, attacking the president for his economic record, his handling of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and the U.S. invasion of Panama.

With Perot running third in the polls, it was not clear what impact his charges would have on the voters, but they added one last element of uncertainty to a campaign that has been marked by surprises all year.

Bush campaigned yesterday in Wisconsin, Michigan, Connecticut and New Jersey, fighting off a cold and appearing testy over continued questioning about the Iran-contra affair.

On Friday, the independent counsel's office announced a new grand jury indictment of former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger that contained Weinberger's notes from a Jan. 7, 1986, meeting, which indicated that Bush approved of the arms-for-hostages trade with Iran.

Bush questioned the timing of indictment and lashed out at independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh during an interview on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday."

"I'm a little confused as to why all this sudden new charge appears on a Friday before an election," Bush said. Calling the Iran-contra investigation "a big witch hunt," Bush said of Walsh, "I'm not his strongest admirer."

When CNN interviewer Frank Sesno suggested that the public is skeptical about Bush's past statements on the subject, the president snapped: "Well, too bad. I've told the whole truth." As Sesno pressed on, Bush said, "Do you plan to spend the whole time on Iran-contra? Because I don't."

Republicans said weekend polling suggested that Friday's Iran-contra news had cost Bush support among voters. Public polls yesterday showed Clinton leading Bush by 5 to 9 percentage points, with some evidence that Clinton's lead could be increasing.

ON TV

GOV. BILL CLINTON

■ Today, 8 p.m., MTV
Taped interview



THE WASHINGTON POST

Bush advisers had hoped to narrow the overall gap to 2 or 3 percentage points by the end of the weekend and said yesterday it now appeared there was little hope of catching Clinton.

Whatever the national polls indicate, Bush's real problem lies principally with an electoral map that requires him to win virtually every state still competitive—and some in which Clinton appears to have a solid lead.

Clinton ended his day yesterday with a rally in New Jersey, where he was joined by running mate Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), who earlier in Wisconsin had responded sarcastically to Bush's references to him as "Mr. Ozone."

"To be given the title 'Mr. Ozone' by the 'environmental president' is quite an honor," Gore said.

During the day, Clinton used his wife Hillary and other surrogates as his voice as he campaigned in Ohio, Pennsylvania and New Jersey. This morning he begins a 28-hour, 4,000-mile trek through eight states, including two his campaign hopes to capture Tuesday in the Rocky Mountain region.

Bush will spend Monday in five

The Washington Post

states crucial to his hopes: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Kentucky and Louisiana, ending with a homecoming rally in Houston, where he will vote on Tuesday.

Perot will conclude his campaign with a rally in Texas today, and he and Clinton will air final appeals on television tonight.

The flurry of negative campaigning yesterday included Vice President Quayle, who attacked Clinton's patriotism, questioned his marital fidelity and repeated an earlier claim that Clinton flunked the "John Tower" character test.

"The American people want their president to be faithful to their country," Quayle told 1,000 boisterous supporters in Portsmouth, Ohio. "They want a president to be faithful to their principles. They want a president who is faithful to their family."

Bush's criticism of Clinton's draft record included a statement by Donald R. Cake, an ROTC officer at the University of Arkansas in 1973 and 1974, which said Cake had been told by two coworkers that two Clinton representatives had demanded and eventually taken from the office Clinton's ROTC file in late 1973 or early 1974. The Washington Times reported Cake's charges in Saturday's editions.

In a telephone interview Saturday, Cake told The Post that he had never spoken directly to or seen the two individuals he believes represented Clinton. He learned about the alleged request from Barbara Hausam, a co-worker in the ROTC office who, Cake said, was approached by the two men.

Several weeks ago Hausam hung up on a reporter asking for her account of the alleged incident. She could not be reached for comment this weekend.

In the interview and the statement, which was signed by a Fairfax notary public, Cake said Guy Tutwiler, then commander of the university's ROTC program, told him and another officer, Capt. Henry Miller, that people who they were Clinton representatives had asked for Clinton's ROTC file and "demanded that no copies of the file be retained."

At the meeting, Tutwiler said he had asked the Third ROTC Region Headquarters how to respond and had been told to defer to the decision of the university. The university, Cake said, authorized the ROTC to release the file.

Reached at his home on Saturday, Miller, now a general, said he did not recall a meeting over the matter. Tutwiler, who was contacted by The Post several weeks ago, said he had no recollection of such an incident.

Staff writers Michael Abramowitz, traveling with Quayle; John F. Harris, traveling with Gore; Michael Isihoff, traveling with Perot; Dana Priest in Washington; Edward Walsh, traveling with Clinton; and John E. Yang, traveling with Bush, contributed to this report.

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THE WASHINGTON POST

CAMPAIGN '92

Days Are Merging for Hoarse Clinton as Eight-State Dash Awaits

By Edward Walsh and David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writers

EAST RUTHERFORD, N.J., Nov. 1—His voice reduced to a raspy whisper but his spirits soaring, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton careened happily along the campaign trail today with the growing confidence of a candidate who believes he is going to win.

The crowds that reached to grasp his hands, the shouts of "Mister President" as he paused, reinforced that impression, as did final public opinion polls and internal tracking by his campaign organization that showed his lead over President Bush widening and Ross Perot stranded in electoral college insignificance.

Clinton basked in the adulation, silently acknowledging it as he plunged into the crowds with a broad grin and reached back with both hands to the hands stretched toward him. With no voice and almost no time left, there was no point in trying to deliver his standard stump speech. Instead, Clinton tried to rally his supporters, to thank them for staying with him during the darker days of his candidacy, in words that came in painful bursts from his tortured throat.

"It's bad, bad," he said of his voice from the back of a pickup truck in the parking lot outside Cincinnati's Riverfront Stadium at a noon-time tailgate party today. "My voice will be better by this afternoon. And I'll be there Monday. I'll be there Tuesday. Fight on. Don't give up."

The speech, among the last Clinton will give in a quest that began more than a year ago, lasted 21 seconds. His wife, Hillary, spoke for him in Cincinnati, and Sen. Harris Wofford (D-Pa.) spoke for him later at an airport rally in Wilkes-Barre, Pa., but the crowd booed and chanted "We want Bill."

In Wilkes-Barre, Clinton managed to speak for three minutes, his voice, as predicted, somewhat better but still a fragile instrument that cracked and disappeared the few times he tried to raise it to stump-speech levels.

Clinton's day, the second to the last of the long and often brutal nationwide campaign, was merged into the day before. He arrived in Cincinnati at 4:30 a.m. from Milwaukee, where he had remained late to tape part of a 30-minute television commercial to be broadcast Monday night and where he was first pumped full of allergy medication to get his voice functioning.

Six hours later, he left his Cincinnati hotel for the Tryon Stone Baptist Church, arriving late for the 10



Clinton reaches for football during a game of catch at rally at a tailgate party outside Cincinnati's Riverfront Stadium.

a.m. services. Clinton, a Southern Baptist and regular churchgoer, appeared serene as he sat amid the black congregation in a place that was filled with comforting symbols for him.

The program for the day's services included this quotation from the Book of Numbers: "We are journeying unto the place of which the Lord said, I will give it to you: Come thou with us, and we will do thee good."

With the choir softly singing a hymn—"I Don't Believe He Brought Me This Far to Leave Me"—in the background, the Rev. Anderson Culbreath, the church's pastor, offered a prayer for the Arkansas governor.

"Oh, God," Culbreath intoned, "You know the schedule, You know the intent, You know the purpose for which You have them here, for which You have them running. . . . Touch them in the name of Jesus. . . .

Whatever is defective, straighten it out, God."

Clinton traveled from the church to the football stadium, mingling with the tailgate party crowds in damp, overcast weather before today's Cincinnati Bengals-Cleveland Browns game, and it was there that his exuberance began to break through his exhaustion.

The crowd crushed against rope lines to touch him as he moved along, stopping occasionally to take a baby in his arms or hug a woman. He fueled himself by wolfing down 1½ chili dogs, and when aide Rodney Slater handed him a napkin, the candidate who has signed his name to hundreds of scraps of paper, posters, pieces of clothing and campaign paraphernalia reacted out of habit: He signed it.

"No, governor," Slater said, "It's for your face."

One woman in the crowd, Judy McDevitt, a nurse, told Clinton that she persuaded her husband to vote for him with a threat of divorce if he did not. "Good for you," Clinton replied.

As Clinton was about to leave the stadium parking lot, sore throat or not, he stopped and began to toss a football around with campaign aide Paul Begala. When that was finished a man approached him and, handing Clinton a Distinguished Service Medal he won during the Vietnam War, told the Democratic nominee, "I'm for you, I want you to win."

Clinton embraced the man, who did not give his name, and tears appeared to well in his eyes.

Tonight, Clinton and his wife, joined by running mate Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.) and his wife, Tipper, arrived here for a massive get-out-the-vote rally at the Brendan Byrne Arena that was broadcast by satellite to several other cities.

With a crowd that filled the 20,000-seat arena chanting "one more day," Clinton's raspy voice held up for more than eight minutes. "I have lost my voice to make sure we can find America on November 3," he said.

But for all his brimming confidence, Clinton also reminded his supporters that "our long walk is still to be consummated on Election Day" and recalled the advice given him by a friend who coaches basketball. "At the end of the game," he said, "don't stall. Press. Press on."

Clinton was scheduled to travel by bus—which has become the symbol of his campaign—later tonight to a rally in Cherry Hill, N.J., and to spend the night in Philadelphia. From there early Monday he will head out for the campaign's last day, embarking on a 4,108-mile journey to nine cities in eight states that will not end until well after the voting has begun Tuesday morning.

The Washington Post

Bill's Excellent Adventure

■ Several Yale classmates of Environmental Protection Agency Administrator William Reilly were kind enough to send us his jam-packed, name-dropping update for the October '92 class notes:

"We are still having fun three years into life in the Bush administration," Reilly writes. "All of us were with the President and Mrs. Bush the evening the bombs were falling on Baghdad and the Scud missiles on Israel. The Bushes seated Libbie [Reilly's wife] next to

Vaclav Havel at the recent state dinner for him. And I watched 'Sleeping With the Enemy' with Princess Diana while flying from Belem to London on Prince Charles's plane. So you see, it's not all sewers and Superfund sites."

We're thrilled for you, Bill.



Reilly, tales to tell.

Stumping for Doro's Dad

■ First Son-in-Law Bobby Koch, married to the president's daughter, Doro, is a bit suspect in some GOP circles, having long worked for Democrats. Koch, who now heads the Wine Institute's D.C. office, recounts a speech he gave to an industry group in Bakersfield, Calif.

"I told them I had worked on the Hill and

they booed," he said during President Bush's train trip across Wisconsin Saturday. "Then I told them I had worked for [former House Majority Whip Tony] Coelho and they booed more. Then I told them I had worked for [House Majority Leader Richard] Gephardt and the place went crazy. I thought they would throw me out."

He calmed the crowd down by saying he was now "just another Democrat for Bush."

TOM SHALES

On the Tube: All Talked Out

“I’ve tried to uphold the dignity of this office,” said George Bush with a straight face, or as straight as his gets. Larry King listened thoughtfully, or as thoughtfully as he gets.

But surely dignity was one of the first victims of the 1992 presidential race as it was run on television, where all campaigns are now fought. The talkshowfication of America

continues apace; now the political process is conquered too.

Perhaps when 1996 rolls around, presidential candidates will take turns popping up on sitcoms or soaps or “Beverly Hills, 90210” just to show they’re regular Joes. And Janes. They can play themselves on “Saturday Night Live.”

Where did it all start spinning hopelessly out of control? When Bill Clinton and wife Hillary

turned up on cable’s Nashville Network for a little spontaneous hog-calling? Or when Bush, in a sad fit of desperation, buttonholed Katie Couric during her “Today” show chat with Barbara Bush and wouldn’t go away, hanging around like a stage-door Johnny hoping to get a glimpse of a star?

For Bush to claim he’s upholding “dignity” on CNN’s “Larry King Live” seems painfully

See SHALES, D8, Col. 1

The Washington Post

D8 MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

TOM SHALES

SHALES, From D1

ironic. If he were really all that interested in upholding dignity, he wouldn't have been there. It was the Friday night before the election, however, and this year the candidates have proved they never met a camera they didn't like, unless of course it's a camera under the province of journalists.

King asked Bush about referring to Clinton and Al Gore as "bozos" and calling Gore "Mr. Ozone." Bush said, "I think maybe 'bozo' was wrong," but added that he felt duty bound to continue calling Gore "Mr. Ozone Hole" (thus misquoting himself) because of Gore's alleged environmental extremism.

Of the "bozos" crack, Bush conceded: "Maybe it hurt my dignity to do that."

Dignity and decorum may, of course, be lost values in TV's noisy new national village, and maybe nobody thinks a thing of it anymore. Still, at least a few observers must have squirmed when King ended a previous Bush visit by telling viewers to be sure to tune in tomorrow night when his guests would be Suzanne Somers and Whoopi Goldberg.

He's got the president of the United States sitting there, for Pete's sake, and he's doing program promos! Friday night's "special 90-minute edition" of "Larry King Live" only amounted to about an hour and three minutes of questions and answers, the rest of the time going to commercials and plugs for other CNN shows, but at least those were done back at the studio and not by King as the president sat there.

Four years ago, this sort of thing didn't happen. The scaling down and informalizing of everything hadn't gone quite so far, and you didn't have quite such jarring juxtapositions. On Friday night, Larry told viewers to be sure to tune in Monday for Robert Redford.

King is no slave to propriety, obviously, or to good taste, having done all his candidate interviews, including the one with Bush in the White House, in shirt sleeves and suspenders.

It is true that John Kennedy, Richard Nixon and other political figures appeared with Jack Paar on "The Tonight Show" and on Paar's prime-time hour in the late '50s and early '60s. This was considered a change of pace, however, a chance for political figures to show their human sides (Nixon memorably played the piano).

But the Paar show wasn't the center ring for the entire political process. No other talk show was, either.

So high is the interest level in the election that today, Sally Jessy Raphael is generously going to put aside the pimps and the hookers and the Siamese twins and actually devote one of her shows to politics. Of course, some viewers may call that a step down rather than a step up.

Barbara Bush will be piped in from Des Moines for the occasion.

The last weekend before Election Day was thick with campaign talk, of course, but the candidates themselves were not that much in evidence. Bush did show up on CNN's scantily rated "Newsmaker Sunday," where he continued in his last-ditch strategy of calling things crazy and nutty and wacky.

The polls are "totally out of whack," Bush told Frank Sesno, decrying "nutty pollsters" and "nutty polling." He said it's been "a crazy year" in American politics. It's not enough that Bush and the other candidates have gravitated toward the gentler and easier soft-talk shows like King's; Bush also goes to

great lengths to trash the more serious talk shows, which he has called "crazy" and populated by "talking heads."

Bush told King on Friday night that he objected to "these talking heads that come on" and "those paid talking heads that come on those Sunday talk shows and write me off." He denounced post-debate analysis on all the networks and told King, "You got a guy, Bode, B-o-d-e" on CNN, mispronouncing correspondent Ken Bode's name (Bush said "Boad" instead of "Boh-dee"), but then offering a quick impression of him:

"Looks to us like Bill Clinton won the debate again," Bush said in a deep mocking voice as he did the impression, then scoffed, "Well I mean, come on!" Bush praised King for not having any of that pesky old analysis. Take a bow, Larry.

Somewhere, Spiro Agnew is smiling.

On the Sunday talk shows yesterday, there was amused acknowledgment of Bush's flailing. "First, gentlemen, thank you for taking the time to join us on one of these crazy, nutty Sunday talk shows," Tim Russert said to party chiefs Rich Bond and Ron Brown on "Meet the Press." Even Sesno picked up on it, greeting Bush with, "Welcome, Mr. President, to one of those nutty Sunday talk shows."

"Don't take it personally," Bush replied. "I mean, I'm very selective in who I put into that category." Who's in and who's out? He hasn't said. Bush also gave this advice to viewers: "Don't listen to those who say we're in a recession."

Having savaged the scribes, Bush prepared to mingle with the Pharisees; he made a much-ballyhooed appearance on MTV, widely considered Clinton Country, last night. All this turned out to be was Bush fielding a few questions on the back of a speeding train from MTV's Tabitha Soren. Bush seemed peevis and cranky and not really very concerned with impressing the MTV audience.

Hardly a talk show exists that has been safe from visits by candidates or their minions. If Morton Downey Jr. were still on TV with his shout-fests, they might have turned up there for some verbal brawling.

Barbara Bush recently popped up on "Live With Regis and Kathie Lee," the popular syndicated daytime show usually preoccupied with movie stars and make-overs. Hillary Clinton and Margot Perot also appeared on separate episodes of the series. Both Clinton and Perot talked positively about their husbands and in general terms about the rigors of campaigning. Barbara Bush, however, barged out of the chute with a load of vitriol for Bill Clinton, including the seemingly rehearsed remark, "He talks the talk but he can't walk the walk."

It was a singularly shrill and embarrassing performance, but by now shrill and embarrassing performances on all sides have become so numerous that little attention was paid.

We're lucky it's ending because everybody is getting testy. Yesterday on "This Week With David Brinkley," Sam Donaldson was snarlingly rude to Cokie Roberts, snapping at her and patronizing her as if patterning his behavior on "The McLaughlin Group's" boorish Fred Barnes, who displays chilling hostility in comments directed at fellow panel member Eleanor Clift.

Brinkley was endearingly succinct. Regardless of who wins tomorrow, he said, it will all be over. "Peace," he said, "at last."

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1992

By Lois Romano

The Monday Interview

David Pryor: A Real FOB

He's an Arkansan to the core, something it's smart to brag about these days. But most importantly, he is an authentic "FOB," and tomorrow—if all goes as he hopes—this man hits pay dirt.

Sen. David Pryor has been a "Friend of Bill" since the latter was a teenager handing out political leaflets on street corners in Little Rock and the former was first running for Congress. Fast-forwarding more than 25 years, it was Pryor who led a contingent of "Arkansas Travelers" to the snows of New Hampshire when Clinton's campaign hit the skids over Gennifer Flowers and the draft.

His tireless work in the vineyards can only benefit the senator if Clinton moves north and Pryor become the odds-on favorite to assume the role Paul Laxalt had in the Reagan years—the president's best friend in the Senate. Indeed, he is said to be much closer to Clinton than his Democratic colleague Sen. Dale Bumpers. It is Pryor who'll be expected to carry much of Clinton's water on what the candidate promises will be a furious legislative agenda starting right after Inauguration Day.

"The first thing I would do is advise all the lobbyists not to dare leave town," Pryor says. "It's going to be white-hot around here. Things are going to happen very quickly."

"Bill Clinton will be calling people at 2 in the morning to ask for their support. He works the phones. He is his own best personal advocate for his programs."

Pryor was a young, small-town lawyer when he first entered politics, successfully running for Congress in 1966. He quickly gained a reputation as one of the few liberal Southerners on the Hill, ardently supporting civil rights and integration.

He returned home after being elected governor in 1974, and was often confronted with news coverage dominated by his colorful wife. Barbara Pryor was promptly criticized for styling her hair in a "fro"—the popular, frizzed-out look of the times. Within a year a mini-scandal



BY DAVID GOTTSCHALK—ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE

Sen. David Pryor, counting the hours and hoping for the man from Hope.

erupted when she up and moved out of the Governor's Mansion and into a Little Rock apartment.

The couple and their three boys, however, were reunited long before he returned to Washington as a senator in '79.

He has spoken openly of his heart attack last year, and friends say it has changed his perspective on life, but hasn't slowed him down much.

He won't get into who should get what job, except to joke that Clinton's iconoclastic political consultant James Carville should be considered for protocol chief. As far as his own future, Pryor dismisses talk that he could have any job he wanted.

"I have the best job there is. There's no job I want," he says. "But I would like a front seat to watch the parade go by."

The Washington Post

By Boyce Rensberger
Washington Post Staff Writer

Patients who go to a hospital with a higher death rate are less likely to die there than in a hospital with a lower death rate.

Impossible though it may seem, just such conditions can be true, at least in certain cases. That is because of the way statistics sometimes work—a potentially perverse way that experts say is often ignored in public debates on many issues involving numbers.

The public will soon have to cope with such statistical traps if either Bill Clinton or George Bush wins the White House Tuesday. Both have proposed that patients and employers be given figures on the performance of hospitals and doctors so they can make smarter choices.

"These problems come up again and again in public debate and because most people have a fairly weak grasp of statistics, the debate just gets muddier," said David S. Moore, a professor of statistics at Purdue University.

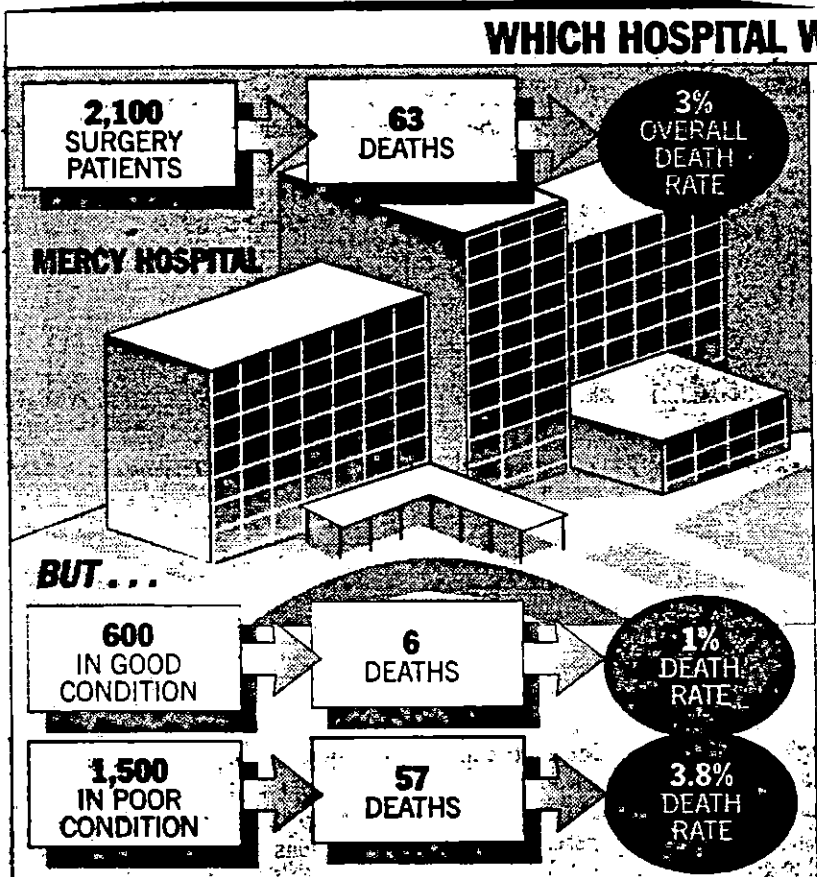
Opposing Conclusions

Situations in which the same raw data can be represented in different ways—both technically honest and both accurate—and yet point to opposite conclusions are well known among statisticians. There is even a name for them: Simpson's paradox.

"This phenomenon is at the heart of the 'comparable worth' arguments," Moore said. He cited a published study showing that the average salary of female scientists in the United States was 77 percent of that paid to male scientists. But when the same scientists were compared in each discipline, it turned out that in every field women were being paid at least 92 percent as much as men.

The reason for the apparent discrepancy is that women are not equally prevalent in all disciplines: They are most numerous in the relatively low-paid social and behavioral sciences; in the better-paid physical sciences, there are relatively few women.

In other words, female physical scientists earn nearly as much as men in their respective fields; but



there are so few of them that they contribute little to the average of all female scientists. And while female social scientists also earn almost as much as their male counterparts, there are proportionately fewer men in those disciplines, with the result that their low salaries contribute little to the average for the male scientific community as a whole.

The perils of Simpson's paradox are currently relevant in the matter of hospital death rates for surgery patients.

Take the example cited above. Let's say you have a choice of Mercy Hospital or St. Simpson's and you get the numbers to guide your decision.

Mercy has 2,100 surgery patients in a year. Of these 2,037 leave the hospital alive and 63 die. Mercy's death rate, therefore, is 3 percent. St. Simpson's has 800 patients, of whom 784 live and 16 die—a death rate of 2 percent.

Finding the Safer Bet

On the face of it, St. Simpson's would seem the better bet. The truth is that Mercy is the safer

choice, which becomes obvious only when you break down the data into smaller categories.

At Mercy, 600 of the patients were in good condition. Of these six died, giving a 1 percent death rate. St. Simpson's also had 600 patients in good condition but eight of them died, giving a death rate of 1.3 percent—higher than Mercy's.

What about the patients in poor condition? Mercy had 1,500 of these, of whom 57 died, a death rate of 3.8 percent. At St. Simpson's only 200 patients were in poor condition and eight of them died, giving a death rate of 4 percent. Again St. Simpson's had the higher death rate.

In other words, no matter whether you are in good condition or poor, you ought to go to Mercy, even though it has the higher overall death rate.

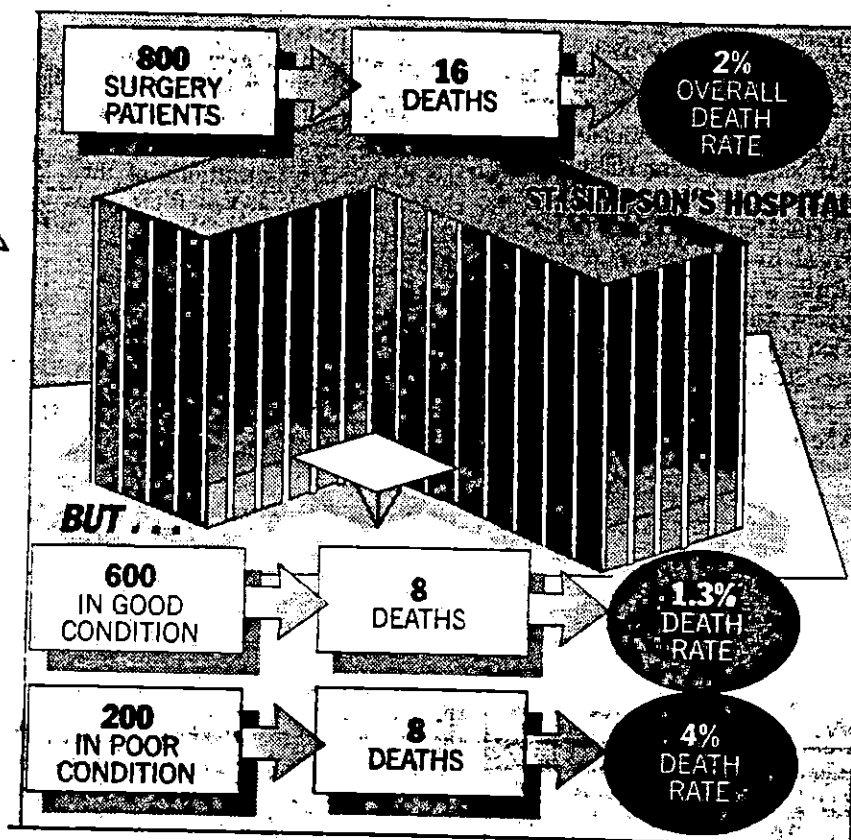
"The thing that misleads people here is what's often called a lurking variable, which is some other feature underlying the data that you may not realize is there," Moore said. "The trick is to pull apart the numbers and look at smaller categories that might be relevant."

In the hospital case, the lurking

When Debate Involves Numbers, Beware the 'Lurking Variable'

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1978



BY JOHNSTONE GURMAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

variable is the difference in the type of patients. Most of Mercy's patients arrive in poor condition and many are simply too far gone to survive even the best medical care. That raises Mercy's average death rate for all patients by a larger amount than it is lowered by Mercy's good record with patients in good condition.

St. Simpson's patients are generally in better shape, which means that even though it does a poorer job with them than Mercy would, the proportionately high number of those patients has a large effect on the overall average.

Salaries and Sexism

The apparent paradox may be easier to grasp in the hypothetical case of Widget Inc. The company's 141 women earn an average salary of about \$46,500. Its 129 men average nearly twice the pay—\$89,900. A prima facie case of sex discrimination?

The company says no and points out that in all three of its categories of employment, it pays women higher salaries than it pays men. Women in Widget management average \$160,000 to the men's

\$150,000. In the engineering department, women get \$110,000 to the men's \$100,000. And in the clerical ranks, women average \$35,000, as compared with \$25,000 for men. How can Widget be sexist if it pays women better at every level?

The lurking variable is that women are not evenly distributed through the ranks at Widget. There are hardly any women in management, so their salary advantage does little to boost the overall average. The clerical staff, however, is dominated by women and it is paid so much less than the management staff that it pulls down the company's overall average.

A closer analysis of the data indicates that Widget's situation is more complex than either side had thought.

A comparable real-life situation emerged in the 1970s when the University of California at Berkeley was accused of bias against women seeking admissions to its graduate departments. About 44 percent of male applicants were admitted, but only 35 percent of female applicants. Those numbers were so different from what would be expected

in an unbiased decision process that the odds of the difference emerging by chance were calculated to be "vanishingly small."

It turned out there was a lurking variable.

The women were tending to apply to departments where the competition is much stiffer for either sex. Men, on the other hand, were more likely to apply to departments where there were fewer people applying.

When the numbers were examined for each department individually, there were only very slight differences in admission rates and, in fact, about as many departments favored women as favored men.

Bias by Socialization

Three Berkeley statisticians who examined the case pronounced it "a clear but misleading pattern of bias against female applicants." Their analysis, like many of the few efforts to search out lurking variables, led to a more profound conclusion.

"The bias in the aggregated data," they wrote in a report, "stems not from any pattern of discrimination on the part of admissions committees, which seem quite fair on the whole, but apparently from prior screening at earlier levels of the educational system. Women are shunted by their socialization and education toward fields of graduate study that are generally more crowded, less productive of completed degrees, and less well funded, and that frequently offer poorer professional employment prospects." These include such "soft" fields as English or history. Men, by contrast, are more likely to aim for "harder" field such as science or engineering.

Comparable "real life" examples of Simpson's paradox creep up all the time. How can one guard against being misled?

Statisticians recommend a simple starting point: Don't be too quick to accept the interpretation that is attached to a set of figures—especially if they lump together several categories of the thing being studied. Then try to get the numbers for each of the categories and see if the interpretation holds true for each.

As was first said generations ago: Figures don't lie but liars figure.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Examining the 'Wasted Vote'

Should You Support Your Favorite When Chances of Victory Are Slim?

By Guy Gugliotta
Washington Post Staff Writer

Both President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton have urged voters not to "waste" their ballots on independent presidential candidate Ross Perot. With equal vehemence, Perot insists that votes for him would not be "wasted."

Who's right?

In general, says Duke University professor Robert D. Behn, Perot gets the nod—but not always. "Most of the time, your vote will affect an outcome only marginally, so you should vote your conscience," Behn says. "The exceptions occur in very close races."

Behn, of Duke's Institute of Policy Sciences and Public Affairs, several years ago was coauthor of a journal article titled "The Wasted Vote Fallacy," which focuses on the dilemma perhaps millions of voters will face Tuesday:

In a three-candidate race, should I vote for my favorite, the underdog—a sure or likely loser—if by doing so I am helping another candidate that I detest?

There are no easy answers. But Behn has devised a rather elaborate way of thinking about it that may help. Or it may not.

In belaboring the obvious with a set of complicated diagrams and even some formulas, Behn has essentially arrived at the same common-sense solution that most voters probably will reach: Vote your gut—but maybe not.

"Under most conditions, voters should ignore the 'wasted vote' fallacy," Behn said. "... Passing up their favorite candidate to keep the candidate they most dislike from getting elected is a big mistake."

In his article, Behn describes two situations: the first when a candidate has no chance of winning; the second when a favorite candidate has a slim chance of winning.

Behn describes a hypothetical voter who supports distant underdog "Alice Allworthy" against two candidates with broader backing, "Larry Lackluster" and "Daniel Disaster." Behn poses the question: "Dare you support Allworthy when you are on the brink of Disaster?"

To make a decision, Behn said in a telephone interview, voters must examine two factors: their prefer-

ences, and the probability of their candidate's victory so that what they do will result in change.

"It could be that Lackluster is just a little worse than Allworthy," Behn said. "Or Lackluster could be just a

"Most of the time, your vote will affect an outcome only marginally, so you should vote your conscience. The exceptions occur in very close races."

—Robert D. Behn,
Duke University

little better than Disaster. The first issue is what kind of value you place on the candidates."

Behn suggests the following method: Assign Allworthy a value of 100 and Disaster a value of 0 (for the dilemma to exist, voters must detest one candidate). The key question is what value to assign Lackluster, derived by determining his position on issues you support (such as reducing the deficit, abortion rights or abortion restrictions, more environmental protection or less environmental regulation).

"Suppose Lackluster is only a '5,' slightly better than Disaster," Behn said. "Clearly you should vote your conscience and stay with Allworthy." Conversely, he adds, "if Lackluster is a 95 on your scale," he should receive serious consideration.

Once Lackluster has a value, Behn says, voters must weigh that against the importance of voting for Allworthy regardless of consequences.

The advantages of voting for Allworthy, he said, might include a sense of fulfillment at having done "the right thing," satisfaction at having "sent a message to Washington" or a hope that future Allworthys will have a better chance to succeed.

Next, Behn says, voters must decide whether a vote for Lacklus-

ter will affect the outcome of the election. Because "the probability is very small" that a single ballot will make a difference, he adds, voters should take a very long look at the odds before switching from Allworthy to Lackluster.

This, he says, is the best argument for staying with Allworthy even when Allworthy has absolutely no chance of winning. A decision by a single voter, or even an opinion leader (the journal article mentions Coretta Scott King, Billy Graham and The Post's David S. Broder as examples), is unlikely to move the numbers enough to make a difference.

The exception, of course, occurs when Lackluster and Disaster are in a dead heat and small numbers of votes can have a big effect.

Behn's model also supposes that each Allworthy supporter is making a decision based purely on self-interest and without taking into consideration what other Allworthy supporters plan to do.

Behn acknowledged that the ability of vote shifters to make a difference in the election could increase dramatically if hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of Allworthy voters decided to change to Lackluster because "everybody's doing it."

"In this case, the wasted vote becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy," Behn said. People pay so much attention to what others are doing that they abandon their Allworthy convictions much more readily than they would otherwise. Suddenly Lackluster becomes a bigger beneficiary than seemed likely.

This is the type of behavior that Bush and Clinton have tried to encourage, asking Perot supporters en masse to pick "a winner." In trying to stanch a possible hemorrhage, Perot has made Behn's argument: Damn the consequences, pick me because I'm right—and just maybe I can win.

In this game, Behn says, major party candidates have a distinct advantage over independents because they start with a large base of support—voters who have taken a "blood oath" to back their party candidate, win or lose.

For these huge blocs of voters, the other guy will always be Daniel Disaster.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1987

GAME THEORY: VOTING IN A THREE-WAY RACE

MAXIMIZING BENEFIT TO YOU WITHOUT WASTING YOUR VOTE



Alice Allworthy
You support all her positions. Her approval rating for you is 100.



Larry Lackluster
You support some of his positions. His approval rating for you is middling.



Daniel Disaster
You agree with none of his positions. His approval rating for you is 0.

1. NO CHANCE

What do you do if Alice Allworthy has no chance of winning? Figure 1 shows how to think it through. If your favorite candidate has no chance of winning, Duke University professor Robert D. Behn says, "you should deviate from voting for your favorite only if the election appears to be extremely close"—essentially a dead heat. This is true for "opinion leaders" too. "Unless you can swing many votes in an extraordinarily close election, you should clearly use your vote or your influence to support your [favorite] candidate."

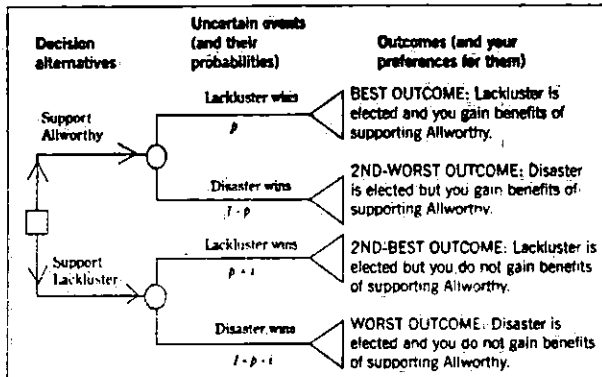


Figure 1. Allworthy has no chance of winning: The square denotes the decision point, the two circles denote uncertain events, and the four triangles denote outcomes. You believe that if you support Allworthy, Lackluster has a (p) chance of winning the election, where (p) might be some number such as 47 percent; under the assumption that Allworthy has no chance of winning, Disaster would then have a 1 minus (p) chance of winning, for example, 53 percent. You also believe that if you support Lackluster rather than Allworthy, Lackluster's chances will increase by some probability (i), where (i) might be a number such as 1 in 1,000 or 1 in 1 million. Because Allworthy has no hope of winning, your benefits may be intangible—such as helping her for future elections, or ensuring that the next president considers her issues.

2. SLIM CHANCE

What do you do if Alice Allworthy has a slim but real chance of winning? Here's how to think it through. If you can help your favorite candidate more than you can help the second-best candidate, you should certainly do so, even if your favorite candidate will not gain much more chance of winning. And even if you could help the second-best candidate more than you could help your favorite, you should do so only if you can help him much more and if he is better than mediocre.

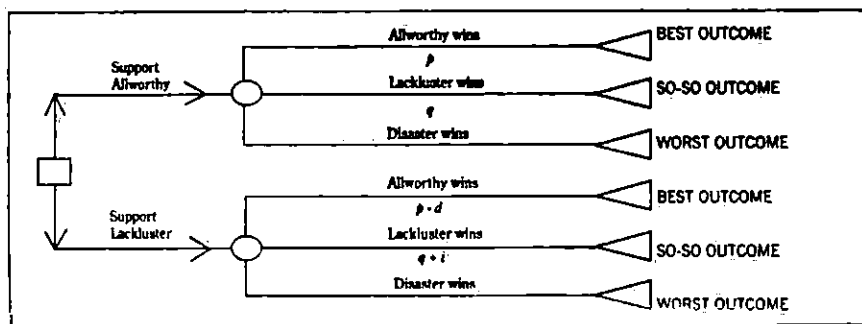


Figure 2. Allworthy has a slim but real chance of winning. If you support Allworthy, she has a (p) chance of winning the election and Lackluster has a (q) chance. If you support Lackluster, Allworthy's chance of winning declines by some small probability (d) and Lackluster's chance increases by some probability (i). Because this formulation of the dilemma ignores any satisfaction you might gain from supporting Allworthy, the best outcome occurs when Allworthy wins, regardless of whether you supported Allworthy or Lackluster. Similarly, the worst outcome occurs when Disaster wins. If Lackluster wins, you consider the outcome to be of middling desirability. Your judgment about the probability that a candidate will win can incorporate objective data such as polls or knowledge of ads that will run and their impact.

SOURCE: Journal of Policy Analysis and Management

BY JOHN ANDERSON, THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

U.S. Intelligence Knew of BNL-Iraq Transfers

Bank Activities Were Monitored Before Criminal Probe of Atlanta Branch, Memo Shows

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. intelligence community had information about financial dealings between Iraq and the Atlanta branch of an Italian bank before those dealings became the target of a criminal probe in 1989, according to U.S. officials and an internal Justice Department document.

The information included details of some electronic funds transfers by the Atlanta branch of Banca Nazionale del Lavoro (BNL), the officials said. The transfers were intended to help finance Iraq's military buildup in the late 1980s, the officials added.

The document, written in September by a lawyer in the Justice Department's criminal division, provides the first official corroboration that U.S. intelligence agencies were monitoring at least some BNL transactions involving Iraq.

The document, a copy of which was obtained by The Washington Post, does not indicate whether the intelligence community was aware at the time of the important role BNL was playing in Iraq's military purchasing network. Nor is it known whether the intelligence community issued any warnings about these dealings to policymakers in the Bush or Reagan administrations.

The Bush administration has strongly defended as well-intentioned its efforts to bolster U.S.-Iraq ties through expanded commercial trade before Iraq's 1990 invasion of Kuwait, while conceding the policy failed to moderate the behavior of Iraqi President Saddam Hussein and contributed to his arms buildup.

Congressional investigators, accusing the administration of trying to cover up aspects of the formerly lenient Bush and Reagan policies toward Iraq, have speculated that the U.S. intelligence community may have been at least aware throughout the 1980s of BNL's link to Iraqi military purchases or, more conspiratorially, may have been a party to some of the bank's dealings.

In recent weeks, the intelligence community's handling of BNL-related information has become the focus of separate probes by the Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, the CIA's inspector general and a special investigator appointed by Attorney General William P. Barr. But none of the probes has yet made substantial headway in establishing what the community did or what it knew, according to various officials.

The CIA has not answered a Sept. 8 request by the Senate committee for information about its knowledge of BNL activities, according to congressional sources. The special investigator, Frederick B. Lacey, is currently traveling overseas on business unrelated to his probe. And CIA Director Robert M. Gates, expressing in a written statement his embarrassment over congressional charges of wrongdoing by the agency, last week ordered employees not to make any further public comment on the matter.

BNL's assistance to Iraq's military program was exposed after two employees at the bank's Atlanta branch tipped off federal officials about suspicious transactions, and FBI officers raided the branch in

August 1989. Atlanta branch manager Christopher H. Drogoul, two other branch employees and four Iraqis were indicted by the government in February 1991 in connection with the scheme.

The bank financed roughly \$2 billion in exports from the United States and Europe to Iraq of machine tools and other military-related equipment between 1985 and 1989. It also financed roughly \$2 billion worth of U.S. food shipments with loans backed by the Agriculture Department.

After first pleading guilty to fraud and other charges, then asking to withdraw his plea, Drogoul alleged in September at a sentencing hearing in Atlanta that his activities had been at least tacitly accepted by Washington because U.S. intelligence agencies had ample opportunity to know what he was doing. But Drogoul offered no proof that U.S. intelligence had known of his

pursuant to a scheme to defraud" BNL officials in Rome at the time it occurred. But the memo did not answer these questions or say which transactions were known by intelligence agencies.

U.S. officials who declined to be identified said the transactions involved sales to Iraq made under four loan agreements with BNL and meant to contribute to Iraq's military buildup.

Brill's written reply to Drogoul's attorneys on Sept. 10, shortly before Drogoul's sentencing hearing began, adopted Clark's suggested language but contained no hint of intelligence community knowledge about some BNL-related wire transfers.

Asked to comment yesterday, Drogoul attorney Bobby Lee Cook said from his home in Summerville, Ga., that Brill's response "might be considered an artful evasion in Washington or Atlanta. Here in north Georgia, we consider that a lie."

Brill declined comment.

The CIA, in a Sept. 17 letter to the Justice Department that has been made public, said it had no knowledge of "unauthorized" or "illegal" activities by BNL on behalf of Iraq at the time they occurred. But that reply left unanswered whether the agency believed at the time such loans were in some way authorized—either by Washington officials or officers at the bank's headquarters in Rome—or had simply failed to evaluate whether they were legal.

In late September, according to other Justice Department documents obtained by The Washington Post, Brill wrote to CIA acting general counsel David P. Holmes asking: "Was the CIA involved in any manner in the utilization of BNL-Atlanta for funding for Iraq? ... Did the CIA have contemporaneous knowledge that ... Drogoul and other BNL-Atlanta employees were involved in making loans and extensions of credit to Iraq?"

Brill said she was making these inquiries on behalf of the federal judge presiding over Drogoul's sentencing hearing, Marvin H. Shoob, who had said in court that he suspected some U.S. government link to the scandal. But Holmes's written reply to Brill on Sept. 30 was not informative.

"We think the best approach is to respond to Judge Shoob directly, and we are making arrangements to travel to Atlanta" for a session in the judge's chambers under federal rules restricting public disclosure of classified matters in court, Holmes wrote, according to a copy of the letter. "It is essential ... [that these procedures] be invoked so that CIA's information is not jeopardized."

The CIA session with Shoob was never held, because Brill moved the next day to halt the sentencing proceedings, and several days later Shoob agreed to another prosecution request that he withdraw from the case.

House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), who has been investigating the BNL case, said in a Sept. 14 speech that he was aware the U.S. intelligence community has "a number of intercepted communications between the BNL-Atlanta and its Rome headquarters" but added that details had been withheld from him at the insistence of administration policymakers.

The internal Justice Department document does not indicate whether U.S. intelligence was aware of the role BNL played in Iraq's military buildup purchasing network.

transactions with Iraq, and his attorneys were unable to extract much information from the government about the issue before federal prosecutors moved to revoke the plea agreement and the judge in the case ordered a trial, expected to begin next year.

The internal Justice Department document that provides new evidence of intelligence community awareness of BNL-Iraq transactions was dated Sept. 8 and written by Peter Clark, a deputy chief of the fraud section who was monitoring the prosecution of Drogoul in Atlanta.

The memo was written to advise Gerrilyn Brill, the acting U.S. attorney in the case, how to respond to a request from Drogoul's attorneys for assurance that no intelligence agency "was aware of the wrongdoing at BNL-Atlanta" before the 1989 tip-off by bank employees.

Clark advised Brill to state that the government had no evidence before the tip-off "of the illegality of BNL-Atlanta's activities." But in a note depicted in the memo as a private caution to her, Clark said "if 'activities' is intended to include knowledge that a wire transfer was made on a particular date, there are instances in which such transactions were 'known' [to the U.S. intelligence community]."

The memo added that Brill should not assume "an intelligence agency knew why the transaction was being effected, or [knew] that it was

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 12, 1990

THE WASHINGTON POST

CAMPAIGN '92

For These Troops, the Test Is Turnout

Phone Banks, Last-Minute Fliers Seen Crucial in Battleground States

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

LANSING, Mich.—After the air war of television commercials and talk show appearances, the final clash of Tuesday's presidential election will be in the hands of people like Donna Harling, Greg Shannon, Judy Nichols and Larry Giller.

They are the ground troops in battleground states such as Michigan, mostly volunteers, who have spent the last few days in crucial get-out-the-vote (GOTV) drives. They make the phone calls and prepare voter lists by precinct. Some even sign up for 4:30 a.m. "Jack Frost" duty, walking neighborhoods in the pre-dawn chill Tuesday to hang slate cards on doorknobs of those identified as likely voters for their candidate.

The effort here in Michigan, whose 18 electoral votes are considered critical by the Bush and Clinton campaigns, is being repeated across the nation. The Democrats have 250,000 volunteers making 20 million phone calls and dropping 12 million pieces of literature. Clinton spokeswoman Avis LaVelle said.

The Republicans are doing much the same, said Bush political director David Carney. "We know the ground game," he said. "If a state is within 2 or 3 points, we'll win because of it."

Ross Perot's volunteers don't have the parties' sophisticated get-out-the-vote organizations. They gauge support by the calls they receive, not make, and by the 20,000 yard signs they handed out in the last week, state coordinator Susan Esser said in an interview.

Perot's GOTV here involves telling volunteers to call five friends, or form human billboards with "honk if you're voting for Perot" signs. It also involves retired state government workers like Giller and his wife, Audry, who stopped at Perot headquarters here at dusk Friday to collect handbills to distribute to neighbors.

Michigan has about 6 million registered voters, and GOP state party chairman Dave Doyle expects about 4 million of them to vote. The importance of turnout was seen just two years ago, when sitting Democratic Gov. James J. Blanchard was

leading by 14 points in the polls the Sunday before the election and lost by 17,000 votes to John M. Engler. Engler won in large part because the GOP got its voters to the polls and the Democrats did not.

Democrat Bill Clinton is leading in the polls here, but President Bush is conceding nothing in a state that last went Democratic in a presidential race in 1968. The president has visited Michigan so often—a stop Sunday was his 13th—that the Detroit papers kidded he must be running for governor.

"We have to win Michigan for the president," Doyle said in an interview. To that end, the party apparatus is making "1 million phone calls—literally," he said, with phone banks in all 83 counties and 2,000 phones in six key counties. The effort, which will cost "several hundred thousand dollars," started a month ago identifying likely Bush voters and trying to persuade the undecided, Doyle said. Friday it switched to urging the faithful to vote.

Shannon, an emergency room physician from Haslett, was one of the callers at a GOP phone bank in East Lansing Friday night. He volunteered, he said, because he fears malpractice suits and likes Bush's approach to solving the health care crisis. Married students Michael and Sarah Tison were there, too, because they said they oppose abortion and like Bush's position on morals and values.

Harling, a Baptist minister from nearby Mason, was at the Democrats' "coordinated campaign" office a few miles away at the same time. She has been working for Clinton, she said, because "I couldn't tolerate four more years of an administration chipping away at civil rights and women's rights and human rights."

State Democratic Party spokesman Steve Gools said his side has 25 phone banks around the state with 350 phones staffed by workers making hundreds of thousands of calls. The party also sent 800,000 pieces of persuasion mail to undecideds. Local lawyer Larry Owen, who raised funds for the state party with his wife, Faylene, said the budget for the coordinated campaign for the entire statewide ticket was about \$2 million.

The Clinton-Gore effort is getting lots of help from organized labor, which has 650,000 members in the state. Nichols is running one state AFL-CIO bank of 43 phones from the Michigan Education Association building near the Michigan State University campus in East Lansing.

That phone bank, which pays callers \$4.25 an hour, targeted 75,000

union members in key precincts a month ago. It found 41 percent of the workers declaring for Clinton, with 36 percent undecided, 15 percent for Bush and 8 percent for Perot, Nichols said.

Starting Thursday, the phone bank started calling 40,000 members who are likely Democratic voters. On Tuesday, Nichols's phone bank will run three shifts. The polls close at 8 p.m., but calls will be made until 9 p.m. because part of the Upper Peninsula is in the Central time zone. And as Nichols and the other soldiers in the ground war say, every vote counts.

The Washington Post

Monday, November 2, 1992

Perot, in a Change of Tactics, Directs Fierce Attack at Front-Runner Clinton

Arkansas's Record on Economy, Environment, Education Criticized

By Michael Isikoff
Washington Post Staff Writer

LONG BEACH, Calif., Nov. 1.—In a last-minute change in campaign tactics, independent candidate Ross Perot today unleashed a slashing attack on front-runner Bill Clinton, deriding the Arkansas governor's record and suggesting he lacks the "background and experience" to solve the nation's problems.

After avoiding strong criticism of Clinton for most of the campaign, Perot tonight devoted a large chunk of a new 30-minute commercial to stinging criticisms of Clinton's record on the economy, environment, education, crime and child welfare—the same areas that have been the focus of Republican attack ads aimed at the Democratic nominee.

Earlier, at a boisterous rally before about 10,000 supporters here, Perot for the first time raised apparent veiled references to Clinton's personal life including the acknowledgment by Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Conn.), that they have smoked marijuana.

"Do you think the president of the United States and his wife should be good role models for your children?" Perot asked as the crowd roared its approval. "Do you think it's appropriate to have senior government officials who have used drugs?" The crowd thundered "No."

Perot today also repeated and amplified some of his earlier attacks on President Bush, charging in the half-hour network commercial that the president had "mismanaged" the economy, ignored the recession and "created" dictators such as Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines, Manuel Antonio Noriega of Panama and Saddam Hussein of Iraq.

Perot has leveled such charges at

Bush before. His tough new attacks on Clinton—aired on ABC and NBC—inject a wild card into the final hours of the presidential race. Even though Perot himself has been slipping in the polls, his new commercial—expected to be repeated during parts of the two hours of prime time television he has purchased Monday—appears to play into Republican strategy to raise doubts in voters' minds about Clinton's qualifications.

In the commercial, entitled "Deep Voodoo, Chicken Feathers and the American Dream," Perot wields what he calls his "voodoo stick" and points to charts he said show that Arkansas ranks near the bottom of states on a wide variety of economic and social indicators. "What are the odds that a person who has been unable to make no more dramatic change than this in 12 years in a tiny rural state would be able to face and solve the problems of our great nation?" Perot said.

Noting that one out of five jobs created in Arkansas during Clinton's 12-year tenure had been in the poultry business, Perot said in the commercial, "Now this is not an industry of tomorrow... if we decide to take this level of business-creating capability nationwide, we'll all be plucking chickens for a living."

"So I guess you can just sum it up: The chickens keep on clucking, and the people keep on plucking after 12 years of Governor Clinton's leadership."

In perhaps his most biting moment, Perot read extensively from a recent editorial from Clinton's hometown newspaper, the Arkansas Democrat-Gazette. In the editorial, the newspaper said it would not endorse Clinton for president and stated that Clinton "has mastered the art of equivocation" and that he has "no great principles to compromise."

"Kind of like Will Rogers, 'About

all I know is what I read in the newspapers,'" Perot said.

George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, said in a statement: "Ross Perot has claimed for months that he's tired of politics as usual. But his latest infomercial is exactly that—politics as usual. His 11th-hour attack on Bill Clinton and the people of Arkansas is nothing but a multimillion-dollar smokescreen designed to distort the record of the only candidate that can bring real change."

At a brief news conference following a later rally in Santa Clara, Perot was asked if his statement about drug use was a reference to Clinton and Gore. "I'll let you figure it out," Perot replied.

Perot also was asked to support his assertion, made in both speeches today, that the Republican and Democratic parties paid people to attend their rallies. "Check it out," Perot said. When reporters asked again for evidence, he said, "I'm too old and tired to be putting up with this kind of Ping-Pong stuff."

Perot's assault on Clinton seems surprising given the widespread assumption by political professionals that one of Perot's primary motives in running for president was to hurt Bush, in large part because of his longstanding animosity toward the president.

But a Perot aide today suggested the Texas billionaire had redirected his fire at Clinton because Clinton has the votes Perot needs.

Perot's visit to Southern California here took him into conservative territory that has long been considered one of his strongholds. He delivered an 80-minute stormwind on fixing the economy, creating jobs and cracking down on "foreign lobbyists." When Perot predicted a "50-state" mandate, the crowd erupted again with chants of "We Will Win" and "Bring Over Media."



Independent candidate Ross Perot points to graphic on Arkansas employment in new commercial attacking Bill Clinton.

Children

Kindergarten Politics

The Tot Vote Says Its Piece

By Cindy Skrzycki
Washington Post Staff Writer

When it comes to political sophistication in Washington, look no farther than your own back yard.

For it's there that out of the mouths of babes comes proof that it's never too early in life to know whom you are voting for, or why.

In a not-too-scientific sampling of a local nursery school and back-yard buddies, it seemed clear that kids from the ages of 3 to 5 had given some thought to this election, or at least listened carefully as their parents gave thought to it.

Best of all, these kids don't politically censor their views, strive for political correctness, or care about party affiliation. Like most other things in life for them, it's how they feel about things, not what other people think, that matters.

Kind of like what people do after they step into the voting booth and pull the curtain behind them.

Dylan Aluise, a 3-year-old who just moved into American University Park and was mixing it up with his new neighbors, took a minute and sized up the top three presidential candidates.

"What about President Bush, Dylan?"

"Ineffectual leader," Dylan said, heading for the back door of his house.

"Hey, wait a minute. What about Ross Perot?"

"Scary," he said. "I'm voting for Clinton."

Though it was hard to beat Dylan's sound bites, there were plenty of other locals, many still waddling around in diapers, who had views on this election thing. Many are the erudite colleagues of my daughter at nursery school who consented to share their views for this poll if they were given some kind of payoff in return. (See,



Kids at the Child Development Center at American University during a discussion of their political preferences.

they know how the system works.) At the end of this focus group, a bipartisan handout of stickers and pins was provided.

Jay An turned the questioning back on the interviewer.

"Who do you like, Jay?"

"Guess."

"Clinton?"

"No."

"Bush?"

"Yes."

"Why?"

"Because he's the oldest."

(Somewhere along the line, and we hope his parents can correct this, Jay also picked up that girls can't be president.)

Cecilia Jiang said she likes President Bush "because he's really nice." She also wanted to know why President Bush hasn't dropped by to talk to her and the other kids at nursery school.

Andy Freiert said he's for George Bush "because he's funny."

Danny Kazin was candid about the influence his parents had on his vote. "My mom likes Clinton, and my

dad does," Danny said. "I like him, too. Our whole family likes Clinton."

Kristina Yee, however, made up her own mind about Gov. Clinton.

"I like Clinton because he has a little girl," she said.

Jack Dennis, professor of political science at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, said most kids start having ideas relevant to politics around kindergarten. They get the idea there are such things as rules and politics to be played to get the toys they want. And they form coalitions to press for what to do at playtime.

But he admitted the dawning of real political awareness may come a teeny bit earlier if the children live in a place like Washington, where the livelihoods of their families may be tied directly to government.

"In Washington, everyone is politicized . . . and at a young age they show reasonably high involvement that lasts throughout their childhood," Dennis said.

Everyone in our sample group, for instance, seemed to know about voting. Recently the democratic process had been used to name two very large paper fishes the class had made.

By popular vote, the shark was named Rose and the goldfish was named Horse.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Perspectives

Voices From Building B

By Gigi Anders

Special to The Washington Post

"They be talkin' 'bout 'family values,' right? You got to have a family first. Me, I don't have one, really. Got some kids, though."

"Hell, I don't want to vote!"

"I don't like any one of them. I wouldn't even vote. Ain't none of them doing enough for the country. My grandfather, he likes Clinton. I don't know why. I never asked him why."

These three distinct voices respectively come from a 17-year-old, an 18-year-old and a 13-year-old. The voices belong to black inner-city kids from the District, all juvenile offenders, who've come together by court order on a recent Tuesday evening. The talk is of television, death row, parades—and tomorrow's presidential election. In all, there are 20 youngsters, seated in a circle in a conference room in the basement of the D.C. Superior Court's Building B.

All of these adolescents, average age 15, are involved in a local program sponsored by the D.C. Superior Court called "Rites of Passage." The Man Center, a local privately funded organization, supervises the program, which is mandatory for these kids by their probation officers or the court itself. Most have been locked up a number of times.

"You think the new president would have death row?"

"I don't believe in no death row."

"Me either."

"Man, let me say this. I said I got a problem. Ain't nothin' nobody can do. I'm in the game [of drugs]. I can't get out of the game, whether I want to or not. . . . I know too much. And that money looks too good."

"I wanna get out. I got kids."

For nine months, every Tuesday night from 6 to 7:30, they meet here with Eli Tubman, the program's coordinator. He serves as a guide during discussions, offering a listening ear and values that he says include "unity, self-determination, collective work and responsibility, cooperative economics, purpose, creativity and faith." He is an optimist. And then the young men speak.

"Don't matter who get in [to the White House]. The first thing you got against you is your color. You need to put people in there who's been there."

"Been where?"

"Locked up. Like all them dudes at Lorton."

"Shoot. I'm gonna get me a lawyer."

"Look at Mike Tyson. Didn't save him."

They have lived their brief lives without hope, and suspect that others perceive them as hopeless. That flicker of awareness and sensitivity to the world around them is blunted by the hardness of their experience. They have not been lucky. Not lucky enough to have received respect, values and love—from the beginning. So here they sit, these 20 souls, resisting and not resisting the lure of the street and what it offers them: big, fast money, drugs to dream away on, a place to be.

"I want to know why white people give black people such a hard way to go. I was wondering. Damn!"

"I'd ask the new president to give us black people some jobs."

"All I want is something like when they had that parade downtown for those troops that came back from Desert Storm. All that money they wasted. They ought to be putting that money back into the community, man."

"I'd just like a better place to live."

If the future is only a concept, then the expressions of cynicism, tentative desire and resignation scattered among these youthful faces fit. And tomorrow, when others will be voting, these kids will be meeting again, for another hour and a half, to talk in the basement of Building B.

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ George Bush implied that he thought Clinton aide George Stephanopoulos had gotten priority treatment when his call got through to the president on "Larry King Live" Friday night—and he was right. Stephanopoulos called a producer mid-show to agitate about getting King to revisit Iran-contra. The producer in turn told

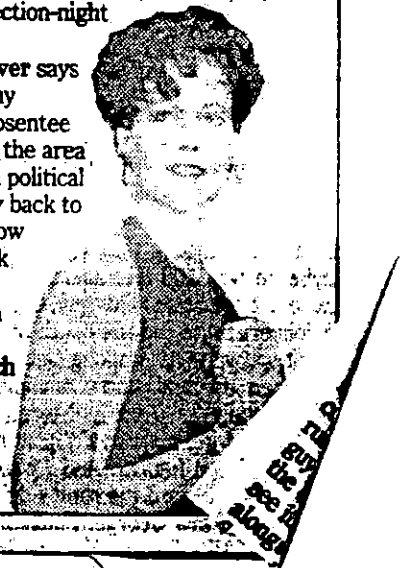
Stephanopoulos to call Bush himself and gave him a special number that put him ahead of all the other callers.

■ Canadian Ambassador Derek Burney is leaving his post to become a top executive at BCE, Canada's main telecommunications company.

■ The Dems are pulling out all the stops for heavy-hitters tomorrow. Clinton fund-raiser Nancy Jacobson is quarterbacking a direct American Airlines flight from National Airport to Little Rock, Ark., at 5 p.m. for VIPs (they pay), some of whom will be ferried from the airport straight to an exclusive election-night dinner party.

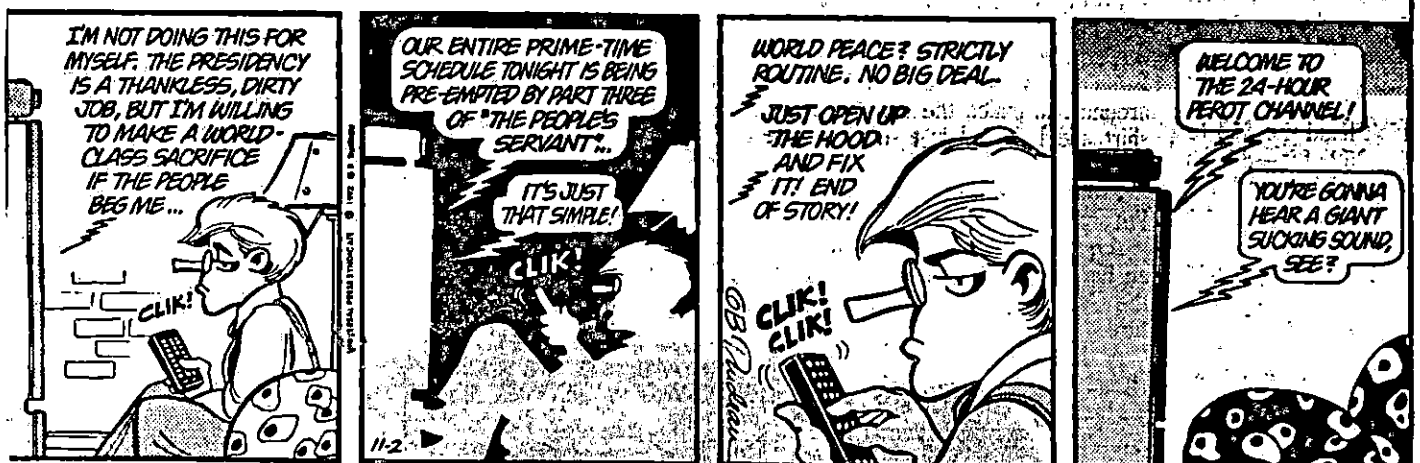
■ Sigourney Weaver says she's not taking any chances with an absentee ballot this year. In the area to film "Dave"—a political comedy—she'll fly back to New York tomorrow to vote. "New York has suffered and I think [Clinton] can help," she told us yesterday at a lunch here with media types.

Weaver, voting on the fly.



By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



Sigourney W

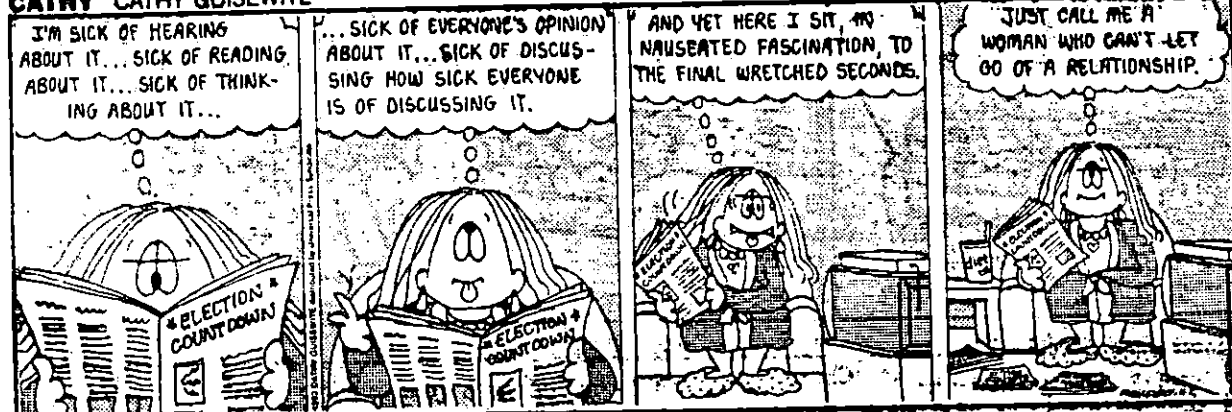
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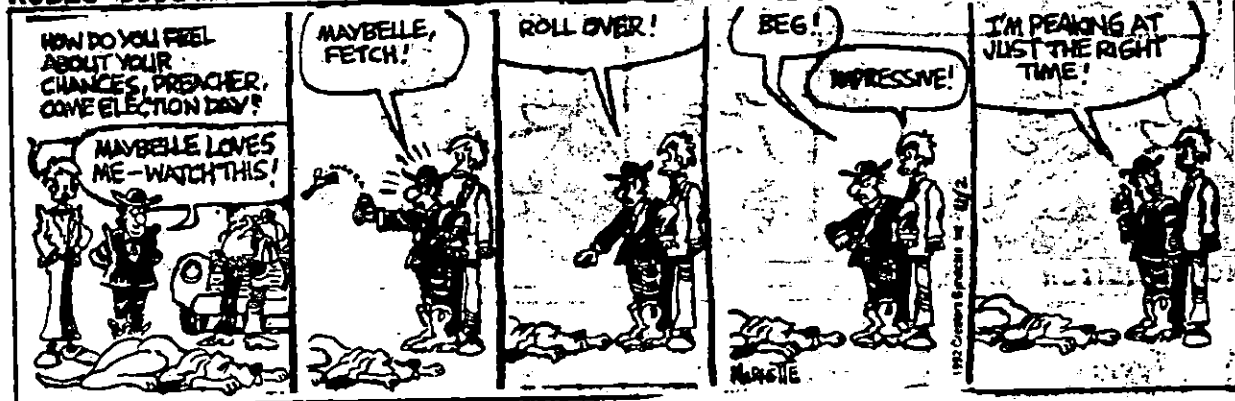
THE FUSCO BROTHERS J.C. DUFFY



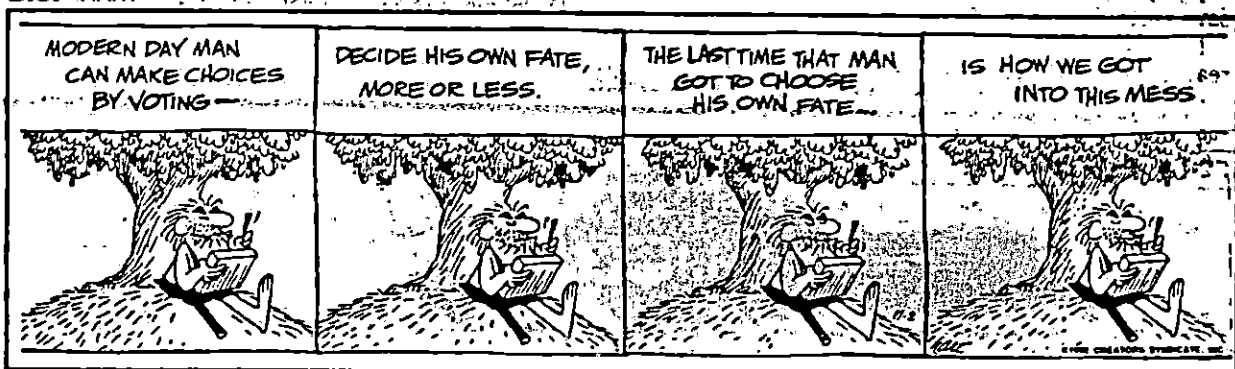
CATHY CATHY GUISEWITE



KUDZU DOUG MARLETTE



B.C. HART



The Washington Post

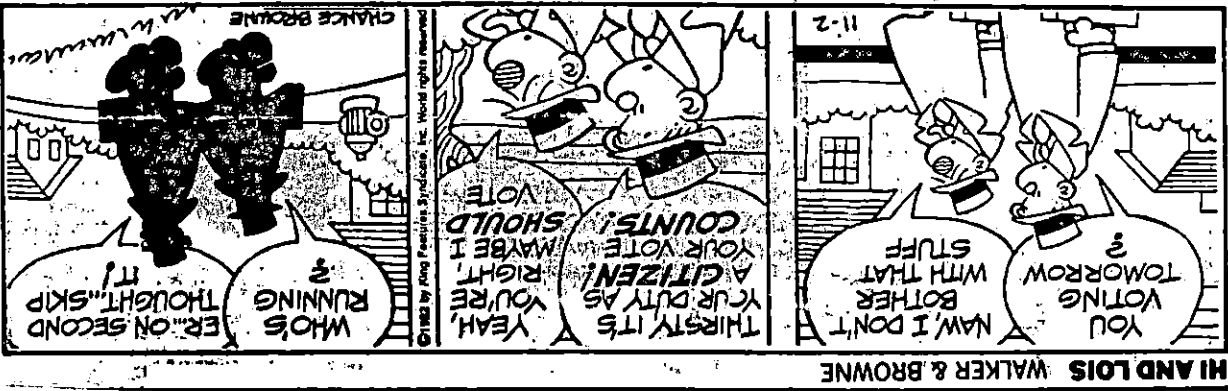
MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1982

WASHINGTON

Mark Alan Stamaty



The cartoonist is a contributor to the Village Voice



The Washington Post

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

A crew from ABC News's "20/20" is in trouble with U.S. Customs after dropping a taco in a marked bag from an airplane Thursday to test the government's anti-drug efforts.

A Customs special agent in Tucson said the U.S. attorney's office will determine whether to prosecute reporter Tom Jarriel and the crew for smuggling "a package of Mexican food-stuffs."

After the drop from a Cessna 182, simulating a drug-smuggling operation, near the tiny border town of Sasabe, a Customs plane followed Jarriel's aircraft while a Customs helicopter followed the network was used to pick up the "taco, which was wrapped in an ABC News pouch. No arrests were made and the fate of the taco is unknown.

NBC, "as a good faith effort to move their negotiating process forward," Friday gave David Letterman "the right to explore opportunities outside of the network," effective immediately.

Letterman's part of the bargain is an agreement to extend his contract to host "Late Night With David Letterman" on the network until June 25.

Originally, Letterman's contract was due to run out in late April, and the right to start talking to potential bidders was to have kicked in in late January.

In a Friday statement, NBC said, "David Letterman emphasizes that his announcement does not represent a final decision regarding his future with NBC," while NBC "reiterates its desire to continue its long-standing relationship with David Letterman and remains hopeful that it will extend his contract beyond next June."

NBC sources pointed out that under terms of his contract Letterman must come back to NBC with any outside offer he wishes to sign to give the network the right to match it. The network has late-night plans for Dana Carvey once "Saturday Night Live" ends its season next spring, so the pressure to keep Letterman has probably eased.

So another chapter begins in the late-night drama of NBC and a disappointed Letterman, who was rejected two years ago as a replacement in favor of Jay Leno when Johnny Carson announced his retirement from "The Tonight Show."

Letterman, who has been with NBC 11 years, recently signed with Michael Ovitz, the most powerful dealmaker in Hollywood. With Ovitz's Creative Artists Agency behind him, Letterman is reportedly due to consider offers from ABC, CBS, Fox and several syndicators who want to try the late-night market—but not too late: Letterman wants to get out of the 12:35 a.m. time slot he now occupies.

Neither ABC nor CBS had a comment on Friday.

Fox is also reportedly interested, although the network has plans for a late-night show hosted by Chevy Chase.

All are regarded as potential suitors for the late-night talent, although CBS, whose audience skew considerably older, would be a tougher sell. A tightly held secret at NBC in recent years had been the fact that Letterman's appeal to a younger audience was the lure for late-night advertisers, who had become underwhelmed by Johnny Carson's older viewership.

Now This

Sara James, an anchor of "NBC Nightside" since last November, has been named a general correspondent by NBC News. She showed up on "Today" as a substitute news anchor last month and obviously passed the Big Test.

No word on her successor on the overnight news show.

Channel 7's Paul Berry has renewed his multi-year contract with the station. He currently anchors the 5 p.m. newscast with Kathleen Matthews.

In a schedule change, NBC said that the start time for Gov. Bill Clinton's half-hour paid political announcement tonight will be 8, instead of 9:30. The 90-minute movie "Problem Child 2" will follow. A paid Ross Perot political hour begins at 10.

Barbara, Sam & Ross

Sometime this week—when the elections are out of the way—top staffers at ABC News's "PrimeTime Live" and "20/20" will hold what ABC News hopes will be a peace conference in the wake of claims that Barbara Walters torpedoed Sam Donaldson's chance to land Perot for last Thursday's "PrimeTime" with President Bush and Gov. Clinton—after Perot had already agreed to be on the hour with his rivals for the presidency.

In fact, Perot originally agreed to be on both ABC shows, without telling the other what he had done. Then ABC News management stepped in—belatedly—and said he should only be on "PrimeTime" with the other candidates. Perot, who preferred "20/20," said on Tuesday

that he'd think about that option overnight. But that night in Dallas he saw an ABC News promo on TV already touting his upcoming appearance on "PrimeTime" and the next day angrily called ABC to cancel any appearance on the network.

Insiders at "PrimeTime" insist Walters had called Perot to tell the Texan that he should cancel out on "PrimeTime Live" on Thursday and that if he didn't he couldn't appear on "20/20" Friday night with her, making it sound very much like an ultimatum.

"It was Barbara, protecting her franchise," said one staffer.

Walters yesterday denied the charge and her old friend Donaldson said Friday, "I'm satisfied Barbara didn't do wrong," but admitted others at "PrimeTime" are angry. Walters and Donaldson had talked for an hour Friday after a report appeared in a New York paper that Walters had "persuaded" Perot to quit "PrimeTime" in favor of her show.

The most charitable version heard from "PrimeTime" this weekend was that the very competitive Walters did make such a phone call but, in the words of one staffer, "Barbara doesn't realize the impact of what she is saying sometimes" and had, "perhaps unwittingly," given Perot a chance to back out of a potentially stormy interview with the unpredictable Donaldson.

Both sides are agreed that Donaldson had been turned down by Perot a week ago Friday, and that Walters, hearing he had nixed "PrimeTime" and with management approval, then called him and on Monday received his agreement to be on last Friday's "20/20." But Donaldson, on finally getting firm commitments from Bush and Clinton, tried Perot again and he accepted on Tuesday. Only later that day did he notify Donaldson ("I made a boo-boo") that he had forgotten to tell him he had also agreed to be on "20/20."

Walters said yesterday that on hearing Donaldson had landed Perot, she and "20/20" executive producer Victor Neufeld had called Perot and said, "You must do 'PrimeTime.'"

She said an angry Perot told them it was his call to make and that he preferred "20/20." Walters said she then notified News Vice President Joanna Bistany, and they called Perot to say, "It's in your best interest to do 'PrimeTime,' you're a presidential candidate and you should do it."

Bistany told Perot it was ABC News's decision to make. Perot, said Walters, was angry and reiterated it was his call and that he'd let them know Wednesday. After seeing the promos, a "furious" Perot called Bistany the next day and said he wanted to do "20/20." Bistany said no, and he canceled out, leaving Donaldson with only two candidates Thursday night.

Both Donaldson and Walters agree there was poor coordination between the two programs (both ABC News President Rooney Arledge and his key aide, Dick Wald, were in London while this was going on).

"Once he confessed to Barbara he wanted to do both shows, she told him he couldn't do hers if he did mine," Donaldson said Friday, "and that's upset a lot of people at PrimeTime."

"I don't think she torpedoed our show," said Donaldson. "She had him first and he should have told me. I'm satisfied Barbara didn't do wrong."

Angry "PTL" staffers—one called the situation "ugly"—point out that, ironically, Donaldson was one of the few at the network who stood up for Walters when she arrived at a very unfriendly ABC from NBC in the early 1970s. Said one staffer: "It's been a tough year for Sam after his unpleasant contract negotiations, and landing the three candidates would have made up for a lot."

Said Walters, "I'm very fond of Sam. This will blow over. Our people are angry too, you know. And, yes, our programs are competitive. And they will continue to be. But I'm sad that none of the people who are complaining were there to hear those conversations—it's a tempest in a teapot."

Perot had brought up the dispute on "Larry King Live" Thursday night.

After all that, NBC's "LA. Law" and the return of "Knots Landing" to the CBS lineup Thursday night at 10 outdrew Bush and Clinton on ABC's Perot-less "PrimeTime Live" in the national Nielsen ratings.

"Law" had a 13.9 rating and a 24 percent audience share, compared with a 12.3/21 for "Knots" and a 12.0/20 for the politics.

In Washington, "LA. Law" did a 14.8/25 on WRC, "PrimeTime," a 13.0/21 on WJLA and "Knots," a 12.3/20 on WUSA.

And on WTTG, a Halloween "Simpsons" did a 19.7/30 and "Martin" a 19.1/29 between 8 and 9.

Later that night, the appearance of Richard Pryor on Arsenio Hall earned WUSA a 7.6/25.

And one more Ratings Note: Perot's 90-minute appearance on "Larry King Live" Thursday did a 5.7/9 (3.4 million cable homes). Each national ratings point represents 931,000 TV homes; a local point, 18,514.

HIGHLIGHTS

- Paid political announcements from Bill Clinton and Ross Perot on WJLA, WRC and WUSA.
- The Vikings and Bears on WJLA.
- And "Problem Child 2" on WRC.

Sports

NFL Football (CC). Minnesota Vikings at Chicago Bears (Channel 7 at 9).

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange. A look at the role of African Americans in the political process (Channel 32 at 7).

Space Age (CC). In Part IV, an overview of America's Apollo program and the possibility of using the moon as a base for exploring the solar system (Channel 26 at 8).

Primetime Movie

Problem Child 2 (1991) (CC). John Ritter contends with two hell-raising children. 90 minutes (Channel 4, 8:30).

Paid Political Announcements

The Bill Clinton campaign will run 30-minute programs on Channel 4 at 8 p.m. and Channels 7 and 9 at 8:30 p.m. The Ross Perot campaign will run 30-minute pro-

grams on Channels 7 and 9 at 8 p.m. and a one-hour program on Channel 4 at 10 p.m.

Series

Murphy Brown (CC). Members of the "F.Y.I." team recount their first involvement in the political process (Channel 9 at 9).

Love & War (CC). Wally and Jack scramble to find the perfect gifts for their two-month anniversary (Channel 9, 9:30).

Northern Exposure (CC). Cicely's newest resident is a man in a plastic bubble (Channel 9 at 10).

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

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show (CC). With Kelsey Grammer and Bebe Neuwirth from "Cheers," Juan Williams of The Washington Post and singer Travis Tritt (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With John McLaughlin, Neil Simon and Kenny Loggins (Channel 4, 11:35).

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 1, 1990



BY RICH LIPSKI—THE WASHINGTON POST

MUTED, BUT NOT STOPPED

Bill Clinton, campaigning outside Riverfront Stadium in Cincinnati, explains to crowd that he is losing his voice. Story, Page A16.

New Faces of the Nonvoter

Many Are Middle Class, Educated, Apathetic

By Richard Morin
Washington Post Staff Writer

ATLANTA—Maureen Trigg, 26, works full time for a mortgage company, attends graduate school, plays tennis every Thursday evening and teaches Sunday school. But she won't vote this week.

"I'm not registered," she said with a blush. "I feel guilty about that, but I haven't had the time."

Peter Stowell, 51, an administrator for the Federal Transit Administration, studied government and public policy at Harvard University. Stowell is registered to vote, but he won't cast a ballot this year. "The best and brightest candidates just don't run," he said.

Stephen Beard, 23, a writer for an advertising firm, also is registered—and also won't vote. "It isn't

that important to vote," he said. "Basically the same things are going to get done anyway."

Middle class, educated and articulate, these three suburban Atlanta residents represent some of the new faces of the American nonvoter.

For two hours last week, they and seven other nonvoters talked about politics, politicians and this presidential campaign. But most of all, they talked frankly about why they won't vote on Tuesday.

To these 10, none of whom had voted in 1988 and none of whom planned to vote this year, politics is "boring... confusing... dirty... crooked... a game."

They also mentioned barriers to voter registration, and pressured, nonstop lives that kept them from becoming more involved in politics.

See NONVOTERS, A17, Col. 1

NONVOTERS, From A1

But mostly, they said they just weren't interested in voting.

Despite early optimism, many experts now expect that turnout could be only somewhat higher this year than it was in 1988, when only 62.8 percent of the eligible voting-age population cast ballots, down from a post-World War II high of 65.4 percent in 1960.

Despite the MTV "Rock the Vote" campaign on cable television and a riveting presidential race, voter registration—a reliable predictor of relative turnout—is up only 1 percent this year. In 1984, a 3 percent rise in registration produced only an anemic 0.5 percent-age point increase in turnout.

"That's not to say there won't be a 1 or 2 percent increase, but I see it all as pretty modest," said Ruy Teixeira, a political scientist and author of a new book on voting behavior, "The Disappearing American Voter." "And the people's underlying disaffection with the political process may drive it down again this year."

"There just aren't any candidates I'm interested in voting for," said Ron Sorrells, 38, a computer contractor.

"The last politician I was interested [in] was Jimmy Carter," a fellow Georgian, said Nellie Darnell, 77, a restaurant worker. "He disappointed me, and I haven't voted since."

Beard, the advertising writer, said, "I remember being in college and just thinking this doesn't matter to me—this is never, ever going to affect my life." Today, nothing he sees has convinced him otherwise.

Since 1960, the percentage of people who closely follow election campaigns has declined from 55 percent to 18 percent, according to the National Election Study surveys conducted by the University of Michigan.

"Many people today simply don't pay any attention to the campaign or know what's going on," Teixeira said. Historically, Teixeira is correct, though it remains to be seen whether the undeniable interest in the televised candidate debates this year will change that.

Defying the popular stereotypes of nonvoters, the nonvoter rolls now are filling with well-educated, relatively affluent and decidedly middle-class Americans. More than four in 10 nonvoters earn between \$20,000 and \$60,000 a year; a quarter have attended college.

Apathy, not anger, most clearly distinguishes nonvoters from those

The Washington Post

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

VOTERS AND NONVOTERS

THE WASHINGTON POST POLL

Q I am going to read a few statements. For each please tell me whether you tend to agree or disagree. First, do you agree or disagree that... (Shown: Percent who agreed with the statement.)

	Agree	
	Registered to vote	Not registered to vote
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on	58%	71%
I don't think that public officials care much what people like me think	49	65
People like me don't have any say about what the government does	35	51
So many other people vote in the national elections that it doesn't matter much to me whether I vote or not	9	35
Parties are only interested in people's votes and not in their opinions	62	72

NOTE: Washington Post telephone poll conducted Oct. 21-27 among a random sample of 1,545 registered voters and 453 nonvoters from across the nation. Margin of sampling error is plus or minus 3 percentage points for registered voters and 5 percentage points for nonvoters. Interviewing was conducted by ICR Survey Research of Media, Pa.

BY TOBEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

who vote. Surveys repeatedly show that voters are as disgusted as nonvoters with politics as usual. "The factors that really influence nonvoting are a growing lack of political involvement, less connection to government, declining belief in government responsiveness, and detachment from the campaign process," Teixeira said.

The result is an increasingly laissez-faire citizenry that sees little value or purpose or reward in voting. "Honestly, I don't feel guilty about not voting," said Sorrells, the computer contractor.

Nancy Cook, 21, agrees. "The way I felt was that it's always been going along fine since I was a kid; it will just keep going whether I vote or not."

Cook, a recent college graduate, works for a bank. She would be voting in her first presidential election this year—if she hadn't missed the October registration deadline by a day.

Early registration deadlines and other obstacles to voting help keep participation rates in the United States remarkably low, said Steven Rosenstone, a political science professor at the University of Michigan and coauthor of a forthcoming book on political mobilization and voting patterns.

Rosenstone estimates that relaxing registration requirements would bump up turnout by 10 percentage points, a significant increase that would still, however, keep voting rates in the United States about 10

to 20 percentage points behind those in most European democracies.

"The majority of people out there are not voting because it is so hard," said Darlene Fields, 34, a customer service representative at a bank. "It isn't advertised, no fliers or anything have been circulated. It's just not been made easy enough to register and to vote."

Americans' increased mobility has conspired with restrictive registration laws to keep citizens from the polls. "Registration laws trip movers up," Rosenstone said. "In fact, movers are substantially less likely to vote, in part because of the need to re-register, in part because moving is distracting and painful, and politics isn't high on their list of things to do. Movers also haven't built new social networks, and [are] less likely to be connected to the political life of the new community," which substantially diminishes interest in voting, he said.

Stowell, the federal administrator, is one of those mobile nonvoters. "I've moved a lot, and it's not always so easy to find out where you go [to] register," Stowell said. "When I lived in Boston, they had people out signing you up at the supermarkets. It was great, because the League of Women Voters and what have you were always there wherever you went: 'Are you registered to vote? Here's what you do, here's where you go.'"

But when he moved to Philadelphia four years ago and then to Atlanta, he could not believe the dif-

ference. "It was almost like they didn't want you to vote."

Stowell is describing what Rosenstone believes is the biggest reason why turnout is collapsing. The personal touch has largely vanished from national politics, which has moved from being labor-intensive to capital-intensive in recent elections.

Direct mail and phone banks have replaced the precinct worker as the primary direct link between politicians and the citizens. Polls have replaced door-to-door canvassing by party faithful as a way to gauge the mood of the electorate.

Citizens have noticed the change, and they miss the personal touch. "I see the signs on the road, but that's about it," said Trigg, the mortgage company employee and graduate student. "But no one's ever knocked on my door or walked up to me. I've never even gotten anything in the mail."

"It's hard to find out about issues, candidates and politics," agreed Robert Harris, 27, a computer programmer. "I don't know where to go."

As grass-roots politics withered, many of the ties that informally bound citizens to the political process were loosened. "You don't need to build an organization in a community. But the evidence is clear that increased personal contact, increased mobilization, brings out the vote" while today's increasingly impersonal campaigns feed the ranks of the nonvoter, Rosenstone said.

Can the electorate be energized and nonvoters transformed into voters? Yes, but it will be difficult, Rosenstone and Teixeira say. Easing registration laws would be a start, they say. Other actions that they say might help would be renewed mobilization efforts by the major parties, and campaign finance reform to counter the belief that America's politicians are dominated by special interests. A media that ends its addiction to "horse race" political journalism would help, too, Teixeira says.

Here in Atlanta, just before the discussion ended, the group was asked if they would ever vote again. Not one hand rose. No one had given up completely on politics. But neither could these nonvoters explain why they hadn't.

"I guess it's hope," Sorrells finally said. "A very diffuse hope. Not a hope in one candidate specifically, but it's a hope maybe that the system itself will slowly change."

But he was doubtful that it would. "There's a great inertia there. I don't really expect any great change," he said.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Some Believe That Clinton Presidency Would Neither Help nor Hurt Dollar

By DIANE DIMOND

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK — Convinced that a Democratic victory tomorrow would lead to higher U.S. interest rates, many currency traders are poised to buy dollars if Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton wins the presidential election.

A Republican victory, by contrast, would almost certainly lead to a modest dollar sell-off, as market players abandon expectations for a fiscal boost to the economy.

But such rate-based trades are misguided, say some fund managers and economists. They believe a Clinton presidency would neither help nor hurt the dollar.

As a result, they say, any post-election gains in the dollar would vanish quickly. Market players would realize that the U.S. economy isn't in danger of overheating, regardless of who won the election.

Even some short-term traders say they will sell dollars after the election if it's already up sharply by the time the results are in.

Late in New York Friday, the U.S.

currency was trading at 1.5420 marks, up from 1.5380 marks Thursday, and at 123.40 yen, up from 123.25 yen.

About midday on Monday in Tokyo, the dollar was trading at 1.5431 marks and at 123.62 yen.

The high-rate, strong-dollar scenario rests on several assumptions that the economists say are far from certain: that Mr. Clinton would push for fiscal measures to stimulate the economy, that such measures would promptly drive rates higher, and that higher rates would carry the dollar with them.

But a package of measures weighty enough to spur inflation would take months to implement, analysts say.

"I don't think we can expect anything in the form of legislation until the middle of the year," says Richard Trainer, chief economist for the Bank of Tokyo. "And the impact might not be felt for several months after that."

Traders who focus on the Clinton factor also forget the limits to his powers to drive legislation through Congress quickly, says Peter Pfau, foreign exchange manager at Dean Witter Reynolds Inc. "We don't elect an absolute monarch. We're electing a president," he says.

Some economists doubt that the much-discussed package of measures to stimulate economic growth will emerge at all.

If Mr. Clinton were to win, the political costs to his administration of inflationary fiscal measures would outweigh their benefits, argues David Munro, chief U.S. economist at High Frequency Economics.

"The payoff is small," he says. Even a \$40 billion economic boost would shave only half a percentage point off the unemployment rate, he calculates. And the price would be more painful fiscal restraint over the remainder of a Clinton term that would hurt his re-election prospects in 1996, he says.

If a President Clinton and Democratic Congress did produce an inflationary package, the bond market would punish them with sharply higher long-term rates, says Mr. Trainer of the Bank of Tokyo. High rates would choke off the recovery, driving rates back down and eventually hurting the dollar, he says.

Prices for Soybean and Corn Decline Despite Bush Effort to Boost Demand

By BRUCE INGERSOLL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Soybean prices at the nation's farm elevators fell to a five-year low, and corn prices to a four-year low, in October despite Bush administration efforts to boost demand for U.S. commodities before tomorrow's election.

In the last month of the 1992 campaign, President Bush offered billions of dollars in agricultural export subsidies and credit guarantees to customers overseas — not only to spur sales of U.S. grain and other commodities, but also to woo the farm vote in key Midwestern states where he has been lagging in the polls. But the outpour-

ing of political pork doesn't appear to have fazed the markets, which have been depressed by prospects of a record-setting corn crop and a bin-busting soybean crop.

Corn prices slipped 16 cents in October, to \$1.99 per bushel, the lowest monthly price since May 1988, the Agriculture Department reported Friday. Soybean prices fell 23 cents last month, to \$5.12 per bushel, the lowest price since October 1987.

What's more, average prices for all farm products in October were unchanged from September, and were down 2.8% from average prices in October 1991, the department said.

The October figures would have been worse for the Bush-Quayle camp, farm analysts said, but for a \$3.6-billion package of export credit guarantees for 18 countries, a big vegetable-oil subsidy offer and a \$100 million donation of corn to the former Soviet Union, among other things.

A big jump in tomato prices and a rise in wheat prices helped offset the slump in

corn and soybeans, according to the department. Wheat prices averaged \$3.31 per bushel, up 10 cents from September, partly thanks to recent batches of wheat export subsidies.

Because of tight supplies, tomato prices soared 116% in October, to \$64.90 per hundredweight, the department said. Average quotes for all vegetables were up 13% from September.

Fruit prices, meantime, slipped 3% in October, the department said. A bumper crop of apples drove apple prices down 24% to 22.4 cents per pound.

Beef cattle prices averaged \$71.80 per hundredweight, up 10 cents from September. Cow prices averaged \$46.80 per hundredweight, down 20 cents from September, while steer and heifer prices averaged \$75.80, up 30 cents. Hog prices rose 70 cents to \$41.90 per hundredweight.

The administration succeeded in shoring up dairy prices during October by buying cheese for the school lunch program, increasing humanitarian donations of dairy products and subsidizing dairy exports. Milk prices averaged \$13.50 per hundredweight, unchanged from September, according to the department.

Small Stocks Are Bullish On Clinton

OTC FOCUS

By SARA CALIAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

NEW YORK — Small stocks are trading as if Americans had already pulled the lever for Bill Clinton in the voting booth.

The Nasdaq Composite Index has rallied 5% to 605.17 since mid-October, while the Dow Jones Industrial Average has advanced less than 1% and the Standard & Poor's 500 index has increased 2.3%.

"A lot of investors think Clinton is going to win and it is going to be bullish for the small stocks," says Robert O'Toole Sr., head of Nasdaq institutional sales at Shearson Lehman Brothers. "Investors are looking for new leadership away from the big IBM types and are looking at the over-the-counter stocks."

Small stocks will outperform big ones under a Democratic administration as they have in the past, many analysts believe. Democrats are perceived as likely to stimulate the economy through spending programs, creating jobs in small and mid-sized companies. That perception prevails among small-stock investors even though many analysts think that neither a

Many Investors Think a Clinton Win Would Be Bullish for Nasdaq Market

OTC FOCUS

Continued From Page C1

semiconductor companies, he says.

But there's no President Clinton, yet. Investors who have been buying with Mr. Clinton in mind are as nervous as the candidate's political strategists. At midday Friday after the latest CNN poll announced a narrowing of Mr. Clinton's lead, the Nasdaq Composite was down as much as 3.6 points, but recovered to finish down only 0.65 point.

Small stocks could get a big boost from a Clinton-led cut in capital gains taxes on long-term holdings of small stocks, says Ethan Siegal, a Washington analyst for Prudential Securities. He says both candidates advocate cutting taxes on certain capital gains but Mr. Clinton has a better chance of making it happen. That is because in negotiating with Congress, Mr. Bush won't accept any tax increases, whereas Mr. Clinton has said he will raise taxes on the wealthy, Mr. Siegal says. "It's a matter of finding a middle ground. Bush hasn't been able to find it and Clinton doesn't have to find it."

John Tobey, a senior vice president of Liberty Asset Management Co. in Westport, Conn., says that since the Great Depression, small stocks have fared better than the big ones under Democrats.

"Democrats have focused on employment starting back with FDR," Mr. Tobey says. "About two-thirds of all new job employment comes from small companies, which means bolstering of these businesses."

But Mr. Clinton doesn't represent nirvana for small business. There are many aspects of Mr. Clinton's economic proposals that could hurt small concerns. Enforcement of health insurance plans and environmental laws could burden many smaller companies that aren't able to absorb the costs, says market strategist Mary Farrell of PaineWebber.

Of course, there is the possibility that all these positive small stock indicators, with or without Mr. Clinton, could be wrong. Christine Callies, a technical analyst at Cowen & Co., says the small-stock surge is only temporary.

"The election will result in a little buying surge. But it will be a relatively small positive influence," says Ms. Callies. "The market is setting itself up for a post-election rally. However, it will be very poor and the narrowest rally of the year." She says although small stocks appear to have been outperforming the bigger ones, the rally isn't supported very deeply. For a "healthy rally" she says the number of advancing stocks needs to be about double the number of decliners.

"This is only a mini-rally," she says. "It has never developed strong support in

terms of individual stocks."

Debunking politics, some analysts say neither Mr. Clinton nor President Bush will have any effect upon the small-stock surge. The fundamental reasons for a small-stock rally are in place no matter who is elected, says Charles Clough, Merrill Lynch's chief investment strategist.

"I don't think a small-stock rally has anything to do with a Clinton election. The election is a sideshow," Mr. Clough says. One reason he says small, scrappy companies will do better is that "throughout the 1990s we will have a slow economy. Growth is going to have to come through market share. And smaller companies have a greater chance to gain."

Friday's Market Activity

Election jitters made only a small dent in the over-the-counter market.

The Nasdaq Composite Index eased 0.65, or 0.11%, to 605.17. Advancing issues outnumbered decliners 1,267 to 1,112 on total volume of 193 million shares.

Some of the highflying technology stocks that led the market sharply higher through midweek came under limited selling pressure. Apple Computer slid $\frac{3}{4}$ to 52 $\frac{1}{2}$, Sun Microsystems eased $\frac{1}{2}$ to 35 $\frac{1}{2}$ and Microsoft dropped 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 88 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Microtest Inc., a new issue, jumped to 17 on its first day of trading, from its offering price of 14 $\frac{1}{2}$. The Phoenix, Ariz., company, which makes local area network monitoring devices, offered 2.3 million shares. The offering included 825,000 shares sold by existing stockholders.

Pharmacy Management Services slipped $\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$. The Tampa, Fla., company reported on Thursday a loss of 45 cents a share for the fourth quarter ended July 31, after taking a 50-cent-a-share restructuring charge. A year earlier, the company reported earnings of three cents a share.

Quarterdeck Office Systems dropped 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$. The software company reported Thursday that earnings for the fourth quarter ended Sept. 30 fell to seven cents a share from 16 cents a share a year earlier. The Santa Monica, Calif., corporation blamed the decline on rising costs associated with an expansion of its businesses.

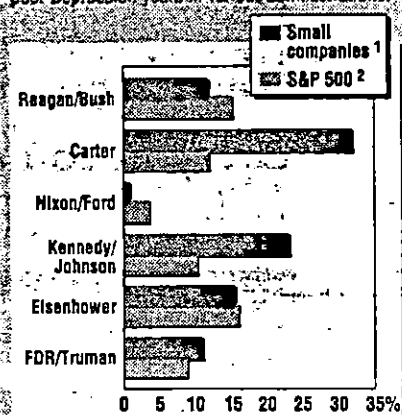
Curaflex Health Sciences lost 3 to 5 $\frac{1}{2}$, despite its report that third-quarter earnings from operations inched up to seven cents a share from five cents a share a year earlier. The company, though, said the results were below the levels it had expected to reach.

Sierra Health Services Stock Split

LAS VEGAS, Nev. — Sierra Health Services Inc. said its board approved a 2-for-1 stock split to stock of record Nov. 13, payable on or about Jan. 11, 1993. The company currently has 5,963,666 common shares outstanding.

Small vs. Big

Annualized stock market returns, in percent, during post-Depression years in various administrations.



1. Hobson Small Company Stock Index
2. Standard & Poor's 500 Stock Index
Source: Liberty Asset Management Co.

Bush nor a Clinton win by itself will make a big difference in the overall direction of the stock market.

"A fiscal stimulus package is more likely under Clinton," says Peter Canelo, investment strategist at County NatWest. "I think it is clear that Clinton will help small growth companies."

The larger technology stocks have been leading the Nasdaq's rally, fueled by Gov. Clinton's proposal to form a partnership with government and business to make technology more competitive, says NatWest's Mr. Canelo. "Technology is a very good place to be with Clinton," he says. "Management of Microsoft and Apple favor Clinton, and those companies will benefit directly from economic growth." So would many of the smaller software and

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Clinton's Weekend Stumping in Georgia Reflects Effort to Break GOP Stranglehold on the South

By DAVID SHRIEMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
 DECATUR, Ga. — L.L. Kitchens Jr., a retired aerospace engineer, and his wife, Elizabeth, a part-time county health worker, did a little last-minute shopping over the weekend. The two undecided voters wandered over to the local high-school football field to listen to Gov. Bill Clinton.

"We're hanging right on the fence," Mr. Kitchens said when he strolled onto the field, already crowded with people, hot-air balloons and signs and pulsating with the music of the peppy high school band. But by the time the biggest event in Decatur since a nighttime raid on a Union wagon train in 1865 drew to a close, Mr. and Mrs. Kitchens themselves were a little closer to a decision.

She was impressed with Mr. Clinton and leans toward the Arkansas governor. He was leaning the other way. Net gain: Mr. Clinton, since they both voted for Mr. Bush four years ago.

So it went over the campaign's last weekend — a hard-fought battle across the country that can be symbolized by the struggle in Georgia, a state that traditionally votes Republican in presidential elections but one that's seriously flirting with the Democrats' all-Southern ticket this fall.

On the very last weekend, there were still undecided voters in a state that in the last seven elections went Democratic only when a native son, Jimmy Carter, was on the ballot and that delivered its electoral votes to George Bush in landslide proportions four years ago. "People here couldn't identify with Walter Mondale or Michael Dukakis or their philosophies," says Ed Sims, the state Democratic chairman. "It was more than ideology, it was comfort level." Yet now, private polls taken by both campaigns place the Democrats ahead by five percentage points.

New Poll Results

A new nationwide Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll conducted yesterday shows Mr. Clinton holding a 44% to 36% lead over Mr. Bush, with Ross Perot at 15%, among a sampling that the Journal and NBC News believe are the most likely voters. The poll results of all registered voters are the same. Among those who say

they have voted half the time or more in the last three years, Mr. Clinton's margin slips to four percentage points, but that figure excludes young people and new registrants, who are likely to vote Tuesday.

These results are little changed from Journal/NBC polling conducted last week. The poll was conducted Sunday afternoon — a time that Democrat Peter Hart and Republican Vince Breglio, who did the survey for the Journal and NBC, say is considered, along with Sunday evening, a prime time to conduct a public-opinion poll. The poll, of 1,008 registered voters, has a margin of error of about three percentage points.

Overall, Mr. Clinton holds a clear lead in two dozen states accounting for about 250 Electoral College votes — just shy of the 270 he needs to win the White House in tomorrow's election — without even considering lots of industrial states, in many of which he's leading. His trip here was intended to give him something of an electoral cushion.

Battle in 'Bush's Back Yard'

So Mr. Clinton came here to DeKalb County — a mix of blacks, white liberals, some suburbanites and growing pockets of Asian-Americans and Hispanics that often is used by marketers as a test market — for insurance, looking for two or three Southern states that would break the GOP's Southern wedge. "We want to keep the fight in Bush's back yard," says Richard Mintz, one of the Democrats' chief field strategists, and of all the southern states that don't directly border Arkansas, this is their best bet.

The Clinton strategy is much like Dwight Eisenhower's 40 years ago, when he faced a solid Democratic South: Neutralize the opponent's advantage by winning back parts of the South and deny the opposition a sweep. Mr. Clinton holds slender leads in North Carolina and Louisiana and is competitive in Texas.

Though most analysts believe Texas will eventually go to Mr. Bush, several factors make it an even race now: Mr. Perot, who isn't running strong in Georgia, still has considerable support in Dallas; a heavy Hispanic vote is expected to assist Mr. Clinton, and Mr. Bush's prospects were hurt when the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp. rescued Houston-based First City Bancorp. of Texas last week for the second time in four years, a move that underscored fears about the economy.

Here in Georgia, the Democratic ticket has been helped immensely by the testimonials of Sen. Sam Nunn, chairman of the

Most Likely

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

Clinton

44%

Bush

36%

Perot

15%

NOTE: To better reflect who may actually turn out Tuesday, these figures represent all voters who say they have voted in half or more elections in the past three years, or who say they are almost certain to vote this time.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

Armed Services Committee, and former President Jimmy Carter, who is still enormously popular in his native state. "The message from them about Clinton is: 'He's our kind of guy, you can trust him on defense, and he's a trustworthy conservative,'" says Merle Black, an Emory University political scientist who specializes in Southern politics.

Georgia suffered more from the economic recession than did the country as a whole, but it pulled out more quickly, in part because of gains in the textile and apparel industries. "Things are moving up, but not fast," says Donald Ratajczak, director of the Economic Forecasting Center at Georgia State University.

And although unemployment is lower than the national average — it was slightly higher than the national average in 1988 — construction employment is down almost 10,000 from a year ago and won't pick up until next year, when work on the 1996 Olympics begins in earnest.

"There's a sense of betrayal about Bush in Georgia," says James Carville, a top Clinton strategist, "and that makes it good for us."

Indeed, this community, just seven miles from Atlanta, is friendly territory for Mr. Clinton. "I would not vote for Bush again for the world," says Jan Witting, a saleswoman who counts herself a Democrat. Nanci Dubin, an independent who has her own hand-painted clothing business, adds that Mr. Clinton's "message of

change is important because we need change in this country."

The Journal/NBC News poll shows Messrs. Clinton and Perot tied for the lead over President Bush as the candidate best suited for dealing with the economy, and Mr. Bush holds a lead over Messrs. Clinton and Perot as being someone voters can trust. Of the Perot voters, more say that Mr. Clinton would be their second choice over Mr. Bush. And when these Perot voters are asked how they would respond if their vote would decide the election between Messrs. Clinton and Bush, one in six opt for Mr. Clinton, one in six opt for Mr. Bush and nearly half say they'd stick with Mr. Perot.

Pet Shelters Called Bush Top Dog, But Clinton Was the Cats' Meow

By JENNIFER REINGOLD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
As the presidential campaign races to a frenzied finish, no one is safe from poll-itis-cization.

Arena Stage has been surveying theatergoers attending performances of the musical "Of Thee I Sing" in Washington; they favor Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton by a margin of 80.6% to 15.9% for President Bush and 3% for Ross Perot. One write-in ballot named "Murphy Brown and the cultural elite."

Foreigners visiting the U.S. haven't escaped pollmania, either. Germans staying at the French-owned Novotel Hotel in New York during three days last week supported President Bush by a vast majority, notwithstanding a write-in vote for Magic Johnson. But among French and English guests, the two front-runners were tied. Austrians and Ugandans all voted for Mr. Clinton, and all seven Uruguayans who stayed there chose Mr. Perot.

While Mr. Bush won by a solid, 17-point margin in the widely publicized "Weekly Reader" poll a few weeks ago, Gov. Clinton scored a decisive victory in Sassy Magazine's nationwide poll of 5,564 teen-agers. But the Nickelodeon network's "1992 Kids Pick the President" showed the race much

tighter, with the Arkansas governor defeating Mr. Bush by just 286 votes out of more than 700,000 votes cast.

The Movie Channel "Movie Lovers poll" asked "political types," or staffers in government offices and campaigns, which stars they would most like to see portray the presidential candidates. As expected, comedian and presidential impersonator Dana Carvey won for his famous arm-flailing and fractured-speaking impersonation of President Bush.

The respondents named actor-comedian Steve Martin as their choice to portray Mr. Clinton.

Meanwhile, in Seattle, KCPQ television asked members of its Kids Club which cartoon characters should hold office. For head of the Environmental Protection Agency, they chose Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtle Michelangelo, who gained his mutant status after falling into "retromutagenic ooze." The kids also tapped Bart Simpson for president, Goofy for U.S. representative, and Scrooge McDuck, who received the most votes (430) of any category, for Secretary of the Treasury.

Bob Galvin, KCPQ promotion manager, says, "The vote seems to reflect the national mood of social liberalism and fiscal conservatism."

Bush Administration Proposes to Ease Some Protections for Alaska Wetlands

By BARBARA ROSEWICZ

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The Bush administration proposed easing protections for wetlands in Alaska, exposing itself days before the election to new charges it is reneging on the president's pledge of no net loss of wetlands.

The special exemption could open 1.7 million protected acres of Alaska to development. It has been sought strenuously by the state's congressional delegation, and oil and other industries.

The White House since last year has argued that wetlands protections needn't be as stringent in Alaska as elsewhere because 45% of that state's land mass is wetlands and less than 1% of its wetlands have vanished. By comparison, half of wetlands in the lower 48 states have been lost in the past 200 years.

The proposal was controversial inside the administration. With the election approaching, pressure from the White House led William Reilly, head of the Environ-

mental Protection Agency, to issue the proposal even though he had raised objections to it internally.

Also late last week, Mr. Bush's Interior Department granted a "conditional permit" sought by fishermen and lawmakers in North Carolina to build two jetties to keep open Oregon Inlet along the state's Outer Banks. Interior Secretary Manuel Lujan issued the permit even though interior secretaries for the past 23 years have refused to permit construction of the \$70 million Army Corps of Engineers project, both because of its cost and because of environmental harm the jetties might cause to the shore of an adjacent national park and wildlife refuge.

The Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund vowed to file suit to block the permit, which it claims is illegal because environmental impact statements haven't been prepared yet and there is no authority to anchor the jetties in the national park.

Interior spokesman Steven Goldstein dismissed suggestions that the announce-

ment was politically timed. However, environmental groups released a copy of a July letter from Dan Gray, chairman of the Republican Party in Dare County, N.C., that told Mr. Bush that action on building the jetties was needed "in order for us to carry this area in the fall."

Mr. Bush has previously been accused of backing off his 1988 campaign pledge to stop further loss of wetlands. Vice President Dan Quayle, acting on bitter complaints by farmers and developers, has led a push to ease wetlands protections nationwide. The administration, after backing off one proposal that would have exposed even well-known wetlands like parts of the Everglades to less protection, still hasn't resolved the matter.

The latest proposal would exempt from certain Clean Water Act requirements any state that has lost less than 1% of its wetlands; only Alaska fits the description. Wetlands are protected because they are useful both for wildlife habitat and for cleansing water and controlling flooding. Under the proposal, a developer still would have to promise to minimize damage before getting a permit to fill in wetlands, but he would be excused from seeking alternative sites first, from having to minimize unavoidable impacts and from creating new wetlands to replace those destroyed.

"This 1% exemption means that Alaska is open for business," said Dan Kish, a congressional aide doing campaign work for Rep. Don Young (R., Alaska). He said the wetlands rules have been holding up not only timber and oil development in Alaska but also are blamed for stopping projects like a new school and new homeless center.

But Linda Winter, lobbyist for the National Wildlife Federation, said only 2.7% of wetlands permits have been denied in Alaska over the past 20 years. "The no-net-loss pledge by the administration will be broken by this," she said, "because it will mean absolutely a new loss of wetlands, and some of them are extremely critical wetlands."

Asides

New Democrats?

While we're on the subject of what the new Democrats represent, we can't help but note that the Nation magazine also has a list of candidates it's eager to see in Congress: "The new Congress is likely to have a slew of new leftist Democrats who will fight for what is right: Senators

like Bob Abrams (New York), Les AuCoin (Oregon), Barbara Boxer (California), Carol Moseley Braun (Illinois) and Russel Feingold (Wisconsin)." But our favorite hopeful is the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in New Hampshire, Deborah (Arnie) Arnesen, described by Mary McGrory as "a pro-choice liberal, a member of the ACLU and an in-your-face feminist." Good luck, Arnie.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Bush Fighting For Every State Up for Grabs

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
BURLINGTON, Wis. — Michael Kelly, a Republican lawyer, turned out Saturday for a George Bush campaign rally down at the old passenger railroad depot.

Watching the presidential whistle-stop train, listening to the bands, heeding Mr. Bush's message "played on my emotions," Mr. Kelly says. But he is still torn between voting for Mr. Bush and Democratic Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas. Mr. Clinton, he says, "represents change, and I'm all in favor of that." Mr. Bush, he figures, "represents stability, and I'm all for that, too."

He just can't make up his mind. "This is so tough," he says.

Rarely have presidential candidates worked so hard to attract votes, and rarely have voters worked so hard to try to decide how to cast their ballots. It all comes together here in Wisconsin, where elections are almost always close and where this one is turning out to be no exception.

Wisconsin has never seen so many visits by presidential candidates. It sometimes seems Mr. Bush, trying to thread the needle to come up with the 270 votes he needs to hang on to the White House, has spent more time here than the Green Bay Packers. But he needs this state's 11 electoral votes — he needs electoral votes any place he can find them — and that is why he spent 40 of the last 80 hours of the campaign poking around rural Wisconsin.

Mr. Bush's problem is that his electoral base is so small he can hardly afford to lose a state where he still has even a hint of a chance.

States he can count on and states

he ought to win reasonably handily, along with a handful of scattered, small states that might be in his grasp, give him a little over 100 electoral votes. Then, he needs both Florida and Texas — but only Florida seems safe. He clearly needs to do well in the key industrial states of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan. But Pennsylvania seems almost surely out of reach, and he trails by two or three points in the others. Democrats insist they have a comfortable lead in Michigan.

Even if he prevails in all those states, Mr. Bush still comes up short. And so smaller states, such as Wisconsin and Georgia, come into play. But he trails in most of those states, too.

One of Mr. Bush's key problems is there may be a "glass ceiling" to his support, an invisible barrier that he seems unable to pierce. A key indicator for an incumbent president seeking reelection is his job approval rating, which is 40% in the new nationwide Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll conducted yesterday.

Past experience suggests a correlation between that approval rating and what a president can expect to receive in his re-election race. And, with Mr. Perot not likely to get more than about 15% of the vote, 40% isn't likely to be enough to win this race. The job approval rating does represent a slight improvement over his 36% job approval rating of last week. But the poll also showed that only 36% of the sample thought Mr. Bush should be re-elected; 55% said he should not.

Late last week, Mr. Bush seemed to be gaining strength by scoring points against Mr. Clinton on the so-called "trust" issue. But the re-emergence of questions about his role in the Iran-Contra affair have blunted that movement at a critical juncture. Instead of attacking Mr. Clinton, he was forced to defend his contention that he wasn't a major participant in going ahead with the secret arms sale to Iran.

What Republican strategists cling to is the hope that there is so much turmoil out there among the electorate that major shifts could be under way that would affect voting everywhere.

There is turmoil here in southern Wisconsin, but it isn't necessarily benefiting Mr. Bush.

Harvey Jurgensen and his wife, Bonnie, should be solidly in Mr. Bush's camp. They voted for him four years ago, and they still like him as a "moral man." In anticipation of his visit to Burlington last Saturday, they decorated the front of their printing shop with red, white and blue bunting and a big sign saying "Welcome President Bush." John Roots, the advance man organizing Mr. Bush's visit here, was so impressed he dropped in and gave the Jurgensens VIP tickets to the rally down at the depot. They went to it; they liked it. But tomorrow, they are going to vote for Ross Perot.

How's He Doing?

In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

Approve

40%

Disapprove

52%

NOTE: Asked of all registered voters

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

"We just can't go on with business as usual," says Mr. Jurgensen. "We've talked about this election more than any we can remember, and we just have to stick with Perot," says Mrs. Jurgensen.

The Jurgensens, and people like them, spell serious trouble for Mr. Bush. This is solid Republican country and Mr. Perot remains formidable, pulling big chunks of the vote that should be Mr. Bush's. Wisconsin, in fact, is one of Mr. Perot's five or six best states. In Sunday's Milwaukee Journal poll, he still pulled 20% of the vote. Mr. Clinton led that poll, with 38%; Mr. Bush was at 35%.

That is only part of the Perot story. He continues to draw support from blue-collar Democrats in the old industrial cities along Lake Michigan — Kenosha, Racine, Milwaukee. That is taking big chunks away from Mr. Clinton.

There are imponderables here that polls are unable to measure. What happens to the Perot vote? When it crumbles, and there is some evidence that is beginning to happen, where does it go? No one is quite certain. And what about turnout? That is especially hard to pin down here, because Wisconsin has an on-site system. Anyone can walk into a polling place tomorrow and qualify to vote by showing proper identification. No one knows how many unregistered voters will make that walk.

Clearly, though, voters are taking this election seriously. Yards all over Burlington have sprouted campaign signs. An informal yard-sign survey of the heavily Republican Second Ward produced this result: Mr. Bush, 22; Mr. Perot, 21; Mr. Clinton, 4.

But what about Bob and Joan Yanny's front yard? As you walk up to the front porch, there is a Clinton sign to your left and a Perot sign to your right. This is a house divided, and it's not unusual in this tumultuous political year. "I'm for Perot," says Mr. Yanny, a retired carpenter. He says he planted the Perot sign in the middle of the night, and his wife has barely talked to him since.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Weird Year: An Unusual Guy, The 'Likely Voter'

By DOUG BAILEY

The president's right: It's weird out there. At least different. And the turnout tomorrow will show it.

After decades of bemoaning the decline in voter interest and participation, we may see the statistical tables turned on us.

A 55% turnout of Americans old enough to vote would be a 20-year record. I think it may happen; 60% wouldn't surprise me—even though the turnout percentage has been dropping pretty steadily since 1972 to a low of barely 50% last time.

The straws of high voter interest this time are in the wind all around us:

- A.C. Nielsen says that, despite awkward West Coast timing (and competing baseball), the debates had bigger audiences than any in history. And the audiences may have gotten bigger each time.

- High-turnout states report record registrations, and even officials in low-turnout states are astonished by unexpected numbers of new registrants.

- The pollsters all report that voter interest seems much higher than in 1988. Bush-Quayle tracking for three late October days last time showed 43% of respondents saying they were "very interested" in the election, while this year the same number for the same three days was 66%. (Gallup finds voters admitting more interest than in any of the past seven presidential years.)

- The number of people who tell those same pollsters that they actually plan to vote this time is significantly higher than it was in 1988. While no individual answer guarantees a single vote, all those answers together surely mean more voting.

But what of these newcomers? As James Stockdale might ask: Who are they? And why are they there?

Unless you wrote off all the pollsters when the president called them "nutty" early last week (he probably felt kinder and gentler toward them a few days later), they deserve your pity. They are now expected to produce precise models of who this larger electorate will be. All of their models of, in their terminology, "the likely voters" must be based on some measures of experience but, if it truly is weird out there, of what sure value is past experience? All the models may be wrong.

Regular turnout requires habit only. New turnout requires motivation. Some groups with greater motivation can be identified:

- Voters mad about the economy have a reason to vote.

- Voters mad about politics, politicians, incumbents and Washington have a reason to vote.

- Voters worried about choice and still mad about the Thomas-Hill hearings have a reason to vote.

- Voters who feel that this election is about the future (and, dare I say, change) have a reason to vote.

- Voters who want "to take their country back" have a reason to vote.

- Voters who in the past have regretted the absence of a genuine choice have three reasons to vote.

- Democrats hungry for a win have a reason to vote.

- Republicans anxious to give the Bush comeback a historic ending have a reason to vote.

- In fact, because the race suddenly looks close, all voters who think their vote might make a difference have a reason to vote.

- And few of my generation's pollsters may have noticed, but even young voters are being given reasons to vote — by MTV, aggressively.

The guess of a big jump in turnout is easy. The guess of whom it helps is tougher. But if the motivation for more voting is anger or disappointment, or change, the higher turnout that means more small "d" democracy probably means more big "D" Democracy too.

One last wild card (as if we needed one): Close to half of all people the pollsters call decline to be interviewed, or hang up. Whether and how they exercise their cherished right of privacy again, tomorrow, may decide it all.

Mr. Bailey is the founder and executive publisher of *The Hotline*, a daily electronic political briefing service.

The Democrats' Time-Bomb Tax

Bill Clinton can't possibly raise \$150 billion in new revenue by simply taxing the "rich" and foreign corporations. So where's he going to get it? We'll put our money on a proposal, floated by the Democratic leadership in the recent Congress, to increase inheritance taxes. Specifically, a two-thirds reduction in the amount Americans can leave to their heirs tax-free.

Mr. Clinton has been saying that he can raise \$45 billion over four years by ending tax breaks for foreign corporations. Those breaks are largely mythical; there are very few ways a foreign entity can escape paying taxes that a U.S. company must pay. Treasury's Fred Goldberg says Mr. Clinton has overstated the revenue gains from closing such breaks by "orders of magnitude." The Joint Committee on Taxation estimates the payoff may be only \$1.5 billion, not \$45 billion. When that scheme evaporates, congressional Democrats will step forth with revenue proposals by other means.

Last April, the Democratic leadership, led by Richard Gephardt and George Mitchell, introduced two companion bills to provide long-term health and nursing home care for all Americans. Buried in the Senate bill was a section outlining the new taxes that would pay for it. No doubt it's a coincidence that the new taxes came to \$45 billion.

The most controversial item would reduce the current estate tax exemption from \$600,000 to \$200,000. That's the same level at which Governor Clinton's promised higher income tax rates would begin. Today, only about 3% of Americans pay any estate taxes. But lowering the threshold to \$200,000 would mean an estate consisting of little more than a house and a life insurance policy could be taxable. A \$400,000 middle-class estate would be hit with \$67,000 in new taxes. An estate

worth \$600,000 would pay \$138,000. A Democratic drafter of the bill told the San Diego Union that he put in higher estate taxes because "if we have helped people with their long-term care, it is only fair to tax them when they die."

Other health-care-driven taxes laid out in the Democratic wish list included an increase of 1% in the payroll tax on all wages over \$5,000 a year, a new 2.5% tax on IRA contributions and payouts and a 2.5% tax on unearned income that would even include interest from state and local municipal bonds.

The Democratic leadership soon blinked. Three weeks after introducing the bill they announced it was "an incorrect version." They substituted a new bill that dropped the 235 lines detailing the tax increases, and replaced them with 13 lines of boilerplate calling for "broad-based taxes." Everyone expects the bill to return next year.

A spokeswoman for Bill Clinton says "he doesn't support higher inheritance taxes or taxes on the middle class." But she declined to say he would veto a long-term-care bill that included such financing mechanisms. The issue here is whether a President Clinton would veto a bill pushed by the entire Democratic leadership and all of the party's interest groups. One out would be to pull a Clinton by claiming he opposed the taxes "in principle," but not enough to scrap the entire bill.

The Governor has been promising that only incomes "over \$200,000" would face higher taxes. But if that were suddenly redefined to mean aggregate *wealth* instead of income, many Americans who never thought of themselves as rich might find themselves sending much of their inheritance to Congress.

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As Campaigning Draws to Close, Bush And Clinton Play Loose With the Truth

By DAVID WESSEL
And LUCINDA HARPER

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — In the waning days of the 1992 presidential campaign, George Bush and Bill Clinton each bent the economic truth to bolster their attacks.

Gov. Clinton asserted in a televised conversation with New Jersey voters that 20% of the growth in economic activity in the third quarter came from government purchases of weapons for resale to Saudi Arabia and Taiwan.

Commerce Department economists disagree. Defense spending increased at a

In the Final Stretch

Weekend presidential campaigning in Georgia and Wisconsin illustrates the tough effort to sway undecided voters in the 11th hour. Articles on page A18.

\$4.4 billion annual rate in the third quarter after five quarters in a row of decline. But that represented only 14% of the \$32.1 billion change in gross domestic product—the value of all goods and services produced in the nation.

Karl Galbraith, who tracks defense for the Commerce Department, said the bottom-line impact of defense spending was less than that. Much of what the government purchased came out of existing corporate inventories. Before computing the overall GDP, the department deducts what comes out of inventories; Mr. Galbraith said he couldn't say precisely how much of the added defense spending was offset by inventory reduction. GDP rose at a 2.7% annual rate in the third quarter.

Clinton campaign officials said they used figures provided by Goldman, Sachs & Co. to figure out how big a role defense plays in overall growth in GDP. Those

calculations involved lots of rounding and didn't take into account the effect of inventories, they said.

Meanwhile, the Bush campaign circulated slide rules and leaflets asserting that a Clinton victory "could" mean huge tax increases for even low-income workers despite Mr. Clinton's vows to the contrary. The campaign said, for instance, that a two-income couple earning \$20,000 a year

Please Turn to Page A4, Column 3

Dracula Liberalism

The Clinton campaign, if you choose to believe, has driven a stake through the heart of American liberalism. Repudiated by America's voters in every presidential election since 1968, American liberalism has now been repudiated by the standard-bearer of its own party.

In a long editorial endorsement of the Clinton-Gore ticket, the New Republic ("this ideologically diverse magazine") rings down the curtain: "Their philosophy is not a reprise of entitlement liberalism. Clinton's economic program is remarkable for its eschewal of the easy palliatives of redistribution."

After 60 years of often vigorous activity, American liberalism, born in the desperation of the Depression, has no rhetorical presence in the current run for the presidency. In a word, it is unelectable. And in the bloodless calculus of this country's electoral politics, that means liberalism is dead. But wait, you say, the liberals still walk among us; one sees them everywhere. This is undeniably true. But they are now the Undead of American politics.

Unable to free themselves from an ancient creed that the public will not embrace at the polls, liberals now repose in the sanctuary of ornate American sepulchers: In the faculties of universities and law schools, the churches, public-school bureaucracies, the American Bar Association, old-money foundations, gerrymandered congressional districts, first-ladyships and among the windmills ("Annoy the Media, Elect Bush").

Like Bela Lugosi, the liberals possess great, destructive strength. They have the power of hypnosis. (Has anyone checked the necks recently of Justices Souter and Kennedy?) But expose them to the truth and light of a voting booth, and they flee toward the nameless darkness of a congressional aide's office.

The Nation magazine, a grand vault of wandering left-wing souls for so long that it likely appears in registries of historical landmarks, puts their predicament well: "Clinton's election on November 3 will be seen as a mandate not only for his program but for the politics he has contrived to win an election."

... to win an election.

How blasphemous of the Governor. He has chosen to run for the presidency in the only way that a Democrat can hope to be competitive with the general electorate — by moving right, endorsing the primacy of market-led growth and preaching bourgeois

values of personal responsibility. The Nation's editors understand the Clinton exorcism of liberalism (which re-incarnated awhile back as "progressivism"): "There is a giddy enthusiasm among those who formulated or endorsed the neoliberal strategy as they watch the white, so-called middle class, culturally conservative and suburban voters previously enamored of Reagan and Bush flock to the Democratic fold."

Perhaps the most subtle liberal exegesis of the spell Clinton has cast over their movement comes from the Village Voice's Richard Goldstein, in a piece titled, "Clinton & the Love Thang: Why a Draft-Dodging, Dope-Toking Don Juan is the People's Choice."

Joining the Clinton campaign in the Midwest, Mr. Goldstein writes: "If this fallen man, accused of adultery at every checkout counter in America, played in Peoria, he could go all the way." He acknowledges that "the very lack of definition that earned him the name Slick Willie has also made it possible for him to achieve a broader consensus than any more reliable progressive." Still: "Watching Clinton get hyper-real, slaving over 'the pain of my childhood' and his 'passion' to be President, I can hear the Checkers speech of the future, scored to Fleetwood Mac."

The corner of the Clinton candidacy that liberals claim as the product of their special efforts is cultural transition: the rise to prominence of women in politics, the Baby Boomers' instinct to tolerate diverse life styles, support for artistic experiment. But when the Nation's editors summarize this shift as support for "personal autonomy," they sound more sympathetic to the Libertarians than to intrusive state bureaucracies.

We're not suggesting that people should turn their backs on liberalism. When they come forth, liberals today generally practice a form of antipolitics: the personal destruction of appointed officials and judicial nominees, judge-made laws, the courting of insiders who will leave the windows unlocked at night.

We do not know whether tomorrow's voters will in fact judge that the exorcism has been accomplished. But if the "new Democratic Party" should succeed, we suspect that the liberal undead would produce a great many fitful pre-dawn hours for a young President Clinton. In fact, if Bill Clinton wins, don't bother to fax your congratulations to the White House. Send cloves of garlic.

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With Election Near, Bush, Clinton Play Loose With the Truth

Continued From Page A2

could face a \$1,700 "Clinton tax hike" and a couple earning \$50,000 could face a \$4,838 increase. The Clinton campaign says the numbers are false.

James Cicconi, a spokesman for the Bush campaign, said the figures assume that Mr. Clinton will impose a 7% payroll tax to pay for his health-care plan and a 1.5% payroll tax to pay for worker training. Although Mr. Clinton has at times said he would impose a payroll tax on employers that don't provide health insurance, he now says flatly that he won't; instead, he will require employers to provide insurance. His training proposal requires companies to spend at least 1.5% of payroll on training.

The Bush figures also assume that Mr. Clinton, despite his vows to the contrary, will increase income taxes on middle-class families to pay for his spending programs. Mr. Clinton has said that if his proposals to squeeze more tax revenue from the rich and from foreign companies don't raise as much as he projects, he'll scale back his spending plans.

Separately, Mr. Bush stumbled over the details of his own health insurance plan Friday, insisting in an interview with Sam Donaldson of ABC News that it would give families \$3,750 to buy their own insurance. Although it would give tax credits in that amount to poor people, it would give better-off families only a tax deduction of that amount. That would mean \$562.50 in actual after-tax income, as Mr. Donaldson correctly asserted, to Mr. Bush's denials.

Mr. Clinton, meanwhile, continues to change his position on a proposal to require auto makers to raise the average fuel efficiency of the cars they make to 40 miles a gallon. President Bush says Mr. Clinton has supported the idea and charges that it would cost thousands of auto workers' jobs. In response, Mr. Clinton now asserts, as he did in Michigan last week, "I have never said, not a single time, that I would write into the law a standard that we could not meet." In fact, "Putting People First," Mr. Clinton's economic manifesto, declares that a Clinton administration would "raise the Corporate Average Fuel Efficiency (CAFE) standards for auto makers to 40 miles per gallon by the year 2000, and 45 miles per gallon by 2015."

—Gerald F. Seib contributed to this article.

Crisis Brewing in Russia May Confront U.S. President Soon After the Election

WASHINGTON INSIGHT

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The next American president, whoever he is, will take office having promised voters to dive headfirst into domestic problems. But an unhealthy cauldron brewing right now in Russia might change those plans.

Though few Americans have been paying much attention, foreign-policy advisers to both President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton have grown acutely aware in recent days that Russia could be in turmoil just about the time the next president is inaugurated in January. "The Russians have a crisis," says one top Clinton adviser bluntly.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin is under attack on two fronts. A self-styled "National Salvation Front," which groups Communist die-hards and Russian ultranationalists, has been clamoring for his resignation. The front is such a threat that Mr. Yeltsin last week issued a decree disbanding it.

Meanwhile, the Russian Congress of People's Deputies is scheduled to meet Dec. 1 under the leadership of Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov, one of Mr. Yeltsin's main political foes. The Congress could be the setting for an attempt by anti-reform forces to dump Mr. Yeltsin's prime minister, Yegor Gaidar, and with him Russia's experiment in market economics.

Amid all this, Mr. Yeltsin has suspended the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states, a move that may be designed to assuage Russian nationalists but that also will anger the U.S. And on top of that, Bush administration analysts are deeply worried that Russia could face severe fuel shortages this winter.

None of this has been discussed in the stretch run of the U.S. presidential campaign, focused as it is on the U.S. economy and backward-looking debates on the Clinton draft record and the Bush record on Iraq. Yet the rapid accumulation of threats to Mr. Yeltsin raises at least the possibility that the U.S. could face a foreign crisis, not a domestic one, after the election.

"Within six weeks, the last vestiges of true democratic and free-market reform may be shunted aside by a rising phoenix of hard-line communist and nationalist forces," warned the Center for Security Policy, a conservative Washington think tank, in a briefing paper a few days ago.

For both Clinton and Bush advisers, the most frightening aspect of the troubling Russian picture is how little they will be able to do after the election to change it. For the Bush administration, the overriding objective at times of trouble for Mr. Yeltsin — and before him Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev — has been to find ways to show that the U.S. stands with reform-minded leaders in Moscow.

Toward that end, President Bush took time out from campaigning a few days ago to hold a 25-minute phone conversation with Mr. Yeltsin, the first time they had spoken since summer.

Bush advisers think that, win or lose, there are two other levers the president can pull to try to show support for Mr. Yeltsin as he stares down his foes in coming weeks. The first is foreign aid. An international conference on help for the former Soviet Union, held in Tokyo just a few days ago, led to pledges for at least a modest increase in international aid. The U.S. still has some aid in the pipeline, the delivery of which could be timed for greatest political effect.

The second lever is refinancing old Soviet debt. In discussions among industrialized nations, the Bush administration has been pushing Germany and other European nations to take more aggressive steps to ease Russia's debt-payment burdens, and more action there could be used by Mr. Yeltsin as a sign of international support.

If Gov. Clinton wins the election, he likely would issue periodic public statements showing support for whatever steps a lame-duck Bush administration would take to bolster Russia's democrats.

The best hope all around, of course, is that the politically adept Mr. Yeltsin figures out a way of his own to outfox the anti-reform nationalists and communists nipping at his heels. One possible bold move would be to confront the conservatives in Russia's Congress by calling a national referendum on a new constitution that would cement reform policies. "I think the stage is set for some dramatic initiatives on Yeltsin's part," says Allen Weinstein, president of the Center for Democracy, who has consulted closely with the Russian government. "Whether he takes them or not remains to be seen."

Samsung Aerospace Hopes To Hire Russian Engineers

Special to THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
SEOUL, South Korea — Samsung Aerospace Industries, part of the Samsung group, plans to employ Russian aircraft designers to produce turbine engines for industrial and other uses, company officials said.

"Negotiations on technical cooperation with Russians are under way," said a spokesman at Samsung Aerospace, a leading maker of aircraft parts in South Korea. The spokesman said the company hopes to hire Russian engineers as part of its multimillion-dollar project to produce aircraft engines.

He declined to elaborate, but the Korea Economic Daily newspaper said Samsung wants to employ 25 Russian engineers who have developed MiG-29 engines.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Annoy the Media, Elect Bush

By L. BRENT BOZELL III

Nineteen ninety-two will be remembered as the Year of the Media. Never before have the media played such an intricate role in the political process. Never before have candidates relied so heavily on the press for exposure. And never have the media inserted themselves so tendentiously into the political conversation.

The liberal bias of the mainstream press almost goes without saying. Despite some early hammering at Bill Clinton's character flaws, the press grew increasingly warm and forgiving toward him as the campaign rolled along. At the same time, it grew nasty toward George Bush, regularly repeating as truth the Democrats' wild exaggerations about the economy, and adding a few of their own.

But the real eye-opener of the 1992 campaign was the television coverage, which was every bit as slanted. At the beginning of the campaign, television's "objective" news teams were momentarily eclipsed when the talk show became a required pit stop for the candidates.

In this arena, too, Mr. Clinton enjoyed an advantage over his opponents. Most television talk shows are inherently friendly to liberals, with liberal hosts and generally moderate-liberal audiences. While many in the political world smirked in condescending disapproval, Mr. Clinton pounced at the opportunity. On June 3 he was playing the saxophone on the "Arsenio Hall Show"; 43 days later he was wowing an MTV audience of millions with his folksy town-hall-meeting style.

His running mate followed suit and enjoyed similar results. Appearing on Whoopi Goldberg's syndicated show on Sept. 23, Al Gore was introduced as the candidate "who I hope will be our next vice president." Not every appearance was smooth sailing (Phil Donahue, of all people, unexpectedly brutalized Mr. Clinton over the draft issue on Oct. 6), but the cumulative effect of this strategy was unquestionable: The Democrats reaped a bonanza of positive media exposure through the talk-show format.

Rose Garden Strategy

The Bush forces, slow on so many fronts, failed to foresee the influence of the talk-show phenomenon, limiting their participation to the surrogates put forward to attack Pat Buchanan in the primaries. Indeed, in the first six months of 1992 Mr. Bush made one appearance on one morning talk show; no appearances on the nightly programs; no appearances on the entertainment shows. The Rose Garden strategy allowed Mr. Clinton to seize the momentum and by summer the Democrats were in control of the political agenda.

Also by summer, the media were no longer making any pretense toward objectivity. When the Democrats gathered at their convention in New York, their goal was to project their party and ticket as moderate and unified, and the national media could not have been more helpful. In four nights of coverage by ABC, CBS, CNN, NBC and NBC-PBS, not once did a single reporter ever use the term "liberal" to describe the Democratic Party platform. More amazingly, not once did a single reporter ever use the term "liberal" to describe either Mr. Clinton or Mr. Gore. Most applied the labels of preference to the Democrats—moderate, centrist—while some positively fell off the edge with their fawning remarks. Said CBS's Richard Threlkeld, "Both Gore and Clinton are

centrist, some would say conservative Democrats."

The speeches and pronouncements at the Democratic National Convention were filled with poison arrows aimed at the Republicans. Jesse Jackson compared Dan Quayle to King Herod of baby-killing fame, California Rep. Maxine Waters called Mr. Bush a racist and then refused to apologize for it; Ronald Reagan was blamed for everything under the sun, including the AIDS-related death of convention speaker Elizabeth Glaser's child. No one in the networks found this offensive. Not once did a single reporter ever use the terms "negative," "sleazy" or "mean" to describe the Democrats.

One month later, those same reporters arrived in Houston and unequivocally turned on the GOP. Republicans were not just conservative but, as usual, "far right," "religious right," "hard right." Suddenly, the reporters who had found

Reporters who had found nothing offensive in the Democrats' speeches felt they had to warn America about the Republicans' "sleazy," "negative" and "mean" behavior.

nothing offensive in the Democrats' speeches felt it imperative to warn America about the Republicans' "sleazy," "negative" and "mean" behavior — 70 times.

No journalist epitomized this double standard more than Charles Kuralt of CBS. After Mario Cuomo's vitriolic speech before the Democrats, Mr. Kuralt offered a glowing assessment: "I'm still in the glow of that Cuomo speech. Mario Cuomo is like one of those three-way lightbulbs. . . . He stepped up here tonight and delivered a genuine 250-watter. A speech bright enough and hot enough to light up this dark room."

But after Mr. Buchanan's convention speech one month later, the lights went out. "I thought that the Buchanan speech had ugly elements in it. Especially there at the end, 'Take back our culture, take back our country.' . . . I think here was an appeal to racism," proclaimed this pillar of objectivity.

The worst was yet to come for Mr. Bush. On Sept. 9, ABC's Peter Jennings made a shocking statement. In order to prevent another dreaded Willie Horton campaign, he announced, "for the next couple of months we're going to . . . keep a campaign watch every day. . . . There will be less attention to staged appearances and soundbites designed exclusively for television. We will focus our coverage more on how the battle for your vote is being fought. . . . And we will examine very closely how the candidates respond to your concerns and what you've told us are the most important issues."

The arrogant implications of this statement were obviously lost on the network executives: 1. The candidates are liars. 2. The public is incapable of analyzing the political process on its own. 3. Therefore, henceforth the candidates' statements would have to go through a media filter. 4. As a result, supposedly objective journalists would subjectively analyze them.

Mr. Jennings concluded, "So, let's get

on with it" and the very first "objective" report within the new format proceeded to detail how Republican voters are rejecting the party's position on family values.

Every network deployed a truth squad to guard Gullible America from the impending advertising onslaught. The Bush campaign ads were regularly assaulted as dishonest, distorted, inaccurate. The Clinton ads? Between Sept. 1 and Oct. 5, ABC and NBC analyzed — count 'em — one commercial. CBS ignored them altogether.

On the other hand, the networks were positively vicious with Mr. Bush. For example, on Oct. 5, CBS reporter Eric Engberg aired ads from both campaigns. The Clinton spot claimed that, among other things, "George Bush has had the worst economic record of any president in the past 50 years." Now, any fair referee would have ejected that piece of disinformation by citing the dismal economic performance of Jimmy Carter.

But Mr. Engberg said nothing. Instead, he aired a Bush commercial charging Mr. Clinton would raise taxes on the middle class, then charged: "The tax figures jump from the screens with fact-like exactness. They were provided not by Mr. Clinton, but by the Bush staff, which admits they are based on assumptions." After listing those assumptions, Mr. Engberg turned to an off-air CBS producer who said, "The stacking up of assumptions like this, there's a word we use for that." "Uh, I think it's 'lying,'" filled in Steven Colford of Advertising Age magazine.

Finally, there was an extraordinary double standard employed by journalists covering scandals. Real controversies harmful to Mr. Bush, like Iran-Contra, have been covered ad nauseam. Conflicts politically damaging to but not involving him (like the Silverado S&L mess) have been investigated relentlessly. Even charges that have been found baseless time and again, like the so-called 1980 October Surprise, continue to be raised by the press.

Righteous Indignation

But when Mr. Bush suggested Oct. 7 on CNN's "Larry King Live" that Mr. Clinton explain his activities in Moscow during his college years, the media exploded in righteous indignation. Newsweek's Eleanor Clift charged: "This is in the finest McCarthy tradition. . . . I don't know how George Bush sleeps at night after stooping this low." Harry Smith of CBS declared, "Clearly, that red-baiting junk didn't work." Time headlined its story "Anatomy of a Smear," while Newsweek's Jonathan Alter titled his report "The Smear Heard 'Round the World." In the second debate, Mr. Clinton publicly thanked the media for defending him — and with good reason.

When the Jennifer Flowers tapes were released in late January, it was revealed that Mr. Clinton had nixed a job promotion for a state employee, Charlotte Perry, in favor of Ms. Flowers. Further, the tape featured Mr. Clinton instructing Ms. Flowers to deny his efforts on her behalf. Every network ignored this scandal throughout the campaign.

Appearing on "Inside Washington" on Aug. 15, Newsweek's Washington bureau chief, Evan Thomas, was asked to comment on press bias in the campaign. "The Republicans are going to whack away at the press for the next couple of months as being pro-Clinton," he predicted. "And you know what? They're right."

Mr. Bozell is chairman of the Media Research Center in Alexandria, Va.

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

Talk Show McCampaign Comes to End

By DOROTHY RABINOWITZ

The final (one can only hope) all-star talk fest of this remarkable election season took place Friday night when David Frost interviewed the three candidates. The show also produced the best opening line of the season. As George Bush settled into his chair, Mr. Frost asked, "Well Mr. President — had a busy day disrupting weddings?" A small thing perhaps, but that small ripple of tart abandon had a decidedly tonic effect on ears exposed to long weeks—months—of reverent formalities from television interviewers talking to presidential aspirants. The morning and evening show hosts have much of the time pursued their inquiries with the delicacy of combatants making their way through a minefield — the reason being, needless to say, their unwillingness to pursue questions in a way that would encourage candidates to go off and make news on somebody else's show.

Who can forget Larry King last week, ("No no, Ross, I just meant," etc.) placating an increasingly hostile Ross Perot who



Television

Election Coverage

looked as though he might just get up and leave if Larry didn't stop trying to get him to say a little something about the famous wedding plot. Two weeks earlier, the "Today" show's perky and sparkly Katie Couric not only got a White House tour with Barbara Bush, but also the gift of an impromptu on-camera visit with the president himself. It was, by current standards, a journalistic coup of sorts if not very newsworthy — not the sort of opportunity that would be extended say, to Dan Rather, who has been excluded from all interviews with Mr. Bush as payment for their on-air tangle in the last election.

That said, it remains true that one of the chief fascinations of this election is that so much of the campaign is taking place on TV talk shows in soft interviews. Despite much solemn brooding over this issue, and concerns that the candidates are escaping hard scrutiny and turning the campaign into TV entertainment, it's clear that the voters have — as a result of this exposure — a tremendously keen sense of the campaign, and the campaigners. That

is of course precisely what is upsetting them. Americans tuned in to the debates in such astounding numbers because they were searching for some reason to justify a vote for any one of the three candidates. Not for nothing did Americans become presidential debate junkies overnight. They were on a hunt — one that became a fascination. That fascination is now turning desolate for the large numbers of voters, and they are large — who still can discover no reason to vote for any of the candidates, and for whom the prospect of a Bill Clinton as president and four more years of George Bush are equally unimaginable.

For better and worse — and much of the latter — the public got a view of the candidates that only the relaxed flow of soft talk show exchange would allow. A candidate peppered by questions in a formal debate, or a hard ball interview of course reveals much about himself, including especially his capacity to absorb and regurgitate the research and position papers prepared by his staff. But the candidate basking in the bonhomie of prime time talk fests ends up revealing himself in more profound ways — as these candidates did. The conversations with David Frost showed the process at its clearest. Here was George Bush happy the poll gap was closing, happier still to be at the end of the trail, and talking in those slightly daffy circumlocutions that characterized the earlier days of the campaign. Asked by a gently probing interviewer whether America was, as he had promised to help make it, a kinder, gentler place than it was four years ago, the president said that it was kinder and gentler in some ways.

Now that will, of course come as no small surprise to citizens who have seen the growth of a criminal violence unthinkable even a few years back, and who have seen the brutal rampage of thugs in the Los Angeles riots. But as we soon saw, Mr. Bush was indeed able to discern a lack of kindness and gentleness in American society — though one having nothing to do with the abovementioned realities of life. What it had to do with — as he told Mr. Frost with deep and genuine passion, was the toughness of the election campaign: Never had he seen one so ugly and harsh. Such is the depth of the president's focus on the world outside his political campaign.

True, it has been a long campaign and the candidate is tired. It is also true that this campaign was notable for the extraordinary absence — both in the debates and journalistic inquiries — of the gut issue of

crime. The Clinton campaign's master strategists had their famous sign reminding themselves to stay with their chosen focus i.e. "It's the economy, Stupid." And everybody, including journalists, obeyed.

Next came Mr. Perot, a witty fellow but clearly in no mood for Mr. Frost's introductory joke. Mr. Perot gave a wintry little smile, upon hearing how William F. Buckley had said, when running for mayor in 1965, that, should he win, he'd call for a recount. Mr. Perot then proceeded to recite — yet again — that he was running at the behest of the people, for the children, for you name it and that he intended to win. Bill Clinton was on his best linguistic behavior this time, suppressing the Ozark reflex that had this Rhodes scholar telling Larry King last week, that the Republicans treat people "like it don't matter." Did he regret not serving in the war, Mr. Frost asked. He regretted the whole thing, the war, everything, came the politic and decidedly vague answer. He was, Mr. Clinton said, proud, very proud, he had done what he thought was right. Mr. Frost kindly neglected to point out that this is not a very compelling argument, considering the number of villains who could make the same claim. Finally, Mr. Clinton proved he was generously endowed with the '60s generation's extraordinary sense of its own historic importance. His election, he told David Frost, would serve to unite a nation still divided by the Vietnam War.

No, there is hardly any doubt: The television talk shows have done their job presenting the candidates these many months. The question is whether we can ever forgive them for doing so, and whether we can, knowing all we know, drag ourselves to the polls.

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 5, 1986

Bush Confronts Fresh Evidence On Iran-Contra

Despite Weinberger Notes, President Says Strategy Wasn't Viewed as Swap

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—President Bush struggled anew with the Iran-Contra affair as prosecutors released evidence linking him to the arms-for-hostages strategy pursued by the Reagan administration in the mid-1980s.

"The headlines don't help, but I don't think people believe this," Mr. Bush said yesterday on CNN's "Newsmaker Sunday." He denied having known "how strongly" the arms sales were opposed within the Reagan cabinet, and he argued that the Iran initiative wasn't seen as a swap of weapons for hostages when it began in early 1986.

"In retrospect, I would have to say it probably was," Mr. Bush said. "But not at this juncture."

He was referring to a Jan. 7, 1986, White House meeting that is the subject of handwritten notes kept by former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger but only made public last Friday. Mr. Bush attended the same Oval Office session, and Mr. Weinberger's notes list him as among those supporting a plan to sell anti-tank TOW missiles to Iran through Israel to win the release of five hostages.

"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," Mr. Weinberger wrote. "[Secretary of State] George Shultz + I opposed—[Central Intelligence Agency Director] Bill Casey, [Attorney General] Ed Meese + VP [Bush] favored."

Mr. Weinberger's note is among several made public in court papers filed by Iran-Contra prosecutors who have charged the former secretary with concealing hundreds of pages of his personal records from congressional and criminal investigators.

The significance of the documents is they provide a concurrent record of deliberations within the Reagan administration, and Mr. Weinberger's notes on the 1986 White House meeting bear directly on Mr. Bush's support of the initiative and how the arms sales were viewed by the participants.

As Mr. Weinberger's notes reflect, he and Mr. Shultz had been outspoken in opposing the strategy. And according to later testimony by Mr. Reagan's National Security Adviser John Poindexter, a major reason for the Jan. 7 meeting was to give the president's top advisers a chance to be heard again. A central part of their opposition was the issue of swapping arms-for-hostages. Only the day before, Jan. 6, the president had signed a draft finding, or authorization, that discussed the plan in the context of "furthering the release of the American hostages in Beirut."

Former White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan has said that Mr. Bush was present at a Jan. 6 briefing when this authorization was discussed by Adm. Poindexter. And National Security Council staff were clearly aware of how sensitive the hostage question was, at least, to Mr. Shultz. A few days before, for example, NSC aide Marine Lt. Col. Oliver North had prepared an earlier draft of the finding that didn't mention the hostages. But this was revised after the CIA's chief counsel, with the backing of Mr. Casey, argued that the hostage goal must be included if the authorization was to be factually accurate.

In discussing the reasoning for the Jan. 7 meeting, Adm. Poindexter told congressional investigators that Mr. Bush "had not had a chance to make his views known" until then. Regardless of what the vice president actually said during the meeting, Mr. Weinberger's note indicates that Mr. Bush was supportive. This backs later testimony of other participants, including Mr. Casey, Secretary Shultz and Adm. Poindexter, all of whom saw Mr. Bush as on board the venture.

Personal Saving Rate May Finally Recover

NEW YORK

On the campaign trail, many Democrats have capitalized on the failure of federal-tax revenues to meet the Reagan-Bush forecasts. Revenues haven't grown nearly enough to get the budget deficits under control. Understandably getting less attention, but also significant, is the failure of another prediction by many economists in and out of government: Personal saving hasn't surged despite the 1980s tax cuts.

For eight years, in fact, it has been stuck around a measly 4% to 5% of after-tax personal income. After bouncing up to 5.5% in April, it was at 4.6% in September.

And all through those years, that low saving rate—a rate far below the double-digit levels in Germany and Japan—has threatened the U.S. economy with the specter of capital shortages. Now, with the Japanese no longer investing heavily in U.S. Treasury securities and the Europeans struggling with their own problems, that threat is becoming more serious. Americans are literally being left to their own resources in financing both the enormous government deficits and plant and equipment spending.

What went wrong? Why didn't Americans increase their saving rate?

The glib answer is that in the glibby Reagan years, many people were too inebriated with ostentatious living to save a dime. But that isn't quite right.

Some people did spend recklessly, but economists at International Strategy & Investment Group note that overall consumer spending, adjusted for inflation, grew at the lowest average annual rate since the 1930s. In the 1980-89 decade, it was only 2.8%, down from 3.3% in 1970-79 and 4.2% in 1960-69.

Consumers cut back their saving from the 6% to 10% range prevailing in the 1960s and 1970s mostly because their incomes were growing slowly, if at all. Many plunged into debt, not trying to live like a rock star but to maintain a life style they could no longer afford. For a lot of people, the effort to save was laid low by soaring health-care costs. Edward Yardeni, chief economist at C.J. Lawrence Inc., notes that now consumers are spending 14.6% of their after-tax income on medical care, up from only 9% at the start of 1980.

But if Americans do step up their saving significantly now, they may aggravate another problem: By spending less, they may again stall the already laggard economic recovery.

Despite that short-term risk, most economists believe that eventually Americans simply have to raise their saving rate. If they don't, they contend, the economic recovery will be stymied a bit further down the road. They note that in recent years, the U.S. has been able to finance its modest rebound because the surge in government borrowing has been more than offset by a slide in private borrowing. But if the economy keeps strengthening and companies and consumers try to borrow a lot more money while government credit demand remains high, the growth in total debt would accelerate. And that might cause a debilitating climb in interest rates.

Such a credit squeeze doesn't appear imminent. Although the government shows few signs of reducing its deficits and its borrowing anytime soon, the private sector doesn't seem in any hurry to go on another borrowing binge.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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MONDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1992

At considerable pain, companies have whittled down their indebtedness and now want to avoid more trouble. They have little incentive to increase plant and equipment spending rapidly; manufacturers' utilization of capacity stands at only 77.5%, and their unfilled orders have dropped for 13 months in a row. And companies are leery of rebuilding inventories quickly.

Moreover, when companies eventually do spend more, the banks will be quite able, initially at least, to grant loans. Mr. Yardeni notes that they now hold easily salable government and government-backed fixed-income securities equal to 21.8% of their assets, up from only 14.9% in August 1989.

Unlike companies, consumers have cut back only slightly the debts they piled up in the past decade. In the second quarter, their debts still stood at 16.2% of their total assets. Consumers are hobbled by the problems—apparently permanent job losses, weak income and ever-rising prices—that induced them to borrow so much in the first place.

Now, however, predictions of a rise in personal saving just might finally be borne out. As the baby boomers raise their incomes, however haltingly, they will tend to save more. In addition, the boomers and other age groups are beginning to realize that they no longer can save by watching home values increase; that they must consciously put aside money for such future needs as their children's education and their own retirement. Moreover, the rising surge in health-care costs just might be brought under control, facilitating saving.

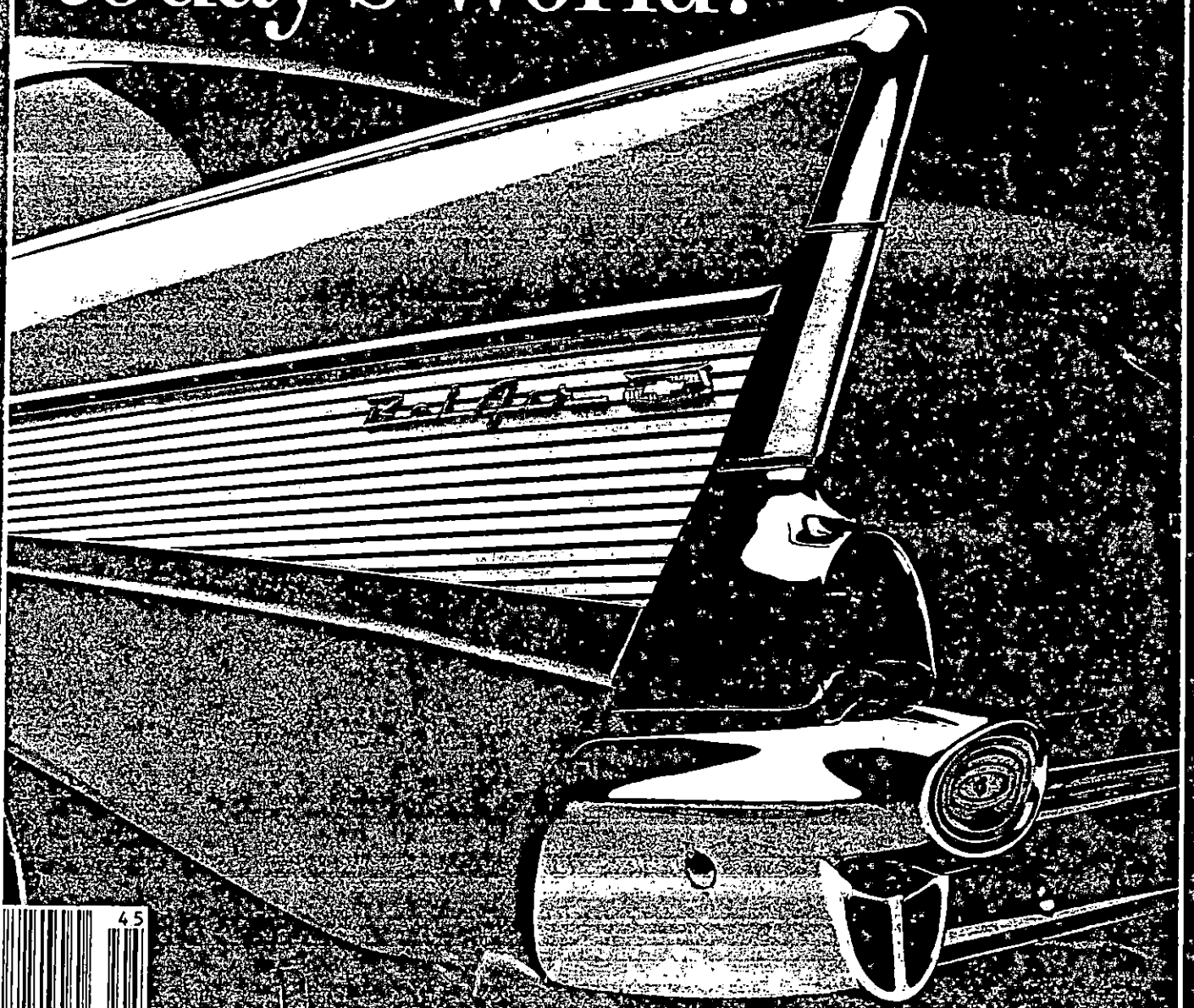
And in a sort of cyclical swing of mood, financial prudence is back in vogue. Consumers have every reason to be cautious. One study finds some 25% of the companies surveyed still planning layoffs. Consumer confidence is down near its recession low.

Saving won't be easy, partly because neither President Bush nor Bill Clinton propose to offer much help. As Mickey D. Levy, the chief economist at CRT Government Securities Ltd., notes: "The individual and corporate tax system would remain biased against saving and investment, even with enactment of either candidate's proposals." Despite campaign talk about tax incentives, President Bush never really addressed the problem, and Gov. Clinton wants to raise taxes on the very people most able to save.

Nevertheless, many people may just be resigned to saving more anyway.

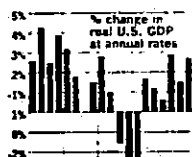
—HENRY F. MYERS

Can GM survive in today's world?



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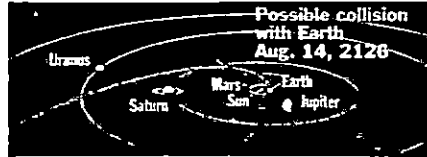
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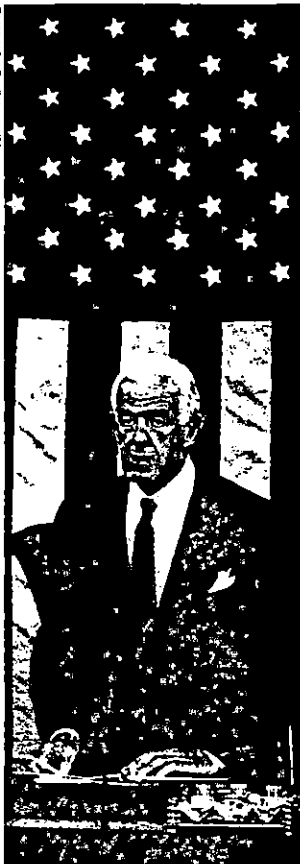
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I'M IN CHARGE HERE: Speaker Foley does not appreciate arriviste plans

VOX POP

Will you be glad when the presidential campaign is over?

YES 64% **NO 33%**

From a telephone poll of 597 American adults taken for TIME/CHN on Oct. 13-15 by Yankelevich Inc. Sampling error is ± 4%.



EVERYONE PAID: An Army private forded a stream with a rocket launcher in 1966

GRAPEVINE

By JANICE CASTRO

Not So Fast, Rookies!

SO FAR, 170 CONGRESSIONAL CANDIDATES HAVE ACCEPTED California Republican hopeful **TOM HUENING's** invitation for new members of Congress to meet in Omaha on Nov. 23 to fashion a House reform agenda. Even though Huening may not win, both parties are rattled by the notion. House aides deny any connection with the Huening summit, but Speaker Tom Foley will effectively pre-empt the powwow by traveling next weekend to Los Angeles, Atlanta and Chicago to meet with all Democratic winners. His agenda: new committee assignments and (coincidentally?) reforms.

Hanging On for Dear Life

CIA DIRECTOR **ROBERT GATES** IS DETERMINED TO HOLD ON TO his job, even if Bill Clinton prevails. Gates has told friends that he's been staying out of town—on trips to Eastern Europe and Russia—to avoid the Iraqgate controversy. He also reminded them that, after all, predecessor Richard Helms served both Presidents Johnson and Nixon. Forget it, Bob. Clinton insiders say Gates will not be forgiven his agency's role in withholding from Congress and the Department of Justice information that showed the scope of the scandal.

Some of His Best Friends

IF BILL CLINTON MOVES TO THE WHITE HOUSE NEXT JANUARY, some established black leaders will lose influence. Clinton's strongest ties in the black community are with younger elected officials from the South, like Congressmen **JOHN LEWIS** of Georgia and **MIKE ESPY** of Mississippi, with whom he shares the experience of building black-white coalitions. Many Northern black leaders represent urban districts with far fewer whites. Observes a black friend of Clinton: "They don't have to win white votes, so they're more suspicious of Bill, particularly when he courts white Southerners."

Take Your Mitts Off My Carrier

DURING A VISIT LAST WEEK TO BEIJING, UKRAINIAN PRESIDENT **LEONID KRAVCHUK** was trying to peddle the 67,000-ton aircraft carrier *Varyag*, nearing completion in the Ukrainian port of Nikolayev. Selling the carrier may be difficult, though. The Russians, not the Ukrainians, paid for construction of the 922-ft.-long vessel, and can be expected to assert ownership.

Equal Opportunity War

EVERYBODY KNOWS THAT VIETNAM WAS A CLASS WAR, WHOSE burden was borne disproportionately by the inner-city and rural poor and minorities. Well, it seems that everybody is wrong. A new study from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, cofunded by the U.S. Army, shows that the 58,000 Americans who died in the war represented a good cross section of the nation. By analyzing the family income of those servicemen, the M.I.T. team found that 26% of the casualties were from families earning in the highest third of the income range, vs. 30% of casualties from the lowest third. The most prosperous servicemen, in fact, died at a slightly higher rate, mostly because they were more likely to be pilots or infantry captains and lieutenants.



GOTTA BE A WAY: CIA Director Gates wants to keep his job, no matter what



MANY ROOMS, RIV VU: For sale—one Ukrainian aircraft carrier

CAMPAIGN QUIZ

Q Two of the three major presidential candidates (Bill Clinton and Ross Perot) changed their names early in life. Which of the following U.S. Presidents changed their names?

- A** Ulysses S. Grant
- B** Grover Cleveland
- C** Woodrow Wilson
- D** Calvin Coolidge
- E** Dwight Eisenhower
- F** Gerald Ford

A All of them. Previous names:
F Leslie Lynch King
E David Dwight Eisenhower
D John Calvin Coolidge
C Thomas Woodrow Wilson
B Stephen Grover Cleveland
A Hiram Ulysses Grant

SHORT TAKES

TELEVISION

Orwell Meets the Marx Brothers

WHEN LARRY GELBART'S BROADWAY comedy **MASTERGATE** opened three years ago, it was deemed a parody of the Iran-contra hearings. With the passage of time—and a sharp TV adaptation for Showtime—it seems bigger than that: a definitive satire of the obfuscating language of government and the media. The setting is a congressional hearing investigating a CIA diversion of funds, but the details are drowned in dialogue that sounds like a cross between Orwell and the Marx Brothers. "My involvement was strictly limited to the extent of my participation," huffs one official. A TV anchorman anticipates a witness by "waiting for the arrival of his appearance." Richard Kiley, Ed Begley Jr. and Tim Reid are standouts in a superb cast.

MUSIC

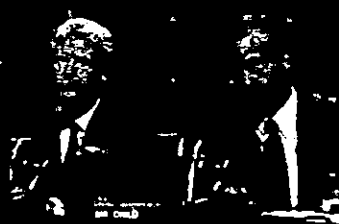
Kicking Back

KEITH RICHARDS, THAT OLD DEVIL Stone, has for so long been rock's paradigm of advanced dissipation that it comes as a surprise to hear him here, on his second solo album, in a mood that veers dangerously close to relaxed. Kind of a nice surprise at that. *Main Offender* (Virgin) offers 10 jaunty cuts. Richards does a pretty good job on a ballad—yes, a ballad—called *Eileen*. There is also a spiffy, slow-tempo reggae number, *Words of Wonder*, and a neat one-two punch of reflections on compromised love, *Hate It When You Leave* and *Runnin' Too Deep*. Some folks, as they say, go to hell in a hand basket. If Richards is there already, then, to judge by this album, he's swinging in a hammock.

MUSIC

Voice Out of Russia

OF ALL THE COMPOSERS TO EMERGE FROM the collapse of the Soviet Union, the most significant is **ALFRED SCHNITTKE**. Long a word-of-mouth favorite of émigré artists like violinist Gidon Kremer, Schnittke, 58, has a firm grasp of structure, a masterly hand with orchestration and, most important, a distinctive, expressive voice. A new London/Decca recording of



TELEVISION: Begley and Mark Taylor help obfuscate a scandal



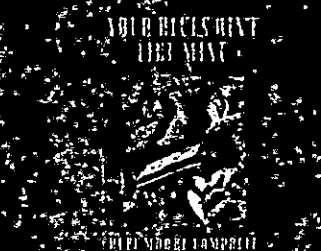
MUSIC: On his second solo album, Richards is downright jaunty



MUSIC: Schnittke goes back to Bach and takes off from Mahler



CINEMA: Madsen in the clutches of Tony Todd, the malefic *Candyman*



BOOKS: A compelling novel about the corrosive power of racism

Schnittke's *Concerti Grossi Nos. 3 and 4* displays his gifts in full flower. The *Third* (1985) harks back to Bach in a tour de force of stylistic synthesis, while the 1988 *Fourth* (which, confusingly, the composer also calls his *Symphony No. 5*) takes an unfinished work by Mahler as its launching pad. Riccardo Chailly and the Amsterdam Concertgebouw achieve lift-off and soar in both.

CINEMA

A Beastie Brings Fear Times Five

*Who can make your heart stop?
Pull it from your chest?
Scarify your best friend
And scare off all the rest?
The CANDYMAN can.*

SAMMY DAVIS JR.'S SINGSONG CANDY MAN was a genial guy. The '90s version, from the fetid, fertile brain of horror bard Clive Barker, is a malefic beastie who preys on those foolhardy enough to say his name five times. Now he's lusting to make a curious grad student (Virginia Madsen) his charnel bride. Borrowing from Stephen King and Freddy Krueger (while paving the way for a batch of *Candyman* sequels), director Bernard Rose deftly juggles sense and slaughter. This is clever, spooky stuff, with a lingering autumn chill.

BOOKS

Bitter Harmonies

RACISM IN THIS COUNTRY IS TALKED about primarily as a problem for its victims. But Bebe Moore Campbell knows better. Her remarkable first novel, **YOUR BLUES AIN'T LIKE MINE** (Putnam; \$22.95), begins with a fictionalized account of the murder of Emmett Till, the 14-year-old black boy who was lynched in 1955 for speaking to a white woman in a rural Mississippi town. As in real life, the murderer is acquitted by an all-white jury, but over the next 30 years the murderer's family, unable to adapt to the new ways brought on by the civil rights movement, falls into poverty. The victim's family seeks solace in the North but falls prey to the evils of the inner city. In clean, elegant prose, Campbell offers a powerful reminder that racism is a crime for which everyone pays.

PEOPLE

By GINIA BELLAFANTE



Love, No Mayo

HOLLYWOOD SEEMS TO BELIEVE diners have a lot more to offer than pot roast and bad coffee. Latest case in point: *Someone to Love*, an upcoming romance in which a sweet waitress, **MARISA TOMEI**, and a lonely busboy, **CHRISTIAN SLATER**, find real love against the backdrop of sizzling cheeseburgers. The plot premise begs the question: Were the producers trapped in a closet at Spago during the release of *Frankie & Johnny*? That film told the touching story of a lonely waitress and the sweet short-order cook who finally made her happy. There's nothing like good leftovers.

Tart Pop

IN THE ZANY UNIVERSE OF ALTERNATIVE rock, scrutable lyrics are as hard to come by as flattering tattoos. While **EVAN DANDO**, the sexy lead singer-songwriter of the Lemonheads, churns out his share of quirk, he also writes edgy, evocative songs that have helped his Boston-based band top the college radio charts. Now Dando's sound should reach the thirty-something crowd.

Just out: a Lemonheads version of *Mrs. Robinson*, featured on the 25th anniversary video edition of *The Graduate*, a film Dando deems "timeless." Here's to you, Mr. Lemonhead.



Image Problem

MAYBE HE WAS HOLDING OUT FOR A BUD LIGHT commercial. Or maybe he hoped to make his modeling debut in Armani. In any event, **SADDAM HUSSEIN** was apparently awfully unhappy about his recent portrayal in a print ad for GovPx, a financial-data-services firm. Created by the agency Slater Hanft Martin, the ad pictures a close-up of the pudgy dictator with copy that reads, "History has shown what happens when one source controls all the information." Displeased, the Iraqi embassy in Tokyo immediately issued a letter to the *Nikkei Weekly*, a Japanese paper that had run the ad, complaining that Hussein's depiction was "unfavorable." The embassy also asked whether or not Slater had received permission from Saddam to use the shot, assuming perhaps that when it comes to signing release forms, busy despots are as available as Brooke Shields. Confused, Slater creative director Adam Hanft commented, "If Saddam has a more flattering angle, we will be glad to use it."

What a New York Story

FOR STRUGGLING NEW YORK ACTORS, a "normal" job is spritzing cologne at Macy's or delivering Mylar birthday balloons to small children. But when **STEVE BUSCEMI** was creating a name for himself on the lower Manhattan theater scene of the '80s, he took an even more unconventional route to pay the rent: he became a fire fighter. "It was the only job I've ever had that compared with the real high I get when I'm acting," says Buscemi. With two critically praised films out simultaneously, the talented actor



must be soaring these days. Father of a two-year-old son, he has quietly become a prominent face in the independent-film world. In the new low-budget comedy *In the Soup*, Buscemi stars as an aspiring moviemaker who has lots of trouble interesting anyone in an esoteric 500-page script. And in the grittier flick *Reservoir Dogs*, Buscemi does quite a job portraying an oddly logical thief and killer who seems to have a deeply rooted problem with tipping. Moviegoers clearly owe a big thank-you to the Big Apple's fire department for never naming Buscemi its chief.

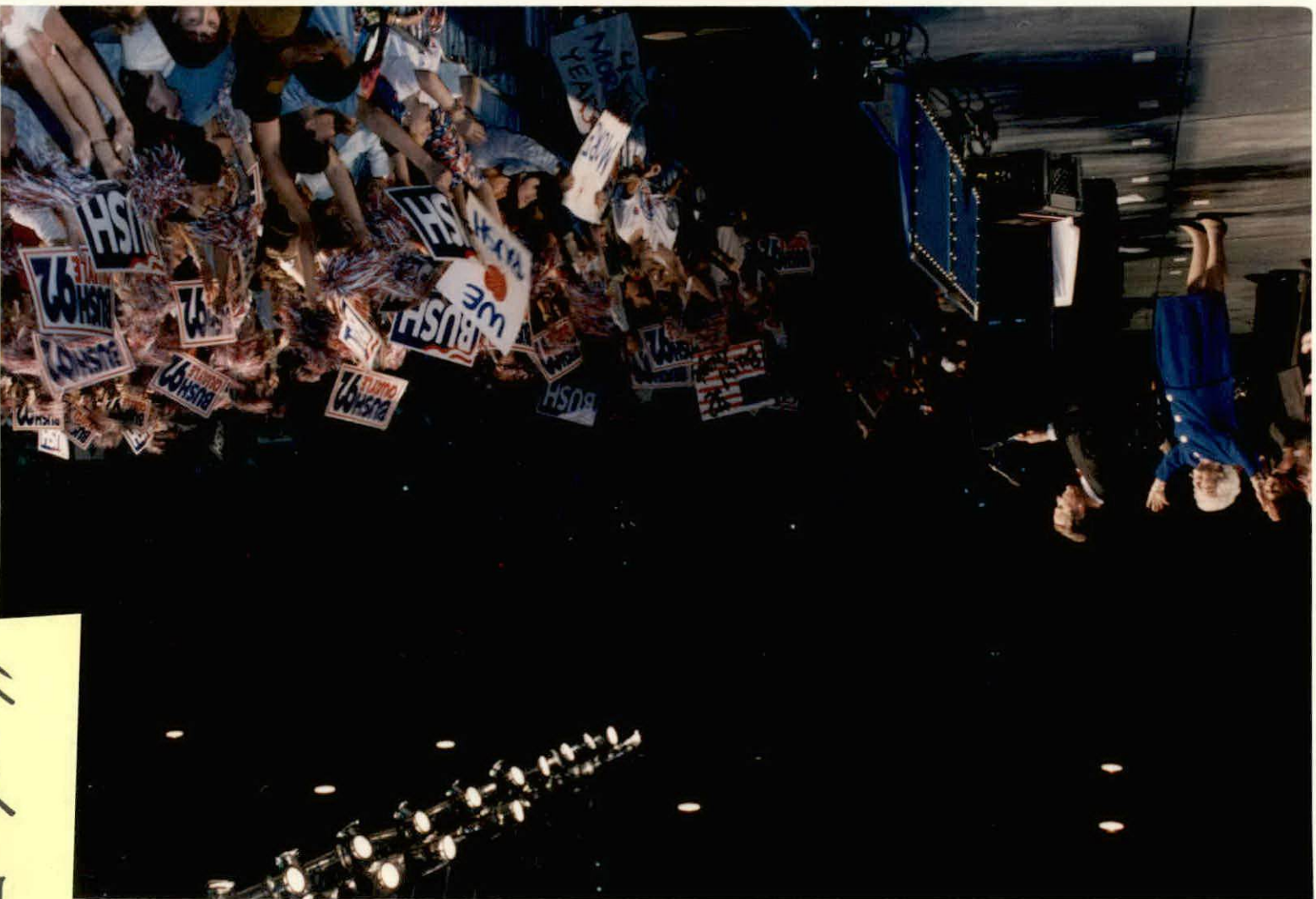
Philadelphia



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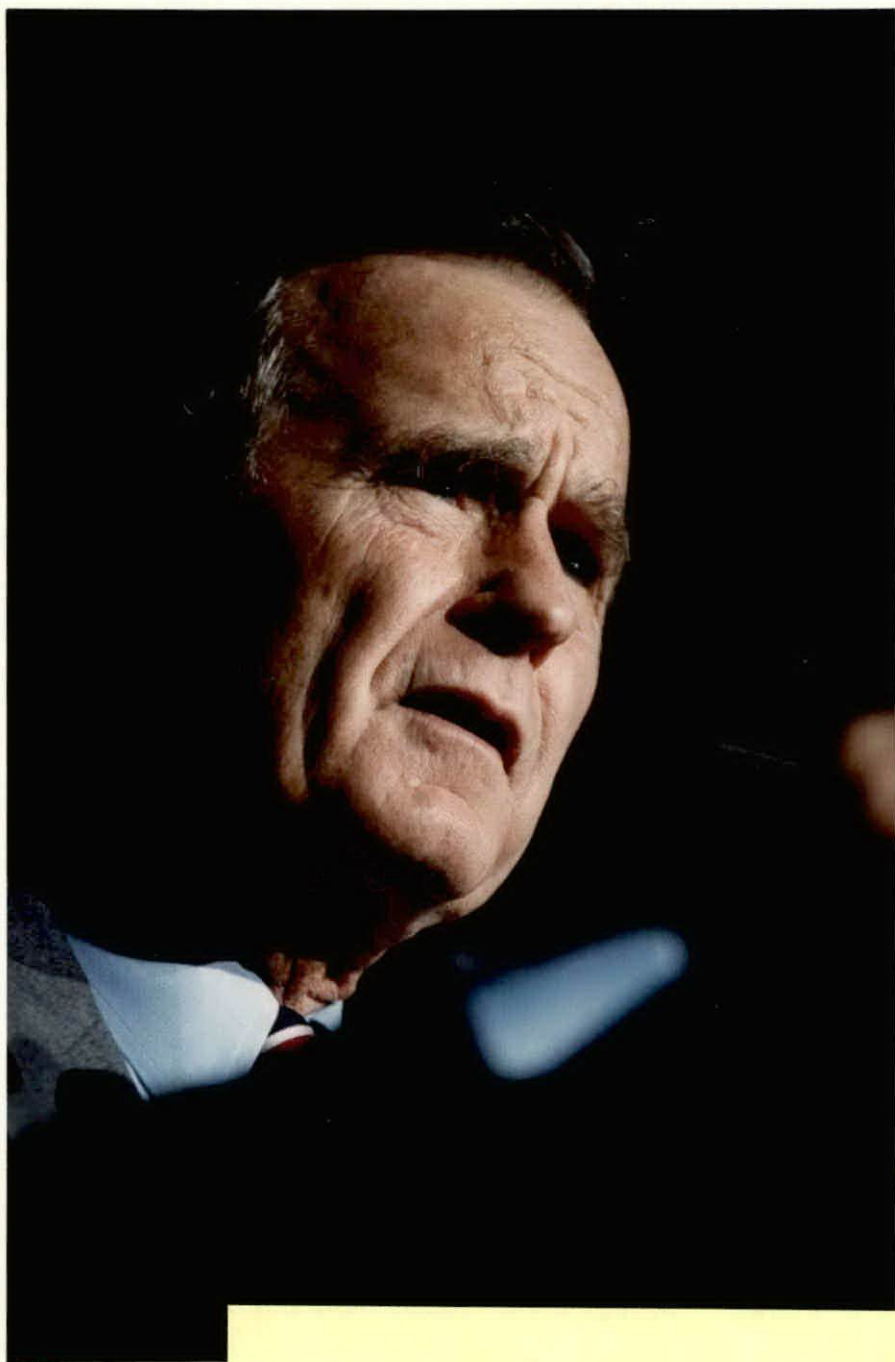
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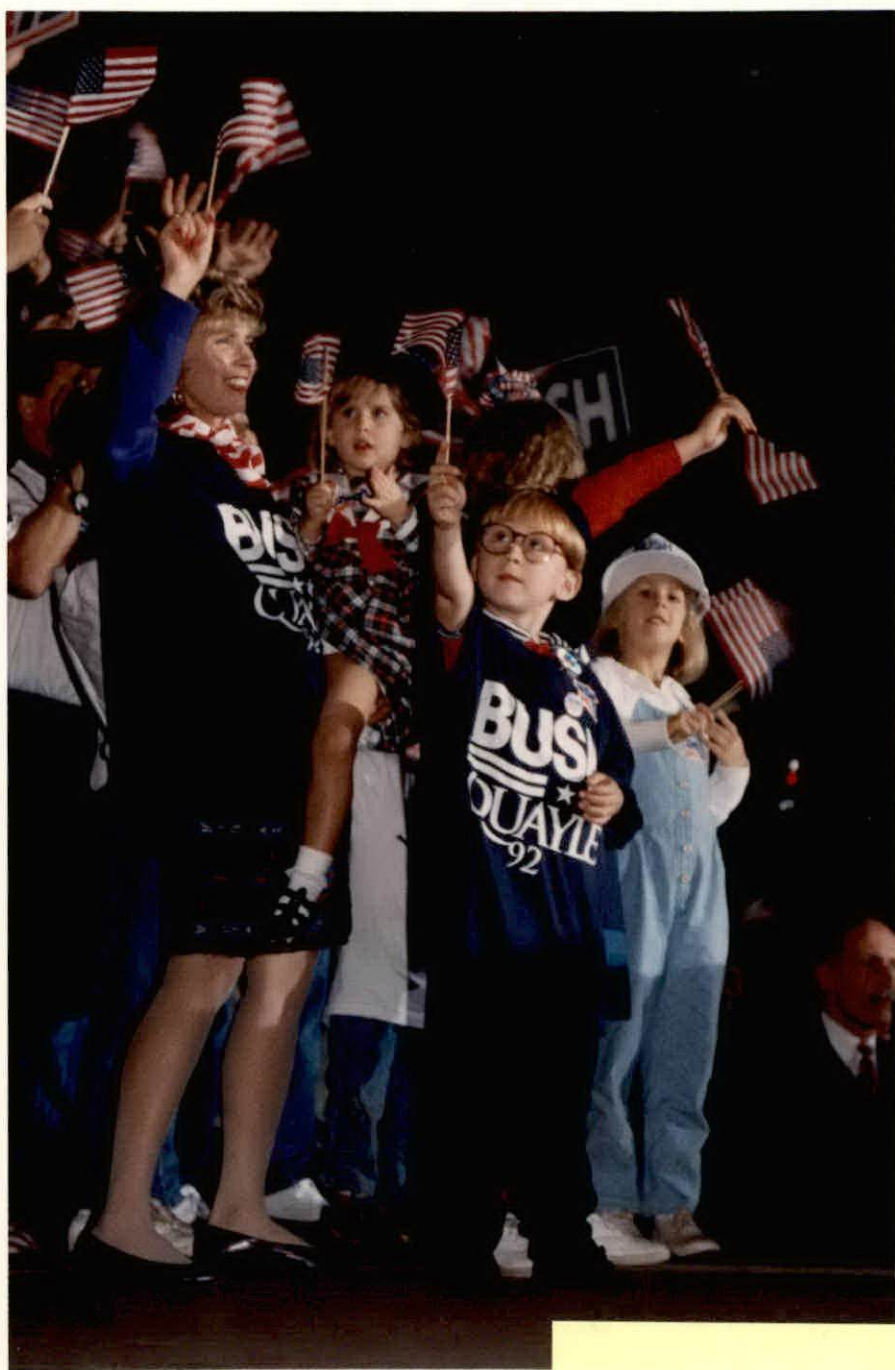
Houston Texas
Last Rally

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Houston Texas
at Last Political Rally
ever for George Bush

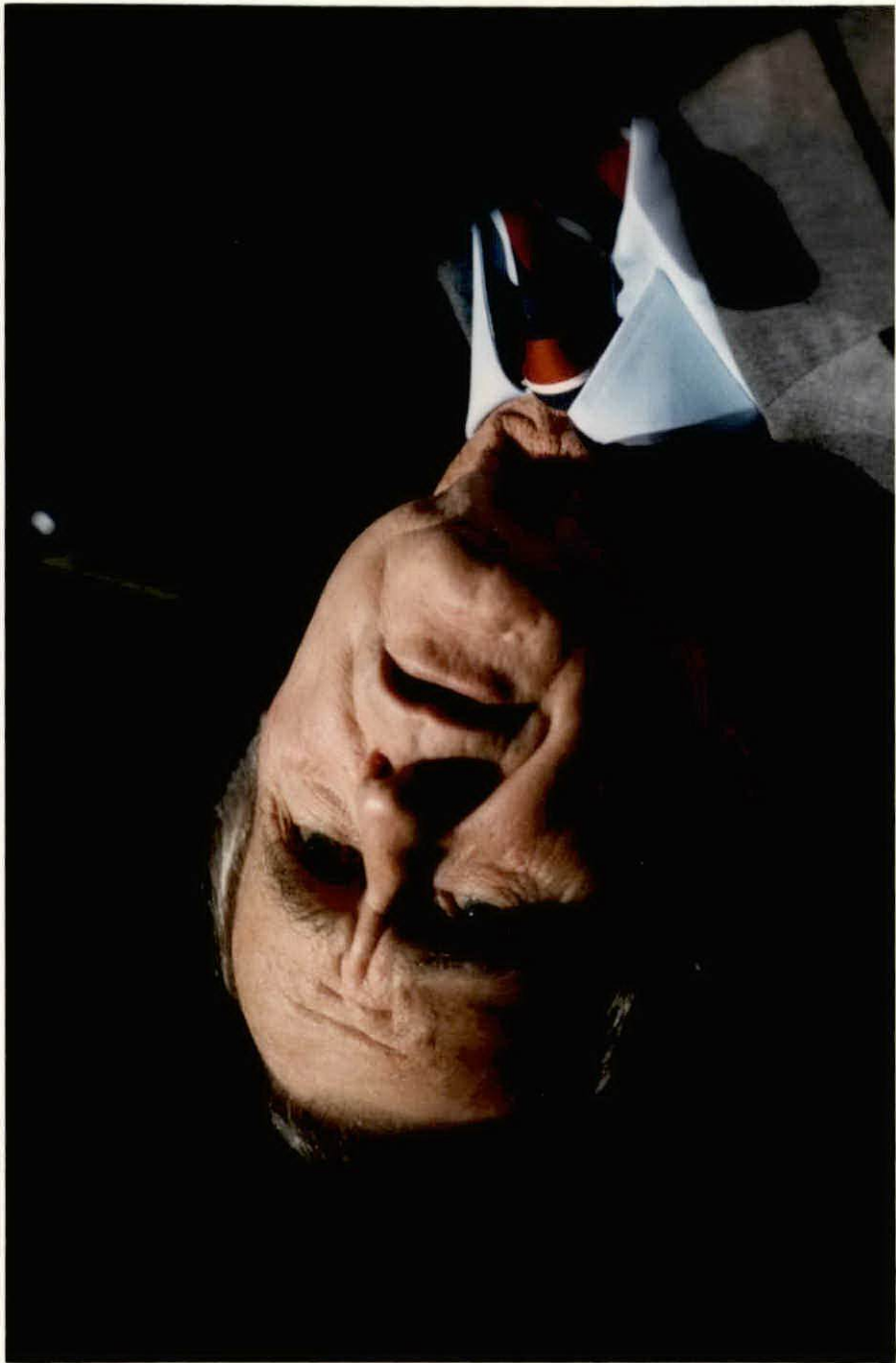
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Baton Rouge, La.

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Baton Rouge, La



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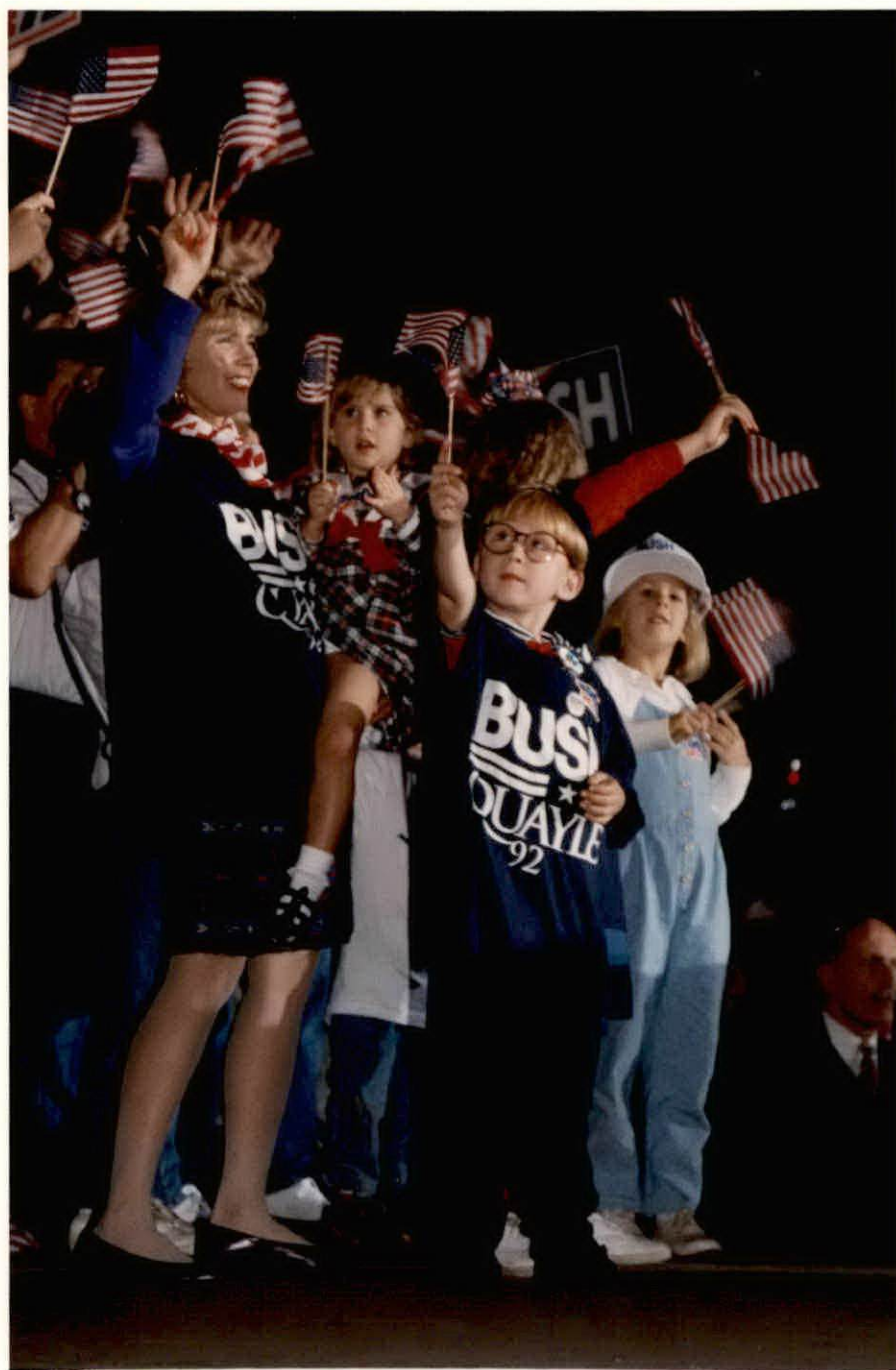


Oak Ridge Boys

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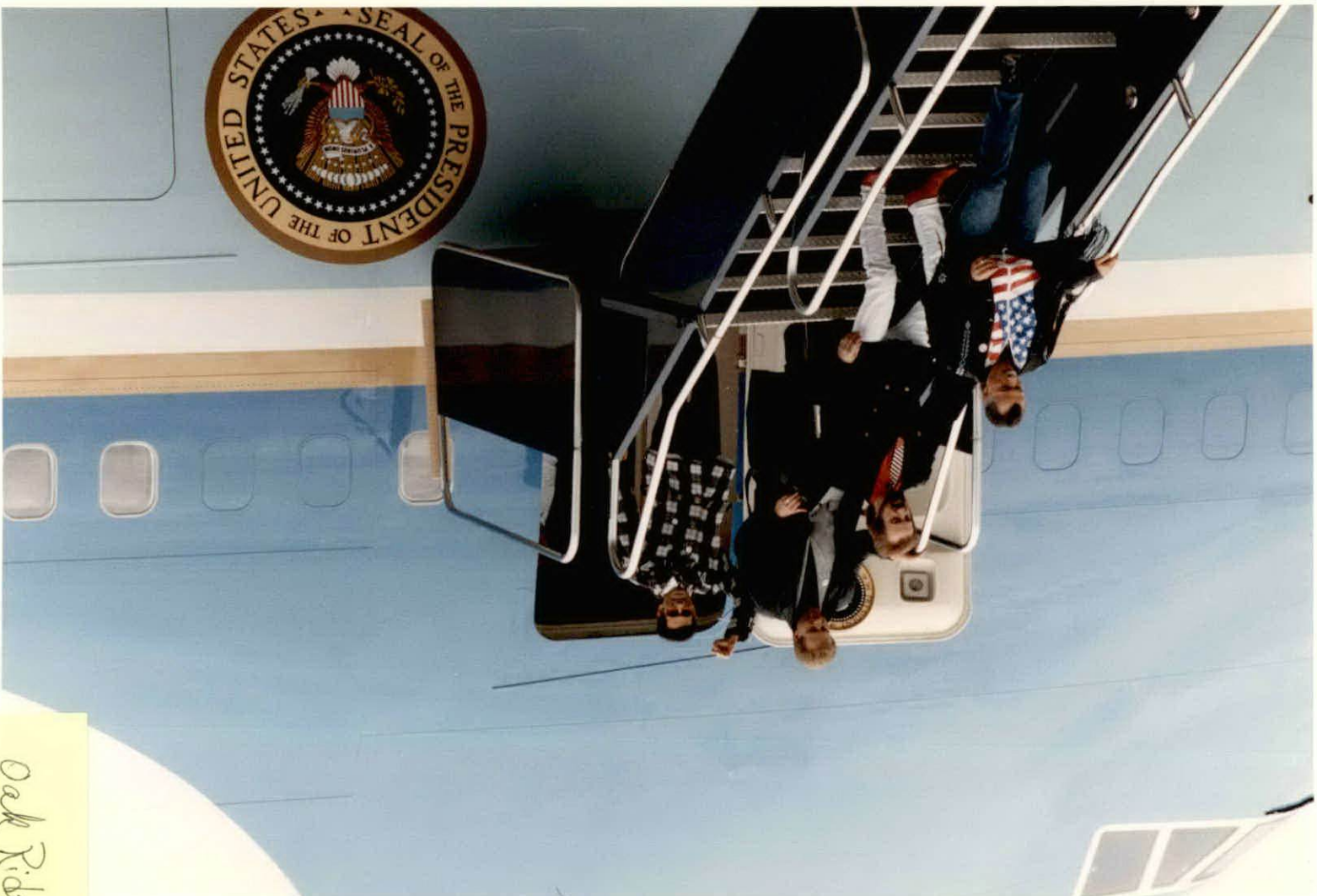


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Oak Ridge Boys

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