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The American Spectator Annual Dinner 1/22/90 [OA 8309] [1]

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I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS ACTUALLY THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR'S 1989 ANNUAL DINNER. // NOW THAT'S TRUE CONSERVATISM -- WAIT UNTIL THE YEAR'S COMPLETELY OVER UNTIL YOU DECIDE WHETHER IT'S WORTH CELEBRATING ABOUT.... // ACTUALLY, I'VE LEARNED TO BE MORE FORGIVING ABOUT CONFUSIONS INVOLVING THE CALENDAR -- EVER SINCE I MADE SEPTEMBER 7TH A DATE THAT WOULD LIVE IN INFAMY. //

BUT I AM DELIGHTED TO HELP CELEBRATE TONIGHT WITH ALL OF YOU. OUR NATION'S INTELLECTUAL LIFE WOULD BE MORE THAN A LITTLE POORER WITHOUT THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR SURVEYING THE SCENE. YOUR CRITICAL EYE HELPS US SEE BENEATH THE SURFACE -- BEYOND THE INTELLECTUAL FADS AND FASHIONS OF THE DAY -- TO THE IDEAS AND THE ENDURING VALUES THAT REALLY MATTER IN OUR SOCIETY. THAT'S A VALUABLE SERVICE -- ESPECIALLY TODAY, BECAUSE THERE'S A TENDENCY THESE DAYS TO MISTAKE SURFACE APPEARANCES FOR THE SUBSTANCE OF THINGS.

TAKE AN ISSUE LIKE HOMELESSNESS. THERE IS NO CONDITION MORE REPUGNANT TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND THE DIGNITY OF THE INDIVIDUAL. AND THERE'S NO PROBLEM MORE SUSCEPTIBLE TO MISUNDERSTANDING. WE'VE ALL HEARD OF THE LAW OF UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES. WELL, WHAT'S AT WORK HERE IS WHAT WE COULD CALL THE LAW OF WELL-INTENDED CONSEQUENCES.

IN SOME WAYS, OUR DIFFICULTY IN DEALING WITH HOMELESSNESS BEGINS WITH THE LABEL -- A LABEL THAT TELLS US WHAT THE HOMELESS LACK IS HOMES.

BUT THE PROBLEM IS FAR MORE COMPLEX -- MORE COMPLEX BECAUSE THE REAL PROBLEM OF HOMELESSNESS IS NOT ONE-DIMENSIONAL. THERE ARE HOMELESS FAMILIES -- CASES WHERE THE HUSBAND, WIFE AND CHILDREN ARE ALL TOGETHER, OUT ON THE STREET. BUT MOST OFTEN, HOMELESSNESS IS A SYMPTOM OF MORE PERVASIVE PROBLEMS -- DRUG OR ALCOHOL ADDICTION, CHRONIC JOBLESSNESS, MENTAL ILLNESS OR FAMILY PROBLEMS -- CONDITIONS THAT PREVENT THE UNFORTUNATE PEOPLE WE SEE ON THE STREETS FROM CARING FOR THEIR CHILDREN, FROM KEEPING A HOME.

IF OUR POLICY TOWARDS THE HOMELESS DOESN'T TREAT THESE CAUSES -- IF IT DOESN'T COMBINE THE BASIC NEED FOR SHELTER WITH OTHER SUPPORT SERVICES THAT REACH THE REAL REASONS FOR HOMELESSNESS -- ALL THE BEST INTENTIONS AND ALL THE HOUSING IN THE WORLD WON'T GET THE HOMELESS OFF THE STREET ONCE AND FOR ALL AND BACK INTO SOCIETY. THERE IS NO OTHER WAY TO TRULY HELP THE HOMELESS BREAK THE GRIP OF LIFE ON THE STREETS.

SO LAST NOVEMBER, I ANNOUNCED WHAT WE CALL THE HOPE INITIATIVE, HOME OWNERSHIP AND OPPORTUNITY FOR PEOPLE EVERYWHERE. ALONG WITH HELP FOR FIRST-TIME HOMEBUYERS, THIS NEW PROPOSAL BRINGS OTHER CREATIVE SOLUTIONS TO THE DIFFICULT HOUSING PROBLEMS FACING LOW-INCOME FAMILIES. NOT NEW PUBLIC CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS THAT TOO OFTEN PROVE TO BE EXPENSIVE FAILURES BUT MORE TENANT OWNERSHIP AND HOUSING VOUCHERS TO PROVIDE MORE OPTIONS TO MORE PEOPLE. BUT AFFORDABILITY IS ONLY ONE PART OF THE PROBLEM. AVAILABILITY IS THE OTHER. WE MUST RENEW THE LOW-INCOME HOUSING TAX CREDIT TO SPUR NEEDED PRIVATE CONSTRUCTION.

BUT WE'VE GOT TO GO EVEN FURTHER. WE NEED POLICIES THAT ENCOURAGE THE GROWTH AND INVESTMENT THAT PROVIDE JOBS - THE JOBS THAT TRANSLATE INTO HOMES. WE NEED ENTERPRISE ZONES TO STIMULATE ENTREPRENEURSHIP. WE NEED TO CUT THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX AND, IN THESE POCKETS OF POVERTY - ENTERPRISE ZONES, WE NEED TO ELIMINATE IT ALTOGETHER.

BUT THE REAL ANSWER FOR THE HOMELESS WITH MENTAL PROBLEMS OR DEPENDENT ON DRUGS OR ALCHOHOL, THE REAL ANSWER IS SHELTER PLUS CARE. THE MCKINNEY ACT HAS NOW BEEN SIGNED INTO LAW AND SUBSTANTIALLY INCREASES FUNDING TO REDUCE HOMELESSNESS. BUT THE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF THE HOMELESS REQUIRES A PARTNERSHIP -- FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL. THROUGH HOPE, WE WILL IMPROVE COORDINATION OF BASIC NEEDS LIKE SHELTER WITH OTHER SOCIAL SERVICES TO HELP THE HOMELESS GET THE SUPPORT THEY NEED TO CONTROL THEIR OWN LIVES AND FIND THE JOBS THAT MEAN THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN A A LIFE OF DESPAIR AND A LIFE OF DIGNITY.

BUT HOMELESSNESS ISN'T THE ONLY ISSUE WHERE WE NEED TO LOOK BEYOND SUPERFICIAL, QUICK FIX SOLUTIONS. TAKE OUR SCHOOLS -- EDUCATION. THERE IS NO SINGLE FUNCTION MORE VITAL TO SOCIETY THAN WHAT GOES ON IN THAT CLASSROOM. CULTIVATING THE SKILLS AND INTELLECT WE NEED TO SUCCEED IN THE FUTURE. TRANSMITTING OUR VALUES -- CENTURIES OF EXPERIENCE AND HARD-WON WISDOM -- FROM GENERATION TO NEXT.

NOW THE CONVENTIONAL WISDOM -- CURRENT WISDOM, I GUESS YOU CALL IT ON THE BACK PAGE OF THE SPECTATOR -- IS THAT THERE'S NOTHING WRONG WITH OUR SCHOOLS THAT CAN'T BE CORRECTED, IF ONLY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT WOULD JUST GET OUT THAT CHECKBOOK AND WRITE A CHECK. WE ALL KNOW THE BIGGER THE PRICE TAG, THE BETTER THE QUALITY. RIGHT? //

WELL, THE FACT IS, WE ALREADY SPEND AS MUCH OR MORE THAN THE OTHER INDUSTRIALIZED DEMOCRACIES ON EDUCATION -- AN AVERAGE OF ALMOST \$4,000 DOLLARS PER STUDENT EACH YEAR. AND WE ALL KNOW THE RESULTS. OUR SCHOOLS AREN'T MAKING THE GRADE.

SO WHAT'S WRONG? // IT'S NOT A QUESTION OF CASH. WE'VE GOT TO USE OUR RESOURCES MORE WISELY -- LOOK TO THOSE SCHOOLS THAT DO WORK. FIND OUT WHY. TRANSLATE THEIR SUCCESS INTO GOALS ALL SCHOOLS CAN AIM FOR -- AND THEN WE'VE GOT TO TAKE TWO MORE CRUCIAL STEPS. WE'VE GOT TO GIVE PARENTS A CHOICE IN THEIR CHILDREN'S SCHOOLS AND WE'VE GOT TO GIVE OUR SCHOOLS THE FREEDOM AND FLEXIBILITY THEY NEED TO STRIVE FOR HIGHER STANDARDS -- AND THEN HOLD THEM ACCOUNTABLE. THERE IS NO SHORTCUT TO BETTER SCHOOLS.

AND THERE IS ALSO NO SHORTCUT TO THE VICTORY LINE IN THE RACE AGAINST DRUGS AND CRIME. THERE IS NO SIMPLE SOLUTION TO A PROBLEM AS COMPLEX AS THIS. HERE AGAIN, IT WILL TAKE A PARTNERSHIP OF PEOPLE REACHING INTO EVERY NEIGHBORHOOD AND EVERY SCHOOL. AT THE FEDERAL LEVEL, WE HAVE DEVELOPED A COMPREHENSIVE NATIONAL DRUG STRATEGY TO ATTACK THIS INSIDIOUS PLAGUE ON FOUR FRONTS: ENFORCEMENT, INTERDICTION, EDUCATION AND TREATMENT.

OVER THE PAST YEAR, WE HAVE SENT CONGRESS OUR PROPOSALS AND MADE PROGRESS IN SOME AREAS. I AM PLEASED CAPITOL HILL PROVIDED US WITH THE REINFORCEMENTS WE ASKED FOR: NEW AGENTS, NEW PROSECUTORS AND NEW PRISONS TO CATCH, CONVICT AND HOLD THOSE WHO VALUE AMERICA SO LITTLE. BUT THESE NEW TROOPS CAN'T DO IT ALONE. SIMPLY PUT: WE NEED TOUGHER LAWS ON THE BOOKS -- INCREASED MANDATORY TIME FOR FIREARMS OFFENSES. THE DEATH PENALTY FOR ANYONE WHO KILLS A LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICER AND NO MORE LOOPHOLES THAT LET CRIMINALS GO FREE.

WORKING TOGETHER, THE ADMINISTRATION AND CONGRESS CAN MAKE EVEN MORE PROGRESS. BUT OUR DRUG AND CRIME PROBLEMS GO BEYOND GOVERNMENT SOLUTIONS ALONE. GETTING ADDICTS OFF DRUGS OR MAKING SURE HARDENED CRIMINALS DO HARD TIME WILL TAKE THE COMMITMENT OF EVERYONE WHO CARES ABOUT THIS COUNTRY. IT WILL TAKE A RETURN TO THE VALUES THAT HAVE TAUGHT GENERATIONS OF AMERICANS THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN RIGHT AND WRONG. IT'S NOT AN EASY ROAD TO TRAVEL BUT IT'S THE SUREST ROUTE TO A DRUG-FREE AMERICA.

THAT'S WHY, WITH ALL THE FLASH AND FLUFF IN THE WORLD TODAY, THERE'S SOMETHING WE CAN'T AFFORD TO LOSE SIGHT OF -- SOMETHING DECEPTIVELY SIMPLE: IT'S WHO WE ARE THAT MAKES THIS NATION WHAT IT IS.

WE ALL KNOW DEMOCRACY IS MORE THAN THE MACHINERY OF GOVERNMENT -- MORE THAN JUST A SYSTEM OF CHECKS AND BALANCES AND CLASHING INTERESTS. MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, DEMOCRACY DEPENDS ON THE DECENCY OF ITS PEOPLE.

AND I'M CONVINCED THAT THERE IS IN THIS COUNTRY A DEEP RESERVOIR OF DEMOCRATIC DECENCY. A RESPECT FOR OTHERS. A SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY. A SOLID RECOGNITION THAT VALUES MATTER. THIS RESERVOIR OF DECENCY IS THERE FOR US TO DRAW ON -- TO RENEW OUR DEDICATION TO THE FUNDAMENTAL IDEALS OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

AND IT'S NOT A MATTER OF EACH INDIVIDUAL WAGING A LONELY BATTLE AGAINST THE IMPERSONAL FORCES OF SOCIETY. WE'RE NOT ALONE. THE VALUES I'M TALKING ABOUT HAVE A HOME IN THE FAMILY. IN OUR CHURCHES. IN OUR COMMUNITIES.

AND THESE INSTITUTIONS ARE STRONG -- MUCH STRONGER THAN THE ALARMISTS OUT THERE WOULD HAVE US BELIEVE. EACH OF THEM CONTRIBUTES TO OUR PUBLIC LIFE. ENRICHES IT IN WAYS BEYOND MEASURE. EACH OF THEM MAKES THIS NATION STRONG. GIVES IT A SENSE OF PURPOSE AND A ROLE IN THE WORLD.

THIS IS THE CULTURE THAT SUSTAINS US -- THE CULTURE THAT WE OURSELVES MUST SUSTAIN. //

THAT'S OUR CHALLENGE TODAY. TO SEE THE VALUES AND INSTITUTIONS THAT ENDURE, BENEATH THE KALEIDOSCOPE OF MODERN CULTURE. THE AMERICAN PEOPLE UNDERSTAND THERE ARE NO SNAP ANSWERS -- THAT THE ONLY SOLUTIONS THAT SUCCEED ARE ONES CONSISTENT WITH OUR CORE VALUES. AND FOR ALL THE NOISE AND CLATTER OF CONTEMPORARY CULTURE, THAT'S CAUSE FOR OPTIMISM.

THE CALENDAR OFFERS EACH OF US CONVENIENT LAUNCH POINTS FOR A FRESH START. SOMETIMES, IT'S A NEW DAY, A NEW YEAR. NOW, IT'S A NEW DECADE.

THE BEGINNING OF THE '90S INVITES AMERICA TO CLEARLY PUT ITS SIGNATURE ON THE 20TH CENTURY -- TO WRITE THE NEXT CHAPTER IN A BOOK OF SPECTACULAR ACHIEVEMENTS IN FREEDOM, ECONOMICS, HUMAN ADVANCEMENT AND WORLD LEADERSHIP.

I WELCOME THE '90S WITH OPTIMISM. IT IS AN IDEAL TIME TO RENEW OUR VOWS AND OUR VALUES. TIME TO LOOK BEYOND THE NEXT PAYCHECK AND THE NEXT PERSONAL PROBLEM. TIME INSTEAD TO LOOK TO THE NEXT GENERATION.

I'M OPTIMISTIC ABOUT OUR FUTURE FOR ONE COMPELLING REASON. TO SUCCEED, WE DO NOT HAVE TO ACQUIRE ANY NEW QUALITIES. THE COURAGE, INGENUITY, AND COMPASSION THAT MADE US THE LEADER OF THE FREE WORLD IS STILL IN EVERY ONE OF US. WE SIMPLY HAVE TO REMEMBER THAT THE AMERICAN ADVENTURE ISN'T OVER -- IT'S JUST BEGUN. THANK YOU. GOD BLESS YOU -- AND GOD BLESS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

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AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER
THE WILLARD HOTEL
JANUARY 22, 1990
7:00 P.M.

THANK YOU, DAVID {MORSE}. AND CONGRATULATIONS ON
THE WONDERFUL WORK YOUR ORGANIZATION -- LIBERTAD -- IS
DOING TO ADVANCE THE CAUSE OF FREEDOM IN THE WORLD.

~~INTRODUCTORY ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS. RONALD BURR, PUBLISHER~~
~~OF THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR.~~ ^{LET ME RECOGNIZE} LORD HENRY PLUMB, FORMER
PRESIDENT OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT. ~~CHARLTON HESTON.~~

~~REVEREND HIGGINS. SECRETARY CHENEY,~~
~~GOVERNOR SUNUNU.] //~~

THE MANY MEMBERS
OF MY ADMIN,
AND OUR REPUBLICAN
TEAM ON CAPITOL HILL.

AND OF COURSE I'M ALWAYS PLEASED TO BE ON BOB
TYRRELL'S KINDER, GENTLER SIDE. // THAT'S HIS RIGHT
SIDE, OF COURSE. //

I UNDERSTAND THAT THIS IS ACTUALLY THE AMERICAN
SPECTATOR'S 1989 ANNUAL DINNER. // NOW THAT'S TRUE
CONSERVATISM -- WAIT UNTIL THE YEAR'S COMPLETELY OVER
UNTIL YOU DECIDE WHETHER IT'S WORTH CELEBRATING
ABOUT.... // ACTUALLY, I'VE LEARNED TO BE MORE
FORGIVING ABOUT CONFUSIONS INVOLVING THE CALENDAR --
EVER SINCE I MADE SEPTEMBER 7TH A DATE THAT WOULD LIVE
IN INFAMY. //

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

January 18, 1990

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: CHRISS WINSTON *CW*
FROM: DAN MCGROARTY *DM*
SUBJECT: AMERICAN SPECTATOR/LIBERTAD ANNUAL DINNER

I. SUMMARY

On Monday, January 22, at 7:00 p.m. you will address the American Spectator/Libertad "Celebration of Liberty" dinner at the Willard Hotel. About 250-300 people are expected to attend.

Libertad is an organization committed to guaranteeing commercial free speech around the world. The Chairman, David A. Morse, will introduce you.

Also attending the dinner will be Lord Henry Plumb, President of the European Parliament until July 1989.

II. DISCUSSION

The American Spectator prides itself on being a conservative voice on contemporary culture. Accordingly, we believe something more innovative than our standard agenda speech would be well received.

This draft treats familiar topics like education and homelessness in a somewhat different way -- showing how modern culture can make it difficult to deal with the real substance of the problems we face.

If you would prefer to deliver a more straightfoward talk on the issues, we will be happy to prepare another draft over the weekend. However, we believe this might provide an interesting "change of pace" to the past ten days of "agenda" speeches.

McGroarty/Dooley
January 17, 1990
5:00 pm
[SPEC]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER
THE WILLARD HOTEL
JANUARY 22, 1990
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plumb, former President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his right side, of course. //

I understand that this is actually the American Spectator's 1989 annual dinner. // Now that's true conservatism -- wait until the year's completely over until you decide whether it's worth celebrating about.... // Actually, I've learned to be more forgiving about these confusions involving the calendar -- ever since I made September 7th a date that would live in infamy. //

But I am delighted to help celebrate tonight with all of you. Our nation's intellectual life would be more than a little poorer without the American Spectator surveying the scene. Your critical eye helps us see beneath the surface -- beyond the

intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Partly, this tendency is the result of the pace of modern life. We've convinced ourselves that our world is accelerating. That whatever the issue is, we're running short on time. That's what matters most today is instant analysis and immediate response. Accuracy, effectiveness: these are after-thoughts.

This way of responding to our world is strengthened by the very real advances we've made in defining what people think and want. Advances that make it easy to forget that it's possible to observe -- without really understanding.

This tendency affects our public policy. It creates a strong pressure to go with the surface impression, to look for the quick fix -- the instant answer. And to question the motives of anyone who asks us to think twice, or who suggests that things are more complicated than they seem.

We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of well-intended consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the label -- a label that tells us what the homeless lack is homes.

But, the problem is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a symptom of more pervasive problems - of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions and all the housing in the world won't get the homeless off the street once and for all and back into society. There is no other way to truly help the homeless break the grip of life on the streets and live in dignity. ///

And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. Take our schools -- education. There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values -- centuries of experience and hard-won wisdom -- from one generation to the next.

Now the conventional wisdom -- current wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. There's a solution straight out of the consumer culture: the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. //

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of almost \$4,000 dollars per student each year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. Translate their success into goals all schools can aim for -- and then we've got to take two more crucial steps. We've got to give parents a choice in their children's schools and we've got to give our schools the freedom and flexibility they need to strive for higher standards -- and then hold them accountable. There is no shortcut to better schools. ///

This desire to skim the surface -- to look for the quick and easy fix -- goes beyond the public policy sphere. It's part of a broader impulse in our contemporary culture to confuse what is merely stylish with what is truly significant.

Think about it. We excel today at spotting trends, conducting polls and market surveys -- figuring out what people want to buy, what they want to wear, what they want to hear.

There's nothing wrong with that. After all, among other things, it helps sell magazines. There's nothing wrong at all -- provided we remember that behind all the demographics and market analyses are **flesh-and-blood people**. And that each of us is more than a bundle of wants and needs, conditioned by what we earn, where we live, and where we went to school. Who we are -- as individuals and as Americans -- is always more than that.

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's who we are that makes this nation what it is.

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, democracy depends on the decency of its people.

And I'm convinced that there is in this country a deep reservoir of democratic decency. A respect for others. A sense of responsibility. A solid recognition that values matter. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not

alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in the family. In our churches. In our communities.

And these institutions are strong -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

This is the culture that sustains us -- the culture that we ourselves must sustain. //

That's our challenge today. To see the values and institutions that endure, beneath the kaleidoscope of modern culture. To see that it's time we get beyond the quick fix -- beyond the Cause-of-the-Month Club mentality that cares more about finding new problems than solving the old ones. Beyond the bumper-sticker solutions some people want to slap on the complex problems facing us today.

And we can get beyond style -- to substance, provided we enter the great public policy debates of our day with open minds, and good will.

And provided we do one thing more: play it straight. I think that's what the American people want. They understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones consistent with our core values. If we talk straight, they won't change the channel. // And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States
of America.

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McGroarty/Dooley
January 16, 1990
11:00 am
[spec]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: AMERICAN SPECTATOR ANNUAL DINNER
THE WILLARD HOTEL
JANUARY 22, 1990
7:00 P.M.

Thank you, David {Morse}. And congratulations on the wonderful work your organization -- Libertad -- is doing to advance the cause of freedom in the world. [Introductory acknowledgements. Ronald Burr, Publisher of the American Spectator. Lord Henry Plum, President of the European Parliament. Charleton Heston. Reverend Higgins. Secretary Cheney, Governor Sununu.] //

And of course I'm always pleased to be on Bob Tyrrell's kinder, gentler side. // That's his **right** side, of course. //

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intellectual fads and fashions of the day -- to the ideas and the enduring values that really matter in our society.

That's a valuable service -- especially today, because there's a tendency these days to mistake surface appearances for the substance of things.

Partly, this tendency is a matter of the pace of modern life. We've convinced ourselves that our world is accelerating. That whatever the issue is, we're running short on time. That what matters most today is instant analysis and immediate response. Accuracy, effectiveness: these are after-thoughts.

This way of responding to our world is strengthened by the very real advances we've made in measuring what people think and want. Advances that make it easy to forget that it's possible to observe -- without really understanding.

This tendency affects our public policy. It creates a strong pressure to go with the surface impression, to look for the quick fix -- the instant answer. And to question the motives of anyone who asks us to think twice, or who suggests that things are more complicated than they seem.

We want solutions today that don't make us wait. We get bored easily. If we don't like what we see, we hit the channel-changer -- find something new.

Take an issue like homelessness. There is no condition more repugnant to democratic values and the dignity of the individual. And there's no problem more susceptible to misunderstanding. We've all heard of the law of unintended consequences. Well,

what's at work here is what we could call the law of **well-intended** consequences.

In some ways, our difficulty in dealing with homelessness begins with the **label** -- a label that tells us **what the homeless lack is homes**. If so -- if that were all there was to the homeless problem -- then the answer is simple. All we'd need to eliminate homelessness in America would be more housing -- especially public housing.

The real answer, of course, is far more complex -- more complex because the real problem of homelessness is not one-dimensional. Homelessness is most often a **symptom** of more pervasive problems -- of drug or alcohol addiction, of mental illness -- conditions that prevent the unfortunate people we see on the streets from holding down jobs, caring for their children, keeping a home.

If our policy towards the homeless doesn't treat these causes -- if it doesn't combine the basic need for shelter with other support services that reach the real reasons for homelessness -- all the best intentions in the world won't help the homeless get off the street and back into society. ///

And homelessness isn't the only issue where we want progress to be quick and easy. **Take our schools -- education.** There is no single function more vital to society than what goes on in that classroom. Cultivating the skills and intellect we need to succeed in the future. Transmitting our values from one generation to the next. And no enterprise is more fragile:

Centuries of experience -- of the wisdom of great minds -- can be cast aside, lost in a single generation.

Now the conventional wisdom -- **current** wisdom, I guess you call it on the back page of the Spectator -- is that there's nothing wrong with our schools that can't be corrected, if only the federal government would just get out that checkbook and write a check. **There's a solution straight out of the consumer culture: the bigger the price tag, the better the quality. //**

Well, the fact is, we already spend as much or more than the other industrialized democracies on education -- an average of \$100,000 dollars per classroom per year. And we all know the results. Our schools aren't making the grade.

So what's wrong? // It's not a question of cash. We've got to use our resources more wisely -- look to those schools that do work. Find out why. And make those schools the models for a system that truly serves the needs of all American students. ///

This desire to skim the surface -- to look for the quick and easy fix -- goes beyond the public policy sphere. It's part of a broader impulse in our contemporary culture to **confuse what is merely stylish with what is truly significant.**

Think about it. We excel today at spotting trends, conducting polls and market surveys -- figuring out what people want to buy, what they want to wear, what they want to hear.

There's nothing wrong with that. After all, among other things, it helps sell magazines. There's nothing wrong at all -- provided we remember that behind all the demographics and market

analyses are **flesh-and-blood people**. And that each of us is more than a bundle of wants and needs, conditioned by what we earn, where we live, and where we went to school. Who we are -- as **individuals and as Americans** -- is always more than that.

That's why, with all the flash and fluff in the world today, there's something we can't afford to lose sight of -- something deceptively simple: it's **who we are** that makes this nation **what it is**.

We all know democracy is more than the machinery of government -- more than just a system of checks and balances and clashing interests. More than anything else, **democracy depends on the decency of its people**.

And I'm convinced that there is in this country a **deep reservoir of democratic decency**. A **respect** for others. A sense of **responsibility**. A solid recognition that **values matter**. This reservoir of decency is there for us to draw on -- to renew our dedication to the fundamental ideals of free government.

And it's not a matter of each individual waging a lonely battle against the impersonal forces of society. We're not alone. The values I'm talking about have a home in **the family**. **In our churches. In our communities.**

And these institutions are **strong** -- much stronger than the alarmists out there would have us believe. Each of them contributes to our public life. Enriches it in ways beyond measure. Each of them makes this nation strong. Gives it a sense of purpose and a role in the world.

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And we can -- provided we enter the great public policy debates of our day with open minds, and good will. //

And I think that's what the American people want. I think they understand there are no snap answers -- that the only solutions that succeed are ones consistent with our core values.

~~Because~~ ^{And} I believe this is a message the American people are ready to hear. If we talk straight, they won't change the channel. And for all the noise and clatter of contemporary culture, that's cause for optimism.

Thank you. God bless you -- and God bless the United States of America.

#

American Spectator Dinner Willard Hotel

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Proposed Running Sheet
American Spectator/LIBERTAD
'A Celebration of Liberty'

6:30 pm	Cocktail Reception - VIP's (50 guests) - The Franklin Pierce Room Other Guests (200) Pre Function Room
7:00 pm	President arrives - Goes to VIP reception - Photographs
7:15 pm	All guests in pre function room are requested to take seats
7:25 pm	President and hosts go to Garfield Room for 10 minutes
7:30 pm	President goes to dais - David Morse introduces - 5 minutes
7:35 pm	President speaks - 15 minutes
7:50 pm	President leaves
7:55 pm	Dinner commences
8:40 pm	Dessert - Ron Burr introduces F. Shakespeare 3-5 minutes
8:45 pm	F. Shakespeare introduces R. Emmet Tyrrell 3-5 minutes
8:50 pm	R. Emmet Tyrrell speaks
9:05 pm	Coffee and cordials served - 10 minutes
9:15 pm	Entertainment commences - Rachelle Farrel
9:30 pm	INNAFEKT - First Number - 2 minutes
9:30 pm	Gene Harris and Andrew Simpkins Jr. - 5 minutes - up-tempo
9:37 pm	INNAFEKT - 2 minutes
9:39 pm	Gene Harris - 5 minutes Blues
9:44 pm	INNAFEKT - 2 minutes
9:46 pm	Gene Harris - Virtuoso - 3 minutes
9:50 pm	Dance to Gene Donati
10:45 pm	Dinner Concludes

Schedule O.K., but need to work in Charlton Heston
and invocation by The Rev. James Higgins.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 18, 1990

DRAFT

EVENT:

VIP Reception
The American Spectator Dinner

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Cocktail Dress

CONTACT:

Office of Presidential Advance
John G. Keller, Jr. - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Lucy Muckerman - 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Mark Rosenker	- LEAD
Steven Ross	- PRESS
Mike Verden	- USSS
Sean Byrne	- MIL. AIDE
Bob Risney	- WHCA

WEATHER:

Showers, Mid 50's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

MONDAY, JANUARY 22, 1990

6:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs White House en route Willard Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Lead

Spare

T. McBride
Doctor

LIMO

THE PRESIDENT

Follow Up

Control

A. Card
S. Rogich
Mil. Aide

Support

M. Fitzwater
J. Parmer
Official Photographer
Medic

Press Van I

J. Allison

Press Van II

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

7:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Willard Hotel and proceeds to VIP Reception.

Met by:

Mr. Graham Jeffrey
General Manager, Willard Hotel

Mr. Werner Kupper
Director of Catering, Willard Hotel

Mr. David Morse
Chairman, Libertad

Mr. R. Emmet Tyrrell
Editor-in-Chief, American Spectator

EVENT: VIP RECEPTION

OFFICIAL PHOTOGRAPHER ONLY

STAFF PHOTO

7:02 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives VIP Reception and begins participation in Staff Photo.

7:15 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Staff Photo and proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area.

7:17 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

EVENT: THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR DINNER

OPEN PRESS

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

7:18 pm THE PRESIDENT is announced onto Stage, proceeds to Seat on Dais and is seated.

7:19 pm Mr. Charlton Heston introduces Mr. Morse

7:21 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Morse.

7:25 pm THE PRESIDENT gives Remarks.

7:40 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Dais and proceeds to Holding Room.

7:42 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

7:44 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

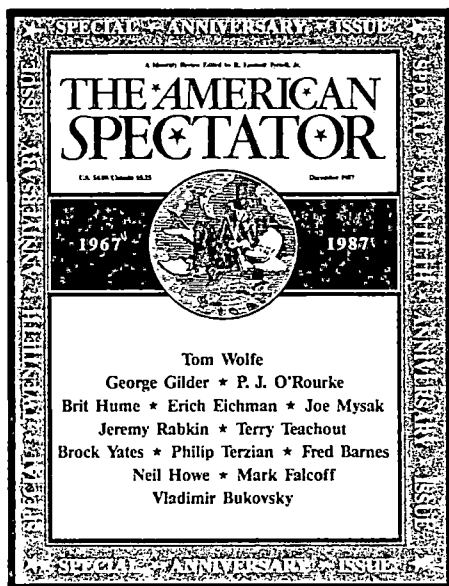
7:45 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Willard Hotel en route White House.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

7:50 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.



The American Spectator

cial, *80% donated money to a political/charitable group, *29% gave a speech, *11% lobbied, *8% appeared on TV and 18% wrote a book/article for publication.

With an average family income of \$65,500, investment portfolio of \$302,000 and 88% holding professional/managerial positions, it becomes clear our audience is no average one.

*(Mark Clements Research, 1987.)

Reader Involvement

Readers of "opinion" magazines are deeply involved with those publications and *The American Spectator* is no exception. Over 90% of our readers discuss or take action on articles or advertisements read in our pages. And 78% state the *Spectator* influences their opinions.

It's not surprising direct response advertisers abound in the *Spectator* because 87% read 4 out of 4 issues, average time spent with each issue is 1 and 3/4 hours and readers refer back to a typical issue 4 times!

Magazine Profile

"Influence sells it." *Adweek*, "Influential" *New York Times*, "... one of the nation's most energetic and sprightly journals of opinion." *Time*, "... outlined well in advance the logic of this week's 'dramatic' deal." *Wall Street Journal*.

The American Spectator is a lively national opinion monthly, edited by founder R. Emmett Tyrrell, that influences political and cultural debate. Intellectual, funny, often unpredictable, and always outspoken, the *Spectator* features such writers as Tom Wolfe, P.J. O'Rourke, Fred Barnes, Brit Hume, Ben Stein, and Robert Novak.

Articles, investigative exposes and critical thinkpieces deepen reader's insight into the problems and issues confronting America today. Public figures with widely disparate positions and viewpoints agree on the importance of the *Spectator* to their thinking and understanding.

Closely read by the wielders of power and influence. Widely quoted by the molders of taste and opinion. *The American Spectator*.

Demographics

The American Spectator's audience is one of the most politically active groups in America. *91% participated in public policy activities in past twelve months, *48% wrote to a public offi-

Circulation

The American Spectator's readership is national with 90% of subscribers brought in via direct mail. Five percent of all copies are purchased on the newsstand in the USA and Canada. Annual subscription price is \$24 and over 88% subscribe without a premium. The magazine is a member of the Audit Bureau of Circulation.

With 2.2 readers per copy, the *Spectator* offers advertisers over 82,000 leaders in government, business and journalism. All our readers have a keen interest in politics; monitoring not only what's happening now but more importantly they read the *Spectator* to determine what may happen next month, next year, and even the next decade.

In addition to subscribers in the White House, Senate and Congress, and Federal agencies, we offer bonus circulation throughout the year with distribution at the State Department, Pentagon, and numerous association and business conventions in Washington.

Special Advertising Opportunities

Saddle cards, inserts, tip-ons, and polybagging are available. Contact for more information.

Advertising Rates

Advertising rate for a full page in *The American Spectator* is \$2,000 black and white and \$3,800 for 4 Color.

JOHN FUNK, Advertising Manager
1101 N. Highland, P.O. Box 10448
Arlington, Virginia 22210
Phone: (703) 243-3733

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR

1101 N. Highland, P.O. Box 10448, Arlington, VA 22210
(703) 243-3733

FAX #: 703-243-6814

DATE: 18 January 90

TO: Peggy Dooley

FROM: Pam Young

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THIS SHEET): 4

COMMENTS:

JAN 18 '90 12:27
04/01/90 10:41

KERR MOORE OIL

NO. 312

P002/004 P.C

THE LORD PLUMB OF COLESHILL DL MEP

Lord Plumb was elected President of the European Parliament in January 1987 and served until July 1989. He has been the MEP for the Cotswolds since 1979 and was re-elected in June 1984, and in June 1989. From 1979 to May 1982, he was Chairman of the Parliament's Agricultural Committee, subsequently a member of the Transport Committee and he was Chairman of the European Democratic Group from 1982 until 1987. Since July 1989, he is again a member of the Parliament's Agricultural Committee.

Lord Plumb was born in 1925 and educated at Ansley Church of England School and King Edward School, Nuneaton. He is married with two daughters and a son. He has eight grandchildren.

He was the second longest serving President of the National Farmers' Union of England and Wales, holding this position for nine years and retiring just prior to his election to the European Parliament.

In 1977, he was the President of the Royal Agricultural Society of England and was deputy to His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, in 1978. For some years he has acted as Chief Steward to the International Pavilion of the Royal Show.

Lord Plumb has long been a committed European, and was actively involved in the 'European League for Economic Co-operation' and in the 'Britain in Europe' Campaign during Britain's referendum on membership of the EEC. He has always seen the Community in the wider world context and in May 1979, was elected President of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers. His European connections were further widened by his election as President from January 1975 to May 1977 of the Comité des Organisations Professionnelles Agricoles de la CEE (COPA).

Lord Plumb, knighted in 1973, has received the Order of Merit from a number of European Countries. He was created a Life Peer in February 1987 and took his seat in the House of Lords in April 1987.

Lord Plumb is a non executive Director of Lloyds Bank, United Biscuits, Fisons, and Chairman of Angora International plc.

August 1989

JAN 18 '90 12:28

The Lord Plumb of Colehill DL MEP**January 1987-****July 1989 President. European Parliament****1979-1984****1984-1989****1989-1994****Elected Member of the European Parliament for
The Cotswolds, England****1979-1982****Chairman. Agriculture Committee. European
Parliament****1984****Member. Transport Committee. European Parliament****1982-1986****Chairman. European Democratic Group
(Conservative) European Parliament****1989-****Member Agricultural Committee. European
Parliament.****1925****Born. Educated Ampley Church of England School.
King Edward VI School. Munceton****Married with one son and two daughters.
Lord Plumb has eight grandchildren****1970-1979****President. National Farmers' Union of England
and Wales****The second longest serving President who held the
position for nine years prior to his election to
the European Parliament****1973****Knighted by her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II****1977****Chairman. Royal Agricultural Society of England****1978****Deputy to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales****For some years. Lord Plumb acted as Chief Steward
at the International Pavilion of the Royal Show
at Stoneleigh, Warwickshire****1975-1977****President. Comité des Organisations
Professionnelles Agricoles de la CEE
(COPA) Brussels****1979-1981****President. International Federation of
Agricultural Producers (IFAP) Paris****Lord Plumb has long been a committed European.
and has always seen the Community in the wider
world context.****1976****Großes Verdienstkreuz des Verdienstordens der
Bundesrepublik Deutschland (Federal Republic
of Germany: Order of Merit)****1987****Orden do Merito (Portugal: Order of Merit)****1987****Created a Life Peer**



LORD PLUMB, DL

The Cotswolds

Danmou House, 2 Queen Anne's Gate,
London, SW1H 9AA.

Tel: 01-222 0411

MEP since June 1979

Born 1925. Married, three children. Farmer in Warwickshire. President of National Farmers' Union 1970-79. Past President European Farmers' Federation (COPA). President of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers, 1979-82. President - National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs 1976. Independent Chairman - National Cattle Breeders Association. Knighted June 1979. Deputy Lieutenant for Warwickshire. Non-Executive Member of the Board, Lloyds Bank, Fisons and United Biscuits. Awarded Order of Merit West German Republic 1977. Honorary Director of Science, Silsoe College of Technology, 1984. Chairman of the European Parliament Agriculture Committee 1979-82. Chairman of the European Democratic Group 1982-85. President of the European Parliament 1987-1989. Elevated to the peerage as Lord Plumb of Coleshill, 1987.

Electorate : 558,115
Barnbury, Cheltenham -
Gloucester & Tewkesbury
Gloucester, Stratford-on-Avon,
Ayr, Stroud, Withe,

Lord Plumb of Coleshill (C) 94,852
Mr S. L. M. (Green) 49,174
T. L. (Lib) 28,180
L. R. (SLD) 18,196

Coleshill, Warwickshire, 1987

A report to the
financial supporters of

DONOR UPDATE

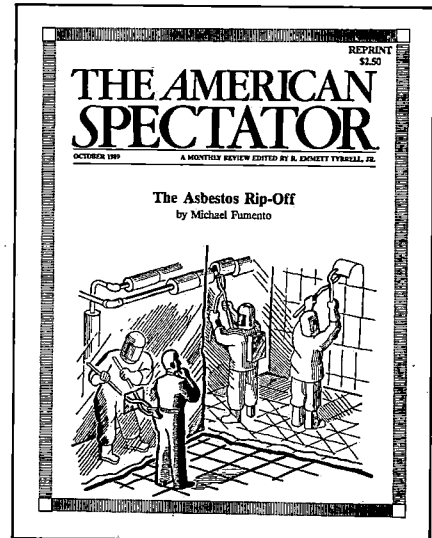
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC.

Quarter ending September 30, 1989

REPORTING PROGRESS MADE BY SPECTATOR

When the American Spectator left Bloomington, Indiana for the laid-back Washington D.C. area four years ago, it included among its primary goals the establishment of an investigative reporting program, such as the liberals have always had, but with lots of logic and verifiable facts.

One recent example of an influential Spectator report is "The Asbestos Rip-Off," the October cover story by Michael Fumento. It disputed the thesis of the mainstream media/left-wing journal alliance (if you doubt such an alliance, see below) that the asbestos in our schools and other structures is a national health hazard. Rather, Fumento concludes, current plans to remove asbestos involve a multi-billion dollar boondoggle that will end up causing more harm than good. To date, the Spectator has sold more than 800 reprints of the report (and Reader's Digest plans to reprint the article in its January 1990 issue). It was also the basis of Stephen Chapman's nationally syndicated Chicago Tribune column, and was cited in many newspapers including the Kansas City Star and the Baltimore Sun (of special note, TAS has yet to receive a single rebuttal to any of the points Fumento raised in his article). And the positive attention the report has received may be an indication that some buildings will be spared an expensive and dangerous asbestos abatement order.



NOW, ABOUT THAT ALLIANCE

The Media Research Center (MRC), located in Alexandria, Virginia, has published a study in its September Media Watch newsletter on how supposedly objective journalists favor left-leaning journals of opinion for their free-lance material. MRC looked at the three-year period ending June 1989, and counted the number of editorials and reports by mainstream journalists (i.e., writers and executives at Time, the Washington Post, the Boston Globe,

and so forth) published in America's leading opinion journals. The liberal New Republic led the field with 112 such articles, the fellow-travelling Nation ran a substantial 44, and the lunar-left Progressive tallied 18 pieces with journalistic by-lines. The American Spectator led all major conservative journals by publishing eleven pieces by mainstream reporters (made possible largely by the aforementioned move to Washington), followed by Commentary with five. In addition to commissioning skilled conservative journalists like Michael Fumento, TAS will continue to seek out fair and honest reporters, who, in turn, might begin to use fresh ideas to influence their colleagues.

TAS WRITERS GETTING NOTICED

Two frequent TAS contributors, Dave Shiflett and Michael "I'm writing asbestos I can" Fumento, have accepted employment with the Rocky Mountain News in Denver. Both received employment offers in response to the "Hire Shiflett" and "Fumento for Hire" advertisements that ran in the May and September issues, respectively.

Elizabeth Kristol recently had an editorial published in the New York Times, entitled "False Tolerance, False Unity" (25 September). It was commissioned by a Times editor who had read and admired Kristol's TAS article on "feminist herstory" (July 1989).

Similarly, Joe Queenan was called by the editor of the New York Times "Arts" section, who wanted to commission work by Queenan after reading his "Quark Bites" article in the March 1989 TAS (Queenan reports that his submissions to the Times had previously been turned down, even though his work has appeared in the New Republic, Spy, and Gentlemen's Quarterly).

FORMER STAFFERS REPORT



Andrew Ferguson

Andrew Ferguson has left his assistant managing editor post at TAS to write editorials for the Scripps-Howard News Service (syndicated in papers across the country including the Cincinnati Post, the Memphis Commercial Appeal, and the Pittsburgh Press), as well as to devote more time to his freelance work. Andy arrived at TAS as an editorial intern in 1984, having spent some time as a copy editor at Pulp and Paper magazine. His first article for TAS was a profile of Leo "Dr. Hug" Buscaglia (April 1985), and Andy has been heaving water balloons at obvious frauds ever since. While at TAS, Andy also

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR'S WASHINGTON CLUB

The American Spectator's Washington Club is composed of organizations and individuals who contribute \$1,000 to \$9,999 yearly to The American Spectator Educational Foundation. For more information on the benefits of membership, please call or write Ronald E. Burr at TAS.

Washington Club members include:

Mr. and Mrs. James A. Abele	H.J. Heinz	John C. Reel
Anonymous	C.T. Hellmuth, CLU, ChFC	Rockwell International
Anonymous	Charlton Heston	Karl Rove
Anonymous	Anonymous	Frank S. Ruddy
ARCO	Household International, Inc.	George S. Saunders, Jr.
The Armstrong Foundation	Inland Container Corporation	Paul J. Schmitt
John B. Bates	Foundation, Inc.	Raymond Shamie
Thomas A. Bolan	Stuart C. Irby, Jr.	Laurence Snelling
William H. Bowen	Phillip Jennings	Roger W. Spencer
Lee C. Bradley, Jr.	Glenn E. Johnson	The Stans Foundation
W.H. Brady Foundation	Mr. and Mrs. Harold Jones	Starr Foundation
Mrs. Thomas Breen	The Joyce Foundation	Benjamin J. Stein
Margaret G. Browne	The Kaltenborn Foundation	Irwin M. Stelzer
Franklin M. Buchta	Kaman Corporation	Joel M. Stern
Dan Burt	Anonymous	Strake Foundation
Forrest W. Byers	Constance Claffey Larcher	Timothy C. Swanson
Curtis Calder	James Lightner	Thomas Tarzian
William Coberly, Jr.	R.J. McCallum	J.M. Bryan Taylor
Clyde G. Culbertson	Anonymous	Thirty Five Twenty
D.J. Culbertson	Mesa Limited Partnership	Peter J. Travers
Harry C. Cushing, IV	Milliken Foundation	Anonymous
Brady W. Dougan	Julie & Arthur L. Montgomery	Anonymous
Roland M. Du Luart	The (Champaign-Urbana)	USG Foundation
The Earhart Foundation	News Gazette	Anonymous
Ford Motor Company Fund	Charles E. Nixon	Michael Valentine
Ellen Garwood	Terence M. Nolan	Russell J. Van
General Motors Corporation	Stanley J. Norton	Coevering, II
Mr. and Mrs. James Gidwitz	Mr. & Mrs. Daniel Oliver	Alex C. Walker
Anonymous	Shane O'Neil	Educational and Charitable Organization
Gleason Memorial Fund, Inc.	William J. O'Neil	Anonymous
Francis Goelet	Anonymous	Marguerite Eyer Wilbur
Mr. and Mrs. Victor Gold	Alex Parkhurst	Foundation
BFGoodrich	Stephen M. Peck	C. Dickerman Williams
Anonymous	Pfizer Inc.	
Hallie Hargrove	L.E. Phillips Family	
Christopher L. Harrop	Foundation, Inc.	
Geoffrey B. Haynes	A. Werner Pleus	
Robert M. Haynie	PROBE Foundation	

(who also moonlights for TAS) were interviewed live on San Diego's KFMB-AM radio, minutes before the broadcast of a San Diego Padres-New York Mets baseball game. Incidentally, the items published in the special CMP "Current Wisdom" (September) represent a tiny sampling of the terrified liberal reactions TAS now has on file.

The American Spectator continues to set an example for conservative newspapers on college campuses around the country. Student papers bearing the title "Spectator" are currently being published at Amherst, Brown, Johns Hopkins, the University of Minnesota, Vassar, and the University of Washington. Many of these and other campus-based conservative organizations cannot afford magazine subscriptions. Perhaps your alma mater has such groups who would greatly appreciate gift subscriptions of the American Spectator.

The Spectator's office lease will expire on July 31, 1990. Due to circumstances beyond its control, the magazine may be moving. If you are in a position to donate idle office space to TAS (which plans to remain in the Washington, D.C. environs), it would help greatly. If you think you may be able to help, please write or call Ronald E. Burr at the Spectator.

This photograph appeared in a Ford Foundation newsletter (which is similar to this one, but produced on a larger budget), accompanying an item on The Institute of American Studies in Beijing. Note that TAS is prominently displayed on the magazine rack behind the Chinese students. Note also that it has obviously been picked up and read many times, in contrast to the clean, untouched Nation, for example (alas, this photo was taken before the Tiananmen Square massacre--TAS is now undoubtedly banned from the racks, while the Nation has surely become required reading).



Left to right: Zhang Yi, Mao Yushi, and Zi Zhingyun of the Institute of American Studies in Beijing, China

*

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*

wrote for the Wall Street Journal, National Review, Fortune, City Paper (Washington, D.C.), and Chicago Times magazine.

Gregory Gutfeld, a 1988 TAS intern, is a screen writer living in San Mateo, California. He has published several humorous pieces in the San Francisco Chronicle of late, including a "report" on "Vietnam Film Stress Syndrome," a form of psychosis afflicting people who watch too many films about the Vietnam war. Greg's story was taken seriously by a local television reporter who called the Chronicle for more details.

Edward McFadden, another 1988 intern, has been in Brussels since February working as a copy editor at the Wall Street Journal, Europe. Ed has had two columns published on the Journal's editorial pages (which consequently appeared in the United States edition) recently, one on the historic changes in Poland, the other on the plight of Turkey's refugees fleeing Bulgaria.

Malcolm Gladwell, a former TAS assistant managing editor, at age 25 is the youngest person to hold the position of science writer at the national desk of the Washington Post. He was promoted after serving as a reporter for the Post's Business page for a little more than a year. His most recent article for the Spectator is "Risk, Regulation, and Biotechnology" (January 1989).

CONGRESS IN CRISIS

Thanks to special support from an Advisory Group member, the American Spectator is committed to publishing a series of articles on one of America's least democratic institutions--the United States Congress. These articles will identify the sources of our drift towards non-representative government, and propose remedial actions. The first two articles in this "Congress in Crisis" series are "So You Want to Reform Congress?" (Fred Barnes, September), and "Coming to Terms with Campaign Reform" (Robert England, November). This series represents the Spectator's role in reforming the institution of Congress. As for reforming the individual Congressmen themselves, TAS will leave this in the hands of professional witch doctors.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

The Committee for Monumental Progress (CMP), TAS's recently organized think-tank dedicated to revamping Mount Rushmore by appending Ronald Reagan's likeness to South Dakota's most famous piece of art (see "Ron on the Rock," July 1989), continues to make waves. The San Francisco Chronicle and the Washington Times have dutifully kept their readers informed of CMP's activities. And in August, R. Emmett Tyrrell and CMP executive director David Shanahan

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR ADVISORY GROUP

The American Spectator Advisory Group is composed of organizations and individuals who contribute \$10,000 or more per year to the American Spectator Educational Foundation. Their dedication, as well as the loyalty of all our contributors and subscribers, enables us to continue the programs reported in these pages.

Our distinguished group includes:

The Lynde and Harry Bradley Foundation
Anonymous
Adolph Coors Foundation
Theodore Forstmann
Sir James Goldsmith
James J. Griffitts, M.D.
John W. Hanes Foundation
The Grover Hermann Foundation
The J. M. Foundation
Donald and Jeanne Kahn
Michael Keiser
Marquette Charitable Organization
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The Samuel Robert Noble Foundation
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THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION, INC.

1101 N. Highland, P.O. Box 10448, Arlington, VA 22210-1448
703-243-3733

THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATION
1101 N. Highland Street
P.O. Box 10448
Arlington, Virginia 22210-1448
703-243-3733

11 January 1990

The American Spectator Educational Foundation is the 501(c)(3) corporation that publishes the American Spectator. Founded by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. in 1967 as a campus magazine at Indiana University, the publication went national in 1971, and moved to the Washington, D.C. area in 1985. The Spectator's mission is to attack and chip away at the "one-party media" that dominates America. The American Spectator Educational Foundation accomplishes this through its publishing and young journalist training programs.

The humor, irreverence, and lively style of the Spectator are designed to appeal to a sophisticated audience of writers, editors, intellectuals, policy makers, and young people. One out of five of the Spectator's 40,000 subscribers has written an article or book within the past year. More than 4,000 working journalists subscribe.

Many of the articles in the Spectator are quoted widely in the mainstream media and reprinted on op-ed pages. Book publishers also solicit authors to expand their article theses into books (three books resulted from Spectator articles last year). Authors are frequently invited on radio and television interview programs.

Apart from its editorial goals, the Spectator is also a launching pad for young journalists. Former Spectator columnists include James Grant (Grant's Interest Rate Observer), Roger Rosenblatt (former editor of U.S. News and World Report), Ben Stein (screenwriter for "Mary Hartman" television series), and George Will (Pulitzer Prize-winning columnist). Former Spectator staff members have gone on to Scripps Howard News Service, Harper's, Insight, the Washington Times, the Washington Post (science desk), the New York Times, and the Wall Street Journal. Spectator editor R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. has a syndicated column that is carried by the Washington Post, the New York Post, Los Angeles Times, and 40 other papers.

Board members include Jeane Kirkpatrick, John Lehman, Frank Shakespeare, William Simon, and General William C. Westmoreland. Like all opinion publications the Spectator's circulation, though influential, is too modest to generate sufficient subscription and advertising revenue to be self-sufficient. Therefore, the organization relies on contributions. The Spectator's annual budget is \$2 million, half of which is derived from operating revenue and the other half from contributions.

The American Spectator Educational Foundation, Inc.

The American Spectator Educational Foundation, which publishes the American Spectator and offers training to young people interested in journalism careers, was established twenty-two years ago with the major objective of fighting the left-liberal media bias. At the time of its founding in 1967, the Spectator, an off-campus magazine at Indiana University, attempted to defuse the influence of the SDS-controlled student government and the radical underground publications. Today, the Spectator's target is the one-party media culture that prevails in America.

To accomplish our goals, the Spectator has a two-part strategy:

First, we try to engage the best writers and reporters to produce articles that provide a point of view often ignored by the mainstream media. We take pains to ensure that we maintain a subscriber list that includes influential people who will read our articles and carry our message where it might not otherwise be carried. We work to keep our readers informed on vital issues, aware of the distractions that busy readers face. To expand our influence, we try to promote the magazine and its contents to other media--both print and broadcast.

Second, through our young journalist training program, we try to discover and create new writers who believe in the traditional American values and the free-market system. The challenge is to find young people who want to write, and then to assist them in becoming good writers. As part of our program we work with young writers on article ideas, edit and publish their work, and bring them to the attention of other editors.

As we move into the 1990's we will continue to make improvements in both of these approaches, enabling us to reduce further the media bias that has dominated this country for so long.

page 10

The American Spectator Educational Foundation, Inc.

Officers

President and Chairman: R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.

Vice Chairman: Hon. Frank Shakespeare

Secretary-Treasurer: Ronald E. Burr

Board of Directors

Jerry Gerde

Robert Groseth

Peter Hannaford

David W. Henderson

Hon. Jeane Kirkpatrick

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Shane O'Neil

Henry Regnery

Hon. William E. Simon

Dr. Alan Somers

Thomas Tarzian

Gen. William C. Westmoreland (Ret.)

The American Spectator
Educational Foundation

Prospectus

SUMMARY

The American Spectator Educational Foundation is a 22-year-old 501(c)(3) corporation that publishes the American Spectator and trains young journalists for careers in the media. The Spectator has an influential circulation--one in five readers has written an article or book within the past year. It is widely quoted and its writers are invited to appear on radio and television programs. Many young journalists have gained experience at the magazine and have gone on to work and write for other publications, including the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post, and the New York Times.

Since our founding in 1967, a major objective of the American Spectator has been to combat the left-liberal bias that dominates so much of the media. When we were an off-campus magazine at Indiana University, our goal was to counter the official student newspaper and the radical underground publications. Today, our target is the one-party media culture dominating America.

Our strategy is two-fold. First, we publish the best magazine possible, one filled with articles that provide a point of view often ignored by the major media. By maintaining a quality subscriber list, we ensure that these articles are read by influential people. We constantly work to keep on top of important subjects so we can compete with the distractions that busy readers face. And we try to promote the magazine and its contents to other media--both print and broadcast--to increase our influence.

The second part of our strategy is to discover and create new writers. This is more challenging and extremely difficult to measure, yet it is one of the accomplishments of which we are proudest. The challenge is to find people who want to write, and assist them in becoming good writers. To that end, we work with them on article ideas, edit and publish their work, and promote them to other editors.

As we look to the future, we must continue to make improvements in both of these strategic approaches. We must

be aware that we live in a highly competitive world and that the American Spectator competes not only with other magazines but also with all sorts of non-reading activities. If we are to continue to work toward the goal of a two-party media, we must build on our past successes, making the Spectator into the premier opinion magazine of the 1990s--one that the future generation of writers and opinion leaders read and take seriously.

This prospectus outlines our plans for accomplishing this, including a description of our five-part program to improve the magazine and develop more writers. This program includes: increasing our article budget to encourage writers to stay with the trade and write well; hiring a young person to serve as roving correspondent and gain writing experience and valuable exposure; expanding our intern program to include six interns and a full-time person to train them; publicizing the articles in every issue of the Spectator and arranging for reprints of the articles as well as radio and television interviews for the authors; and improving the reporting in the magazine by hiring a full-time staff reporter.

The American Spectator Educational Foundation's annual budget is \$2 million, of which \$800,000 is provided by contributions. (The rest is from subscription and advertising revenue.) The expansion program described in this proposal will cost an additional \$500,000 annually.

BACKGROUND

The American Spectator was founded in 1967 by R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. as an off-campus magazine at Indiana University. Opposed to radicalism and the SDS-controlled student government, the Spectator also served as virtually the only forum on campus for free enterprise and democratic values. In 1971 we launched the magazine as a national publication and it grew into an influential opinion magazine. Four years ago we moved from Bloomington, Indiana, to the Washington, D.C. area.

Like all opinion publications, the Spectator's subscription and advertising revenues are insufficient to cover costs and we must depend on the financial support of interested foundations, corporations, and individuals. Other publications that rely on similar financial support include Mother Jones, the Nation, the New Republic, Commentary, the Washington Journalism Review, Harper's, and National Review. The trade magazine Folio reports that consumer magazines must have a circulation of approximately 300,000 to break even. No opinion publication comes close to this figure. Consequently, all need support from wealthy owners, outside individuals, interested readers, or academic institutions.

PROGRAM SUCCESS

Circulation

Over the years the Spectator has developed a quality circulation. Today it stands at 40,000 throughout the United States and in over 50 countries. The magazine has a constituency of influential readers. One in five, for instance, has written an article or book within the past year and over 4,000 working journalists subscribe. The Spectator is read in the editorial offices of virtually every major daily newspaper in the United States. The magazine is also listed in the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. This popular index is used for research by every

serious high school and college student in the United States. Indexing of the Spectator increases our library readership, and it exposes thousands of students to our ideas.

Articles

The magazine has published many important articles and investigative studies that have received widespread attention over the past two decades. These articles have been reprinted on the op-ed pages of newspapers, discussed in the news pages of magazines and major newspapers, mentioned on radio and television broadcasts, and even reprinted in books. Many of the articles have been on the cutting edge of political and social debates.

Four years ago we relocated from Indiana to the Washington, D.C. area. Since the move, the magazine is having more of an impact on journalists and policy-makers. The Washington Post mentions the Spectator almost monthly. Our editor, R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr., managing editor, Wladyslaw Pleszczynski, and writers such as William Tucker are frequently invited to appear on television programs, including CNN News, C-SPAN interview programs, "Nightline," "MacNeil-Lehrer Newshour," "Good Morning America," and others. And European and Asian journals, including a number of underground publications in Communist countries, translate and reprint articles.

Our writers are also invited to write books based on their Spectator articles. Stein and Day invited William Tucker ("The Unjust World of Bernhard Goetz," April 1985) to write a book based on his article on Bernhard Goetz; Random House asked Sheldon Kelly ("Kris Kristofferson in Sapoia," August 1988) to write on his experiences in Nicaragua; and Harper & Row asked Micah Morrison ("While Yellowstone Burned," November 1988) to write on the Yellowstone fires and the environmental movement.

Interns

The Spectator has been highly successful at training young journalists for media careers. Former staffers have gone on to influential positions at Harper's, the New York Times, the Washington Times, the Washington Post, and other publications (a list is in the appendix). Our last intern, Edward McFadden, recently accepted a position on the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal/Europe. He is the third Spectator intern to work for the Journal.

Now that we are in Washington we have more opportunities to hire interns. As time goes on, I think we can bring more young people through our shop, provide them with valuable training, and help them advance their journalism careers.

FUTURE PLANS

When we began the Spectator, twenty-two years ago, our strategy was to counter the dominance of the left on campus through publication of the Spectator and by training of young writers. Today, our goals are similar; however, we are working with a national problem, rather than a local one. Our future plans call for us to build on our success over the past two decades and we plan to do this with a two-part strategy to combat liberal dominance of the media.

As you well know, there is a serious problem of media bias in this country. We have a two-party political system but a one-party media. Our values and views are frequently confined to one major newspaper, the Wall Street Journal, while the remainder of the media are dominated by the left. For years, many of us have been concerned with this problem. Unfortunately, the causes of media bias are complex and there is no single solution on how to correct it. However, the Spectator can do its part to contribute to the solution.

Our strategy is two-fold:

- 1) By publishing reports and presenting views unavailable in the mainstream media, the Spectator adds to diversity in the media. The more the magazine is read and the more its ideas appear in other publications, the less monolithic are the liberal media;

- 2) By creating young writers, we make sure we have a larger stable of writers for not only the Spectator but other publications. Developing young writers lessens the liberal hegemony over the media and it also builds for the future.

No single organization can overcome media bias alone, but the American Spectator Educational Foundation can help change the balance and, along with other organizations, help develop a "two-party media" in the United States. Here are our plans for the next four years for the role we can play toward achieving this goal.

Articles

We must continue to publish the best articles possible and attract new writers. To do this we must be able to pay more for articles as well as editing costs. Our present annual editing and article budgets of \$72,000 and \$79,000, respectively, are too modest.

Here is a description of how we acquire articles for the Spectator, followed by a review of what could be done were more money available.

The articles in the Spectator can generally be classified into three types. The first are pieces written by established (and usually well-known) writers like Tom Wolfe, P.J. O'Rourke and Paul Johnson. Such pieces require little of our editing time but these writers command high (for us) article fees of \$500 and upward. The second type are articles from beginning or less well-known journalists who write interesting and persuasive pieces and require modest to heavy editing. These article fees are lower, perhaps in the \$250 range, but the editing cost, in terms of time, labor, and revisions is much higher than that of the first group. The third group comprises investigative pieces. For these pieces, the ability to collect data, devote time to travel (if necessary), research, and interviews, is more important than writing skills. Such articles are usually lengthy, and include some of the more memorable pieces we have published. However, they often require extensive editing rewriting by our staff. They are, obviously, the most time consuming and costly to publish in terms of editorial staff time.

Articles usually begin with our editors discussing ideas with writers. In the case of a well-known writer this initial approach might involve travel and entertainment. For instance, editor Tyrrell traveling to New York to have dinner with Tom Wolfe to ask him to write a piece for the Spectator. With other writers it might involve a telephone call from managing editor Wladyslaw Pleszczynski. After the piece is commissioned and the manuscript is received revisions are often suggested. Then our staff edits the revised manuscript. As mentioned earlier, some articles require few changes, but most require diligent editing, line by line, with a goal of making the writing clear, crisp, and lively. Care is also taken to avoid changing the author's meaning in any way, and, where possible, to preserve his distinctive voice, since unlike some other intellectual reviews, the American Spectator strives to be hospitable to a variety of prose and intellectual styles. All facts are checked and the article is proofread

for spelling errors a minimum of five times by at least four different readers. Finally all revisions are reviewed with the author for his final approval. Often when working with young writers we instruct them on how to compose articles, and explain the reasons for revisions or editorial changes. The goal is to publish the best articles possible and, in the case of new writers, assist them in developing their writing talent.

We propose paying more for articles and editing to:
1) improve the quality of writing in the Spectator; and 2) develop beginning writers. Here is an elaboration.

1) Improve the quality of writing in the Spectator.
We are in a competitive environment and we need to compensate writers so that they can devote enough time to pieces that are well thought out and well researched. Jude Wanniski, in his 1989 Media Guide, reports that there is always one "must read" article in the (Spectator). With greater resources we could expand from one "must read article" into several articles every month that no one could afford to miss.

Furthermore, publications like the Washington Post reprint articles from the Spectator not because the Spectator is conservative but because it is uniquely informative. Publishing the best articles possible will encourage more reprints and discussion of articles.

Finally, offering a more competitive fee would allow the Spectator articles to be more timely. We would be better able to solicit articles and get people to write pieces on short notice and meet their deadlines.

2) Develop beginning writers. The American Spectator discovers and creates new writers. We find people who want to write and then help them become writers. But writing takes a great deal of time and diligent effort, and our challenge is to encourage young writers to stay with the trade. Higher article fees will help make writing an attractive vocation or avocation for intelligent young conservatives. Just as the Reagan Administration had difficulty luring people away from lucrative private-sector jobs, we have a similar problem enticing people to write when they can spend their time in more remunerative pursuits.

The development of writers is critical to the nation's intellectual vitality. Writers are always on the cutting edge of changing the world. The question is: How do we

make sure our intellectuals and writers are the ones who are changing the world? How do we bring promising young people into the profession, and then make sure they stay there? When Adam Meyerson came to the American Spectator in 1974, he was a young college graduate who had supported George McGovern. Now he is the editor of the Heritage Foundation's Policy Review and one of the most talented young journalists of his generation. Perhaps Adam would have achieved his position without the American Spectator, but it is also possible he would be a liberal college professor or a non-political attorney. In many ways we cannot prove that we develop individual writers, nor can we really tell you how. But there are once-uncommon ideas that today are common thanks to the American Spectator; and that work continues not only through the Spectator itself but also through other publications and institutions where American Spectator graduates work. Our goal is to continue to develop writers, and more of them.

To accomplish these two objectives we need to put more money into article fees and editing. We need to pay more for well-known writers so we can get them to contribute to our pages. We do not necessarily have to compensate lesser known writers and investigative reporters more, but in order to bring their work up to the American Spectator's standards, we need to put more resources into editing. Presently our annual article budget is \$72,000 (\$6,000 an issue) and our editing budget is \$79,000. Roughly \$1 is spent on editing for every \$1 spent on article fees. To improve our articles and writing talent we propose increasing our article budget to \$120,000 and our editing budget to \$130,000 for a total increase of \$99,000. We believe that this would provide us with the resources to achieve these goals. (Budgets for this and the following projects are in the appendix.)

Roving Correspondent

On May 1 we hired Micah Morrison as the American Spectator's roving correspondent. He will write six major pieces for the Spectator over the next twelve months, and the remainder of his time can be used to write for other publications and for work on his two books. We will publicize his articles, encourage newspapers to reprint or discuss them, arrange radio and television interviews with Micah, and do our best to establish his reputation as an up-and-coming young writer. Again, the left does this repeatedly with such writers as Michael Kinsley, James Fallows, Nicholas Lehman, and other talented young journalists

who have come out of the Washington Monthly. This project provides us an opportunity to advance the career of a young writer who is pro-American and who appreciates liberty and the free-market system. It also improves the coverage of important events in the magazine. The cost of this project is \$30,000, and it is close to being completely funded.

Intern Program

As already mentioned, our intern program has been one of our most successful undertakings, with graduates in positions of influence in major media. We would like to expand the program to provide opportunities for more young people. When we were located in Bloomington we had one full-time intern on our staff; now that we are in Washington we have three. Our experience is that there is a maximum number of interns we can take on at one time without overwhelming our staff. The weakness of the program now is that during the last two weeks before printing, our editors' first priority is the production of the magazine, and working with interns is on a time-available basis. However, we believe we could take up to six interns if we expanded and formalized our program. We need to hire a full-time supervisor to administer the program, assign writing assignments and other tasks to interns, and find them positions after graduation from our program. This person would also have editorial responsibilities and perform line editing and proofreading chores, relieving managing editor Wladyslaw Pleszczynski and assistant managing editor Andrew Ferguson of some of these mundane chores, while freeing them to do serious work with the interns. In essence, we would be setting up a mini-graduate school in journalism for young, pro-American journalists.

In addition to the daily training, we would also conduct monthly seminars in the office, inviting prominent journalists from news organizations like the Wall Street Journal, the New York Times and Scripps Howard to speak to the interns. This would provide the interns with an opportunity to see, meet, and talk to people who live and work in the journalism world. Furthermore, good training is useless if these young people have no place to go after finishing the program. Monthly seminars, and the network it would establish, would help improve our ties with established journalists and help ensure future placement of interns.

The cost of the program, including an additional full-time editor/instructor, salaries for six interns, and office space would be \$211,000.

Reprints and Publicity

One of our goals is to make the Spectator an important source of news by generating print and broadcast publicity based on the articles in each issue. We would accomplish this by hiring a public relations consultant and part-time secretary to promote reprinting of articles, arrange radio and television interviews with the authors, and get each issue into the hands of individuals affected by the articles. As a special test of this, we hired Hugh C. Newton, a long-time public relations consultant, to promote James Ring Adams's article on Jim Wright and Tony Coelho's involvement in the Savings and Loan crisis. Thanks to this effort, as well as the timeliness of the issue, James Ring Adams was interviewed on almost 200 radio programs. If we had the staff and regular consulting assistance we could get more of our articles discussed in major media and more authors interviewed on radio and television, enhancing their reputations. Psychology Today generates at least one AP or UPI national story every month through public relations efforts. Forbes has one person on its staff who does nothing but arrange radio interviews for their writers every issue. The New Republic has a full-time public relations person on staff. If the Spectator engages in similar efforts it would convey our ideas to a wider audience, help change the direction of public debate, and publicize our writers, thereby helping them to establish reputations and stature. A public relations consultant, a part-time secretary on our staff to assist the consultant with mailings, telephone calls and other chores, postage, mailing, and other costs come to \$90,000 annually.

Improve Reporting

Over the past twenty years the Spectator has appealed to readers with wide-ranging political views. According to a readership survey, over 20 percent of our subscribers disagree with the articles in the Spectator. In the future we want to maintain this audience and make the Spectator into a publication that must be read by those having political values different from ours. One way of achieving this is to improve our reporting.

One of the shortcomings of conservative publications has been a reluctance to run reporting in their pages. Conservatives have a tendency to dismiss reporting as a liberal occupation, yet they complain incessantly about liberal bias in the media. By keeping out of the fray, conservative journalism often amounts to nothing more than

"armchair commentary," with little reporting to support the opinion. Since coming to Washington four years ago we have made a conscious effort to take advantage of our location and increase the amount of reporting in the magazine. For example, ABC News reporter Brit Hume's September 1987 article on the Iran-contra hearings received a considerable amount of attention and publicity. Ace Washington reporter Fred Barnes's devastating profile of Senator Paul Tribble ("Senator Jello," October 1987) is still a hot topic in the current Virginia gubernatorial campaign.

However, because of the small number of people on our staff, most of our editors' time is spent producing the magazine every month and writing in the Spectator is done by individuals outside the organization. In many cases, we are at their mercy when it comes to covering specific stories, since outsiders are notorious for writing about subjects of their choice, not their editors.' This often prevents us from covering a story because we have no one on the staff whom we can assign to it, no questions asked. Moreover, assignments of this sort are often time consuming because of the amount of background work required. (For instance, the Washington Post assigned a reporter we know to write an article on the Fairfax County Hospital monopoly and told him to devote three months exclusively to research, investigation, and interviews.)

We propose hiring a full-time reporter to cover events for the American Spectator. He or she would be available to report on such topical events as personnel problems at the State Department or the increasing involvement of Congress in scientific inquiry, as well as to undertake long-term projects such as an investigation of the wasteful policies of the Department of Health and Human Services or the cooperation of the Food and Drug Administration in the pesticide scares.

We envision this person working full-time on the staff of the American Spectator. He or she would attend editorial meetings and work under the direction and guidance of editors Tyrrell and Pleszczynski. The reporter would be responsible for ten articles a year, or roughly one an issue. Three of the articles would be major reports. Most of the work would be done out of our Washington area office, however some travel would be necessary as well as expenses for the purpose of interviewing people.

This project would improve the magazine editorially. Many of the reports that should be written will get done. And this would give us an opportunity to develop and train a young reporter. We have had three former staffers go on

to the editorial page of the Wall Street Journal. This would give us an opportunity to develop a reporter for the Journal or other newspaper. The cost is \$74,500.

Here is a summary and annual costs of our five-part program to improve the Spectator and develop more young writers:

Increase article payments	\$ 99,000
Add roving correspondent	30,000
Expand intern program	211,000
Promote TAS articles and writers	90,000
Improve reporting in TAS	<u>74,500</u>
Total	\$504,500

Summary

Our total budget is \$2 million this year and we must raise \$800,000 in contribution revenue. Furthermore, to undertake our expansion plans, we need to raise \$500,000 annually for the projects described above. We hope to have the additional sources of funds to phase in each of the above programs within four years.

Liberal and Conservative Opinion Publications
in the United States

<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Circulation</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Circulation</u>
America	34,800	The American Spectator	39,300
Antioch Review	4,100	Commentary	36,200
The Center Magazine	17,900	National Review	124,900
Columbia Journalism Review	32,000	Policy Review	20,000
Commonweal	19,200	The Public Interest	<u>7,600</u>
Democracy	8,800		228,000
Dissent	6,400		
Foreign Affairs	85,500		
Foreign Policy	20,400		
Free Inquiry	9,300		
The Humanist	15,200		
In These Times	29,700		
Mother Jones	174,700		
Ms.	513,700		
The Nation	92,000		
The New Leader	19,200		
The New Republic	99,600		
The New York Review of Books	116,800		
Partisan Review	7,500		
The Progressive	32,100		
Rolling Stone	780,700		
The Village Voice	150,000		
Washington Journalism Review	18,000		
The Washington Monthly	25,400		
Working Papers	12,000		
Worldview	<u>16,300</u>		
	2,341,300		

PRESENT POSITIONS OF FORMER AMERICAN SPECTATOR STAFF

Joseph P. Duggan	Special Assistant to Ambassador Edward Rowny, U.S. Department of State
Erich Eichman	Managing Editor, the <u>New Criterion</u>
Vincent Fitzpatrick	Assistant Editor, American Life League
Susan France	Associate Editor, <u>Reader's Digest</u>
Malcolm Gladwell	Reporter, the <u>Washington Post</u>
Joyce Goldberg	Assistant Professor, University of Texas at Arlington
Greg J. Gutfeld	Hollywood scriptwriter
Alan Keyes	Candidate for United States Senate from Maryland, 1988
Liz Lilla	Senior Editor, <u>Insight</u>
Edward S. McFadden	Copy Editor, the <u>Wall Street Journal</u> , European edition
William McGurn	Washington Bureau Chief, <u>National Review</u>
Adam Meyerson	Editor, <u>Policy Review</u>
Steven Munson	News Special Chief, Voice of America
John Podhoretz	Assistant Managing Editor, the <u>Washington Times</u>
Andy Stark	Policy Advisor, Office of the Prime Minister, Canada
Richard Starr	Assistant Managing Editor, <u>Insight</u>
John Thomas	Reporter, <u>Alexandria Gazette</u>

PRESENT POSITIONS OF FORMER AMERICAN SPECTATOR COLUMNISTS

Robert Asahina	Senior Editor, Simon and Schuster
Martha Bayles	Television Critic, the <u>Wall Street Journal</u>
Fred Barnes	Senior Editor, the <u>New Republic</u>

FORMER COLUMNISTS, CONTINUED

James Grant	Editor and Publisher, <u>Grant's Interest Rate Observer</u>
John O'Sullivan	Chief Editorial Writer, the <u>London Times</u>
Roger Rosenblatt	Editor, <u>U.S. News and World Report</u>
Peter Rusthoven	Washington Counsel, NASA to Space, Counsel to Congressional Committee on NASA
Benjamin Stein	Television scriptwriter and author
George Will	Columnist, ABC Television News Commentator and author

WRITERS FORMERLY WITH THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

Kenneth Adelman	Director, Arms Control & Disarmament Agency
Elliott Abrams	Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
Aram Bakshian, Jr.	Director of Speechwriting for the President
Christopher Buckley	Speechwriter for the Vice-President
James L. Buckley	Federal Judge on D.C. Court of Appeals
Christopher DeMuth	Administrator for Information and Regulatory Affairs, Office of Management and Budget
Terry Eastland	Director of Communications, Justice Department
Edward Erler	Head of Bicentennial Management Committee
Chester Finn	Assistant Secretary of Education, Educational Research & Improvement
Francis Fukuyama	State Department Policy Planning Staff
Carl Gershman	President of National Endowment for Democracy
Joshua Gilder	Speechwriter for the President
Victor Gold	Adviser to the Vice-President; National correspondent for <u>Washingtonian</u> magazine
Charles Horner	Associate Director of Programs, U.S. Information Agency
Constance Horner	Director, Office of Personnel Management
Robert Kagan	Special Assistant to Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs
Jeane Kirkpatrick	Ambassador to the United Nations

(over, please)

William Kristol	Chief of Staff, Department of Education
John Lehman	Secretary of the Navy
Daniel Pipes	Special Advisor to the Counselor, Department of State
Richard Pipes	National Security Council Senior Staff, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union
Peter Rodman	Senior Deputy for National Security Affairs, Foreign Policy, White House
Eugene Rostow	Director, Arms Control & Disarmament Agency
William J. Schneider, Jr.	Under Secretary for Security As- sistance, State Department
Joseph Shattan	Policy Advisor to the Secretary of Education
Mary Tedeschl	Speechwriter for the Secretary of State
Wayne Valis	Special Assistant to the President

PRESENT POSITIONS OF
THE AMERICAN SPECTATOR
SUMMER INTERNS

J. Anthony Daniel	Graduate student, University of Southern California film school
Joseph W. DeBolt, Jr.	Business assistant, the <u>American Spectator</u>
Gary Feld	Graduate student, Boston University, studying political science
Holly Hamilton	Sophomore, Wellesley College, majoring in economics
Shawna Hornsby	Senior, Indiana University, majoring in journalism and Latin
Marcia Kurop	Sophomore, Harvard University majoring in classics and government
Alex Linder	Intern, Evans & Novak
William Linsenmeyer	Legislative analyst, <u>The Legislative Digest</u>
Eric Ueland	Legislative analyst, Senate Republican Policy Committee

The American Spectator
 *Subscriber Profile
 (Past twelve months)

Read 4 out of 4 issues	87%
Average time spent with each issue	1 3/4 hours
Professional/Managerial	88%
College educated	94%
Male	88%
Wrote an article or book for publication	18%
Discussed or took action based on articles read in the <u>Spectator</u>	90%
Participated in public policy activities	91%
Wrote to editor of newspaper/magazine	34%
Wrote to a public official	48%
Sent telegram to public official	5%
The <u>Spectator</u> positively influences my opinion	78%
Lobby for an interest or cause	11%
Appeared on radio/TV in the past	8%
Testified before a legislative body	4%
Gave a speech	29%
Involved with legislation/policy making	13%
Average number of books purchased/read in past year	52

* Mark Clements Research, 1987



EDITOR R. EMMETT TYRRELL JR. WIPES HIS BROW ON THE HANDBALL COURT

God and Man in Bloomington

One day in 1966, *National Review* Editor William F. Buckley Jr. opened his mail to find a check for \$264,000. The sender was R. (for Robert) Emmett Tyrrell, a graduate student about to launch *the Alternative*, a right-wing campus newspaper at Indiana University. Tyrrell had perhaps \$27 in his bank account at the time, but he liked Buckley's magazine and was stirred by a notice to subscribers that the weekly was \$264,000 in debt.

Buckley never cashed the check, but he made the acquaintance of his whimsical would-be benefactor. When Tyrrell decided to go national with his paper in 1970, Buckley lent advice and encouragement and, before you could say Edmund Burke, *the Alternative* had become one of the nation's most energetic and sprightly journals of opinion. Though its subscribers number only 15,000, they include such influential citizens as Ronald Reagan, former Treasury Secretary William Simon and current Energy Czar James Schlesinger.

Liveliest Prose. For \$10, the faithful receive ten times a year a 40-page compendium of essays, satires, diatribes, as well as acid-etched reviews of books, movies and saloons (recent recommendation: Delisa's Bungalow Beer Garden in south St. Louis). *The Alternative's* list of contributors reads like a *Who's Who* of the American right and center. Among them are Buckley, *Public Interest* Co-Editor Irving Kristol, Harvard Government Professor James Q. Wilson, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan and Social Theorist Sidney Hook. The masthead is a *Who's Who* of their children: Senior Editor William Kristol (Irving's son), Art Adviser Elliott Ban-

field (son of Urbanologist Edward), Managing Editor Adam Meyerson (son of centrist Educator Martin), Contributor Benjamin Stein (son of Economist Herbert).

In appearance *the Alternative* might be taken for a Department of Commerce bulletin printed on white bread, but its opinions are couched in some of the liveliest prose since the passing of H.L. Mencken. Tyrrell's own monthly column seethes with Menckenesque malice toward such figures as *Playboy's* Hugh Hefner ("the Lutheran philosopher"), Fanne Fox ("the Washington socialite") and Mao Tse-tung ("perhaps the greatest statesman since Adolf Hitler assumed room temperature"). Tyrrell's view of the Inauguration: "A new Government took office in Washington, not via bayonets and tanks as is the custom in some of the world's capitals [but] in the Democratic Way . . . via hyperbole, sham, melodrama and public-spirited mendacity." To Tyrrell, "few pols have ever been more banal, more tedious and more stupendously uninteresting" than Jimmy Carter, whom he has dubbed "a grinning dunce."

In recent issues, the magazine has argued that school busing is inherently racist, that the Red-hunting of the McCarthy era was justified and that criminal court judges are overawed by psychiatry. *The Alternative's* Harold Robbins Award for the worst book of 1976 was bestowed on Lillian Hellman's *Scoundrel Time* (previous winner: Theodore H. White's *Breach of Faith*). Yet the magazine has also discoursed with a minimum of polemic—though sometimes at unnecessary length—on NATO, the guaranteed annual income and the

separation of church and state. In fact, if *the Alternative* has a guiding philosophy, it is little more than a disgust for hypocrisy, utopian social engineering and bad writing. Says Tyrrell: "We are not after the right-wing yahoos or the left-wing zealots."

Still in Bloomington, Ind., the site of the university, Tyrrell, 34, and his seven-member staff occupy a closet-sized office above an Indian import store overlooking the Monroe County Courthouse. The editor's office is guarded by a life-size papier-mâché statue of (who else?) H.L. Mencken, a gift of Timothy Moynihan (Daniel Patrick's son). Tyrrell, whose wealthy grandfather was the manufacturer of Crown gas ranges, plays vigorous handball each afternoon and commutes by red Mercedes the two miles to his rambling eleven-room house, where he lives in country-gentleman comfort with his wife Judy, their son Patrick Daniel (named after Senator Moynihan), 3, and a bulldog called Irving Kristol.

Ultimate Delusion. Unlike other modestly successful editors, Tyrrell has no plans to widen his magazine's audience. "We aim to be read intensively, not extensively," says he. "No little magazine alive is financially viable unless it is trash. I successfully deluded myself into thinking I would get good writers and the readership of intellectuals. No use going for the ultimate delusion that we could make money." Little danger of that: the magazine, which was subtitled *An American Spectator* in 1974 in admiration of Britain's conservative *Spectator*, loses about \$150,000 a year. *The Alternative's* tiny readership is so loyal, however, that annual deficits are met through periodic appeals to subscribers, and it is not impossible that some sympathetic young reader may some day be moved to mail Tyrrell a check for \$150,000.



50 Faces for America's Future

It has become an almost universal complaint that the tribe of leaders has died out. That is true in one sense: those Olympian figures who dominated earlier decades of the century are gone. But leadership has not vanished; its character has changed. So have the styles and opportunities of leaders, along with the perspectives, needs and expectations of the led.

Despite new hazards and constraints, there is no shortage of talent; leaders are continuing to emerge across the U.S. Here and on the following pages, TIME identifies some of them. The 200 young leaders of five years ago were all 45 years old or younger. This time the age limit remains the same. But only 50 leaders were sought, not because of a diminished pool of talent but because many of the previous 200 would once again qualify—they still have not reached 45.

In May, TIME correspondents and editors began gathering suggestions from Congressmen, religious leaders, educators, politicians and prominent citizens in every part of the nation. TIME tried especially to find leaders on the local and regional levels. As North Carolina Governor James B. Hunt remarked: "I think we've got the attitude in this country that Government has to do everything for people. My whole approach is 'Let's try to do it for ourselves on the local level.'" The magazine sought figures of integrity who have exerted a significant social or civic impact, regardless of politics or ideology. Boston College President J. Donald

Monan expressed an instructive distinction: "Most of the leaders I am acquainted with are not technicians. They have large souls and a sense of values."

TIME's portfolio of promise is more a sampler of outstanding leadership than an effort to pick the 50 who obviously and definitively lead all the rest. There were too many excellent candidates to make any such specific claim; inevitably, the choices were in part subjective. Some of the 50 were picked more for potential than for present accomplishments; they are just starting out, but TIME's editors liked where they are heading. The list does not include many outstanding Americans who lead in the arts. The visionary architect, the composer, the actor, for example, may all make distinguished contributions to the quality of American life. But TIME was looking for people whose effect upon the society was—and will be—more tangible and direct.

Our search found a diverse and exciting group: educators, politicians, administrators, scientists. More than half are only in their 30s—which is an encouraging sign. The list shows how times have changed; women and minorities are better represented than they were five years ago. All those on the list share one characteristic, the sense of boldness that remains the prime prerequisite for leadership in any era.

Herewith, TIME presents 50 faces for the future.

44



44. R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., 35, has established himself as one of the most irreverent pundits of the new right. Back in 1966 when radicals briefly took over Indiana University's Bloomington campus, Tyrrell, then a graduate student, launched a paper called the *Alternative* ("to mainstream liberalism and the radical movement"). With a burgeoning list of contributors that included William F. Buckley Jr. and Irving Kristol, the iconoclastic monthly went national in 1970, changed its name to the *American Spectator*, acquired 22,000 subscribers and earned a reputation among intellectuals for good writing and biting humor. In his latest book, *Public Nuisances*, a collection of his editorials, Tyrrell fulminates against such targets as Jimmy Carter ("a grinning dunce") and women's lib ("the most successful pestilence since Prohibition").

July 27, 1979

The Great Gadfly

Emmett Tyrrell Keeps Right Except to Sass

By Henry Mitchell

R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr. is one of the most luminous young gadflies now singing in the American wilderness, and I can only describe an afternoon spent with him as joyful and zany.

From his moist home of Bloomington, Ind., he rises on middle or right wing to sting the poseurs of the republic, and as William Simon, the sometime Nixon Cabinet member has said, it is bound to do them a world of good.

He edits a monthly opinion paper, *The American Spectator*, where you will not, perhaps, find anything so gentle as Addison and Steele, but will find at least short sentences, literate vocabulary and a monthly ration of vitriol.

My chintzy office declined to let me visit him in his home meadow so we settled for the Hay-Adams Hotel right here in pea and nut country where he said:

"Can't see the White House from here."

He could have if he'd stuck his head out the window and craned to the right.

"It's just as well," he said. "Believe me, sir, we are sitting across from a house of fools."

"Perhaps you don't admire President Carter," I ventured, knowing he calls Carter the Wonderboy, "and you didn't care much for Nixon or Kennedy or Ford. Whom would you like to see in the White House? Reagan of the beautiful hair?"

"Lincoln," he said. "Or even Theodore Roosevelt."

But what if those adequate servants should decline the next nomination, who then?

Well, sir, the fellow never said. Never did.

He can charm the birds



Any Day



down off the trees, something to keep in mind if you ever run into him, and although he is only 35 he reminded me strangely of Sen. Edward M. Kennedy (D-Mass). He is well-vitamins and caloric and looks Irish. Possibly neither man would care for the comparison, though.

The Kennedys in general distress him to think of, and if Tyrrell ever fainted and needed to get the old blood pressure, up, the whisper of "Camelot" in his ear would do it.

Of the late president ("a presidency of singular mediocrity and a life of stunning sham") he has had little good to say. So far as my own researches go, he has said nothing beastly about Rose Kennedy, but the others seem to him somehow lacking in one virtue or another:

"One could see him (the senator) taking his rightful place in presidential annals as a genial and goatish Grant . . . he shares the same worm's eye view of the world."

Tyrrell does not go in for lengthy expostulations and meditations and harangues, nor does he weary the intellect with subtle refinements of thought or careful distinctions of motive:

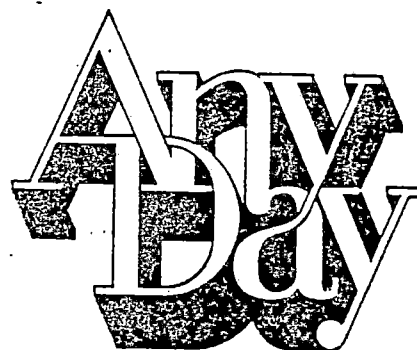
"That his first ambition was not politics is certain," he once wrote of the same Sen. Kennedy. "In his early years he had been jovially devoted to the hooch and the harp, both of which along with fast driving and cuties remain his only known cultural interests."

The language (though some might nit-pick at the ultimate conclusion) sounds like Gibbon on an early pope.

Whack of the Ax

Everybody knows that comedy is rarer than documentaries on television and rightly costs more, being worth more, and most of us will settle for a good laugh where we find it, on or off the screen, on or off the printed page.

But you do notice in Tyrrell not only the exuberance of relative youth,



but the common vice of those under 54: namely, a detectable lack of humility, largeness, sweetness. Of course nobody's perfect, or at least very few of us.

And we ought to be ashamed to require of this well-read young man the virtues of Rabelais, Shakespeare, and Cervantes.

Still, he does rather sieze the ruby of truth and give it a smart whack of the ax. The resultant shrapnel does indeed call attention to the precious jewel, though it is somewhat transformed by that time.

But as Tyrrell sees it, there is so much drivel and bombast and sniveling self-serving going on in the nation that the best thing is to let fly with epigrams or worse. Reasoned rebuttal, he reckons, is almost sure to be lost.

The basic sin, or one basic sin, that he keeps seeing amongst us is the failure to discriminate. Words have sonorities and echoes but not specific meanings. People now, he notices, will say anything and therefore believe anything or do anything.

Tyrrell is a sort of book addict. He never says he reads a lot, but he has a central and astonishing faith that if you read all there is to read you will know all there is to know.

He said, for example, "What happened to all those bright activists of the '60s? The ones that were on television sounding off instead of staying at home reading and learning."

Any Cretin Won't Do

There is such a thing as being educated far beyond one's intelligence, and this is no doubt urged against Tyrrell by those who admire, say, the ambassador to the United Nations, Andrew Young.

Tyrrell has reservations about Young:

"He (the ambassador) studied the Christian occult at the famed Hartford Theological Seminary . . . those were bookish years, and he emerged from them with an unshakeable grasp of what appears to be liberal Christianity's key tenet; namely, Christ was a half-wit."

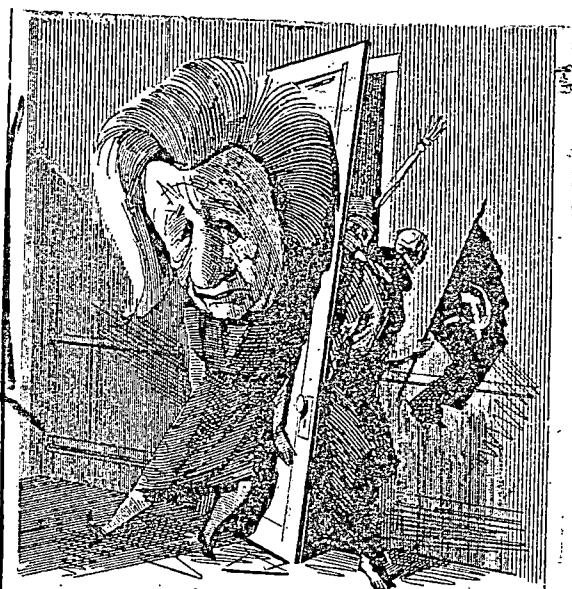
Tyrrell goes on, not to split hairs:

"He is a popinjay of nigh unto constant fluency" and observes moderately that "within six months of Young's U.N. appointment every washroom attendant in New York knew that Andy was a lightweight."

"But if they were to read the encomiums pouring in from the liberal brethren, large numbers of them would be growing sideburns, reading French menus and otherwise preparing for careers in high public office."

Indeed, one of his underlying themes is that people look around and see cretins in high places and therefore suppose any cretin will do, and since that happens to be a liberal tenet, Tyrrell rejects it.

His sketch on Andrew Young, in fact, illustrates his distance from prevailing liberal thought. Many a liberal believes that even if Young is not perfect, still he's as good as his predecessor. Besides (the liberal argument goes) why shouldn't there be black jackasses as well as white? And (their unarguable conclusion) at least he's at United Nations where it doesn't make much difference. Not at Health, Education and Welfare.



But Tyrrell often misses the mercy of the liberal view.

It goes without saying that similar amusing sketches could be devised about Buckley, any Buckley, Carl Curtis or (if shamelessness knew no bounds at all) Bess Truman.

Tyrrell can hardly be expected to use his weapons against the fools on the conservative side, any more than the Germans should have been expected to blow up Berlin.

But once the machinery of sass gets going, it can get out of hand, some would say, and there is some tastelessness in complaining that there's a shortage of assassins or that the ones that killed the Kennedys were not very brainy.

The Island Shrinks

Tyrrell's collection of pieces, titled "Public Nuisances" and culled from his Spectator, were never originally meant to be read bang-bang-bang, but one a month over several years.

They pale a bit when read all in an evening, since there is a similarity amongst them.

Still, there are funny things there. Of Lillian Hellman he observes she is "often ambushed by the uncontrollable thumpings of her very big heart" and is "fain to admit her dominant role in saving us from the totalitarian night."

Surely these are good enough to be remembered and used against the neanderthal fascists?

Nothing, after all, is easier than changing a name.

Tyrrell believes that virtually every high-minded liberal notion results in a shrinking of the island of liberty, and invariably costs a lot of money. And in 20 out of 21 cases, nothing is changed. All that happens is a lot of gush and the enrichment of yet another batch of liberals.

But the liberals, as I kept hammering at him all afternoon, see nothing wrong in that, and really this Tyrrell fellow ought to become more tolerant and broad-minded.

He was a sub-Olympic swimmer, I found out. He did not swim Olympically, but was international-competition material.

He also confessed a fondness for New York.

"Nobody likes New York," I pointed out.

"Yes, I really like New York," he said.

Then who not move The American Spectator there?

He suspects he might be "darlingized" and become an alcoholic. You know, taken up by all the beautiful people and wined and dined for his wit, only to lose perspective and fall into some slough and be burned out at 40.

I thought that an interesting observation. The man has some modesty, after all, and is not like those who cannot conceive the great world's ever being able to do without them.

Gift for Words

His smile is easy, his eyes are bright and his voice is normal. He dresses neatly, in good suits, good striped shirts, and good polished brown shoes. He was educated at Indiana University, but I would have guessed Williams or Virginia.

His wife reviews books sometimes but is not a fire-eater or sky-painter, and they have two young kids, one of them named Patrick Daniel, a sort of homage, it is believed, to Sen. Moynihan, only backwards.

The bright editor smokes cigars, clearly chosen for the amount of fumes they emit, and this is comforting to sinners.

His journal of opinion has 20,000 subscribers, some of them eminent and all of them amused.

He loves the liberal concern for the poor, especially the rich Kennedys, the rich Galbraith, the rich Califano, and so on, and rarely misses a chance to point to their probable incomes.

On the other hand, he is quite fair. Ralph Nader, who lives in a shipping crate or something and who eats nothing and rarely sleeps, and can therefore hardly be reproached for Diocletian living, gets at least as many arrows as any Kennedy.

The true secret to Tyrrell's success thus far is, of course, his language. A gift for words really can make a difference, on rare occasions, to the success of a writer.

Of sometime Secretary of State Henry Kissinger:

"Surely he has seen many marvels: stormtroopers in the old Furth, crest-fallen stormtroopers in Allied Occupied Germany; Harvard; the Council on Foreign Relations; and, in the fullness of time the White House—in whose mess he fattened so prodigiously that he became a hazard to revolving doors and a challenge to Air Force One."

A lie, of course. Dr. Kissinger lost so much weight that his evening clothes no longer fit and his pants slid down in the great ballroom of the Organization of American States before the assembled ambassadors of the place. But then you can't expect Bloomington to know all that Washington knows.

Few things annoy him more than the women's liberation movement. Their point, he says, is that millions of witches were burnt in the Middle Ages and here we are with no inquest till yet.

He believes that men in general snore and trust the pestilence will pass, and he assumes it will in time, having added considerably to American confusion and having exposed many sensible men to malevolent old bags they would otherwise not have met along life's highway.

His youth might, however, some day lead him into error. In his opinion journal there is a note that Tyrrell is on leave of absence working on his book about Nicaraguan restaurants.

But that is not true. He is taking a vacation.

Likewise, if an investigative reporter may speak, his law firm is not (as his masthead reports) called Solitary, Poor, Nasty, Brutish and Short. And this "Baron" Von Kannon, his publisher, is not a baron at all but a good old guy named John. But so much for muckraking.

Even if here and here one cannot go along with Tyrrell's conclusions, at least he has never said "genre" or "bottom line" or "enhance" in his life.

And even if a stern God should somewhere find a sin in the fellow, surely it would be forgiven him. For he has sassed much.

R. EMMETT TYRRELL, JR.

R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr. is founder and editor-in-chief of The American Spectator, a political and cultural monthly, which has been published since 1967. He also writes a weekly column which appears in the Washington Post and is syndicated by King Features to such papers as the New York Post, the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, and the San Francisco Examiner.

Currently Tyrrell is writing a book (working title, The Conservative Crack-Up), scheduled for publication by Simon & Schuster next year. His previous works include The Liberal Crack-Up (Simon & Schuster, 1984), Public Nuisances (Basic Books, 1979) and The Future That Doesn't Work: Social Democracy's Failure in Britain (editor, Doubleday, 1977). His articles have appeared in such publications as The Wall Street Journal, Harper's, Commentary, The New York Times, National Review, The (London) Spectator, The Sunday Telegraph (London), Le Figaro (Paris), The Washingtonian, New York and the Yale Law Journal.

Tyrrell appears frequently on television, having been a guest on "CBS Morning News," "ABC Evening News," ABC's "Good Morning America," "The MacNeil/Lehrer Report," ABC's "Nightline," NBC's "Summer Sunday USA," C-Span, PBS's "Firing Line." and "Late Night America," for example.

In Speaking Out, former White House spokesman Larry Speakes' memoir, Speakes numbers Tyrrell among President Reagan's four favorite columnists. Tom Wolfe has described Tyrrell as "the funniest political essayist in years." The London Times calls him "a man of great mental energy and enthusiasm," and Ben Wattenberg says Tyrrell is "pointed, tough-minded, and rib-ticklingly roguish."

Tyrrell founded The American Spectator (originally called The Alternative) in 1967 after receiving an M.A. in history from Indiana University, from which he also received his B.A. in 1965.

In 1979 Time magazine named Tyrrell one of the fifty future leaders of America. In 1978 the U.S. Jaycees chose him as one of its "Ten Outstanding Young Americans" of the year. IN 1977 he received the American Institute for Public Service's award for the "Greatest Public Service Performed by an American 35 Years or Under." The same year he was presented with the American Eagle Award of the Invest-in-America National Council.

Tyrrell currently serves as a member of the Academic Advisory Board of the United States Naval Academy.



News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

TUESDAY, JANUARY 16, 1990 -- 6 a.m. EST EDITION

TODAY'S HEADLINES

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Battles Rage In Caucasus; Kremlin Declares State Of Emergency -- The Kremlin dispatched army and KGB units to Azerbaijan and declared a state of emergency in parts of the southern republic, where pitched battles raged between hundreds of Azerbaijanis and Armenians.
(AP, Washington Post)

China Says Leaders Must Be Loyal To Marxism, Hints At Purges -- China said Tuesday that the Communist Party must be led by people loyal to Marxism and it hinted broadly at new purges and dismissals. (Reuter)

NATIONAL NEWS

Bush To Offer Family Savings Plan -- The Bush Administration is getting ready to offer a new enticement to encourage Americans to be more thrifty, hoping to boost the country's low savings rate.
(Washington Times)

NETWORK NEWS (Monday evening)

LITHUANIA -- The Lithuanian parliament elected the head of the Communist Party there as the new president of the Lithuanian republic.

BULGARIA -- The Bulgarian National Assembly voted to allow a multi-party system for the first time in 43 years.

EAST GERMANY -- Thousands of East Germans ransacked the headquarters of the secret police.

INTERNATIONAL...A-1

NATIONAL NEWS...A-7

NETWORK NEWS....B-1

TALK SHOWS.....C-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

SOVIETS SEND TROOPS TO QUELL NATIONALIST FIGHTING IN SOUTH

MOSCOW -- The Kremlin Monday night sent army, navy and KGB security forces to the southern republic of Azerbaijan to put down what it described as "attempts at armed overthrow of Soviet power," following two days of armed clashes between Azerbaijanis and Armenians.

The decision to declare a full-scale state of emergency in the border areas between Azerbaijan and Armenia was made at a hastily convened session of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet that was chaired by President Gorbachev. Prime Minister Ryzhkov said in a radio interview earlier that the Kremlin had no choice but to use armed force to prevent a civil war in the region.

The presidium decree suggested that the Soviet leadership regards the latest events in Azerbaijan, where at least 40 people have been killed in anti-Armenian attacks, as an intolerable challenge to its authority. It said the situation in several cities -- including Baku, the Azerbaijan capital, and Gandja... -- had become "particularly tense." ...

Soviet television Monday night reported that several hundred Armenians and Azerbaijanis, using helicopters, armored cars, and machine guns, were fighting each other in the Khanlar and Shaumyan districts of western Azerbaijan. Azerbaijani officials said mortar fire could be heard around Gandja, where Azerbaijani activists have been trying to prevent Soviet troops from moving south to protect embattled Armenian villages.

(Michael Dobbs, Washington Post, A1)

Battles Rage In Caucasus; Kremlin Declares State Of Emergency

MOSCOW -- The Kremlin dispatched army and KGB units to Azerbaijan and declared a state of emergency in parts of the southern republic, where pitched battles raged between hundreds of Azerbaijanis and Armenians....

Many of the fighters were armed with submachine guns and some flew unmarked helicopters or rode in armored vehicles commandeered from military posts, Soviet media reports said.

They described "open armed clashes" in the region, with 300 gunmen fighting in a single battle and trenches being dug and other fortifications built to defend villages against attack....

Tass said the state of emergency means regular Red Army units and KGB troops now will be used to protect residents of the strife-torn area and vital installations like railroads.

(John-Thor Dahlburg, AP)

DEFENSE SECRETARY CHENEY SAYS
SOVIET REFORMS 'REVERSIBLE'

HOUSTON -- The U.S. and its allies must maintain a strong military because reforms taking place in the Soviet Union "are potentially reversible," Defense Secretary Cheney said Monday.

Cheney, in a speech to the Houston Forum Club which reiterated the Bush Administration's defense policies, said Soviet leader Gorbachev faced many problems which threatened to undo his moves toward reform.

"There's no question...that the litany of problems Mr. Gorbachev is faced with is a very long one indeed," he said.

"It would be very risky business for the U.S. to make policy based on the assumption that the transition we now see in the Soviet Union will continue in a peaceful, orderly basis," Cheney said. (Reuter)

PROTESTERS RANSACK OFFICES
OF E. GERMAN SECRET POLICE

EAST BERLIN -- Crowds of demonstrators surged into the headquarters compound of the secret police Monday, broke into a main building and raided offices as anger against continued operation of the security services erupted into one of the most violent demonstrations since the start of East Germany's largely peaceful revolution.

The crowd, part of a huge gathering of 100,000 people called by opposition groups to protest the slow pace of dismantling the hated Stasi...stormed through the building, seizing files and papers, ripping down a picture of ousted Communist leader Honecker, covering walls with graffiti and ransacking a pantry and barbershop.

Windows were broken, but some witnesses said that the first glass was shattered from inside before demonstrators forced their way in, suggesting that provocateurs may have helped trigger the uncharacteristic outburst....

Prime Minister Modrow was whistled down when he first tried to address the demonstrators, but he quieted the crowd long enough to call for "prudence."

(Dan Morgan, Washington Post, A1)

BULGARIAN ASSEMBLY ENDS COMMUNIST PARTY PRIMACY,
AMNESTIES 60 PRISONERS

SOFIA -- The National Assembly took a further step forward Monday toward multi-party democracy by repealing the constitutional provision enshrining the Communist Party's political dominance and restoring the reputations and rights of some of the victims of the old regime.

The assembly also approved acts to depoliticize the state police force and place it under legislative authority. It granted amnesties to 60 political prisoners and sentence reductions to others. It also gave its backing to an 11-point program for restoring full rights to the country's 1.5 million ethnic Turks and other Moslems persecuted previously.

The actions came on an emotional day in which the communist-controlled legislative body sought to come to terms with a dark chapter in this nation's history in attempting to define its future. But critics said the effort was half-hearted and showed the reluctance of party officials to confront the real legacy of 45 years of communist rule.

(Glenn Frankel, Washington Post, A18)

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PRAGUE, MOSCOW OPEN TROOP PULLOUT TALKS
New Czechoslovak Government Wants
Complete Soviet Withdrawal By Year's End

PRAGUE -- Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union began talks Monday on removing the Kremlin's estimated 75,000 occupation troops here amid some Western concern that meeting Prague's demands for a total withdrawal could complicate existing East-West troop reduction negotiations.

Neither side has issued a formal statement on the first of several days of talks....

The Czechoslovak government....wants 50,000-60,000 Soviet soldiers out by mid-May and a political commitment for a total evacuation by year's end, sources close to the meeting said.

(Jonathan Randal, Washington Post, A20)

BANK TO AID EAST EUROPE LAUNCHED BY 34 NATIONS

PARIS -- Thirty-four nations from East and West laid the groundwork Monday for a new international bank to help finance the economic transformation of Eastern Europe.

President Mitterrand, opening the first day of negotiations, warned officials gathered here they have to work fast or risk being overtaken by the fast-moving events that have suddenly thrust Eastern Europe into a new political and economic era....

The institution, named the European Reconstruction and Development Bank for Eastern Europe, is to be capitalized at \$12 billion and start its first loan operations with 30 percent of the amount in 1991, according to a suggestion by Ireland.

(Edward Cody, Washington Post, C1)

FREED SOUTH AFRICANS MEET EXILES IN ZAMBIA
Black Leaders Exult After 27 Year Separation

LUSAKA, Zambia -- There was jubilation and high emotion at Lusaka airport Monday as Walter Sisulu and six other recently freed South African black nationalist prisoners were reunited with leaders of the exiled ANC they had not seen in 27 years.

A crowd of 5,000 ANC exiles and Zambian supporters waited for three hours in a downpour for a charter flight carrying their founding leaders to land, then erupted in a display of uninhibited joy as they embraced, kissed and danced across the wet tarmac with the freed prisoners....

One ANC leader described the gathering as a "watershed moment" for the black nationalist movement. (Allister Sparks, Washington Post, A12)

CHINA SAYS LEADERS MUST BE LOYAL TO MARXISM, HINTS AT PURGES

BEIJING -- China said Tuesday that the Communist Party must be led by people loyal to Marxism and it hinted broadly at new purges and dismissals.

The official People's Daily, in a front-page commentary entitled "The Leadership Must Be Loyal To Marxism," said that the struggle against Western ideals would continue.

"Those who aren't firm in their political stance, whose political caliber isn't high enough or who are just opportunistspretending to be loyal should not be given responsible posts," the newspaper said.

"If such people are in office, we must resolutely remove them," it said.

The newspaper went on to say that any communists who opposed the party must be kicked out. Problems within the party would eventually destabilize the leadership and that had to be avoided, it said. (Reuter)

CONGRESS SET FOR CHINA POLICY BATTLE

Congress is putting on the gloves for a brawl with President Bush over U.S. policy toward China....

Many in Congress believe it's too early to lift sanctions because few freedoms are yet available in China.

Chinese authorities' continuing repression of dissent "reinforces our argument," says Rep. Pelosi (D.-Calif.), author of a bill that would waive a U.S. requirement that Chinese students return home for two years when their visas expire.

Passage of the law, vetoed by Bush in November, will "send a very clear message to the people in Beijing that there has to be some change in the way they treat their people if there's going to be continued opening up," Pelosi said.

Sen. Simon (D.-Ill.) says he "welcomes" the end to martial law. "But it is not satisfactory in terms of really, substantively easing and improving relations. We have to send a stronger signal to China than we've been sending. The White House on the whole Chinese question has been, frankly, very anemic in standing up for freedom."

(Marilyn Greene, USA Today, A4)

5 BIG POWERS BEGIN TALKS ON CAMBODIA Nations Seek Diplomatic End To Long War

PARIS -- The big powers launched a new effort to find a diplomatic solution to the long-running war in Cambodia Monday and prevent the brutal Khmer Rouge from fighting its way back to power in Phnom Penh.

Citing a growing consensus on having the U.N. enlarge its role, officials said two days of talks here among the five permanent U.N. Security Council members represents a chance to revive the momentum lost in the peace process when a French-sponsored Cambodian conference broke down last August.

Diplomats involved in the renewed peace initiative have been spurred on by reports from Cambodia that fighting may be intensifying....

The U.N.-based peace plan, sponsored by Australia, shifts emphasis away from earlier efforts to form a provisional coalition in Phnom Penh compromising Hun Sen's government and the three guerrilla factions in the coalition.

(Edward Cody, Washington Post, A12)

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CRISTIANI POSTPONES U.N. TRIP AS COUP RUMORS FLY

SAN SALVADOR -- President Cristiani postponed a planned visit to U.N. headquarters in New York, but officials discounted speculation that fears of a military coup prompted the delay.

"All that talk about coups and things like that is a thing of the past," presidential spokesman Sandoval said Monday.

Rumors have circulated in El Salvador's diplomatic circles in recent weeks that Salvadoran commanders may be considering an attempt to oust the conservative president because of his relatively aggressive stance against military abuses.

Diplomatic sources said Cristiani has created tension within the Salvadoran Armed Forces through his resolve to bring to justice military officers "whoever they may be" involved in the killing of six Jesuit priests, their housekeeper and her teenage daughter. (Daniel Alder, UPI)

ELLIOT RICHARDSON PREDICTS FAIR NICARAGUAN VOTE

MANAGUA -- Elliot Richardson, the U.N. secretary general's personal representative observing Nicaraguan elections, said Monday that he believes voting on Feb. 25 will be carried out fairly, but he expressed concerns about the atmosphere surrounding the campaign in the six weeks remaining until election day.

In an interview and press conference later, Richardson mentioned unbalanced coverage in the state-owned media and misuse of government property for campaigning by the ruling Sandinista party. He cited violence and intimidation at political rallies and by contra rebels in the countryside as areas of particular concern.

During a three-hour meeting with Richardson Sunday night, at a campaign rally and in remarks to reporters, President Ortega has raised the possibility that the coalition opposing his Sandinista party might pull out of the elections because "they know they are beaten."

(Don Podesta, Washington Post, A12)

FOUR CONVICTED IN DRUG RING WITH NORIEGA TIES

Four men were convicted Monday in a major drug-smuggling operation with links to deposed Panamanian dictator Noriega, but 16 co-defendants in the 2½-month trial were found not guilty.

The defendants, mostly boat captains and truck drivers, had been charged with conspiracy, importation and distribution. Federal prosecutors said the smuggled 48,000 pound of marijuana into North Carolina in 1982 and 280,000 pounds into Louisiana in 1983....

The same investigation that led to the trial also led to Noriega's 1988 indictment in Tampa on drug charges. (AP, Washington Post, A8)

RABIN UNLIKELY TO BREAK MIDEAST DEADLOCK IN WASHINGTON

JERUSALEM -- Israeli Defense Minister Rabin is unlikely to advance deadlocked U.S. efforts to convene Israeli-Palestinian talks when he meets senior Bush Administration leaders in Washington this week....

Israeli officials say he has no new proposals or concessions to offer, amid indications that Secretary Baker is running out of patience with Middle East recalcitrance and is turning his attention to other areas.

"Rabin is not supposed to deal in depth with the peace process. The government has not yet agreed on a response to the latest U.S. document," a Foreign Ministry official said. (Paul Taylor, Reuter)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "Noriega Trial Captures The Center Ring In Miami," by Laura Parker, appears in the Washington Post, A8.

"Military Leaders Of East And West Conferring As Europe Changes," by R. Jeffrey Smith, appears in the Washington Post, A20.

"Beirut Government, Facing Rivals, Asks U.S. Arms," by Ihsan Hijazi, appears in the New York Times, A7.

"GI's in Panama And 3 Embassies Still Sparring," by David Pitt, appears in the New York Times, A13.

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NATIONAL NEWS

MOYNIHAN'S TARGET: THE BUDGET DEFICIT

**Senator's Proposal Unhinges
1983 Social Security Agreement**

...Sen. Moynihan's (D.-N.Y.) radical proposal has sparked an impassioned debate that is quickly taking center stage in the battle between the Bush Administration and Congress over federal spending and taxes.

It also has raised the specter of major upheaval in the political landscape. Democrats, after all, are supposed to be for tax increases, not tax cuts. A number of leading Republicans are deeply worried that because the Bush Administration is opposing Moynihan's proposal, the GOP may be on the verge of losing its most valuable issue....

Even those who applaud the senator believe Moynihan is using political theatrics to drive home his point about the folly of the nation's fiscal affairs.

"I don't think Moynihan proposed [cutting payroll taxes] with the expectation that it would actually happen," said Norman Ornstein, resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute. "Maybe I'm wrong, but I think he proposed it for the shock value." ...

Whatever his intentions, his proposal is rapidly gathering momentum and threatens to produce far more than shock value.

The political appeal of a tax cut may prove irresistible, forcing Republicans and Democrats to scramble aboard the bandwagon, experts say.
(Paul Blustein, Washington Post, A1)

Key Republicans Warn Of Political Stampede

Key Republicans warned the White House last week that the Administration faces what one called a "stampede" in favor of a proposal by Sen. Moynihan (D.-N.Y.) to cut Social Security taxes unless the President and his surrogates can convince the public that the proposal is an attack on Social Security benefits.

Even then, they said, the President might have to produce an alternative plan that somehow cuts Social Security taxes....

According to White House and Republican party sources, Rep. Gingrich (R.-Ga.) warned White House officials last week that Moynihan's proposal to cut Social Security taxes was a political ploy aimed at forcing an eventual tax increase.... Asking Republicans to oppose a tax cut in an election year, he told the White House, is political trouble.

Gingrich, in an interview, said the Moynihan proposal...is a "bait-and-switch tactic." Once that \$62 billion in surplus Social Security revenue is no longer available to reduce the federal budget deficit, he said, "I'll bet you any money Moynihan will propose a general tax increase."
(Ann Devroy, Washington Post, A1)

One Tax Cut Bush Won't Back

President Bush, elected on a "no new taxes" pledge, is in the awkward position of opposing a politically appealing proposal to cut Social Security taxes....

Despite support from conservatives, liberals and business groups, Moynihan faces an uphill battle. But his proposal is gaining interest since it was proposed last month.

The Heritage Foundation...issued an analysis last week entitled "Three Cheers For Moynihan's \$55 Billion Tax Cut For Working Americans."

At the liberal Institute of Policy Studies, analyst Robert Borosage, campaign adviser to Rev. Jesse Jackson, called Moynihan's proposal "good economics" and "good politics -- the first protest of an increasingly hard-pressed middle class."

Conservative columnists raved about it. "A blow for candor and equity," wrote George Will. "The first Democratic tax cut in a generation appealing to Middle America," said Evans and Novak.

(Bob Minzesheimer, USA Today, A7)

BUSH TO OFFER FAMILY SAVINGS PLAN

The Bush Administration is getting ready to offer a new enticement to encourage Americans to be more thrifty, hoping to boost the country's low savings rate.

President Bush will ask Congress to create a new "family savings account" that would allow people to earn tax-free interest and dividends on money that is squirreled away for a specified number of years, Administration officials said.

These officials, who spoke on condition their names not be used, said the savings accounts would be part of the President's 1991 budget, due to be released Jan. 29, and would also be featured in Mr. Bush's state of the union address to Congress Jan. 31

The Administration is touting the proposal as a key to bolstering the country's lagging international economic fortunes by increasing the pool of money available for investment and thus lowering the costs American businesses must pay to expand and modernize.

However, many private economists remain skeptical, saying while the proposal would be a popular tax break for the middle class, it would do little to boost overall savings.

(Martin Crutsinger, Washington Times, A1)

THINK TANK: U.S. SPENDING ON EDUCATION LAGS BEHIND OTHER NATIONS

Thirteen other industrial nations spend relatively more on elementary and secondary education than the U.S., says a report that challenges President Bush's assertion that results -- not resources -- are the problem.

The U.S. leads only Ireland and Australia among industrial nations, the labor-backed Economic Policy Institute said Monday in a briefing paper "Shortchanging Education."

"If the U.S. were to increase spending for primary and secondary school up to the 'average' level found in the other 15 countries, we would need to raise spending by over \$20 billion annually," said the report.

(Tamara Henry, AP)

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DEFENSE SECRETARY HAS NO PLANS
TO ALLOW WOMEN SOLDIERS IN COMBAT

HOUSTON -- Defense Secretary Cheney said Monday he has no plans to allow American servicewomen in combat despite complaints from some female soldiers and a call to do so from a congresswoman.

"My own personal view is that the current system is about right," Cheney said at a news conference....

"I think there are situation in the nature of modern warfare that women assigned to various combat support units or to M.P. units, for example, as was the case in Panama, will in fact end up in combat and have to defend themselves accordingly."

"That's a different proposition from taking a unit that has a specific combat role and saying we ought to change the makeup of that unit and include women to fill those roles. As a general proposition, I think the current exclusion from certian types of units is appropriate."

(Michael Graczyk, AP)

THRIFTS COMPLAIN NEW FEDERAL RULE
BREAKS GOVERNMENT PLEDGE

Buyers of failed savings institutions in 1988 are protesting a new regulation that revokes some of the financial breaks they received from the government as part of the deal.

The Office of Thrift Supervision says S&Ls must meet new and tougher capital requirements, regardless of whether they earlier received an exemption, known as a "forbearance," from meeting capital requirements....

Attorneys representing buyers in the 1988 deals regard the new deal as a double-cross and predict the legal battle over the issue will reach the Supreme Court.

"If this is upheld, nobody will ever feel secure doing business with the government," Washington attorney and S&L lobbyist Douglas Faucette said Monday.

(Dave Skidmore, AP)

EDITOR'S NOTES: "SHORT TAKES -- Groups Seek Action On Great Lakes Plan," appears in the Washington Post, A21.

"SHORT TAKES -- Yeutter Warns Farmers," appears in the Washington Post, A21.

"TALKING POINTS -- Energy Dept.'s Stello Injured In Wyoming Skiing Accident," appears in the Washington Post, A21.

"Moynihan Leads Surplus Showdown," by Marilyn Greene, appears in USA Today, A7.

"In City Of Shaky Egos, Treasury's Mulford Bruises Quite A Few," by Alan Murray and Peter Truell, appears in the Wall Street Journal, A1.

NETWORK NEWS SUMMARY

(Monday Evening, January 15)

AZERBAIJAN

ABC's Peter Jennings: We begin tonight in the southwest corner of the Soviet Union, where the Soviet leadership believes that fighting between Azerbaijanis and Armenians in the republic of Azerbaijan is so bad that the region is on the verge of all-out civil war. There's been so much bloodshed in the last three days that a state of emergency has been declared in Nagorno-Karabakh, which is an Armenian enclave in the heart of Azerbaijan. It amounts to yet another enormous challenge for Mikhail Gorbachev.

ABC's Jim Laurie reports that Soviet television reports tonight the situation still out of control in some areas of Azerbaijan, despite the dispatch of additional security troops deployed in helicopter patrols to try to keep apart warring Azerbaijanis and Armenians and curfews imposed in several cities. The spate of killings was the worst in two years, and developed after rallies in the Azerbaijani capital of Baku last week, where Azerbaijanis demanded Armenians living there be expelled. The Armenians are a tiny minority; about 20,000 in Baku, another 140,000, most of them living in Nagorno-Karabakh. The Armenians want to control Nagorno-Karabakh; the Azerbaijanis want them out. In an interview today, Prime Minister Ryzhkov said the only way to avoid an all-out civil war is to use military force. Soviet television also noted casualties among troops. Azerbaijani nationalists armed with machine guns opened fire on helicopters. Others tried to prevent reinforcements from moving in to protect Armenian villagers as Azerbaijanis attacked. Soviet reports from Azerbaijan speak of a bloodbath, burned bodies thrown onto trash heaps, and militants using stolen army vehicles and helicopters to do battle. Mikhail Gorbachev has said he did not want to use force to settle ethnic issues, but as one commentator here said tonight, now there's really no choice.

Jennings reports that according to the Soviet media, at least 37 people have been killed in the violence so far; large numbers of Armenians are reported to be fleeing from Baku. (ABC-Lead)

NBC's Tom Brokaw reports that at least 32 people have been killed in recent days there, more than 200 in the past two years.

NBC's Bob Abernethy reports that a Soviet spokesman agreed with Prime Minister Ryzhkov that military force will have to be used to prevent civil war.

(Nikolai Shislin, spokesman: "I'm quite sure of that. It is simply necessary.")

In Moscow today, Armenians charged Gorbachev should have done more to prevent the violence in Azerbaijan, rather than spending time in Lithuania. The many kinds of unrest in the Soviet Union are now so widespread they threaten to tear the country apart and bring Gorbachev down. (NBC-5)

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CBS's Dan Rather: Russian soldiers lose control in a Muslim area.

Mikhail Gorbachev, just back from an unsuccessful effort to head off a peaceful secession movement in Lithuania, tonight has a violent crisis on his hands. The Kremlin declared a state of emergency in parts of the southern republic of Azerbaijan. Thousands of Soviet troops are already on the scene, but today the Soviet press reported they had lost control. Fierce battles are reported near the disputed region of Ngorno-Karabakh. Most of the 34 known dead were Armenians, dragged out of their homes and slaughtered by Muslim mobs over the weekend in the Azerbaijani capital city of Baku. Many Armenians are reported to be fleeing. Two ferries carried about 700, mostly women and children, across the Caspian Sea, over to the Soviet republic of Turkmenia.

CBS's Barry Petersen reports that the Kremlin said attempts are underway to overthrow Soviet power. Tass said opposing guerrilla forces are using helicopters, armored vehicles and weapons, many captured from soldiers or military bases. Throughout the area both sides held rallies, the extremists calling for revenge, for more blood.

Rather discusses Gorbachev and Azerbaijan with Petersen.

Rather: What do these latest problems mean for Mikhail Gorbachev?

Petersen: You know, I think he has a chance to score one here. He's been criticized in the past on this particular issue for moving too slowly, for trying to apply a political solution to what is clearly not a political problem. Now he's moved quickly and firmly and militarily, and I think his own people will like that, because they like that show of strength from their Soviet leader. (CBS-Lead)

LITHUANIA

Jennings reports that today the Lithuanian parliament, in a clear signal of defiance to Moscow, elected the head of the Communist Party there -- the same man who advocated getting the party from under Moscow's control -- as the new President of the Lithuanian republic. (ABC-2)

E. GERMAN SECRET POLICE

ABC's Jerry King reports that thousands of East Germans, frustrated at the slow pace of democratic reform, ransacked the headquarters of the hated Stasi, the secret police. The force was supposed to have been disbanded a month ago, yet Friday the government admitted the Stasi was still spying on people. In revenge, the people rifled through the archives, looking for anything that might be incriminating to the Stasi. They found little they were interested in, ignoring documents on American diplomats based in the U.S. Embassy in Moscow and one covering the activities of Lech Walesa. They did find evidence of privileges the secret police enjoyed. East German police made no attempt to intervene as the anti-Stasi binge continued for nearly two hours. The former chief of the secret police has become the subject of an official investigation for high treason today. Earlier today, opposition leaders had forced Prime Minister Modrow to explain his policies to them personally at the so-called roundtable talks. He's been under fire from all sides about the economy and for not giving the opposition a fair chance in the May elections.

-more-

Jennings reports that the violence prompted East German television to warn that democratic reforms in East Germany were in danger(ABC-3)

NBC's Mike Boettcher reports that Prime Minister Modrow rushed to the Stasi headquarters to try to calm the crowd, but the damage had been done. During a roundtable meeting with opposition groups, Modrow pleaded with the nation to remain calm until the May elections.

CBS's Tom Fenton reports that the uniformed police who were guarding the compound had orders not to intervene. What angered the people was that three months after the fall of Erich Honecker, most of the secret police are still on the payroll. (NBC-6, CBS-2)

BULGARIA

Jennings reports that the Bulgarian National Assembly voted today to allow a multi-party system for the first time in 43 years. The government has now promised free elections for this year. (ABC-5, CBS-3)

CZECHOSLOVAKIA/SOVIET TROOPS

Rather reports that the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia began talks on the withdrawal of Soviet troops. The new Czech government wants all 75,000 Soviet troops out by the end of this year. (CBS-4)

ROMANIA

ABC's John Donovan reports that students in Romania voted to boycott any professor they believe had put Communism before truth. Also, most Romanians believe the new government contains too many Communists. And yet, most Romanians say they are prepared to suspend their mistrust and to be patient, at least until spring, when free elections are promised. However, food shortages are back again, and gas is being rationed again because supplies are running low. (ABC-4)

PANAMA/U.S.

CBS's Bob McNamara reports that while Americans school Panamanians to keep their own civil order, the sight of a burly foreign military occupation has brought an uneasy American self-consciousness and a promise of change.

(Amb. Deane Hinton: "I can assure you, there are going to be a hell of a lot fewer American forces, they're going to be hardly visible, very, very soon.")

But with each American troop withdrawal and the scheduling of more, Panamanians fear the Americans leaving too soon.

(Alfredo Maduro, Panamanian Chamber of Commerce: "The seed of Noriega is still here. Noriega still lives.")

Though American troops paid close to a million dollars for surrendered weapons, guns flourish. The fears of chaos after the Americans go fuels a weapons' black market. (CBS-10)

AT&T

NBC's Tom Brokaw: Long-distance telephone calls: business or pleasure, we take them for granted. So when something goes wrong, it's more than a nuisance, it's maddening, especially since that unpleasant little recorded interruption is so mindless. Well, today, AT&T had a nationwide glitch in its long-distance operation.

NBC's Bob Kur reports that even at this hour, only about half of AT&T's long-distance calls are getting through. Earlier in the day, beginning at about 2:30 p.m., it was even worse for about 90 minutes. Faxing was frustrating, too. From New York, calls to Philadelphia, Atlanta, Miami, Chicago, Dallas, Seattle and San Francisco did not go through. At the same time, some calls, to Los Angeles, Minneapolis and Boston, did. For a couple of hours, AT&T's public relations team would say only that the problem was an anomaly, a fluke caused by computer software that operates the switching equipment. Even 800 numbers were affected, and disruptions would have been worse had so many offices not been closed for Martin Luther King Day. Until the cause is determined, AT&T cannot say tonight that the problem won't happen again.

(NBC-Lead, ABC-8, CBS-7)

CAMPEAU CORP.

Jennings reports that Campeau Corp., owned by Canadian businessman Robert Campeau and owner of the two biggest department store chains in the U.S., Allied and Federated, said it is so deeply in debt it has asked the bankruptcy judge to keep the creditors away.

NBC's Mike Jensen reports that the biggest effect of the bankruptcy is that suppliers to the department stores are starting to ship again. The big losers are not the employees, but the people who helped Campeau buy the stores by purchasing his junk bonds, which are now selling for cents on the dollar. The banks are also potential losers -- they're owed almost \$2.5 billion. One of the reasons for the bankruptcy filing was to give the stores more time to pay that debt. Meanwhile the banks are lending even more money; the Campeau stores got \$700 million in new loans to buy spring merchandise and to pay their bills.

(ABC-6, NBC-2, CBS-6)

AUTO INDUSTRY

Brokaw reports that Ward's Automotive reported today a car glut in the U.S., the largest inventory of cars for sale in nine years in the U.S. This is despite an aggressive rebate program, cutbacks in production and big auto industry layoffs.

(NBC-3)

U.S. MEMORIES CORP.

Jennings reports that U.S. Memories Corp. said today it was going out of business. The consortium had formed last May from seven companies in order to pool resources to manufacture computer memory chips and take the market back from the Japanese, but had failed to attract other participants.

(ABC-6)

KING HOLIDAY/ADMINISTRATION

NBC's Kenley Jones reports that speakers at the annual service honoring Martin Luther King, Jr. demanded that the Bush Administration spend less money on the military and more for social programs.

(Rev. Joseph Lowery: "Let us, Mr. President, invade the run-down ghettos and barrios of this country for jobs and job training and health care. How long, Mr. President, for a kind and gentle nation?") (NBC-9)

Jennings reports that the Rev. Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, asked President Bush today, "How long, Mr. President, for a kinder, gentler nation?" Lowery said that while the walls are tumbling down in Berlin and Eastern Europe, in America, walls separating the haves and the have-nots are going up.

ABC's Walter Rodgers: Civil rights leaders credit President Bush with reopening dialogues with blacks, Hispanics and women, but they say his meetings like [those he holds with black leaders] reflect more a change in tone than policy.

(Ralph Neas, Leadership Conference in Civil Rights: "You can talk to President Bush, but thus far there has been very little substantive leadership after those meetings.")

Civil rights advocates have not forgiven the President for his muted response in recent Supreme Court decisions sharply limiting racial hiring quotas. Jesse Jackson faults the President for not yet appointing an Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, the government's point man on enforcement.

(Jesse Jackson: "It means, for example, that when the Supreme Court decisions were rendered that have a negative impact upon African-Americans, Hispanics and women, there was no one we could turn to in the Justice Department.")

Senate Democrats rejected William Lucas, the President's first nominee, for the civil rights post. Lucas, like the President, saw nothing wrong with those restrictive Supreme Court decisions. But despite a year-long vacancy in that top civil rights job, Attorney General Thornburgh denies any drift or lack of enforcement.

(Attorney General Thornburgh: "Anyone who feels that the civil rights division in this Department of Justice is asleep at the switch is clearly wrong.")

The F.B.I. just finished its check on John Dunne, the man the President is next expected to name to the civil rights post. Dunne is a corporate lawyer with little civil rights experience -- a background not reassuring to the civil rights community. (ABC-10)

MINORITIES/COLLEGE

Brokaw reports that a new study by the American Council of Education shows that blacks and Hispanics are losing ground significantly in college attendance. The study found that in 1976, 40 percent of low-income black high school graduates were in college. By 1988, only 30 percent were in college. Among low-income Hispanics in 1976, 50 percent were in college, but by 1988 only 35 percent. (NBC-10)

SOVIETS/U.S. SPY

Brokaw reports that the Soviet Union said it captured and sentenced to death a man who spied for the U.S. for almost 30 years. The Soviets called him Donald, but sources in the U.S. intelligence community believe he may be a celebrated spy code-named Top Hat, a double agent who also spied for the Soviet Union. (NBC-12)

AIR FORCE/PREGNANCIES

NBC's Katherine Couric reports that 22-year-old "Mary," who asked that her real name not be used, was barred from a linguist's post for the Air Force last spring. Air Force officials said she was an impressive candidate until she was interviewed for her top-secret security clearance.

("Mary": "He started with all kinds of questions, like 'how are your finances,' and really inconsequential things, and then he asked me if I'd ever been pregnant. I said yes..., three times no children -- I had three abortions. And he just kind of leaned back in his chair and said, 'Well, I'm afraid you're disqualified from your position.'")

"Mary" said she had the abortions during a monogamous, five-year relationship, and that her birth control failed. But she claims the Air Force wasn't interested in details.

(Lt. Col. Johnny Whitaker, Air Force spokesman: "This shows a pattern of irresponsibility on the individual's part, a judgment problem, if you will, and we question whether we should entrust the nation's highest, most sensitive information to those individuals.")

And there were other considerations.

("Mary": "Then he started talking about other ridiculous things like, 'Well, and then there's a slim possibility of blackmail from communist countries.... I was really upset. I was half-crying and half just really angry.'")

But the Air Force says abortion is not the issue.

(Whitaker: "The Air Force policy regarding pregnancy, whether it's a man who gets a woman pregnant two or more times or a woman who becomes pregnant two or more times, out of wedlock, regardless of the outcome of the pregnancy, will very likely not be granted a Top Secret or higher security clearance.")

Some legal experts say the policy gives the male recruit an unfair advantage. In fact, the Air Force acknowledges that unmarried women are disqualified for unplanned parenthood three times more often than men, even though women make up only 20 percent of all recruits. In fact, both Army and Navy officials say if they disqualified candidates for this reason, they'd lose too many qualified people. (ABC-13)

JAPANESE LOBBYISTS

CBS's Phil Jones reports that more than 100 American firms are getting at least \$100 million a year to lobby for some 250 Japanese interests.

(Sen. Hollings: "You see, I'm chairman of the Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee, and none of these trade bills go in that immediately my office doesn't fill up with the Japanese lawyers, or the American lawyers, frankly, representing various Japanese interests.")

Jones continues: It's no secret to the Japanese that James Lake is a close personal friend and campaign adviser to former President Reagan and President Bush. In 1988 Lake's company -- Robinson, Lake, Lerer & Montgomery -- received \$330,000 from Japanese clients for access and advice that included 22 phone calls, 11 meals, and nine meetings with policy makers from Commerce, Transportation, Trade, and Congress. Legal contacts which have paid off for the Japanese.

(James Lake: "We always want to have a scapegoat. If things aren't going well, let's blame somebody. It's too easy, I think, to blame the Japanese. And I think that's what's going on here. A lot of Jap-bashing.")

The Japanese also hire Democrats, like Stuart Eizenstat, one of President Carter's senior advisers.

(Eizenstat: "This town is full of hired guns for every kind of interest imaginable, and because Japan has an increasing interest in the United States, you're going to see increasing numbers of firms representing those interests.")

The Japanese claim that because there is so much attempted trade retaliation against them, they need to hire protection.

(Toshiyuki Tashano, Japanese Embassy: "To deal with American legislation...they obviously need some kind of help from American lawyers.")

Because of loopholes in the law, the true number of Japanese lobbyists is unknown. If only advice is given to foreigners, and there is no direct contact with U.S. officials, registration is not required. One lobbyist who tried to get reporting regulations tightened discovered how powerful Japanese interests are.

(Michelle Laxalt: "I was told pointedly, 'Do you want to be known as a pariah in this town? Leave this alone, let sleeping dogs lie.'")

(CBS-8)

SOUTH AFRICA/ANC

Jennings reports that eight leaders of the African National Congress, recently released from prison, were given permission by the South African government to travel north to Zambia. They met there with other members of their organization.

ABC's Richard Sergay reports that Walter Sisulu left South Africa today for the first time in his life. He and seven other veteran ANC leaders were then given a hero's sendoff.

(Winnie Mandela: "This is the beginning of a new chapter in the history of our country.")

For the first time, the South African government is allowing ANC leaders inside the country to visit their exiled comrades in Zambia. President de Klerk's decision to give these men passports may be a signal that his government is moving closer to negotiations. Government officials are still demanding the ANC must still renounce violence. The ANC says it will if the government does. ANC leaders said it's up to President de Klerk to legalize the ANC, end the state of emergency, and release all political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela.

(ABC-13, CBS-11)

ABC -- THIS WEEK WITH DAVID BRINKLEY

Moderator: David Brinkley. Panelists: George Will, Cokie Roberts.
Guests: Gov. Douglas Wilder, Actor James Earl Jones, Gen. Colin Powell.

Guest: Gov. Wilder.

Roberts: You have been described as a politician who happens to be black, as opposed to a black politician. Is that an accurate description?

Wilder: I would like to believe that.... I speak to issues.... If you speak to the issues rather than people, you can begin to solve the issues of all of the people, and if you're going to be a representative of all of the people, than you must speak to them all.

Roberts: You have now more elected black politicians than ever before in history, and I wonder what good it's doing to the black community. You have more trouble with black youths in the cities than you've ever had, with black mayors there.

Wilder: Anyone who feels it does no good isn't properly reading the tea leaves. For instance, Gen. Powell. You can't tell me that him being the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is going to tolerate circumstances in the military that 50 years ago would have been passe. You're not going to tell me likewise that a a mayor of a city is going to tolerate discrimination, is going to tolerate neighborhoods going neglected.

Roberts: Do you see a rollback of [affirmative action], with the Supreme Court decisions that have come down this year and in the Administration's attitude?

Wilder: ...The rollback in terms of the national agenda has hurt considerably, because there's been no thrust, and it goes back to the psyche, the mentality. Are you suggesting that people are going to life themselves up by their own bootstraps when they've been stepped on for years, and given no remedy? It's impossible to believe that. So you've got to provide some degree of remedy.

Guest: James Earl Jones.

Brinkley: ...Racism is alive to some degree.... Is it improving, in your opinion?

Jones: Racism is an insanity. Until it is healed, it is hard to assess.... In terms of the world I work in...it's important that we keep addressing history, ancient and contemporary.... I think it's important to allow the [entertainment] industry to present, as best we can, issues.

Brinkley: If you were President now, what would you do about this racial problem?

Jones: First of all, I'd tremble. But I think it's a matter of setting priorities.

Guest: Gen. Colin Powell.

Brinkley: ...The Martin Luther King weekend holiday seems to be an appropriate time to take a look at the state of race relations in our country. I wonder if you can give us your judgment.

Gen. Powell: I think it's important to remember...what his dream really was. His dream really wasn't the first black chairman or the first black mayor or the first black governor. His dream was that in due course and time, every American should only be judged by the content of their character and not by the color of their skin. And we've progressed a great deal, I believe, since Dr. King uttered those words.... But I think we also have to acknowledge that there is much more to be done, because that is still not the case. We still do have racism in this country, we do still have areas of poverty.... And all the Americans who are celebrating what blacks have been able to achieve, it seems to me, should re-dedicate to the proposition that Dr. King dreamed of.

Will: Is [the military] a meritocracy and an equal opportunity employer?

Gen. Powell: More so than any other form of endeavor in our society, and I'm very proud at what we have done in the military over the years, and I think for the most part it is a meritocracy and you're not limited by anything but you're own ability and the ability to perform a job that you are in within the military.

Will: The military has indeed been an escape for a good many black young men and women, getting out of unpromising social settings and into a career, and a great training program. Is that program apt to be truncated as a result of...the end of the Cold War?

Gen. Powell: Obviously, as the armed forces draw down in size in response to the budget situation as well as the changing situation in the world, it will get smaller, and therefore there will be fewer opportunities for people to serve. But I think the armed forces will continue to be seen in the future as a road up, as a way to better oneself, as a way to serve one's country, and to learn a trade and a skill.

Roberts: What is the problem with the Republican Party and blacks? They really don't get black votes.

Gen. Powell: Well, I have served in both Democratic and Republican administrations, and the last thing I wish to do is to start comparing them in political matters, since I am apolitical and I'm asked to be in the armed forces of the United States. I would just say that there's a responsibility for all political leaders, of whatever party...to re-dedicate themselves to the dream that Dr. King believed so much in.

Roberts: We read that you regularly consult with Jesse Jackson. Is that true, and why?

Gen. Powell: Jesse Jackson and I have been friends for a number of years. I believe he is a great American, one who has spoken out at the issues of our time, and we keep in touch.

Will: How big is [the peace dividend] going to be and how...can we spend it

Powell: Well, I'm not sure that there is really a peace dividend in the way that people talk about it in town. I think what we're going to see in this budget submitted at the end of this month and in subsequent years is that the armed forces are going to get smaller in response to changing geopolitical situation, in response to our own budget. But as we get smaller, what that means is that we'll not be spending as much as we had planned to spend. Whether those are real dollars out there to be allocated for other programs or whether they will just go toward the reduction of the deficit is for others to decide, not me. What I'm concerned about is that as we go through this process of restructuring armed forces, let's do it in a sensible way. I'm somewhat disturbed by some of the statements that are out there that say all danger is gone, we don't have to worry about anything any longer, and let's bring all the troops home.

Brinkley: ...Why do we have an increasingly large underclass?... What can we do about it?

Powell: It's essentially a problem of economics, of education, and of opportunity. I'll always believe that we have to go after educating all Americans...and then provide them true opportunity and economic incentives to pull them out of their despair.

Will: ...You had one or two or three [women in combat] in Panama. Is there any evolution in military policy on this?

Powell: ...Women...are serving in units that provide direct combat support, they are serving in units that will be under fire. But by American law, American policy and American tradition, we have not put women in those direct combat units.... I believe that's a sound policy, I think it makes sense, I believe that it is what the American people wish, and it has been successful.

Will: What about the women in the military?

Powell: ...The last thing I think I would do right now is try to speak for all the women in the military. But I would say that by and large they recognized that over the years we have opened up as many occupational specialties as we can for them, we have tried to provide routes to the top, we have generals in the military services who are women, but at this point I don't think you would find a groundswell of enthusiasm within our military to join the infantry, the armor, the cannon artillery and things of that nature.

Discussion segment. Bob Maynard of the Oakland Tribune joins.

On the Social Security payroll tax:

Brinkley: Sen. Moynihan...wants to repeal the increase in the Social Security tax...because the Social Security fund is piling up huge surpluses...reducing the appearance of the deficit.... He wants us to go straight, to be honest.

Maynard: ...It probably won't happen for the very reason that it is so straightforward. But the fact is that we're masking a huge deficit which is crippling our long-term economic growth....

Will: The Bush Administration and Congress boasted, believe it or not, in the seventh or eighth consecutive year of economic expansion, that the deficit last year was only \$152 billion.... Take out Social Security alone, you're at \$204 billion.... Moynihan's bill has the potential to change the political conversation of this decade, because we're two weeks into the decade, and the President is saying, I do not want to cut taxes for the working man...but I want to cut the capital gains tax. That's the loser.

Clift: Politically, on the face of it, it's brilliant, on the part of Moynihan.... But what's so interesting is the Republican Party has succeeded in convincing average Americans that any tax is a bad tax, so therefore you've got working people who have never paid a capital gains tax in their life saying, I'm for cutting the capital gains tax. And you get any Democratic who says the word "tax", the voter seems to hear "increase," whether the Democrat is saying "cut" or not.

On the "peace dividend":

Will: First of all, arithmetic's not the President's strongest suit. You've just heard the nation's number one soldier say the military's going to get smaller. There's going to be some, but remember, strategic arms, for example, are a small portion of the defense budget. Most of the defense budget is military pay and retirement....

Maynard: We are going to have to...find ways to reduce the deficit...and we're going to have to find ways to address an infrastructure which is deteriorating.

On Lithuania:

Will: ...The Soviet Union cannot remain communist and succeed economically and socially. It cannot remain the Soviet Union, that is, keeping all these restive...nations captive together, unless it is communist.

Clift: ...Instead of being in the forefront of the change, Gorbachev is now behind it.

Maynard: I think Gorbachev made a terrible mistake in linking his fate to keeping Lithuania in the Soviet Union.... He thinks that he's playing poker and the rest of us see a game of dominos going on, and I think it's about time for him to sell the downsizing of the Soviet.

NBC -- MEET THE PRESS

Moderator: Garrick Utley. Panelists: David Broder, Andrea Mitchell.
Guest: Charles Keating.

Utley: ...The government is suing you, the SEC is conducting an investigation, the IRS, FBI have been doing the same thing.... Why do you say that you are a victim, that all of these people are wrong?

Keating: Well, we bought a savings and loan in 1984. It operated profitably until the government confiscated it. It seems to me that something's wrong with a government that takes away a profitable property.

Utley: But the fact is, the government took away the profitable property because they said many of the profits that were shown there were not real profits...that you had gone belly up.... Isn't there any merit to that case?

Keating: Not really. The trial is now on and truth will come to the courtroom, and I think that the certifications of some of the best accounting firms in the country of the facts which favor us will be made known and the government just plain wrong.

Mitchell: Let's focus on the campaign contributions, on the Keating Five.... Is that what you were buying with more than a million dollars in campaign contributions: Influence?

Keating: Typically of thousands of other fundraisers, I raised money. No -- my contributions never came to anything even close to a million dollars all included.... I wanted to say that I wanted to be involved in the process; it's important to me how this country goes, and it was particularly important to me the way the savings and loan industry went.

Broder: You are a man of some experience in both the business and the political world. You don't want to pretend that any ordinary citizen could get five U.S. senators to hold a meeting on his behalf with the people regulating him and his industry.

Keating: It wasn't an ordinary problem. It was a problem of taking down a savings and loan which was critical to the economy, the employment in those areas in which the senators served.

Utley: ...You have said earlier that you expect the total cost of the bailouts to be \$500 billion or more. How do you come to that figure?

Keating: I expect it to be at least \$500 billion or more, and I think that the bailout bill will simply exacerbate the problem. They're confiscating assets right and left, and I think the cost of holding, warehousing and selling those assets, the damage to the overall economy of the United States will easily reach that number.

Utley: ...It is, according to some people, the biggest land sale since the Oklahoma land rush. What's going to be the impact of that?

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Keating: First of all, it won't work. There's no way you can put that much together in a pile and give it to a government who has no experience whatsoever in selling that stuff and get the job done. The impact of simply having it overhang the market will wreck the markets throughout the country for years to come.

Utley: Should S&Ls exist in the future? Or has their time passed?

Keating: Their time has long passed....

Utley: ...You didn't help run the S&Ls into this mess?

Keating: I'm saying the opposite. Had they listened to the senators and had they listened to me, there wouldn't be the mess today. It was Messrs. Edwin Gray, William Black and Darrel Dochow, people like that that did the damage.

Broder: ...I'd like to know what you think about somebody like William Seidman who has been very critical. You claim that your operation was profitable. He says it wasn't legal.

Keating: I think Mr. Seidman is getting bad information. The opposite is true.... We took a failed savings and loan and made it enormously profitable.

Mitchell: The reason people think that you and the people in your industry were the problem is that in federal court it was shown there were land deals that didn't appear on paper -- the real buyer and seller didn't appear.... As Judge Sporkin said to you, how can you run a billion-dollar business on oral understandings?

Keating: ...What you're doing is you're throwing at me the words of the regulators.... The housing industry is what wrecked the savings and loan industry.... It's what started the problem. These regulators and this Administration -- it was on their watch that this problem developed.

CBS -- FACE THE NATION

Moderator: Lesley Stahl. Guests: Christopher Jehn, Asst. Sec. Def. for Personnel; Rep. Pat Schroeder; Bryan Mitchell, author.

Stahl: ...Why are [women] being deprived of these...combat jobs...[and] of promotion and advancement?

Asst. Sec. Jehn: The simple answer is, it's the law. The Congress has passed a law that for the Air Force and the Navy is quite explicit: Women may not be assigned to combat vessels. Women may not be assigned to combat aircraft.

Stahl: It's not the law in the Army?

Jehn: No, it's not the law in the Army. But the Army policy takes its cue from the law applying to the Navy and the Air Force.

Stahl: But isn't it true that the military itself is against sending women into combat?

Jehn: Without a doubt, there are some senior members in the military who believe women should not be in combat. But believe me, there are others who don't share that view. We have not taken a public position, however, because it's not a technical and management or budget issue. It's really an emotional, political issue that we think needs to be resolved in the Congress, not by policy edict in the Defense Department.

Stahl: You have a proposal before you from one of your own advisory committees that the army, which does not have this law, experiment with women in combat. Do you think the army will go that way? And if not, why not?

Jehn: Don't know whether they will or won't.... My concern would just be that if in fact we do it, we need to define very carefully what we mean by an experiment and what constitutes evidence of success or failure.

Stahl: ...If there were a vote, is it your guess that Congress would vote against it?

Jehn: I don't know. You're probably as qualified as I am to make a judgment like that.

Stahl: I would guess they would vote against it.

Guests: Rep. Schroeder, Bryan Mitchell.

Stahl: ...Do you think that if it came to a vote in Congress to open up these roles to combat that it would pass?

Rep. Schroeder: I think you'd see the same thing going on with Congress you saw with the assistant secretary. They want to duck, waffle, tap dance and everything else. They all know the distinctions are ridiculous.

Mitchell: I think you have to look at the statements we've seen come out of Congress and the Pentagon in the last week. Sam Nunn said that he doesn't support repeal of the combat exclusions. Beverly Byron says she doesn't. Admiral Trost, chief of naval operations, told a group of young female naval officers that he doesn't support repeal.

Rep. Schroeder: ...I think basically politically most members of Congress are terrified of the Lee Atwater types and figured that if they did what was the right thing to do, you would suddenly find a Lee Atwater saying, "This is the congressman who voted to put your daughter in combat boots."

Mitchell: Women do not have the physical strength to do a lot of the jobs they would be required to do in combat.... The other reasons are, that women do negatively impact the morale and discipline of units. They do require more support in a field environment. And they are not as deployable in emergency situations because they're pregnant or because they're parents.

Rep. Schroeder: ...Number one, no one has ever said lower the standards.... Secondly, the whole issue of childbirth. They have tested that every way from the moon and found that really women came to work more in the military service than the average young man. So I mean that didn't hold up either.... You and I know that the tests say just the opposite of what you're saying, that the Defense Department's very own advisory committee -- that the President and secretary appointed has come forward and said, after all these years of testing, women have done very well, and we should open these on a test basis and go the whole route.

Mitchell: well, I think she's just plainly misleading the American people. And what she's saying is that the only reason that people oppose women in combat is because they're afraid of the public outcry. The only public outcry we've seen now [is] from proponents of women in the military, not from the opponents.

THE McLAUGHLIN GROUP

Moderator: John McLaughlin. Panelists: Pat Buchanan, Fred Barnes, Jack Germond, Eleanor Clift.

On Lithuania:

Buchanan: ...The Lithuanians clearly want freedom...and they're willing to take risks for that, they don't want Gorbachev's style of Communism.

Barnes: Gorbachev is not the engine of history. He's being dragged along or being run over by history.... The guy is desperate.... Gorbachev's got to choose between cracking down militarily or letting Lithuania go. I think he's going to have to let him go.

Germond: ...The Lithuanians are not driven by anti-Communism.... They're driven by nationalism, a desire for independence. He'll survive only if he finds some formula, a commonwealth-type formula, to let them achieve an independence but maintain some ties.

Clift: ...I think Gorbachev's Western-style campaign to sell the fruits of staying in the Soviet Union [to the Lithuanians] is going to flop.... But I don't think that means that Gorbachev is out or that the Communists in Lithuania are out.

McLaughlin: Gorbachev...is proposing that...they give him the time to draft a secession law. What do you think of that strategy?

Clift: I think it's really a ruse, because...they're talking about Lithuania having to pay resettlement costs to anybody who wants to leave.

McLaughlin: Gorbachev needs time to see if he can get his economic reforms to work.

Barnes: ...In late February, when there's an election, all the people who are for total independence are going to win. The only reason the Communists in Lithuania have come out for independence is because they know that's the only thing that'll give them a chance.

Germond: ...[Politburo member Yegor] Ligachev came out against the use of force in very strong terms. That's a signal that they know they can't do it that way.

Clift: ...Lithuania gets 80 percent of its raw products from the Soviet Union and all of its oil, and I think Gorbachev's trying to buy time so he can put the economic screws to the Baltics.

McLaughlin: When will Lithuania break from the Soviet Union?... Will they wait until the Gorbachev-Bush summit?

Barnes: It'll happen right after the [February] election.

Germond: The idea it will have anything to do with the Bush summit -- nobody cares about the Bush summit.

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On Panama:

McLaughlin: Do you think that the public is having second thoughts about the wisdom of the Panama invasion and the bringing of Manuel Noriega to trial?

Germond: This was never legal, it was always political. You don't determine what is good policy by the mob, you don't determine by poll numbers. It was lousy policy, it was the wrong thing to do.

Buchanan: A lot of the old anti-interventionist right spoke out and criticized and condemned it....

Clift: ...[The Democrats] are silent because their eyes are glued to their political hides.... They're not going to criticize George Bush when he's riding this wave of patriotism. But the questinos will begin to come in; it's going to cost us \$2 billion to rebuild an economy we wrecked.... And we've really put our relationship with the other Latin American nations at risk at a time when we need their cooperation if we're going to go on to the next stage of the drug war.

Germond: People don't care about Panama.... It makes their juices flow, it's jingoistic, and they approve of what Bush did.

McLaughlin: About those aircraft carriers off the coast of Colombia. Do you think that the President will have to pull them back, or do you think he's going to work out a deal whereby they're going to be able to stay?

Buchanan: I think they're going to work some kind of deal where there will not be any kind of blockade, but they'll be down there anyhow.

Barnes: I think he's going to take them back. It's a little overkill to have aircraft carriers there.

Germond: He's going to have to pull them in.

Clift: It's a cowboy gesture. They're coming home.

On the Social Security payroll tax:

McLaughlin: Predictions. Will Congress cut the payroll Social Security tax next year?

Buchanan: Yes, but not as much as Moynihan wants.

Barnes: Yes, and the White House will get beaten on this.

McLaughlin: Absolutely.

Clift: Yes, and the capital gains tax will be lowered, too.

McLaughlin: ...Eleanor, you're right again.

INSIDE WASHINGTON

Moderator: Gordon Peterson. Panelists: Charles Krauthammer, Juan Williams, Carl Rowan, James Kilpatrick.

On the Administration's foreign policy:

Peterson: Is the Bush Administration too quick with its praise [for the governments of China and El Salvador]?

Kilpatrick: ...You draw more flies with honey than you do with vinegar.

Williams: ...To be quite honest, I don't think George Bush cares one way or the other. I think George Bush is of a mind that, he's running the government, he's maintaining relationships with China, and he'll do the same with El Salvador.

Krauthammer: On Salvador, he's correct to praise a president who's taking on his own army. On China, I thin he's wrong. China remains a communist dictatorship at war with its own people; nothing's changed.

Rowan: This is a President who's been kicked around for kowtowing to the CHinese and for his ho-hum attitude to what happened in Salvador, so all we are getting from him is some self-serving comments.

On U.S. race relations:

Rowan: ...In Boston, we had a gruesome murder, a hoax almost pulled off because the white husband said a black guy did it. Yet we have the contrast in Virginia, of people...saying, "Let the black guy do it."

Krauthammer: I disagree with the opinion that the reason the story in Boston was believed is because the accused was black. The reason the story was believed was because there was no other plausible explanation.... It was a terrible hoax, but I think accepting that story is not evidence of racism.

Williams: ...In a city that I think is really tinged and troubled by race, Boston, they really fell for that story.

Krauthammer: A year ago, we had another hoax in the Tawana Brawley story.... It was an example of another elaborate hoax which everyone accepted.

Rowan: The police did not behave in the Tawana Brawley case quite the way they did in this case. They didn't go busting into any white people's houses.

Williams: The country's made tremendous progress on racial issues.... But it is true that in the current public temperature, we are very very much dealing with racial tempers, polarizations, stereotypes, and the Willie Hortonization...really does work. It's our urban fear...come to life.

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Rowan: ...Virginia and Doug Wilder is as remarkable in its own right as anything that's taken place in Boston.

Williams: The underclass in this country is now about 60 percent black.... Poverty and class issues now dominate as much as race, and truly, that may be the change in the 90's...is that race is no longer that main factor so much as class.

On Lithuania:

Rowan: ...We fought a terrible war over this issue of secession, and Gorbachev may have the same kind of thing coming up.

Krauthammer: There's a difference between saving a union of democratic states, which we were, and saving a union of socialist republics.... The problem is, if the Lithuanians get [national rights], the Estonians and the Latvians and the Georgians and Ukrainians are next. And that means the end of the Soviet Union, and that also means, I'm convinced, the end of Gorbachev, which is a paradox and a real problem, because Gorbachev is the one who brought human rights to the Soviet Union in larger measure than anyone in the last hundred years.

Williams: ...What you're going to see is Gorbachev using the public pressures of the crowds in the streets to say that he must reform the Communist Party. He's going to use that combination of tactics to undercut it because secession is never going to happen. It would not only undercut Gorbachev, it would undercut the Soviet Union.

Rowan: But he runs up against the Lithuanian feeling that they never were part of the Soviet Union.... They have the right to walk away, and this could lead to war.

On El Salvador:

Williams: I don't think President Cristiani is really pointing at his military, I think he was pointing at the United States Congress.... He's concerned about U.S. aid to El Salvador.... When [people say] that the Bush Administration is right to support this man, they're simply playing into a complex political set that really doesn't do anything for human rights in that country.

Krauthammer: It's true that Cristiani has pressure on him to do this, but the fact is that he's risking his life and his government by doing this, and it's a courageous act.

Rowan: ...All this lip service about saving American lives and restoring democracy in Panama and so forth. All it ever comes down to is, Is this S.O.B. on our side, or is he on somebody else's side?

Kilpatrick: I think you go into the armed forces and you have to sublimate these values of human life to some degree. Otherwise, you'd never pull a trigger in anger.

Williams: That's one of the consequences of having all these World War II veterans running the U.S. government. They all think that really all it's about is the Cold War.... Human rights will become more of an issue, and not so much how it plays in the East-West strategy game.

Krauthammer: If human rights is the issue in Salvador, than we are on the right side. The other side is led by hard-line Marxist Leninists of the Kim Il-Sung variety.... If anybody thinks human rights will be improved under that...they are wrong.

On the Social Security tax:

Peterson: Sen. Moynihan wants to repeal this year's Social Security tax hike and cut it again next Jan. 1. The Heritage Foundation, no less, says three for Pat Moynihan. The Bush Administration, however, does not say three cheers.

Kilpatrick: We're piling up these tremendous surpluses in the Social Security, quote, trust fund, unquote. And they're being used for the operating expenses of government today. And this is wrong, it's just as deceptive and fraudulent as it could be. It's pure sham.

Rowan: Also, this payroll tax is one of the most regressive taxes in the land. It does an injustice to poor and middle class people.

Krauthammer: The fact is, this is not the time for anyone to be proposing tax cuts.... Our country has run up \$3 trillion in debt, and it's irresponsible for anyone to propose a tax cut without proposing at the same time an offsetting cut in spending, or a rise, for example in the income tax.

Williams: The question is, is Social Security secure. I think a lot of people are concerned about that.

Pam Young

AM. Spectator

243-3733

Lucy Mulkenman
Advance
10:00
Charlton Heston
Rev. James H. Rogers (LNU)
Bob ~~Stefan~~ ^{James} Rogers
David Morse
Chairman - Libertad
Rhino Mares
Mrs. Burr
Burr

Willard Ballroom

business - dress

Lord Harry Plumer (from Pres. Em. Parl.)

pool coverage

off-stage announcement

~~Invitation~~

Huston (emcee) intro Morse
Morse intro Pres

A Celebration of Liberty
Am Spec / Litterata

Cheney, Surinder