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Collection/Office of Origin: Chief of Staff, White House Office of
Series: Baker, James A., III, Files
Subseries: Public Correspondence Files

OA/ID Number: 93009
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[Public Correspondence, Sept/Oct 1992] [12]

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**TAX FOUNDATION**

470 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S.W., EAST BUILDING #7400, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024 (202) 883-5454 FAX: (202) 488-8282

September 10, 1992

The Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff
The White House
West Wing, 1st Floor
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Secretary Baker,

I thought you might be interested in receiving an advance copy of the press release which we are distributing later today. I hope you find the information useful. If you would like to use this information prior to the embargo, please feel free to do so.

Please don't hesitate to contact me if we can provide additional information.

Best regards,



Dan Witt
Executive Director

DW/sd

Attachment



TAX FOUNDATION

470 L'ENFANT PLAZA, S.W., EAST BUILDING #7400, WASHINGTON, D.C. 20024 (202) 863-5454 FAX: (202) 486-8282

NEWS RELEASE

For release 9/13, a.m. editions

Contact: Bill Ahern (202) 863-5454

1982 AND 1990 WERE BIGGEST FEDERAL TAX HIKE; CLINTON TAX PLAN WOULD EDGE 1982 FOR BIGGEST EVER

WASHINGTON, D.C., September 9, 1992 — The economic plan presented by presidential candidate Bill Clinton includes a tax hike that would be the largest tax increase in modern times. It would raise a record \$219 billion in 1992 dollars over four years, \$84 billion of which constitutes the net employer cost of spending 1.5 percent of payroll on education and training. The Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982 (TEFRA) stands as the largest tax increase passed to date.

The confusion over which tax increases are the largest stems from a failure to measure federal revenue gains in comparable terms. The revenue impact of the 15 major tax bills passed in the U.S. since 1981, measured as a percentage of GDP and in 1992 dollars, is presented in the table on page 2.

The pledge-breaking tax increase President Bush signed into law in 1990, the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990 (OBRA '90), will raise over \$125 billion in new tax revenues by 1994 and currently ranks as the second largest tax increase after TEFRA.

While TEFRA's tax hikes followed the largest tax cut ever, the proposed Clinton tax hikes would overlap with the major tax increases enacted under OBRA '90. Most of Clinton's tax increases would come from higher income taxes on individuals earning over \$200,000 per year, increased Medicare-B payments, and additional taxes on domestic and foreign corporations.

While President Bush has failed to quantify his recent pitch for across-the-board tax relief, the measurable components of his Budget's tax proposals would result in a \$13.6 billion revenue reduction in four years, or 0.3 percent of GDP. While his capital gains tax reduction and his flexible IRA items are scored as a small revenue gain in the short term, most of the reduced revenues would be the result of his investment tax allowance, family tax allowance, and first-time homebuyer tax credit.

The Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981 (ERTA) was by far the largest tax reduction in history, cutting taxes 11.6 percent of GDP, or \$589 billion in today's dollars, in its first four years. But quick on the heels of ERTA's tax cuts was TEFRA, which easily qualified as our biggest tax hike when compared to the level of GDP.

Further offsets to ERTA's tax relief were seen with the Social Security Amendments of 1983, which raised payroll taxes significantly and subjected Social Security benefits to the income tax for the first time. Immediately thereafter came the Deficit Reduction Act of 1984, another major tax increase of over 1 percent of GDP in its first four years. The "quick fix budget summit" between the Administration and Congress after the 500-point drop in the stock market on October 19, 1987, culminated in the Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987, which cost taxpayers another \$59.3 billion by 1991.

In sum, the massive tax relief passed in 1981 was followed by a decade of tax legislation motivated almost exclusively by the desire for more revenue. The Tax Reform Act of 1986, which intended a revenue-neutral restructuring of the tax code, was the only major exception.

The Tax Foundation, a nonprofit, nonpartisan research and public education organization, has been monitoring tax and fiscal activities at all levels of government since 1937.

Major Federal Tax Legislation, 1981-1991, Compared to the Tax Plans of President George Bush and Presidential Candidate Bill Clinton

Revenue Impact Expressed in Current Dollars, Percent of GDP, and 1992 Dollars (a)

Dollar Amounts in \$Billions

Fiscal Year	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996
Economic Recovery Tax Act of 1981															
In current dollars	-35.6	-51.1	-136.8	-170.3	-209.8	-238.6	-258.7	-282.0	-309.4						
As % of GDP	-1.1	-2.7	-4.6	-4.2	-4.8	-5.3	-5.9	-6.4	-5.8						
In 1992 dollars	-52.0	-128.0	-185.4	-222.9	-269.7	-295.5	-308.0	-320.1	-333.4						
Tax Equity and Fiscal Responsibility Act of 1982															
In current dollars	16.6	36.0	39.2	46.7	58.5	57.3	55.7	57.2	61.2						
As % of GDP	0.5	1.0	1.0	1.1	1.2	1.2	1.1	1.0	1.1						
In 1992 dollars	23.5	48.8	51.3	60.0	70.0	69.2	63.2	61.6	63.3						
Highway Revenue Act of 1982															
In current dollars	1.6	4.1	4.2	4.5	4.7	4.9	5.1	5.1	5.1						
As % of GDP	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1						
In 1992 dollars	2.1	5.5	5.5	5.8	5.8	5.8	5.8	5.8	5.5						
Social Security Amendments of 1983															
In current dollars	5.7	8.7	10.2	12.9	24.6	30.9	23.4	23.8	25.2						
As % of GDP	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.4	0.4						
In 1992 dollars	7.7	11.4	10.1	15.0	29.3	35.1	25.2	24.6	25.2						
Railroad Retirement Revenue Act of 1983															
In current dollars	0.2	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.2										
As % of GDP	b	b	b	b	b										
In 1992 dollars	0.3	0.9	1.1	1.4	1.4										
Deficit Reduction Act of 1984															
In current dollars	0.9	9.3	16.1	22.0	25.4	27.7	31.0	33.8							
As % of GDP	0.1	0.2	0.3	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6							
In 1992 dollars	1.2	12.2	20.7	27.3	30.2	31.4	33.4	35.0							
Consolidated Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985															
In current dollars	0.9	2.7	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.5								
As % of GDP	b	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1								
In 1992 dollars	1.2	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3	3.3								
Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1985															
In current dollars	2.6	2.4	2.0	1.0	0.1	1.0									
As % of GDP	0.1	b	b	b	b	b									
In 1992 dollars	3.2	2.9	2.3	1.1	0.1	1.0									
Continuing Resolution for 1987															
In current dollars	2.8	3.0	2.6	2.6	2.6										
As % of GDP	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1										
In 1992 dollars	3.3	3.4	2.8	2.7	2.6										
Tax Reform Act of 1986															
In current dollars	19.6	30.9	23.4	20.3	18.4	20.9									
As % of GDP	0.4	0.2	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.4									
In 1992 dollars	23.0	40.8	27.7	21.9	17.0	20.9									
Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1987															
In current dollars	9.6	13.9	16.1	15.4	12.2										
As % of GDP	0.2	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2										
In 1992 dollars	19.2	18.8	17.3	15.0	12.2										
Continuing Resolution for 1988 and Family Support Act of 1988															
In current dollars	2.0	2.8	2.8	3.0	3.0	2.9									
As % of GDP	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1									
In 1992 dollars	2.3	3.2	3.0	3.1	3.0	2.8									
Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1990															
In current dollars	22.5	35.2	32.7	37.5	39.6	31.0									
As % of GDP	0.4	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.4									
In 1992 dollars	23.3	37.2	31.7	38.2	35.1	27.3									
Tax Extension Act of 1991 and Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act of 1991															
In current dollars	3.5	0.7	0.2	0.9	1.3										
As % of GDP	0.1	b	b	b	b										
In 1992 dollars	3.5	0.7	0.2	0.7	1.1										
President George Bush's Fiscal 1993 Budget of the U.S.															
In current dollars	4.2	3.7	1.5	3.8	4.1										
As % of GDP	0.1	0.1	b	0.1	0.1										
In 1992 dollars	5.2	3.6	1.3	3.5	3.8										
Bill Clinton's National Economic Strategy for America (c)															
In current dollars	52.7	59.1	61.2	65.4											
As % of GDP	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9											
In 1992 dollars	51.3	55.5	55.6	57.6											
Fiscal Year	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996

a) Revenue effect estimates prepared by the Office of Management and Budget for the purpose of budget presentation. They measure the direct effect of tax legislation on receipts with feedback effect limited to the overall income forecast and its impact on receipts by major sources. 1992 dollar figures adjusted by CPI-X1.

b) Less than 0.1 percent of GDP.

c) Includes \$21 billion per year for net new cost to employers from Clinton's mandate that 1.5% of payroll be spent on education and training.

Sources: Tax Foundation; Office of Management and Budget, Budget of the U.S. Government for fiscal years 1964 through 1993; and A National Economic Strategy for America issued by Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, June 21, 1992.

DATE: 9/10/92

TO:

NAME: The Honorable James A. Baker III
FIRM: fx 456-7121
CITY: _____

FROM:

NAME: Dan Witt
FIRM: Tax Foundation
CITY: _____

RE: Press ReleaseNUMBER OF PAGES (including this page): 4

COMMENTS:

If you do not receive all the pages, please call the
receptionist at 202/863-5454.

Barbara, . . .

I'm demurring on these 2
because of JAB's recusal on
energy matters. I think you
already have the letter from
Rich Williamson . . .

Many thanks,

csj
9/7

F-
NRN

L. G. RAWL
Chairman of the Board

August 19, 1992

The Honorable James A. Baker III
Secretary of State
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Secretary: *Jim*

The enclosed letter was delivered to The White House. I wanted you to be aware of Exxon's concerns and would appreciate your attention to the matter.

Sincerely,



Enclosure

August 19, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

We have been informed the Administration is considering several proposals to override the Regulatory Negotiation (Reg-Neg) Agreement on future gasoline formulations under the 1990 Clean Air Act Amendments in order to provide an advantage to one fuel, ethanol. I urge the Administration to adhere to the terms of this Agreement and not alter this complex compromise.

At the Administration's request, all involved parties - the oil industry, the ethanol industry, consumer representatives, environmental groups, and the EPA participated in good faith in this regulatory negotiation process. During the negotiations, the oil industry made significant and costly concessions, including agreeing to provisions beyond those required in the Clean Air Act, to reach consensus and avoid time-consuming litigation. While probably all had concerns with some aspects of the results, each of the participants further agreed not to contest a final rule that reflected the Reg-Neg Agreement. Unilaterally abrogating this Agreement to benefit one party not only opens this rule to potential challenge, but throws open to question the viability of the Reg-Neg process as it might be applied to future rules.

The proposals reportedly under consideration by the Administration to aid the ethanol industry were not mentioned in the Clean Air Act, in the Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, in the Reg-Neg Agreement or in the Supplemental Notice of Proposed Rulemaking, the most recent document in this regulatory process. We believe that if the Administration were to include such provisions in a Final Rule, it would be a violation of the Regulatory Negotiation Agreement and of the Administrative Procedures Act, which requires adequate notice and comment by the public before a final rule is promulgated. We would not want these important regulations delayed in judicial proceedings, but see that possibility if the Administration acts to grant ethanol interests further concessions.

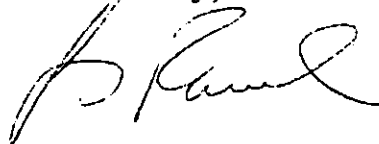
In addition, there are strong arguments against special treatment for ethanol.

- The cost of the current proposals to further subsidize ethanol would be borne completely by the refiners and, ultimately, by consumers.
- The petroleum industry, which has lost 450,000 jobs in the past decade, should not be called on to subsidize the growth of a competing industry.

- Ethanol use in gasoline is already expected to increase markedly due to the winter oxygenate requirements in carbon monoxide nonattainment areas, starting in November of this year, and the winter and summer reformulated gasoline programs, beginning January 1, 1995.
- Studies indicate all available oxygenates, including ethanol, will be needed to meet demand under the Reg-Neg Agreement. To the extent ethanol supplies are tight, preferential treatment for ethanol could create further upward price pressures, increasing consumer prices.
- Ethanol already benefits from a federal subsidy equal to 54 cents per gallon, as well as additional subsidies by many states. These proposals create additional markets for this subsidized fuel at taxpayers' expense.

I sincerely hope we have been misinformed about the Administration's intention, and strongly urge you not to take this step, which jeopardizes a relatively new, consensual rulemaking process and provides preferential treatment for one fuel at the expense of competing fuels.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "A. Rangel". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a large initial "A" and a long, sweeping underline.

*File 7 phone
regretted
no action
necessary*

September 10, 1992

The Honorable James Baker
The White House
Washington, D. C. 20500

Dear Jim:

Next Tuesday, the Board of Governors of the National Newspaper Association (NAA) is holding a dinner at the Organization of American States building in honor of key members of the Administration and Congress. You should have already received an invitation for this dinner, which begins at 7:00 p.m..

I am writing because although I am a member of NAA's Executive Board, I have a long-standing schedule conflict and will not be able to attend the dinner. However, many of my colleagues from Texas will be present -- along with the officers and Executive Board of NAA. Even though I will not have a chance to see you on the 15th, I earnestly hope you will be able to attend. These are especially important times for the newspaper industry and we depend greatly on your support.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Robert

RWD:bsw



CELEBRATING ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY YEARS

Barbara -

CST handed this
to me -- copy of it
went to Speechwriters
and the original enclosure
in the

FRANK R. WOLF
10TH DISTRICT, VIRGINIA

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
104 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515-4610
(202) 225-5136

CONSTITUENT SERVICES OFFICES:

1651 OLD MEADOW ROAD
SUITE 115
MCLEAN, VA 22102
(703) 734-1500

19 EAST MARKET STREET
LEESBURG, VA 22075
(703) 777-4422
METRO NUMBER
(703) 478-1303

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, DC 20515-4610

September 10, 1992

COMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
TRANSPORTATION

TREASURY—POSTAL SERVICE—GENERAL
GOVERNMENT

SELECT COMMITTEE
ON CHILDREN, YOUTH
AND FAMILIES

SELECT COMMITTEE
ON HUNGER

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND
COOPERATION IN EUROPE

The Honorable James Baker
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C., 20500

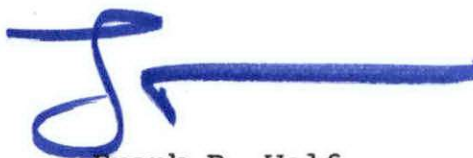
Dear Secretary Baker:

As you may know, I am ranking member on the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families and during my years in Congress I have had the opportunity to put forward a number of positive pro-family initiatives that the Administration has supported.

I have enclosed a pro-family statement on Clinton's family issues record vs. that of the Reagan and Bush Administrations. This statement discusses concrete pro-family policies that the President can take credit for and also sets out the President's future family agenda in a positive way.

I hope you find this of some assistance on the family issue front. If I can be of any assistance on these issues please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,



Frank R. Wolf
Member of Congress

FRW:bjc

This could be the basis of a
very positive family speech that Pres.
Bush could give. Everyone, Rep. + Dems
would agree with it. Another one will follow.

9/18: NRN File
Called and
thanked Mr.
McGowan's
for letter.
B. Montagne

Fonda DelVecchio McGowan
3802 N Stafford Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207

August 31, 1992

Mr. James A. Baker, III
2415 Foxhall Road
Washington, D.C. 20007

Dear Mr. Baker:

Enclosed are materials which I do hope will be of interest to you in evaluating my efforts to become a part of your team.

I have been working on the campaign since January. Also, I have been a loyal Bush person since the early days in Alexandria where I ran the Issues-Answer Desk. Bob Gambino and many others can attest to my long hours and dedication to the Bush Campaign when you were our chairman.

I also ran the same operation during Reagan-Bush 1980. In my opinion, the Issues Desk is a wonderful "Grassroots" tool for this campaign. Presently, if someone calls in for issue information--they are told to write-in their questions, and someone will write them an answer.

This could confuse a lot of voters. We used to read from the issues approved--and send a brochure to the caller. The desk was manned by caring volunteers who were devoted to George Bush. You remember those wonderful guys like Mickey Smith and Ben Pepper??

We really had a Grassroots's operation. I was asked to duplicate the same division at Reagan-Bush. I developed the format for the enclosed issues for that campaign and mailed these to all who called about the "truths," and not some wild "rumors" which were circulating at the time. Criticism of this campaign not having issues is not the truth. A major problem--is the inability to get the issues information to the people.

Also, enclosed for your review, is a copy of the weekly issues that were tallied at each phone during the week. These issues were conveyed to "then" Governor Reagan and the speech-writers who could incorporate some of this information into issues.

Please know, Mr. Baker, that I am here at the campaign, and I am totally dedicated to doing all that I can to ensure that President George Bush is re-elected.

I am presently in the budget area, however, I could give direction in setting-up such an Issues Desk, or do anything else that you deem important for this campaign. Please consider me a part of your team.

I feel that my many years of campaign experience, as well as my trusted loyalty, qualify me as a "seasoned veteran" in this important arena. I am prepared to work as hard as it takes to get the job done--I will be committed to working as a part of your team.

I personally feel that I excel in outreach and coalition building and motivating people. Further, I have believed in George Bush since I first read the enclosed brochure in 1979--and I have never faltered in my faith in him. Therefore, I could be a valuable resource for you in any areas in this very critical campaign.

Hopefully, this reaches you as this address was from an old Bush Reunion Directory.

Congratulations on your new leadership role. All comments here at the campaign are "beyond" favorable concerning you. I am personally excited and optimistic about your leadership once again.

Very Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Linda McGowan". The signature is fluid and elegant, with a large initial 'L' and 'M'.

Campaign: (202) 336-7308
home: (703) 525-5177

enc.

FONDA Del VECCHIO McGOWAN
3802 N. Stafford Street
Arlington, Virginia 22207
(703) 525-5177

EDUCATION

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C.

M.A. Degree, Forensic Science, May 1979

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C.

B.S. Degree, Administration of Justice, June 1977, *magna cum laude*

NORTHERN VIRGINIA COMMUNITY COLLEGE

A.A.S. Degree, Corrections/Criminology, June 1976, *summa cum laude*

EXPERIENCE

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR, Washington, D.C. *March 1989 - August 1991*

Special Assistant to the Director, Women's Bureau.

Workforce 2000 Issues for Women.

Responsible for overseeing various projects concerning women in the workforce. Served on the Secretary's Child Care Liability Task Force. Responsible for tracking certain legislative issues pertaining to working women such as: Immigration, Child Care, Safety and Health. Also responsible for Public Relations, marketing and travel associated with various projects. Represent Director and make speeches on behalf of the Bureau. Liaison with national and international women's groups and organizations as well as promotion of the goals and objectives of the Women's Bureau and implementing the initiatives of the Director.

FONDA ASSOCIATES, Winter Park, FL *April 1988 - March 1989.*

Consultant, Political/Public Relations

Republican candidates. Statewide network for fund-raising. Also consultant to national hotel chains and investors regarding Central Florida market and projections. Marketing and Public Relations. Direct Mail.

INVOLVED WITH VARIOUS REPUBLICAN CAMPAIGNS *Dec. 1986 - March 1988.*

Governor Martinez; Local Orange County candidates for commission and State Senate. From fund-raising to grassroots.

VAN POOLE FOR INSURANCE COMMISSIONER CAMPAIGN, Ft. Lauderdale, FL *July 1986 - Nov. 1986.*

Fund-raising. Statewide campaign originating from Ft. Lauderdale. Managed and coordinated special events throughout the state of Florida.

RE-ELECT U.S. SENATOR PAULA HAWKINS, Winter Park, FL *Jan. 1985 - April 1986.*

Fund-raising. Responsible for arranging fund-raisers throughout the state with Republicans of national prominence - Vice President Bush, President Reagan, senators, Cabinet Members and others. Events coordinated state-wide.

KEY COMMERCIAL REALTY CORPORATION, Winter Park, FL *1984 - 1985.*

Consultant/Public Relations Director.

Responsible for advising nationwide hotel chains moving into Florida. Also coordinated marketing and advertising efforts.

BAFALIS/CALLAHAN GUBERNATORIAL CAMPAIGN *1983-1984.*

Executive Director, Central Florida

Responsible for all areas of the campaign in Orange County. Fund-raising. Coordination. Voter analysis. Supervised campaign staff and volunteers.

REPUBLICAN PARTY, Tallahassee, FL *1982 - 1983.*

Special Events Coordinator

Assigned to organize, coordinate and supervise fund-raising activities for legislative candidates statewide. Also, field representative assigned as liaison to sixteen Florida counties.

THE WHITE HOUSE. REAGAN/BUSH ADMINISTRATION, Washington, D.C. 1981.

Presidential Personnel Specialist

Assistant to the Deputy Director of Presidential Personnel for the Placement of Women. Reviewed, evaluated and assisted in categorizing resumes of women applicants. Responsible for reviews and recommendations.

Staff Assistant

Office of Intergovernmental Affairs. Assigned to the Special Assistant to the President for Intergovernmental Affairs. Responsible for initial office set-up of the Reagan Administration. Coordinated communications between governors, mayors, and state representatives, and the Office of the President.

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT-ELECT/TRANSITION TEAM, Washington, D.C. 1980

Director

Office of Public Response. Supervised a staff of fifteen. This department was an extension of Jim Brady's press office. Responsibilities included all non-press inquiries concerning upcoming administration's appointments and policies. On staff of Edwin Meese III.

REAGAN/BUSH NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Arlington, VA 1980.

Co-Director

Issue and Answers Desk, Department of Policy and Research. Responsible for a staff of thirty. Created format for issues. Supervised national phone bank for handling all phone inquiries relating to issues of the campaign. Staff of Edwin Meese III.

BUSH FOR PRESIDENT NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS, Alexandria, VA 1979.

Director

Issues and Answers Desk. Policy and Research. Issue Development. Responded to requests for information relating to issues of campaign. coordinated a staff of volunteers. Staff of James Baker III.

S & M LEGAL CLINICS, Arlington, VA 1978.

Paralegal

Part-time position assigned to assist in client interviews and legal research.

J. FULLER GROOM REALTY, Arlington, VA 1978.

Realty Services

Licensed in Virginia, member of Virginia Board of Realtors.

VIRGINIA PROBATION AND PAROLE, Arlington, VA 1978.

Probation Officer, social work

Assigned to various adult cases. Responsible for full caseload; pre-sentence investigations and recommendations.

AFFILIATIONS

- Newsletter Editor, Winter Park Republican Women's Club
- Florida Federation of Republican Women
- Orange County Young Republicans
- Member, Orlando Women's Club
- Member, Platinum Coast Club
- National Federation of Republican Women
- Daughters of American Revolution, Winter Park
- Leaders Council, Winter Park
- League of Women Voters, Orlando
- National Association of University Women
- National Society of Fund-raising Executives
- National Organization Italian Women
- National Association Female Executives
- Board of Renaissance Women
- Capitol Hill Club
- National Italian American Foundation
- American Business Women's Association
- National Women's Economic Alliance

GEORGE BUSH FOR PRESIDENT

732 North Washington Street
Alexandria, Virginia 22314
(703) 836-5705

710 North Post Oak Road
Suite 208
Houston, Texas 77024
(713) 467-1980

June 1, 1980

To Whom It May Concern:

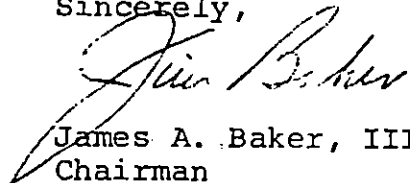
Fonda L. McGowan has been a full-time volunteer for the George Bush for President Committee.

She has shown a great deal of initiative and organizational skills in performing a variety of research projects and in coordinating the Answer Desk.

Fonda's dependability has been recognized by the permanent staff in performance of her assigned duties.

I can recommend Fonda for any position she seeks in the area of issue research and development.

Sincerely,


James A. Baker, III
Chairman

GENERAL ISSYES	220		
SCHOOL PRAYER	11	HEALTH	5
CAMPAIGN ADVICE	78	S.A.L.T. II	3
DEBATE ADVICE YES	12	LAW & ORDER	1
DEBATE ADVICE NO	50	REINDUSTRIALIZATION	0
SOCIAL SECURITY	15	AGRICULTURE	0
ANTI-CARTER	0	PLATFORM	24
SPACE PROGRAMS	2	RR SEEN AS WARMONGER	34
DEFENSE	14	VETERANS	2
HANDICAPPED	2	GUN CONTROL	4
FOREIGN POLICY	15	STEEL	12
R.R. SUPPORTER	4	AUTO	3
ANTI B-1 BOMBER	0	IMMIGRATION	1
MINIMUM WAGE	3	PUERTO RICO	2
MIDEAST	4	URBAN LEAGUE	2
TRILATERAL	4	CHINA POLICY	1
CAMPAIGN MATERIAL	0	PROTEST SUSAN KING	1
LABOR	3	RELIGION	6
ENERGY	8	PROTEST WOMEN COURT	12
SCHOOL PROJECTS	73	REGULATORY REFORM	4
ABORTION	8	ANTI-REFUGEE	8
WOMEN'S BOARD PROTEST	1	HOSTAGES	4
FEDERAL EMPLYEES	2	MORE BUSH	3

E.R.A.	10	DRAFT	2
RETIRED MILITARY	0	ANTI- KISSINGER	2
MEDIA (COMMERCIALS)	23	SMALL BUS.	2
TRANSPORTATION	1	55 MPH	1
BUSING	1	MENTAL HEALTH	2
EDUCATION	3	PANAMA CANAL	1
HOUSING	3		744
TAXES	3		
INTEREST RATES	0		
REVENUE SHARING	1	ANSWER DESK TELEPHONE	
ECONOMY	18	TALLY FROM OCT. 10-17, 1980	
UNEMPLOYMENT	0		
N.A.T.O.	0		
ADVISORS	1		
ANTI-EVANGELICAL	0		
ACCEPTANCE SPEECH	0		



REAGAN for PRESIDENT

901 South Highland Street
Arlington, Virginia 22204
(703) 685-3400

RONALD REAGAN ON THE ISSUES

AGRICULTURE: The American farmer has made our country the envy of virtually every other nation, and the provider--directly or indirectly--for nearly all the world's people. To restore health to our agricultural economy, we must reduce inflation, which hits the farmer particularly hard. We must ensure adequate energy supplies, eliminate overly burdensome regulations, and vigorously support farm exports. As President, Ronald Reagan would appoint people to the Department of Agriculture who recognize that local farmers know more about their own needs than does Washington, in order to help ensure that these goals are fulfilled.

INFLATION: The only way to curb inflation is to make a bold commitment to real economic growth, restrain federal spending, and bring the growth in the supply of money back into line with the economy's ability to increase its output of goods and services.

At the same time, across-the-board cuts in tax rates will restore the incentive to produce, increasing jobs and the supply of goods and services, which will further reduce inflationary pressures and improve the standard of living for all Americans.

TAX POLICY: We must reduce excessive federal tax rates--which destroy the incentive to work, produce, invest and save--by enacting a phased-in program of across-the-board tax rate reductions. We should also exempt from income taxes at least some portion of the interest earned from savings.

We must also index federal tax rates for inflation so that cost-of-living pay raises, necessary just to keep pace with inflation, do not continually push Americans into higher tax brackets, increasing the federal tax take, and reducing purchasing power.

SMALL BUSINESS: Small Business is a vital element in our economy, producing about half of our nation's goods and services, and providing an important source of new jobs. Unfortunately, federal tax and regulatory policies are slowly destroying America's small businesses.

To revive our Small Business sector, we need an across-the-board cut in tax rates to restore the incentive to produce. We must also eliminate unnecessary federal regulations, which strangle small businesses with paperwork and create additional costs.

George Bush on the Issues Affecting Pennsylvania and the U.S. in the 1980s

INFLATION: Three years of Carter economics have been disastrous for all Americans. Galloping inflation, which is government fueled, is nearly 4 times worse than when Carter took office, and this year alone will rob us of nearly 20 percent of our incomes. I have proposed to break the back of inflation and revitalize the economy by balancing the budget, tightly controlling spending, curbing government growth, and eliminating waste; cutting taxes and tax rates for individuals and businesses to reward savings, spur job creation, and stimulate investment. I am committed to deregulation where possible and regulatory simplification elsewhere, to eliminate needless and inflationary paperwork and requirements. Inflation is not inevitable. It can be broken. Breaking it will be the first goal of the Bush Administration.

ENERGY: America's energy problems haven't yielded to Carter's rhetoric or to a fractious Congress because the problem isn't a shortage of resources---it is a surplus of government. We must move immediately to expand production and exploration by decontrolling oil and natural gas, converting from oil to coal, insuring high safety standards for nuclear power, taxing windfall profits and requiring expanded investment in energy development, and encouraging conservation through tax credits and low interest loans. We must begin now to develop the safe and renewable energy sources we will need by the end of the century---coal, solar, wind, geothermal, gasification, gasohol, and the like. Rationing and stiff new gasoline taxes are needlessly harmful. The government must adequately protect the needy from the effects of energy price hikes and inflation.

COAL: As President, I will move administratively and, where necessary, by legislation to permit coal to be burned more readily and to encourage immediate conversion of all coal-capable utility power plants and major industrial boilers from oil back to coal. I will move to modernize our nation's transportation system so that coal may be efficiently delivered to major markets. I also favor removing impractical federal environmental standards. And, finally, I support pilot projects for coal gasification.

DEFENSE: The massive build-up of Soviet arms, along with the badly deteriorating state of American defense forces, threatens us with grave consequence in the 1980s. Only with the new leadership and a new commitment to U.S. military strength will we send a strong signal to the world. I am firmly committed to a long-term program of rebuilding our defenses, including a new manned bomber, a long-range cruise missile, a neutron bomb, and a three-ocean Navy.

TAX REFORM: The tax burden on Americans is now the highest ever, and Jimmy Carter seeks to balance the budget with \$100 billion in new taxes in 1981. I have proposed to cut taxes and tax rates now---for individuals and businesses---to reward thrift and stimulate productive economic growth and job creation.

WELFARE REFORM: I support welfare reform that encourages work, tightens eligibility, eliminates waste and fraud---but oppose dumping welfare costs on state and local budgets. We must ensure that those truly in need are aided, and that those programs that don't work---especially those that undermine the family---are scrapped.

BALANCED BUDGET: The federal budget must be balanced, and I have a plan to do so in the first 100 days of my administration. We can and will do so in FY 1982. I do not, however, support an amendment that would allow increased taxation as a way to balance the budget. Rather than an amendment, what we need is proper leadership. We must limit federal spending, and Congress must discipline itself.

GUN CONTROL: I voted against and still oppose federal gun registration. Disarming the law-abiding will do nothing to reduce crime. I support mandatory prison sentences for those convicted of the use of a weapon during a crime.

AGRICULTURE: The free market system at home and abroad offers American farmers the best avenues for a fair return. provided farmers are not unfairly burdened by government intervention.

James A. Baker III
2415 Foxhall Road
Washington, D.C. 20007

PERSONAL



 **TRAVEL AGENTS
INTERNATIONAL.** *Kevin**9/19: Called Mr.
Tower -*

MEMORANDUM VIA FAX # 202-456-2883

TO: The Hon. James Baker
Chief of Staff - The White House

FROM: John Tower
Vice President - TAI Mid-Atlantic, Inc.

*→ thanked him
for letter
→ passed 1-800-#
for POTUS AAR.
→ NRN - file*

DATE: Thursday, September 10, 1992

RE: Campaign Theme: Export Trade = U.S. Job Security & Creation

Dear Mr. Baker:

As a concerned supporter of the President, I am pleased to see you and your magnificent team from State, at the White House. You and I have met on several occasions. I am an active Republican, a business and political consultant, active in the 1980, 1984 and 1988 campaigns, a relative of former U.S. Senator John Tower and a participant in the Executive-Diplomat Program at State.

Last week, a group of dedicated international business leaders who are supporting the President met at Bush-Quayle Hdqts. in Washington, under the leadership of The Hon. Jim Carey and Mr. David Waller, Deputy Director, Business & Industries National Coalition of B-Q '92.

Although there are only 50+ days left in the campaign, it was the consensus of the group that an International Trade Coalition was needed to help galvanize the support of the U.S. Export Trade Industry behind the President and to emphasize the importance of the work that the President and you have done internationally, which has laid a positive foundation for the expansion of the U.S. Export Trade...a profound creator of U.S. jobs.

Since last week, I have had discussions with over 100+ business leaders and clients across the country and they share my concern about this issue. With time at a premium I wanted to bring this point directly to you:

The successful international leadership of President Bush has not yet been positively linked by words nor images, in a simple and profound way, that would properly link his leadership with the creation, stability and development of jobs here at home in U.S. exporting industries. This linkage is fact and is inspiring testimony to the economic realization (and payoff) of President Bush's leadership in the world community. American jobs are being

John Tower to The Hon. Jim Baker

Page 2 of 2 pages.

saved and created throughout this country, every day, because the President, you and the Bush Administration have made America the world's undisputed leader. From this fact has flowed, U.S. goods and services overseas, the economic strength and expansion of the American companies creating those goods and services and the PAYOFF, a job...car, home, kids going to college and the economic structure necessary to support a loving family environment in America today...all of it starts in the Oval Office of the White House, with the President. In other words...THE BUCK STARTS HERE!

Using the theme, The Buck Starts Here, we can create a positive imaging for the American voter that economic strength, job creation and future economic growth and stability will start with the President in the next term, he is not going to leave it up to Congress and if Congress starts messing with it he is going to be on TV telling the American people that Congress is holding back economic growth, jobs and progress...just like they have for the past 4 years.

Get some element of this on TV...the President saying how being strong in the world helps Americans compete and how the President will continue fighting for U.S. jobs in the world economy...then show a company owner/officer saying that his company is selling more American products and/or services overseas today because the world is a safer place, thanks to President Bush...then show Joe (the factory line worker) saying that his job is there because the company is selling more overseas, America is in competition with the world and we're winning, he turns to the camera and straight on says "for me and my family Thank you President Bush"...then the owner/officer comes on and says "for the over 500 employees here at XYZ company, thank you President Bush"... Then show a shot of President Bush working in the Oval Office and have a voice over "President George Bush, fighting for American jobs, working for America's future".

That's essentially the idea and the message the American people need to hear and want to hear from this campaign...they are not hearing it now in direct, simple, and memorable terms. Mr. Baker, if you agree with this, it needs your personal leadership and direction now, to be a reality and have an impact.

The American people need a strong economic reason to believe in President Bush. We need to give them that reasoning. I believe what I have outlined is basically the message we need to send.

I appreciate your review and consideration of this memo. Both Jim Carey and David Waller deserve a lot of credit for getting our group together last week and working for the creation of our International Trade Committee within Bush-Quayle '92.

Best Regards,

John Tower.

CC: The Hon. Jim Carey

The College of William and Mary in Virginia

NAME
FILE

Name Mr. James A. Baker, III
Address The White House
City Washington State D.C. Zip Code 20500

The Inauguration of Timothy J. Sullivan
Friday, October 16, 1992

☐ Yes, I will attend

I will need # ☐ places for my guest(s).

☒ No, I will not be able to attend.

PLEASE RESPOND BY SEPTEMBER 25TH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

The Inaugural Committee
The College of William and Mary
Post Office Box 1777
Williamsburg, VA 23187-1777

NRN

TO: Mr. James Baker

The White House

202-456-2461

A few suggestions for opposition research:

- (1) Did Bill Clinton finish the Rhodes Scholarship at Oxford or did he quit?
- (2) Did the candidate travel to Moscow during Vietnam, and if so, on what kind of business?



HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20515

BILL GOODLING
19TH DISTRICT, PENNSYLVANIA

October 5, 1992

Dear Jim:

Be sure Dr. Gail Wilensky has a briefing session with the President to discuss health care before every debate.

The cost of health care is the number one issue everywhere I go. Jobs is second. The President must be bold with his approach in the health care area.

Dr. Wilensky made Senator Rockefeller look like he had an IQ of 5 on a recent television debate. Check last night's 60 Minutes program. If you don't have it, I can send you a tape.

Use Dr. Wilensky on the campaign trail. She is articulate and bright.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Bill".

BILL GOODLING
Member of Congress

The Honorable James Baker, III
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

JAB:

Please advise:

_____ Accept

 Regret

_____ Spin

thanks,

bmm

10/1/92



*The Chief of Protocol and Mrs. John G. Weinmann
and*

*The Council of American Ambassadors
cordially invite you*

to a reception

*recognizing President George Bush
as the recipient of the Benjamin Franklin Award
for Outstanding Diplomatic Service*

on

Monday, November 16, 1992

6:00 - 8:00 p.m.

Blair House

1651 Pennsylvania Avenue, N. W.

Business Suit / Cocktail Dress.

The favor of reply is requested by October 30.

Acceptances Only.

Phone: 202-296-3757

Fax: 202-223-4335

*10/6: Phone regretted
bmm*



The Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Council of American Ambassadors
1150 17th Street, N.W.
Suite 600
Washington, D.C. 20036

10/6/92: Called Mr. Kinch

to acknowledge
receipt & thank for
letter spoke to

Gladys - ? (Gloria) bmm

September 29, 1992

Mr. James Baker
Republican Campaign Manager
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

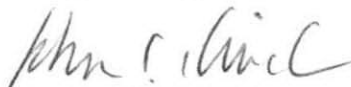
Dear Mr. Baker:

I am encouraged by your recent decision to return to manage the President's re-election campaign. I trust God will give you the wisdom to steer this team to another election night victory -- we don't need a landslide, just a win!

I sent the attached letter to Larry King a few days ago, after he interviewed Cliff Jackson. I think Clinton is extremely vulnerable on the issue of trust, especially in reference to his draft record, use of funds from the ROTC program (which I understand he did not complete) and his active role in seeking to avoid the draft. I think there are many of us who paid a high price during that time for doing what was right, regardless of cost.

I hope someone in your organization will find a way to hammer this issue, because Clinton is simply an opportunist who does not deserve our nation's highest office.

Very Truly Yours,



John E. Kinch
President

JEK/gdk
enclosure

trimark

Corporate Headquarters: 184 Quigley Blvd., P.O. Box 10530, Wilmington, DE 19850-0530

(302) 322-2143

September 16, 1992

Via Fax and 1st Class Mail

Mr. Larry King
Washington, CNN
820 First Street
Washington, DC 20002

Dear Larry:

Last night's "Live" show with Cliff Jackson was one I'll long remember -- in fact, I tried to call many times during the hour (and have never called any show before), but all lines were jammed.

I was also a part of the 1969 lottery and remember very clearly the entire event as though it just happened -- my number, based upon a birth date of June 23, was #109. I owned and operated a small business at the time, was drafted in 1970, and lost an appeal first to the Lynn County, Iowa, local board and then to the State of Iowa Appeal Board (I was trying to get a hardship deferment because of the business). I was forced to choose between a 2-year draft or a 3-year enlistment into the Army.

I am sure thousands of eligible males faced the same issue and rather than run to Canada or pull strings to avoid the draft, we served our country during a difficult time and returned with missing limbs or in coffins from Vietnam or received honorable discharges at the conclusion of our military service. The issue with Bill Clinton is trust and his perceived shiftiness on this issue.

trimark

Corporate Headquarters: 184 Quigley Blvd., P.O. Box 10530, Wilmington, DE 19850-0530

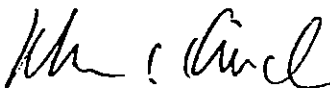
(302) 322-2143

Mr. King
September 16, 1992
page two

I lost my business as a result of the military and I used all my military pay over a 3-year enlistment period to repay all my debts. I was discharged penniless, but debt-free. I am not bitter about it -- I earned an MBA degree from the University of Utah while on active duty in Munich, Germany, and met and married my wife, who was visiting her sister and active-duty brother-in-law stationed in Munich. I think the old adage of turning "lemons into lemonade" applies.

I applaud you for offering an interesting and fair show and wish you continued success. I think Bill Clinton would be well advised to take up your offer and appear on the show.

Sincerely,



John E. Kinch
President

P.S. -- Maybe I'm a "pack rat" also, but like Cliff Jackson, I also have all my letters and notes from that time.

JEK/gdk
enclosures

COPY

LAW OFFICES OF
CHAMBLISS, BAHNER & CRAWFORD
1111 MACLELLAN BUILDING
CHATTANOOGA, TENNESSEE 37402

*Copy -
part of my
file*

November 6, 1970

Linn County 1357 Local Board
Selective Service System
Federal Building
Cedar Rapids, Iowa 52401

Re: John Edwin Kinch
2628 Broad Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee 37408
Selective Service Number 13 57 47 643

Dear Sir:

We represent John Kinch, Selective Service Number 13 57 47 643, who is presently residing in Chattanooga, Tennessee.

On September 15, 1970, Mr. Kinch received a notice of induction from the Selective Service Board in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. He has subsequently obtained a transfer of his file to the Selective Service Board of Chattanooga, Tennessee, Local Board Number 35.

We are writing on behalf of Mr. Kinch to request that his induction be deferred for a six-month period, in order to allow Mr. Kinch to settle his financial and business affairs.

A year ago, Mr. Kinch opened a local printing business in the Chattanooga area. Prior to that time, he was a part-time student at Covenant Seminary, St. Louis, Missouri. Because it was impossible to tend properly to his new business and attend school at the same time, he terminated his student status in April 1970.

In June 1970 Mr. Kinch expanded his business and moved into a downtown location. In doing so, he entered into a long-term lease for a building and spent over \$1,700.00 on remodeling and repair of this building, and has borrowed several thousands of dollars. Mr. Kinch has been responsible for the development of a local television digest for which his company handles both sales and printing. Further, as a part of his regular business, he performs all varieties of printing and design services.

Linn County 1357 Local Board

November 6, 1970

Page 2

Mr. Kinch has devoted a tremendous number of hours to the development of his business. Moreover, he has invested all of his available capital in the business as well as obtaining a number of loans on his basic equipment.

It is very important that Mr. Kinch have additional time within which to secure a qualified printer and sales manager for his business in order that it may operate in his absence.

If Mr. Kinch is required to report for induction on November 23, 1970, he will lose the customers and sales organization which he has developed over the past year. Such a loss, at this critical time in the development of his business, will amount to a destruction of his business.

Mr. Kinch is perfectly willing to serve his country for such period of time as may be required of him. We request, however, that you defer his induction for a period of six months in order to permit him to prepare his business for his protracted absence.

We would appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible concerning our request.

Very truly yours,

J. Nelson Irvine

JNI:ltt

Bush-Quayle is responding
to this letter -- they
have a copy.

So can just be filed with
Central Files.

Thanks,

csj
10/6



ALLEN H. NEUHARTH
CHAIRMAN

October 1, 1992

The Honorable James Baker
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

This is to offer the facilities, services and the resources of The Freedom Forum to act as the official host and/or to coordinate the arrangements for the Presidential debates in 1992. We are prepared to work with you on all of the debates or a portion of the debates.

If you choose Washington as a site, we have the latest high-technology conference facility that can seat about 200 people. If you choose sites outside of Washington, we can bring things together because the programs and priorities of The Freedom Forum involve daily contact with the media, with colleges and universities, and with the general public. We are willing to use our working contacts to assist the two presidential campaigns in carrying out these debates, in line with formats agreed upon by the two campaigns.

As you know, The Freedom Forum is non-partisan and financially independent. It does not engage in lobbying nor does it attempt to influence elections. Our priorities are simple: free press, free speech and free spirit.

We will be pleased to follow through immediately with planning, logistics, and coordination with both presidential campaigns. This same offer is being sent to representatives of the Clinton/Gore Campaign.

Charles L. Overby, The Freedom Forum's president and CEO, will handle all logistics and can answer any of your questions. His telephone number is 703-284-2810.

Sincerely,

Al Neuharth

AHN/mcp

[All of this material should be
Kept together as one packet]

JULY 13, 1992

\$3.95

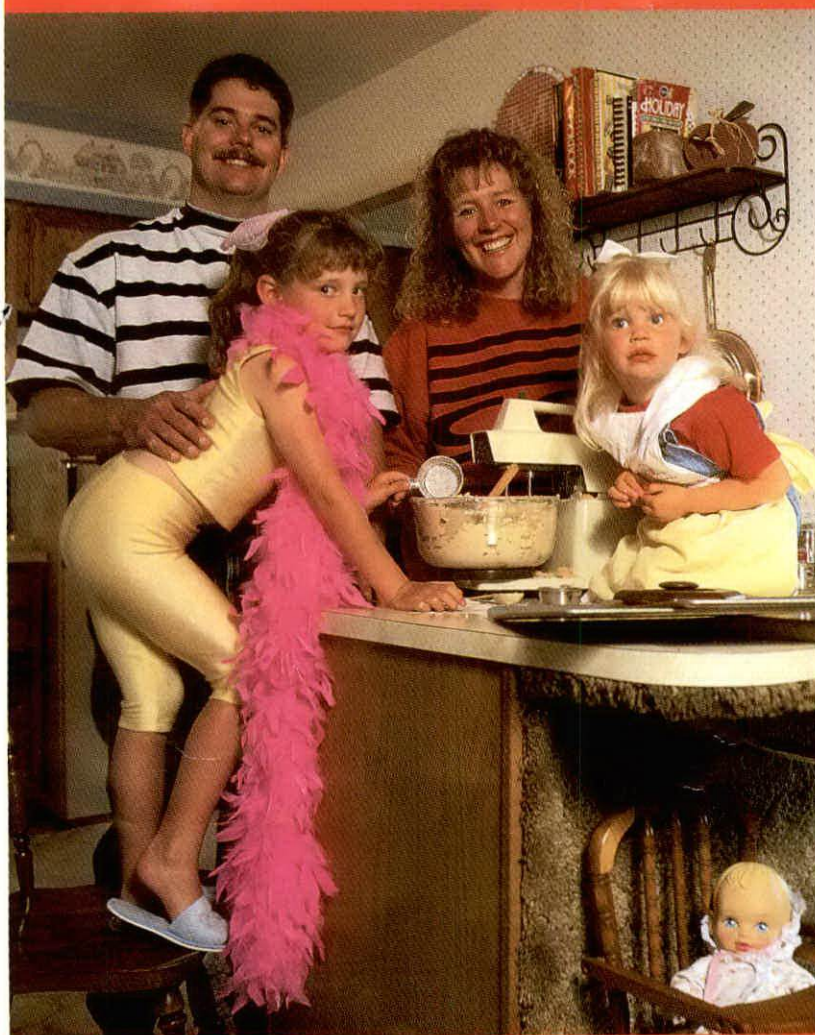
FORTUNE

THE UPBEAT GENERATION

**A new
FORTUNE survey
finds that Americans
in their 20s are
surprisingly
optimistic**

*Michael Konyk
23, has a
head start on
the new dream:
education,
travel, and
work he enjoys.*

FORTUNE



THE SOCIETY/COVER STORY

ABOVE: Jim and Kim Malin at home in Wyoming with daughters Maggie and Katie. Photo by Karen Kuehn (Matrix).

COVER: Konyk, photographed by Alan Levenson, exemplifies his generation's sense of freedom.

THE UPBEAT GENERATION

42

Surprise! A FORTUNE poll says working Americans in their 20s are optimistic about their careers and financial prospects, and expect to live just as well as their parents. What explains their optimism? A different view of the American dream: not the accumulation of material objects, but the acquisition of intangibles—a rich spiritual or family life, a rewarding job, the chance to help others, and the opportunity for intellectual enrichment. *by Alan Deutschman*

"People my own age kind of make me nervous. We haven't had our moral fiber tested as much as the people who came before us." **42**

18-MONTH FORECAST

THE ECONOMY COMES BACK

56

Leaving behind three years of stagnation, recession, and halting recovery, the economy is finally entering a period of recognizable expansion. Growth will continue over the next 18 months at a sustainably moderate pace. *by Vivian Brownstein*

THE WINNERS AND LOSERS

62

Sure, it's the slowest recovery in memory. But most industries are getting at least a shot at growth and are making the best of it. A sector-by-sector analysis. *by Andrew Erdman and Sally Solo*

INNOVATION

PRODUCTS TO WATCH

81

AT&T's Smart Phone that lets you autodial your pals and check on your bank account, the Digital Compact Cassette and recorder, and Thomson's wide-screen TV and camcorders. *by Alison Sprout*

CORPORATE PERFORMANCE

INSIDE AMERICA'S BIGGEST PRIVATE COMPANY

82

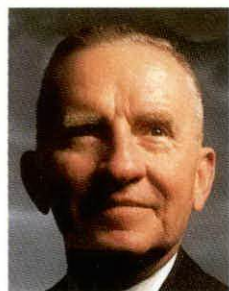
Cargill, the grain trading dynasty, faces tumultuous change: a CEO from outside the family and a move into higher-value businesses. In a sharp break with precedent, the normally secretive managers of the second-largest diversified services company in the U.S. allow FORTUNE an extensive look inside. *by Ronald Henkoff*

COMPANIES TO WATCH

91

By steering clear of flash-in-the-pan growth after a leveraged buyout, International House of Pancakes has increased sales and maintained quality in its franchises. *by Richard S. Teitelbaum*

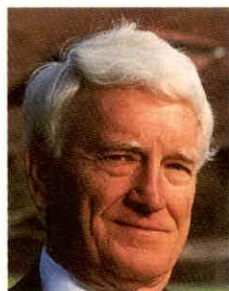
Also: The Money Store and Lifetime Hoan.



"Perot's tough stance would mean the party is over vis-à-vis Japan's predatory and protective trade practices." **12**



"The market will peak later this year, followed by a bear market that lasts maybe nine months." **29**



"Our competitors are foreign companies that have bankers and customers as owners. Their shareholders are patient." **82**



"Nationalist sentiments, suppressed by the fictional notion of international socialism, are now resurfacing." **96**



"I've never seen so many people trying different approaches to make one thing." **100**



"He always learns from the mistakes of people like Donald Trump." **106**

EXECUTIVE LIFE

WHAT FREQUENT FLIERS KNOW **92**

They don't check luggage, of course, and they choose mind control over sleeping pills. They also have informed tastes in airlines, especially those that upgrade you to first class. *by Faye Rice*

EUROPE

'THEM' **96**

Fleeing war, poverty, and repression, immigrants are flooding a Europe grown increasingly intolerant—and derailing the drive toward the unified market that multinational companies have been banking on. Closer political union among the 12 members of the EC now looks tenuous. An immigration policy is badly needed. *by Carla Rapoport*

TECHNOLOGY

THE RACE FOR A RARE CANCER DRUG **100**

Taxol comes from a scarce tree and costs the earth to make. Bristol-Myers Squibb has already poured \$100 million into developing it, but smaller outfits are right behind. *by Gene Bylinsky*

TECHNOLOGY TO WATCH **105**

Interactive television lets you match wits with other fans calling a basketball player's next move—and maybe even advise a President Perot on policy. *by Gene Bylinsky*

COMPETITION

A BILLIONAIRE'S GLOBAL STRATEGY **106**

Li Ka-shing, the richest man in Hong Kong, is shopping for bargains in the West. He's got a lot of cash, and he is investing in real estate, cellular phones, even show business. *by Louis Kraar*

DEPARTMENTS

EDITOR'S DESK **4**

How FORTUNE got Cargill's go-ahead for a comprehensive corporate profile of the enormous multinational. Also: Which twin is the taxol?

INDEX **8**

NEWS/TRENDS **12**

Signs of life in the Northeast, Japan sweats a Ross Perot presidency, a surprising PC gender gap, hip families drive a Detroit hit, and free trade as whipping boy. Also: The wrong way to cut CEO pay, why Japan still loves Ray Josephs, Merrill Lynch plans lower fees, and Washington adds to the Fannie Mae family.

PERSONAL INVESTING **29**

Looking for more than the skimpy returns from bank CDs and money market funds? Go for safety with some sizzle. Here's a guide to mutual funds for the fainthearted. *by Susan E. Kuhn*

Also: Are environmental stocks about to sprout? and Portfolio Talk with Robert Farrell, chief market analyst at Merrill Lynch.

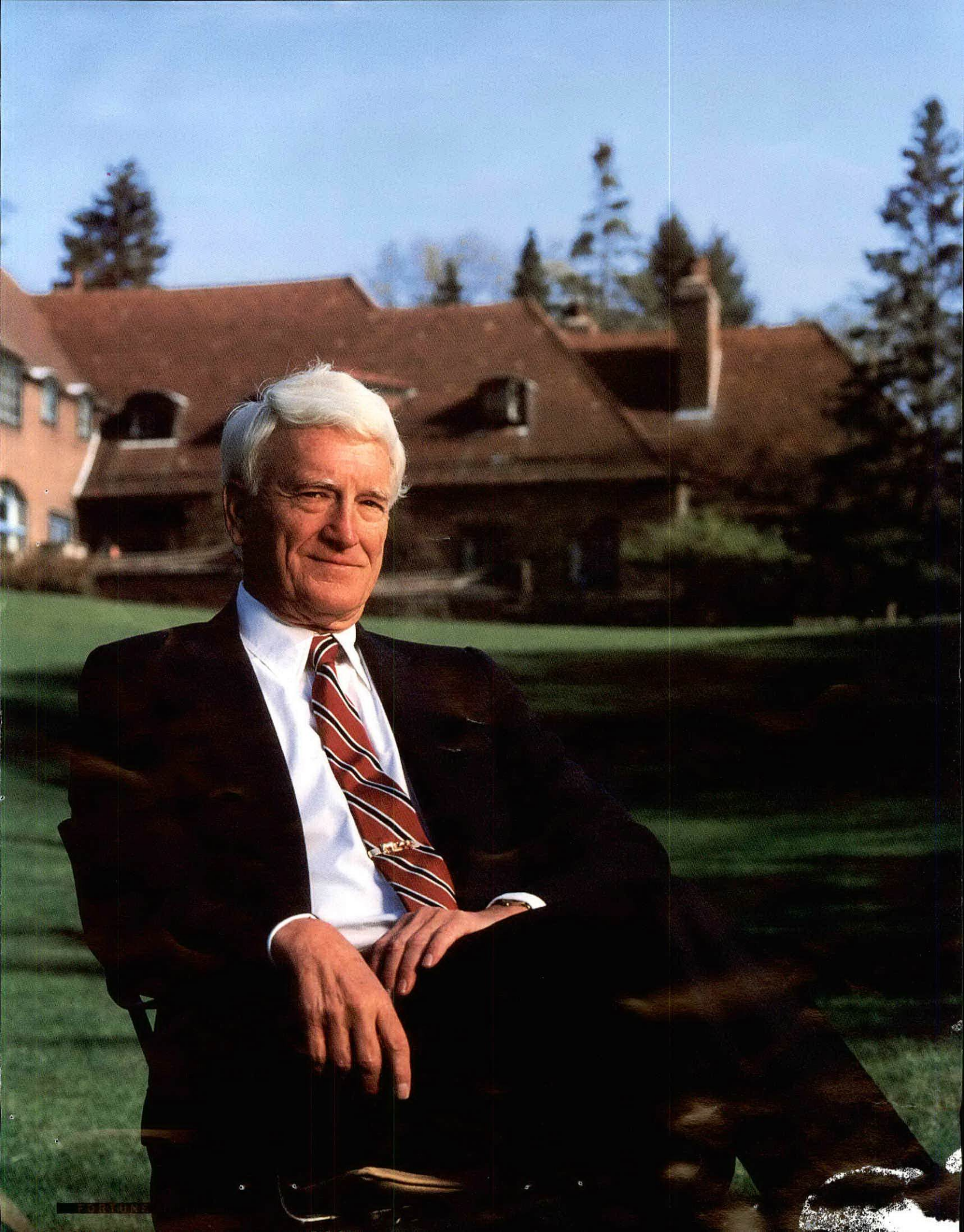
LETTERS TO FORTUNE **36**

FORTUNE PEOPLE **110**

Where the toughest bosses end up: From Frank Lorenzo to Donald Rumsfeld, those chief executives sometimes identified as "mean bastards" aren't retiring. They're offering others the benefit of their experience. *by Laurie Kretchmar*

KEEPING UP **111**

A radical with clout, bankers on the hot seat, more news about spineless animals, what pollsters know about Ross Perot (ask Mr. Statistics), and other matters. *by Daniel Seligman*



INSIDE AMERICA'S BIGGEST PRIVATE COMPANY

Cargill, the grain trading dynasty, faces tumultuous change: a nonfamily CEO and a move into higher-value businesses. Should it consider going public? **■ by Ronald Henkoff**

IF YOU ARE what you eat, then part of you comes from a 127-year-old company you may never have heard of. Cargill Inc., America's largest privately held corporation, is hardly a household name, but it touches nearly every household. Chances are good that it supplies the flour in your bread, the oil in your salad dressing, the concentrate in your orange juice, the beans in your coffee, the sweetener in your soft drink, the malt in your beer, the peanuts in your peanut butter, the cocoa in your candy bar, the salt on your table, and the steak on your barbecue.

Cargill is enormous. With revenues last year of \$49.1 billion, this giant commodities merchant is America's second-largest diversified services company, topped only by AT&T (1991 sales: \$63.3 billion). Cargill's 47 businesses employ 63,000 people in 54 countries on six continents. As a privately held enterprise, Cargill is in a class by itself, nearly triple the size of America's next largest private company (see list).

In a sharp break with precedent, the normally secretive managers of Cargill have allowed *FORTUNE* an extensive look inside their mysterious multinational. The company and the two families who own it are in the midst of momentous changes. When Chairman and Chief Executive Whitney MacMillan, a great-grandson of the founder, retires in three years, none of his relatives will be primed to succeed him. For only the second time in Cargill's long history, leadership (though not ownership) will pass to non-family managers.

Over the years this unusual company has prospered by sticking with values that too many large public corporations have shucked off. At a time when most chief

executives are obsessed with next quarter's earnings, Cargill's managers have a strategic vision that extends well into the next century. While other companies struggle with too much debt, Cargill boasts a balance sheet so conservative it can only be called old-fashioned. While employees at many *FORTUNE* 500 companies are angry at their bosses and disenchanted with their jobs, Cargill workers are so unabashedly enthusiastic that their sentiments border on boosterism.

The essence of Cargill's philosophy is patience. Take calculated risks, reinvest gains, and hang on for the long haul. Cargill often buys companies in downcast industries—like red meat, steel, and fertilizer—and then gradually turns them into moneymakers. Its measured approach doesn't produce many supernovas, but it is hard to argue with its record.

Cargill earned just \$351 million in 1991, a paltry return of less than 1% on sales. Preliminary calculations for fiscal 1992, which ended May 31, show that profits surged 28% to \$450 million. But even that record figure won't do much to improve the earnings ratio. Not to worry, says chief financial officer Robert Lumpkins: Commodities companies make money by rapidly turning over their inventories—15 times per year in Cargill's case. Also, the company's conservative accounting practices—including accelerated depreciation of assets—make the bottom line unnaturally thin. This year, predicts

Lumpkins, Cargill will generate about \$1.1 billion in cash flow, most of which will be reinvested or used for acquisitions. Over the past 50 years, net worth (or shareholders' equity) has grown from \$11.6 million to \$3.6 billion, a compound annual rate of 12.2%. The company remains on track toward its longstanding goal of doubling net worth every five to seven years.

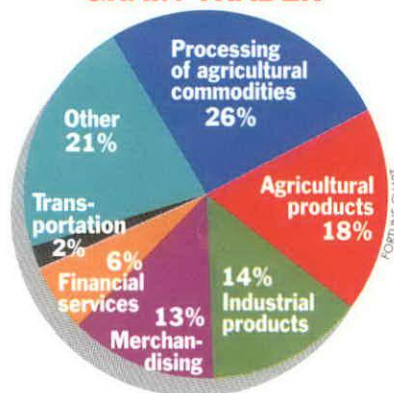
Cargill takes its perseverance abroad, to places as volatile as Brazil, as remote as Uzbekistan, and as xenophobic as Japan. It is the world's biggest grain trading company, the No. 1 processor of cocoa in Europe, the largest pet food producer in Argentina, and the first foreign company to set up an animal feed plant in Japan. This year in Brazil, Cargill will crush 1.5 million tons of oranges into frozen concentrate. The

company's ships will carry the chilled citrus in bulk to Europe, North America, and Japan, where it will be reconstituted into 4.5 billion glasses of juice.

Most of Cargill's revenue still comes from trading. It handles 25% of America's grain exports, and it buys, sorts, ships, and sells just about everything else that comes out of the earth, including coffee, sugar, cotton, crude oil, hemp, and rubber. But the company now earns most of its profits from turning those commodities into something else. You wouldn't know it from a visit to the supermarket, but Cargill is America's third-largest food company, right behind,

REPORTER ASSOCIATE Ricardo Sookdeo

MUCH MORE THAN A GRAIN TRADER



How Cargill allocates its net worth

CEO MacMillan at Minnetonka headquarters

PHOTOGRAPHS BY PETER SIBBALD

PERFORMANCE

Philip Morris (owner of Kraft General Foods) and ConAgra, according to *Food Processing* magazine. Cargill doesn't make breakfast cereal or cake mixes or frozen dinners, but it does process the ingredients for the companies that do.

Its North Star Steel subsidiary is the eighth-largest producer in the country, supplying auto parts to Chrysler and engine parts to Boeing. Cargill Investor Services, based in Chicago, is a leading player on commodities exchanges worldwide, especially in the booming financial futures market, trading bond, currency, and stock-index contracts for blue-chip banks and companies.

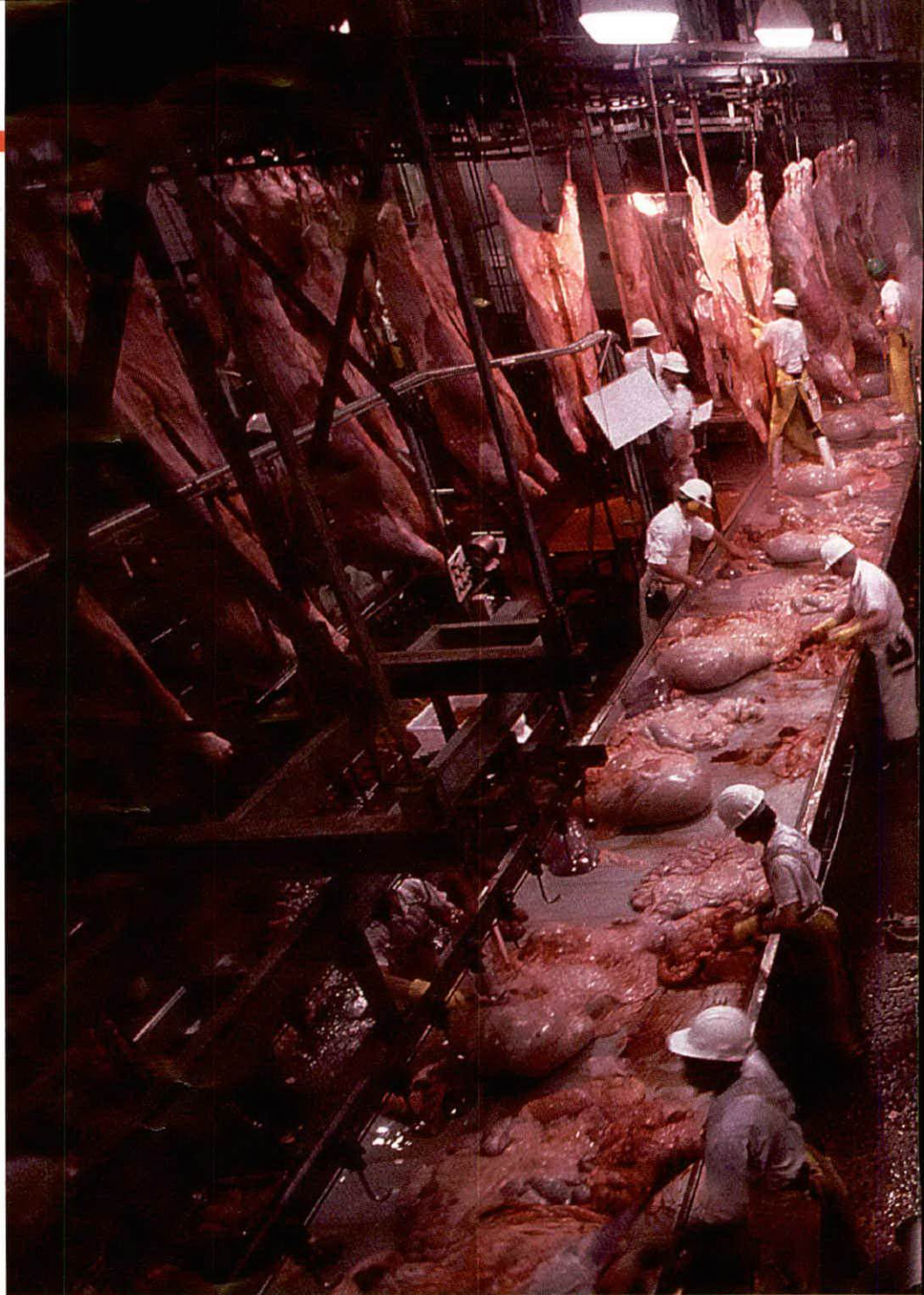
FOUNDED BY William Wallace Cargill, the second-oldest son of an immigrant farmer, the company is still owned and managed by his descendants—the Cargills and MacMillans. These two Scottish-American clans, joined by marriage in 1895, are very rich (collectively worth more than \$4 billion) and very reticent. Their executive office—a French-style château—is ensconced in an evergreen forest in Minnetonka, a quiet, old-money suburb of Minneapolis. The company produces no corporate advertising and discloses only a modicum of financial information—even to its bankers.

Nowhere in America is there a company so large that has remained in family hands for so long. Most home-grown firms fall apart after the death of the founding father; Cargill is still in the stirps after five generations. Think about it: The du Ponts no longer run Eleuthère du Pont's chemical company, the Fords no longer have a majority interest in Henry's automaker, and the Rockefellers bowed out of Standard Oil long ago—they don't even own all of Rockefeller Center.

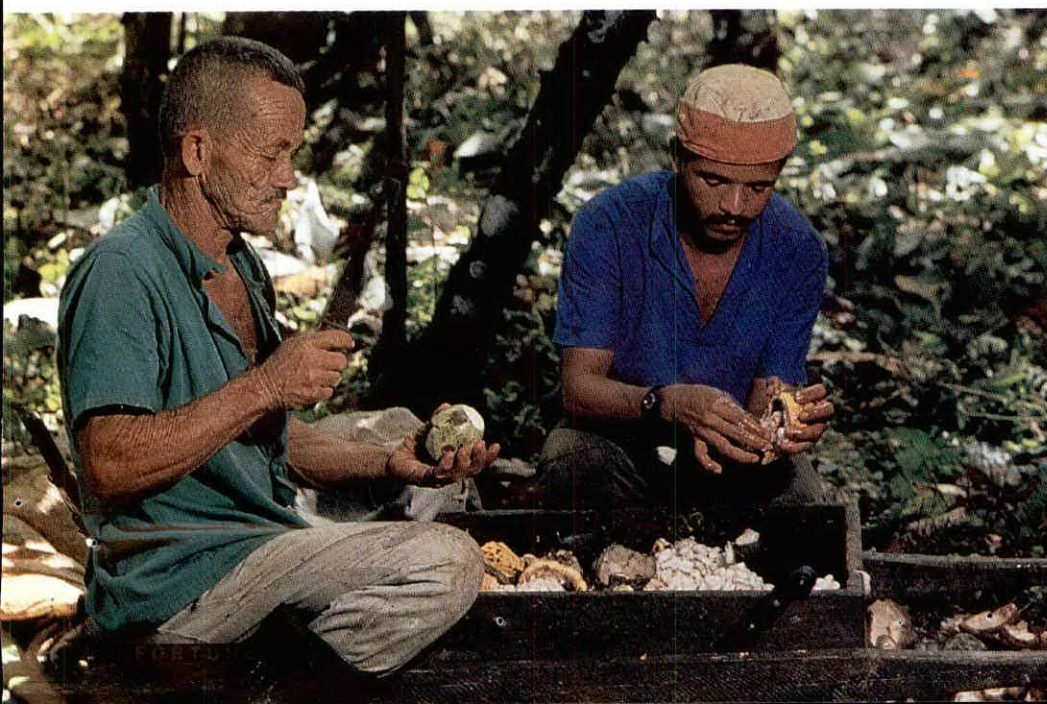
The Cargill saga began in 1865 in the frontier boomtown of Conover, Iowa, with a single grain warehouse and a singularly ambitious young businessman. W. W. Cargill, as he was known, was a middleman. He bought wheat from farmers, arranged for it to be sold in big urban markets, loaded it onto trains, and earned a commission for

THE WORLD OF CARGILL

The photos here and on the following page illustrate Cargill's vast reach. In High River, Alberta, workers prepare beef carcasses that will be sliced and trucked to supermarkets. In Monticello, Minnesota, employees fry omelets for airlines and hospitals. In Uchoa, Brazil, oranges are gathered for concentrate.







his efforts. Cargill always hedged his bets, selling the grain forward on the futures exchange—a conservative approach that the company follows to this day.

A prototypical prairie entrepreneur, Cargill brought his three brothers into the business and expanded into barge towing, lumbering, and coal hauling. But he also speculated in real estate. When W.W. died in 1909, without a will, his company was essentially broke. A committee of creditors split Cargill into two pieces—one run by W.W.'s oldest son, Will, the other by a son-in-law, John Hugh MacMillan. Will, a spendthrift, oversaw the debt-laden land development operations from Valier, Montana. MacMillan, a stern, detail-minded manager, tended Cargill Elevator Co., the thriving Minneapolis grain business. Eventually both families bought out Will Cargill. The MacMillans have held the upper hand at Cargill ever since.

THE CURRENT CEO, Whitney MacMillan, now 62, has run the business for 15 years. A taciturn and cantankerous visionary who graduated from Yale, he hardly looks the part of a billionaire. He drives himself to work in an Oldsmobile, dresses in off-the-rack suits, and works in a spartan office. His only indulgences: tennis, golf, a one-ninth share of the Minnesota Vikings (actually held by his wife, Betty), and a cattle ranch in the Crazy Mountains of Montana, next to anchorman Tom Brokaw's spread.

MacMillan engages in a devil's advocacy style of management. He stakes out deliberately provocative positions and invites lieutenants to prove him wrong—a tactic that sometimes drives them nuts. Cool in public, MacMillan can be warm, even witty, in private. Recently, over cocktails with a small group of associates, he launched a debate on the provenance of the flush toilet, particularly the role played by one Thomas Crapper. (The English inventor, whose name lives on in, er, posteriority, did patent such a device but was not the first to do so.)

The chairman maintains a constancy of purpose that he sums up in a single sentence: "We will be the best at meeting the world's growing demand for basic goods

Cargill thrives on basic commodities. In Reserve, Louisiana (top), corn is loaded for export. In Monroe, Michigan, a steelworker fires up the furnace. And in Ilhéus, Brazil, laborers remove beans from cocoa fruit; Cargill will buy the beans and process them at a nearby factory.

CORPORATE PERFORMANCE

and services." Despite Cargill's size and complexity, MacMillan remains a fervid believer in the advantages of private ownership. "Our competitors are foreign companies that have their bankers, suppliers, and customers as owners," he says. "Their shareholders are patient."

So are his, although not as patient as they used to be. Press reports have had it that Cargill's shareholders have been at each other's throats, demanding that the company either be chopped up and sold off or launched on the New York Stock Exchange. Not true. But the families and the company are in the early throes of a tumultuous transition. With MacMillan having to retire in three years, only two members of the next generation work at the company, and neither is considered old or experienced enough to succeed him. Austen Cargill II, 41, who holds a Ph.D. in fisheries ecology, is in charge of food safety. John Hugh MacMillan IV, 39, is a manager at Cargill's heating oil distribution subsidiary in Chelsea, Massachusetts.

As Whitney MacMillan leaves the scene,

so too will nearly the entire top tier of management. The three relatives who sit with him on the corporate board are all approaching 70, mandatory retirement age for family directors. They are Whitney's brother, Cargill MacMillan Jr., a senior vice president until 1988, and two cousins—James Cargill, also a former senior vice president, and W. Duncan MacMillan, a top official at Waycrosse, the families' private investment advisory firm.

Also contemplating their pensions are Cargill's highest-ranking nonfamily executives—vice chairman William Pearce, President Heinz Hutter, and the two executive vice presidents, James Howard and Gerald Mitchell. For years these men—brothers, cousins, colleagues—have formed the nucleus of a 10 A.M. strategy session that meets over coffee in the château's cafeteria. Their bonds of collegiality cannot be replicated. Nor should they be. Says Robbin Johnson, vice president of public affairs: "This informal system of communication worked well for the current generation. But now we have more businesses and

more geographies and more managers. You can't have five guys sitting around a coffee table running all this."

WHITNEY MACMILLAN'S most pressing task, as both paterfamilias and CEO, has been to ensure that the shareholders and the company remain in each other's thrall. There are now 75 heirs and heiresses. Most know next to nothing about crushing soybeans or milling corn. And until recently, many had a bad case of asset lock: too much net worth tied up in the illiquid shares of one very large company.

Last winter Cargill gave family members a chance to tender as much as 30% of their stock to an employee stock ownership plan for company workers. But a surprising thing happened: They sold only 17%. That put \$730 million of stock into a trust that will be divided among Cargill's eligible U.S. employees. It also left MacMillan and his colleagues feeling quite pleased. Says vice chairman William Pearce, the polished lawyer who negotiated the ESOP: "The fact that the families tendered only 17% tells me there is a very stable relationship between owners and management."

To solidify that relationship, Cargill has expanded its board of directors. In May the council of elders elected two new members, both daughters of current directors and the first females on the board. Lucy MacMillan Stitzer, 31, is a Connecticut banker. Marianne Cargill Liebmann, 39, owns two Montana flower shops. The board also recruited two prominent Minneapolis businessmen as its first outside directors in 40 years: Winston Wallin, 66, former chairman of Medtronic, a manufacturer of medical devices, and Michael Wright, 54, chairman and chief executive of Super Valu Stores, a major grocery chain.

The new board members should bring fresh thinking to an inbred panel. Stitzer, for example, shares her elders' pride in the business but thinks the board needs new voices: "If you listen to the same people all the time, your ideas get old."

The whole notion of being a grain merchant is one idea that has passed its prime. The world grain trade peaked at 240 million metric tons in 1979 and has been in a sustained funk ever since. American merchants have been hardest hit. They captured the majority of the Soviet Union's new business in the 1970s, only to lose most of it for good after Jimmy Carter embargoed American grain sales following the in-

AMERICA'S LARGEST PRIVATELY HELD COMPANIES

COMPANIES	1991 SALES (\$ billions)	BUSINESS	OWNERSHIP
CARGILL Minnetonka, Minnesota	\$49.1	Grain trading, food processing, meatpacking	Cargill and MacMillan families
KOCH INDUSTRIES Wichita, Kansas	\$18.0*	Petroleum refining and production	Koch family
UNITED PARCEL SERVICE Atlanta	\$15.0	Package delivery	ESOP
CONTINENTAL GRAIN New York City	\$14.1*	Grain trading, fertilizer, poultry	Fribourg family
CARLSON COS. Minneapolis	\$9.3	Hotels, restaurants, travel agencies	Carlson family
M&M MARS McLean, Virginia	\$7.5*	Candy bars and snacks	Mars family
NWA St. Paul	\$7.5	Air transport	LBO partnership
BECHTEL GROUP San Francisco	\$7.5	Construction, engineering	Bechtel family
GOLDMAN SACHS New York City	\$7.0*	Investment banking	Partnership
R.H. MACY New York City	\$6.8	Department stores	LBO partnership
ERNST & YOUNG New York City	\$6.3*	Accounting, consulting	Partnership
PUBLIX SUPER MARKETS Lakeland, Florida	\$6.2	Supermarkets	ESOP
KPMG PEAT MARWICK New York City	\$6.0	Accounting, consulting	Partnership
PRITZKER FAMILY COS. Chicago	\$6.0*	Hotels, restaurants, manufacturing	Pritzker family
SUPERMARKETS GENERAL Woodbridge, New Jersey	\$5.7	Supermarkets, drugstores	LBO partnership

*FORTUNE estimate.

vasion of Afghanistan. Today some 50% of America's grain elevator and terminal capacity stands idle.

Cargill's future depends on its ability to move further up the value chain into processing. Says agricultural sector president Daniel Huber: "We can no longer differentiate ourselves by elevating a bushel of grain cheaper than anyone else. We need quality, we need customer service, we need marketing." *We need help.* For two years Cargill has worked with consultant McKinsey & Co.—that paradigm of new managerial paradigms—to immerse itself in synergy, teamwork, and empowerment.

The company seems to be learning its lessons. For example, ConAgra, Cargill's biggest customer (as well as one of its chief rivals), buys products from 18 Cargill divisions, including corn milling, salt, poultry, beef, citrus, and cocoa. This spring Cargill clumped its divisions into broad sectors and gave sales managers authority to sell more than one product at a time. Says Warren Staley, North American chief of staff: "We've had tunnel vision. We haven't worked worth a damn as teams across businesses."

Within businesses, by contrast, Cargill has been practicing much of what McKinsey has been preaching for a long time. To wit:

■ **Give customers precisely what they want.**

If you do, you can prosper even in an overcrowded, rusted-out business like steel. Cargill's North Star mini-mill in Monroe, Michigan, can turn out small batches of steel bars tailor-made to a client's exacting specifications. Monroe combines modern methods of quality management with a commodity merchant's ingrained attentiveness to cost. The plant, which has never lost money, is still charging General Motors the same prices for the same grades of steel as it did when it opened in 1983.

■ **Add value without spending a fortune on packaging, marketing, and advertising.**

Leave that to the likes of Kraft, Sara Lee, and Heinz. Cargill's giant corn-milling plant in Eddyville, Iowa, can turn simple kernels of corn into a multitude of products—including fructose syrup for Coca-Cola's soft drinks, gluten meal for Ralston Purina's dog food, and citric acid sudsing agent for Lever Brothers' Wisk.

■ **Listen to employees.** Says meat sector president William Fielding: "The old style was management by fear. Now, if you want to beat your competition, you need better thinking and better people." Beef processing is a mature industry if there ever was one; per capita consumption in North America peaked in 1977. A worker suggestion that trims 10 cents off the cost of slaughtering a steer can save \$500,000 per year.

Beef-packing plants are by nature smelly, disgusting places. But Cargill's facility in High River, Alberta, just south of Calgary, is surprisingly clean and bright. Every day 1,700 steers and heifers climb the "stairway to heaven"; at the top of the spiral ramp

they get a sharp jab to the jugular. Then they are bled, beheaded, skinned, eviscerated, sawed, and sliced. As the carcasses move through the plant, any employee has the power to halt the line if he thinks something is amiss. Cargill, with just this one plant that it opened in 1989, has become the No. 1 beef packer in Canada.

■ **Take what you learn in one country and transfer it—very carefully—to another.** Foreign operations, where Cargill has 40% of its assets, are critical to

its future. But when Cargill enters a big country, like Brazil, it starts small. The company arrived in Brazil 27 years ago, investing \$9 million in a facility to develop hybrid seeds. As Cargill expanded, it plowed every cruzeiro it earned back into the business; no profits were repatriated. Today it has ten major product lines—including oranges, corn, soybeans, and cocoa—with a total net worth of \$250 million.

Doing business in Brazil is like riding a *montanha-russia*, Portuguese for roller coaster. Inflation has *fallen* to about 23% per month, and the cruzeiro loses roughly 3% of its dollar value every day. Cargill must pay as much attention to managing its balance sheet as to managing its processing plants. Says Brian Hill, president of Cargill Brazil: "You can't be here if you're looking for short-term earnings. But Brazil has 150 million people and a major role in world agriculture. It's too big to ignore."

Brazil is a prime example of Cargill's "soft matrix," jargon for a system that melds geographic management with product line management. When Cargill decided to build a state-of-the-art corn-milling plant in

"Cargill is a company with a lot of patience." Ah, there's that word again.

Uberlândia, 356 miles north of São Paulo, it flew in a bevy of in-house technical experts from the U.S. and Europe. They, in turn, relied on Brian Hill's country office to make sure they didn't fall on their duffs because they had miscalculated the market demand, exchange rate risk, or political climate.

Cargill views its presence in countries like Brazil almost as a mission. Says President Heinz Hutter, the architect of Cargill's Latin American strategy: "We want to fulfill a humanitarian function, to raise the standard of living." A pious platitude? Not at Cargill's cocoa-processing plant in Ilhéus, an impoverished seacoast town in the northeastern state of Bahia.

The company got off to a bad start in Ilhéus. The plant, built in 1982, was its first venture into cocoa processing. The managers soon discovered that

crushing cocoa beans—which are highly susceptible to bacterial infestation—was much more complicated than crushing soybeans. The plant lost money for seven years, until engineers from Gerken, a major Dutch cocoa processor acquired by Cargill in 1986, flew into Bahia and redesigned the entire operation.

For the fiscal year that ended May 31, the Ilhéus plant earned \$1.3 million—at a time when world cocoa prices have been at their lowest level in 20 years. Other Ilhéus cocoa processors have laid off workers and shut down production lines, but Cargill is running at 100% capacity. Says assistant vice president Jos Van Broeckhuijsen: "We had a ten-year learning curve, which is very painful. Cargill is a company with a lot of patience." Ah, there's that word again.

Patience has its rewards, especially for Cargill's Ilhéus work force. The company pays \$350 per month on average, six times the national minimum wage. Every employee receives benefits worth 80% of his salary. Cargill provides family health insurance, dental care, transportation to and from work, a daily hot lunch, and subsidies for children's schoolbooks. Says Jailson Carlos Silva, 28, a roasting oven operator: "Cargill can't solve all of Brazil's problems. But if we work hard and are loyal to the company, maybe we can guarantee our own futures."

Cargill's critics, a mix of rural activists and Naderites, see the picture differently. They argue that the company prospers primarily by exploiting the world's small farm-

ers. They condemn Cargill for plying the family farmer with seeds, feed, and fertilizer (thereby inducing him to overproduce), buying his crops and livestock at rock-bottom prices, and lobbying Congress to enact laws that curb agricultural subsidies.

Cargill, which has been accused of gouging farmers and manipulating markets since W.W.'s days, scoffs at these charges. The company, after all, depends on a healthy agricultural economy for its own prosperity. It does campaign against subsidies, even though it is the biggest beneficiary of the U.S. government's agricultural export aid. Cargill believes it could do far more business in a truly free global market.

More recently Cargill has been reproached for neglecting worker safety and polluting the environment. In both areas it has taken steps that have won grudging respect from critics. Last year Cargill settled a case in which the Occupational Safety and Health Administration charged it with ignoring conditions that led to repetitive-motion injuries among workers at three U.S. poultry plants. The company paid \$400,000 and promised to intensify an ergonomics program. In beef processing, Cargill was the first major company—back in 1989—to reach a broad agreement on safety with the United Food and Commercial Workers. The union gives Cargill mixed reviews. "We believe the company has put its best foot forward," says Deborah Berkowitz, the UFCW's safety director. "But there is still a lot of intransigence among plant managers at the local level."

THE COMPANY'S most notable insult to the environment came from Gardinier, a Florida fertilizer producer it acquired in 1985. Three years later Gardinier accidentally dumped 40,000 gallons of phosphoric solution into the Alafia River, which runs into Tampa Bay. The spill killed fish and other marine life. Local politicians, fed up with Gardinier's long record of environmental mishaps, demanded that the plant be shut down. Cargill settled a civil suit for \$2 million and agreed to accelerate its \$200 million program to upgrade the plant. Says Jan Platt, chairman of the Hillsborough County Environmental Commission: "I've been impressed. Cargill took heed of the criti-

cism and has worked to clean up its act."

As Cargill looks ahead, three issues loom large. Choosing a successor to Whitney MacMillan will probably be the least troublesome. The corporate restructuring announced in May positions several new sector heads—most of whom are in their late 40s or early 50s—as contenders for the top slot. Cargill has a strong bench.

If it is to meet challenge No. 2—doubling its net worth every five to seven years—Cargill will have to raise that figure to \$7.2 billion by 1999, a daunting prospect. Can this patient tortoise still triumph over the fleet-footed hares of the world? Cargill's innate temperance kept it on the sidelines during the expensive takeover wars of the 1980s. Says President Heinz Hutter: "We're very glad that we didn't participate in that craziness."

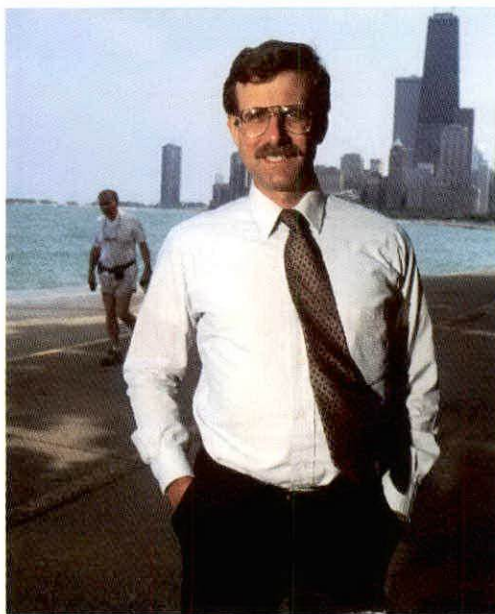
But caution has its drawbacks. Cargill was late getting into the chicken business, where it was out-hustled by entrepreneurs like Frank Perdue. It missed out entirely on the now enormous potato market (just think of all those McDonald's French fries). And it is only now considering an entry into fresh fruit and vegetables.

CARGILL heads into the mid-1990s with a ton of cash and a superb credit rating. But the \$730 million in debt it took on to finance the ESOP won't soften its ultraconservative approach to acquisitions. Isn't it time to abandon the third great challenge—keeping the company in family hands—and to consider going public? Even if the stock market priced Cargill at just 1.5 times book value, the founding families would, in an instant, be nearly \$2 billion wealthier. The company would also be able to finance acquisitions with stock, not just cash and debt.

But the families, satisfied by their sale to the ESOP, are not hankering for more liquidity. An investment that has grown 12.2% annually over the past half-century is hardly a bad place to stash your cash. As for the company, were it to list on the stock exchange, it would undoubtedly be pestered by security analysts and pension fund managers demanding that it steer clear of depressed businesses like steel and unstable countries like Brazil. Ask Whitney MacMillan if Cargill will need to go public anytime soon, and he offers a typically expansive reply: "No." Given this company's extraordinary longevity and the determined way it has prepared for change, there is a good chance that the laconic billionaire has got it exactly right. **F**

Isn't it time to at least consider taking Cargill public? "No," says Whitney MacMillan.

INSIDE A SECRETIVE GIANT



MICHAEL L. ABRAMSON

Henkoff examines the biggest private company.

LONG-TERM thinking. It's a concept that has become all too rare at many American companies. Not so at Cargill Inc., the largest privately held corporation in the U.S. At age 127, this giant commodities conglomerate is still controlled by its founder's descendants. Their vision for the future extends well into the next century, an excellent example of managing for the long haul. Our only problem: The company almost never talks to the press.

Ronald Henkoff, our Chicago bureau chief, got a firsthand lesson in the art of long-term planning. He first approached Cargill, based in Minnetonka, Minnesota, in early 1989. It took three years of letters, conversations, even a formal discussion by Cargill's board, before he got the go-ahead for a comprehensive corporate profile.

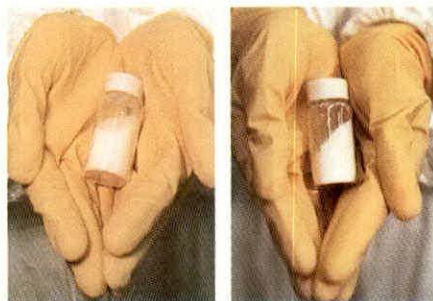
The wait was worth it. Henkoff was given unprecedented access not only to top management but also to Cargill's operations in the U.S., Canada, and Brazil. Says he: "It was encouraging to find a company that prospers in basic industry, a part of the economy where America has supposedly lost its edge."

Henkoff also discovered a company in the midst of a tumultuous transition. One major challenge: keeping Cargill family hands. When Chairman Whitney MacMillan, a great-grandson of the founder, retires in three years, no member of either of Cargill's two controlling clans will be ready to succeed him. Says Henkoff: "The story became much more than an inside look at a secretive company. It's about a company that has deliberately set out to manage change, even if it has to alter the very formula that has led to its long success."

Henkoff's enlightening portrait of this grand dodecagenarian begins on page 82.

FORTUNE prides itself on accuracy, even where you can't see the difference. For Gene Bylinsky's

story on the new cancer drug taxol (page 100), Jay Dickman photographed Hauser laboratories technicians holding what the company said was a sample of the expensive stuff. After the story was laid out, we learned that the "sample" was another white powder that *looks* like taxol. So, at considerable expense, we sent Dickman back. His second photo is almost indistinguishable from the first—but this time it's the real thing.



The fake taxol (left) and the right stuff

Marshall Loeb

MANAGING EDITOR

*Page of Chicken full in
Folder left -*

Honorable James A Baker III
The White House
Washington, D.C.
Dear Sir:

OCT. 2, 1992

NRN

This letter is written with malice towards none and with charity towards all. To quote Shakespeare, which shall it be? From Julius Caesar "The evil men do lives after them, the good is oft interred with their bones" or The Merchant of Venice (Portia) "The quality of mercy is not strained - etc. - When mercy seasons justice".

The writer is 82. World War I hit the battle front and the home front with disastrous results. The soldiers in the trenches suffered from shell shock and were gassed. The home front had no coal for their homes and it was decimated by the flu epidemic, tuberculosis and infantile paralysis. I saw the veterans at the Northport Veterans Hospital. They were zombie-like, inanimate, the living dead!

World War II was catastrophic in the beginning but finally we were victorious and defeated Germany and Japan in 1945. Today, Germany and Japan are economic super-powers.

Truman gave us the Berlin air-lift, the Marshall plan and the Korean War.

Kennedy and Johnson led us into the Vietnam War. The Gulf of Tonkin enlarged the war. Finally, Nixon extracted us from that war. The Gulf of Tonkin resolution was later rescinded by Congress.

From any of the material that I am sending to you, you can draw your own conclusions. The media expects you to snatch victory from apparent defeat by political wizardry.

Did the Boland Amendment violate the U.S. Constitution?

Is Watergate a myth?

Was the media responsible for the L.A. riots?

Did the Democrats lead us into all of our major wars?

Was Roosevelt guilty of misfeasance? - malfeasance? - non-feasance? or culpability re Pearl Harbor?

Should the politicians bring back political decency?

Should Lewis Gizzard's appeal to clean up Atlanta re crime be answered?

Should our president send a message to Congress to declare a war on crime and drugs to clean up Atlanta in time for the Olympics?

A call to former President Reagan can establish whether or not the Boland Amendment deprived him of his Constitution granted veto power.

Calls to former President Nixon, Charles Colson and Tip O'Neill might get the truth re Watergate.

Read "Dear Abbey's" column re L.A. Riots.

Our history shows that the Democrats led the U.S. into all of our major wars.

"Pearl Harbor" said "D.R." was a day that will live in infamy. According to Sumner Welles in "Time for Decision" "the die was cast in Oct. 1941."

Now is the time for all good men including politicians to restore decency to America and put an end to our internecine warfare.

The 1996 Olympics should be a boon to Atlanta, the southern states and the eastern seaboard and Atlanta should be cleaned up.

The writer prefers to be anonymous as his wife is a "dyed in the wool" democrat, was President of her Women's Democratic Club for years and to her, Republicans are anathema.

Anything that I have been written can be obtained from the sources that I've given.

"God Bless America"

Concerned Citizen

P.S. We have an "unknown soldier". Why not an "unknown letter writer."

C.C.

Perhaps the president is just the victim of bad advice. For my part, I wish someone would tell Bush that while many Americans vote their pocketbooks, many others vote their hearts. If the president has a vision of America that includes the great dream of democracy, he should tell us before it is too late. Many voters who are still on the fence or turned off by Republican economics might warm to George Bush the person — if they only had a chance to hear from him.

Billy Winn is the Ledger-Enquirer's editorial page editor.

Washington has sunk to new levels of personal enmity and viciousness. It's time to . . .

Bring Back Political Decency

By FRED BARNES

LEE ATWATER, a key political adviser to Presidents Bush and Reagan, practiced politics the way generals fight wars: to win. His tactics included dirty tricks—among them, former colleagues say, distributing a memo from a nonexistent “Conservative Truth Squad” that called rival candidate Jack Kemp “another two-faced sellout politician.”

But as Atwater lay dying from a

brain tumor, he sought to discover what really matters in life. “He came down to the Golden Rule,” says a close associate. “Do unto others as you would have them do unto you.” Atwater repaired personal relationships with those he’d injured by callous conduct or cruel comment. He died last March.

Atwater did not apologize, however, for waging tough political wars. He knew that sharp conflict and in-

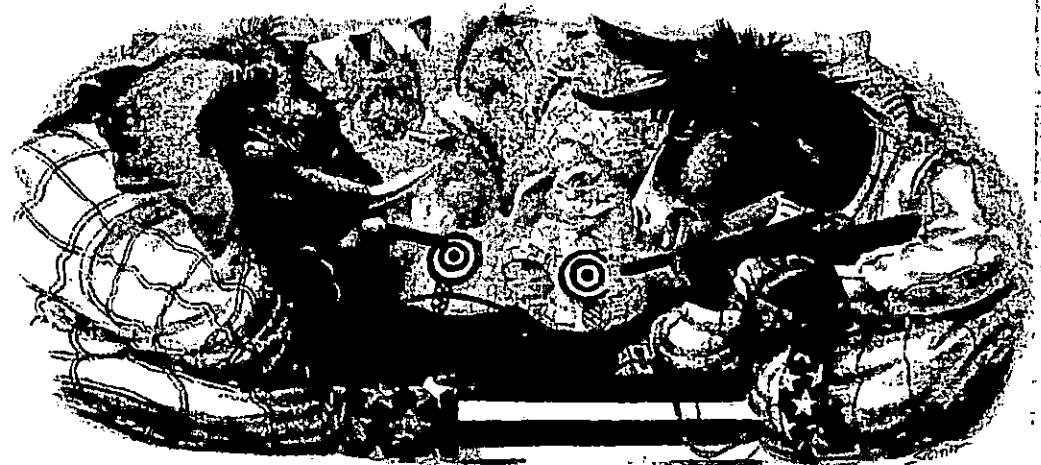


ILLUSTRATION: DAVID BLONIM

trigue are inherent, and proper, parts of campaigns and legislative battles.

What Atwater came to regret is the new level of vicious personal enmity now deeply entrenched in Washington. "There aren't any rules in political battle today," says Charles Colson, the Watergate conspirator who became a Christian evangelist. "It's a take-no-prisoners environment." Veteran lobbyist Tom Korologos agrees: "This city is like colonial Salem. If we're not lynching someone, we're not happy."

Vicious Cycle. Democrats and Republicans take turns destroying prominent members of the other party. In 1987, Democrats savaged Judge Robert Bork for his conservative legal views and denied him a seat on the Supreme Court. The next year, Republicans brought charges that eventually drove House Speaker Jim Wright (D., Texas) out of Congress for skirting the limit on speech honorariums. In 1989, Democrats retaliated by rejecting—on grounds of "womanizing" and hard drinking—the nomination of former Sen. John Tower (R., Texas) for Defense Secretary. A few months later, Republicans ganged up on House Democratic Whip Tony Coelho of California for an alleged conflict of interest. He quit Congress rather than endure months of accusations, leaks, and hectoring by reporters. This year, President Bush's nomination of federal Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court triggered a sordid circus as

last-minute sexual-harassment charges were leaked to the press, then aired by the Senate Judiciary Committee on nationwide television.

A predictable cycle has set in: abusers of power make enemies, who eventually get even. After Nancy Reagan drove her husband to fire Donald Regan as White House Chief of Staff, Regan took retribution in a book zinging her as capricious, unaccountable and a slave to astrology. Others leaked unfavorable stories to Kitty Kelley, author of a vicious biography about the former First Lady.

Now White House Chief of Staff John Sununu stirs resentment with his disdainful style. During the 1990 budget talks, he brushed off Trent Lott, an influential Republican Senator from Mississippi, as "insignificant." When Lott tried to patch things up at a party at Vice President Quayle's house, Sununu gave him the cold shoulder. Later, when Sununu cavalierly rejected a Democratic proposal without even looking at it, Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert Byrd (D., W.Va.) roared that Senators should never be treated that way by "staff."

Anonymous Zingers. Sununu has been both victimizer and victim of a new kind of whisper campaign that thrives in Washington: leaks against supposed allies. It wasn't enough for Sununu to force Education Secretary Lauro Cavazos to resign. Rather than let him depart gracefully, someone leaked word to

the press that he'd been fired for incompetence.

Sununu, in turn, has been hurt by leaks from fellow Bush officials who want him out of the White House. Reporters were tipped by anonymous White House sources that Sununu had been using military aircraft for personal and political travel. Later a Bush aide disclosed Sununu had taken a government limousine to New York City for a stamp auction. Another White House official claimed—anononymously, as always—that Sununu had given false information about a trip.

The Democrats play the same game on one another. In a last-ditch effort to save Wright's job as House Speaker, Wright supporters spread the rumor that his logical successor and fellow Democrat, then-Majority Leader Tom Foley (D., Wash.), was a homosexual. The sources, says political scientist Larry Sabato in his book *Feeding Frenzy*, were "a few senior Democratic Congressmen."

When some other Democrats asked Foley about the rumors, he vehemently denied them. But reporters got wind of the allegations, and a Republican National Committee official circulated a memo with the headline "Tom Foley: Out of the Liberal Closet."

Rampant Disrespect. Kiss-and-tell books have long been a harmless staple of Washington. Now they're written to titillate, belittle, and destroy reputations. Many of the books by Reagan aides made

fun of the President and trashed rival advisers.

For example, David Stockman, Reagan's budget director, wrote that the President "ignores all the palpable, relevant facts and wanders in circles." It was a singularly ungracious performance by Stockman, a Congressional backbencher whom Reagan appointed to a top position and then declined to fire even after he was caught cooperating with a hostile journalist on an anti-Administration screed.

The tattletale books crowd out potentially more valuable contributions. Ed Rollins, the political director at the Reagan White House and re-election campaign manager in 1984, was signed for a book on Reagan's successful use of TV. After Stockman's volume appeared, Rollins's publisher demanded intimate details about the Reagans. Rollins refused. His book wasn't published. But publishers offer big money—Stockman got \$2 million—and many are tempted to blab.

So pervasive is the atmosphere of partisanship and disrespect that nomination to a high position has become not an honor, but a harrowing rite of character assassination and personal degradation. Washington *Post* columnist Juan Williams reports that he was bombarded by calls from Democratic staff members of the Senate Judiciary Committee seeking "dirt" on Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas. Did he beat his first wife? Did he take money from the

South African government? It was, said Williams, "indiscriminate, mean-spirited mudslinging supported by the so-called champions of fairness: liberal politicians, unions, civil-rights groups and women's organizations."

Viciousness toward Thomas did not begin with his confirmation hearings. Earlier, when Thomas was head of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, Hodding Carter, a Carter Administration official, had likened Thomas to "chicken-eating" preachers who gladly parroted the segregationists' line in exchange for a few crumbs from the white man's table."

Thomas is not the only black to suffer a special brand of disrespect. Rep. Pete Stark (D., Calif.) attacked Secretary Louis Sullivan of Health and Human Services—a doctor and the lone black in the Bush Cabinet—for opposing national health insurance. "Lou Sullivan comes about as close to being a disgrace to his profession and his race as anyone I've ever seen," Stark said. Sullivan shot back, "I don't live on Pete Stark's plantation."

Torpedo Alley. Democrats have been shut out of the White House for 19 of the past 23 years, and their prospects of winning it are poor. Confirmation is their only shot at affecting the personnel in the executive branch and federal courts.

When Robert Bork was picked for the High Court, Sen. Edward Kennedy (D., Mass.) unleashed an astonishing tirade: "Robert Bork's

America is a land in which women would be forced into back-alley abortions, blacks would sit at segregated lunch counters, rogue police could break down citizens' doors in midnight raids, schoolchildren could not be taught about evolution, writers and artists would be censored at the whim of government, and the doors of the federal courts would be shut on the fingers of millions of citizens."

None of this was true, but the statement exemplified the spirit of the savage campaign against the nominee. Bork was by no means the only victim.

After Diane Morales was nominated to become an Assistant Secretary of Energy, she was pilloried as "a former department-store buyer." Morales hadn't been one for nearly a decade and had spent 3½ years at the Civil Aeronautics Board. Nevertheless, her nomination was withdrawn.

Consider Carole Iannone, a New York University adjunct professor of humanities who was nominated to a 26-member advisory panel to the National Endowment for the Humanities. Iannone had worked as a part-time secretary and parochial-school teacher to earn her Ph.D. Because she was a political conservative, however, Senator Kennedy led an all-out campaign against her as "unqualified." Her nomination was torpedoed. Exclaimed Sen. Orrin Hatch (R., Utah), "If this isn't political correctness, what the hell is?"

Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D., N.Y.) agreed: "Professor Iannone's troubles arose not from the quality of her work but from her genes, social and otherwise. She is an Italian, Catholic ethnic with a working-class background."

"Do Unto Others . . ." President Bush has struggled to improve the atmosphere in Washington. After he defeated Congressional Democrats on the Gulf War Resolution, he invited House Speaker Foley and his wife, Heather, for a private weekend at the Camp David Presidential retreat. But Bush's efforts have made little headway.

Washington in less hectic times prized small-town virtues like decency and courtesy. These are

largely ignored today. Says White House speech-writer Curt Smith, a longtime observer of, and participant in, the capital scene: "Respect for people's feelings, simple kindness, civility, honesty, tolerance—these don't exist in Washington to the same extent they do in other parts of the country."

But they can. Lee Atwater pointed the way. It's time to bring the Golden Rule back to Washington. When men and women strive to observe it, everyone benefits. They may debate and disagree, but they're not at each other's throats. In government, business, all walks of life, adversaries don't become bitter enemies. The Golden Rule helps our country and democracy work.

Reprints of this article are available. See page 221.

Holiday Deliveries

MY HUSBAND and I were returning home from our childbirth class at Manhattan's Beckman Hospital. Noting my obvious pregnancy, the taxi driver, a Mr. Ho, proceeded to tell us about his wife's experience at the same hospital. She had been admitted one December 24 and the next day delivered triplets.

Visitors and staff were amused Christmas morning when they saw the newborns in the nursery and read the names on the three bassinets: Ho, Ho, Ho.

—Contributed by Robin Swenson

A PARENT decreed one Christmas that she was no longer going to remind her children of their thank-you-note duties. As a result, their grandmother never received acknowledgments of the generous checks she had given. The next year things were different, however.

"The children came over *in person* to thank me," the grandparent told a friend triumphantly.

"How wonderful!" the friend exclaimed. "What do you think caused the change in behavior?"

"Oh, that's easy," the grandmother replied. "This year I didn't sign the checks."

—Contributed by June Bruno

On the 50th anniversary of this turning point in history,
we must not forget the . . .

LEGACY OF PEARL HARBOR

BY RALPH KINNEY BENNETT

REMEMBER PEARL HARBOR? There is no way to forget it. The Japanese attack on the U.S. Pacific Fleet, December 7, 1941, was one of the most profound examples of utter surprise in military history. It was also one of the great rarities of human existence—a moment when an entire people witness a turning point, both as individuals and as a nation. All Americans then living and old enough to reason remembered where they were when they heard the news and marked their days in some way before and after Pearl Harbor.

In the time a Naval officer might have taken to eat a leisurely breakfast, 2403 American soldiers, sailors, airmen, Marines and civilians were killed or missing, 1178 wounded; 18 warships were sunk or damaged. By the time our partic-

ipation in World War II ended, the United States had put 16 million men and women under arms, suffered more than 405,000 of them to die and over 671,000 to endure wounds.

Remember Pearl Harbor? We must not forget it. The generations that did not live through it are, whether they know it or not, the beneficiaries of its great lessons. The greatest lesson involves all the complexities entailed in the word vigilance. Those complexities distill into two words—possibility and probability.

The tragic fact is, even those who considered a Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor possible did not think it probable. They ignored (or were ignorant of) Japan's sheer military capability, and they ignored an enduring lesson of military history:

READER'S DIGEST

what an enemy is *capable* of doing he may well do.

We are now emerging into the dawn from a long night of struggle—a wearying, extraordinarily costly, sometimes maddening struggle—with the Soviet Empire, one of the most oppressive in world history. We are witnessing the collapse of that empire, and it is in every sense a victory for the free world.

Behind that triumph, barely noticed, are the lessons of Pearl Harbor. The leaders of the West, and particularly the United States, who

have struggled in the cause of freedom throughout the postwar years learned never to discount the immense military *capability* of the foe and the *possibility* that it might, somehow, someday, be employed. Even when some ridiculed their “Cold War mentalities” and preached that the use of such power was highly improbable, those who remembered the lessons of Pearl Harbor stood fast, remained vigilant, kept our defenses strong.

Remember Pearl Harbor? Yes. Any real hope of a peaceful world demands it.

Reprints of this article are available. See page 221.



Nativity Scenes

“HERE’S A KING,” announced our three-year-old as he unwrapped a figurine from our Nativity scene. “And here’s a donkey,” he added as he continued unpacking. Removing tissue from the statue of the infant, molded permanently in his manger, our son exclaimed, “Here’s baby Jesus in his car seat!”

—Contributed by Nancy Wolfinger

OUR FOUR-YEAR-OLD GRANDDAUGHTER, Susan, had been engrossed in drawing a picture of the Nativity scene and finally took it to her father for his approval. “Why, it’s excellent, Susan,” he said. “But why is one of St. Joseph’s legs so much longer than the other?”

“Oh, he’s stamping his foot,” she explained. “He wanted a girl.”

—Contributed by Lenore Patton Christ

EACH CHRISTMAS our church presents a concert featuring a live Nativity scene. My five-year-old nephew was up in the balcony, not paying much attention. As the wise men began marching down the center aisle toward the manger, my brother leaned over and whispered to my nephew, “Curtis, look! You’re missing it! Here comes the king!”

Curtis jumped up, looked over the balcony railing and asked, “That’s Elvis?”

—Contributed by Julie Loomis

He who reads is never alone. —Helder Simone

Dear Ann Landers: In your response to "Burned Out in Philadelphia," you asked what is being done about the problem of violence in our schools. I can tell you. Absolutely nothing.



Ann Landers

My husband is a high school teacher. Our house has been splattered with eggs, and his tires have been slashed. He fears his students when he walks into the classroom, even though he is 6-feet-3 and weighs 230 pounds.

Here in Buffalo, we have the worst teen-age pregnancy rate in New York state. Buffalo has around-the-clock violence,

drive-by shootings, a horrendous drug problem and failing schools.

This country will go down the drain if we don't do something to eradicate drugs. The only workable alternative is to learn from Prohibition and legalize drugs.

Unfortunately, I don't see any chance that this will happen. Our politicians will not face any of the problems in our country. We seem to have lost our drive to be the best country in the world; and that is a sure predictor of decline. — C. in Buffalo, N.Y.

Dear Buff.: We need to invest more money in our schools, get Head Start funded again and reward our teachers. A nation's children are its greatest natural resource.

Opinion

What coverage do we want?

So you think journalists are doing a poor job of covering the presidential campaign — over-emphasizing irrelevancies, fixated on “character” issues, paying too little attention to what the candidates are saying and too much to who happens to be leading in the polls at any particular time.

Surprise: So do a lot of journalists.

More than a third (36 percent) of the 413 journalists questioned in a recent poll said their biggest complaint was overemphasis on irrelevant issues. Twenty-seven percent thought reporters are putting too much emphasis on a candidate's electability.

The respondents — local and national newspaper and TV reporters and editors — told the surveyors for the Times Mirror Center for the People & the Press pretty much what you've been telling your friends: that reporters spend too much time chasing gossip, handicapping races and predicting winners, when what you want is some notion of the candidates' priorities, their proposals for addressing America's problems, their ideas of where they want to lead the country.

Question: If that's what you want, and if a third of the reporters and editors share your opinion, why aren't you getting it?

Three reasons suggest themselves: First, the survey found that 32 percent of local journalists, but only 22 percent of their national counterparts, see the emphasis on candidates' electability as a major problem. It's national reporters and editors who cover presidential campaigns.



William Raspberry

But that's not all. The survey didn't deal with it, but there is professional dissatisfaction even among the reporters who actually cover the campaigns. I remember, in the wake of the 1988 race, hearing panel after panel of top-notch journalists apologize for their lapses — too much horse race, too much attention to polls, too much focus on private behavior — and promise to do better next time.

Fifty-one percent of the respondents in the Times Mirror survey said the campaign coverage is better this time. I don't think it is better, or at least not significantly so. And not because the reporters were insincere in their promise to do better but because they can't do much better. They cannot ignore Gennifer Flowers or the Iowa caucuses, no matter how insignificant they believe these things to be. They cannot fail to report — and try to explain — George Bush's plummeting approval ratings, Ross Perot's surprising success, the suspended animation of Bill Clinton's campaign. Would you care for yours to be the only newspaper whose reporter neglected (“missed” would be the likelier word) the gaffes and gossip? Would you like for yours to be the only network to feature “white papers” while your competitors were going with sex, sin and saxophone playing?

But there is a third reason why those who cover the campaign don't give us what we want. We don't know what we want. Oh, those of us who are committed to a candidate want that candidate presented in a favorable light. But what about us who have serious reservations about all the candidates (or who like two of them equally well)? We look to the political reporters, in print and on the air, to give us the wherewithal for choosing.

We don't want a checklist on “the issues.” Aside from abortion, which is pretty much out of the president's hands

except for his power to appoint Supreme Court justices, such a checklist would tell us nothing. They're all for fiscal restraint, balanced budgets, excellent schools, and economic growth.

We don't want to hear (or read) large chunks of campaign speeches or position papers or schemes for eliminating waste and fraud.

What we want to know is: What is this guy really like? What worries him, excites or amuses him, impels him to seek the presidency? And there's no one to tell us these things. What candidate in his right mind would tell a reporter he's not sure if the deficit can be reduced significantly in the near term, or that most classical music bores him, or that he's always had this “thing” about being president? That sort of candor would be deadly, which is why we get staff-approved sound bites.

Maybe what we want (and don't dare admit) is a suspension of adversarial journalism in favor of a series of friendly conversations with the candidates. The journalistic axiom is that tough questioning is the best way to get “inside” our subjects: to see what makes them flinch, to learn how they handle pressure, to plumb their character.

In truth, we'd probably learn more of value through an unpressured, free-form interview of the sort that made David Frost famous, or through the patient prodding of a Larry King. We might not come away knowing what a candidate would, if successful, do about Social Security or SDI or the military junta in Haiti. But we might come closer to the sort of knowledge whose absence frustrates both journalists and their audiences.

Didn't it work for Ross Perot?

You can write to William Raspberry in care of Washington Post Writers Group, 1150 15th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071.

Digging for the truth is a necessary part of journalism

A few years ago, Doris Kearns Goodwin, the biographer of Lyndon Johnson and the Ken-

nedys, told a group of reporters at the American Press Institute a story that should be drilled into the consciousness of every journalist and politician in this country.

When she was working with Johnson on his memoirs, Goodwin said, she summoned the courage one day to ask him why he had so often told people that his grandfather had died at the Alamo, when he knew it was not true.

Johnson, she said, confessed to the fraud, but had a ready explanation. "My grandfather wasn't killed at the Alamo," she recalled him saying. "He was killed at the Battle of San Jacinto, which Texans know was more important in achieving independence (from Mexico) but other Americans usually haven't

heard of. So I moved him to the Alamo."

"That seemed reasonable," Goodwin said, "until I did some further checking and found he hadn't been killed in the Battle of San Jacinto either. He died in bed."

It was a funny story, but the historian had a serious point to make: "When you find discrepancies in the stories of politicians, pay attention." Someone who refuses to deal honestly with his private life may well distort the reality he confronts in public office, she said. In a chilling example, she recalled how Johnson as president had turned what she called "an ambivalent incident in the Gulf of Tonkin" — an encounter between a U.S. ship and a North Vietnamese vessel, which Johnson called an unprovoked act of aggression — into the pretext for an escalation of American forces in Vietnam that "cost thousands of lives and caused bitter divisions in our country."

Johnson is buried in his beloved Hill Country, but sadly, the lesson Goodwin drew from his life is still being painfully learned. The main political news in Texas last week was the revelation that

Lena Guerrero, one of the state's most personable and promising young politicians, had inflated her academic record outrageously in official biographies since entering public life.

Guerrero, who served three terms in the Texas house before her appointment last year as chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission, the powerful body that regulates the state's energy industry, has repeatedly identified herself in official and campaign literature as a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the University of Texas.

Last weekend, as the Dallas Morning News prepared to reveal the truth, Guerrero called a news conference to say she had left school four credits short of graduation and had not been chosen for the academic honorary society. Four days later, under continuing pressure, she made public a transcript which showed she was 19 hours—virtually a full semester—shy of meeting degree requirements, because she had flunked six courses. Her explanations for the discrepancies were notably unpersuasive.

Guerrero is a personal protege of

Texas Gov. Ann Richards (D), and Richards had gone to extraordinary lengths to help assure that the woman she appointed to the Railroad Commission would be confirmed by the voters this November, thus becoming the first Hispanic woman elected to statewide office in Texas.

With no Senate or gubernatorial contest on the ballot, Guerrero's race against Republican Barry Williamson was counted on by Democrats to help spur a big turnout in Hispanic areas for the presidential ticket. Her embarrassment is a blow to Bill Clinton's strategy in this vital state.

Both the Johnson and Guerrero cases suggest why it is not just journalistic torture — as some of my letter-writers seem to think — to keep probing the truthfulness of President Bush's account of his role in the Iran-contra affair and Clinton's history of his dealings with the Vietnam War draft.

Some correspondents suggest that the recent disclosure of a 1987 memo from former Secretary of State George Shultz, in which Shultz said that former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger

questioned Bush's disclaimer of any involvement in the arms sale debate, is far more serious than Clinton's varying accounts of how he stayed out of uniform during the Vietnam War. The actions of a 63-year-old vice president and member of the National Security Council are much more important than those of a 23-year-old youth with no public responsibilities at all, they say.

I have to disagree. This is not an either-or choice. It is important to test Bush's veracity, but it is also important to test the truthfulness with which the 45-year-old Clinton of 1992, a man who might be president, recounts what was clearly a central and personally troubling episode in his own life.

It would be wonderful if politicians instinctively told the truth about their life histories. But when they don't, journalists have no choice but to press the issue. That's not nitpicking. It's necessary work.

You can write to David Broder in care of Washington Post Writers Group, 1150 15th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20071.



David S. Broder

Former spy master goes on trial in Iran-contra case

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — The CIA's former spy master — Clair George — goes on trial this month in the Iran-contra scandal, charged with covering up the Reagan White House's secret arms network to the Nicaraguan contras.

If testimony begins as scheduled next week, George would be the highest-ranking CIA official to ever be tried on charges related to his job. Closed hearings on the use of classified information are taking place this week.

George was deputy director for operations — in charge of all the CIA's overseas spy networks — when he told Congress late in 1986 that the agency didn't know who was supplying guns and ammunition to the rebels fighting the leftist government of Nicaragua.

That statement and others George made were lies, an indictment charged. It accuses him of three counts of obstructing Congress and a grand jury and six counts of perjury and making false statements.

It was George's boss, CIA director William Casey, who moved the contra support system over to a then-unknown White House aide, Oliver North, after Congress barred the CIA from assisting the contras militarily in 1984.

It was "a handoff, just like in basketball. ... You got the ball, go on with it," North testified at his own trial in 1989. Casey died in 1987 before he was questioned.

Iran-contra prosecutors plan to show that numerous CIA

officers, including George had a wealth of data on North's network in 1985 and 1986, according to pre-trial court papers released in the case.

The chief witness against George is Alan Fiers, former chief of the CIA's Central American Task Force. He will allege that George orchestrated a cover-up by ordering Fiers to remove references to North's operation from a statement to be given Congress.

George's lawyers will argue that he was too busy with worldwide CIA responsibilities to pay attention to information about North and the contras, according to the court papers.

George would be the third major figure to go on trial in the 5½-year-old Iran-contra investigation, which has cost over \$30 million and resulted in last month's indictment of ex-defense secretary Caspar Weinberger.

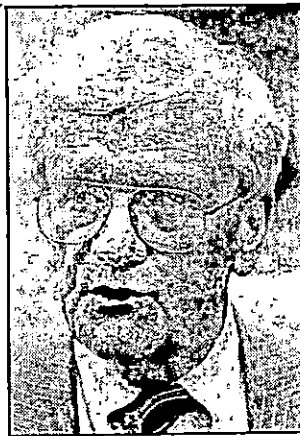
Former national security adviser John Poindexter was found guilty of five felonies and North of three, but their convictions were overturned or set aside on appeal.

The George case in effect began on Oct. 5, 1986, when one of the supply planes in North's secret operation was shot down over Nicaragua.

"What we know at this point is ... from the press," George told a congressional panel nine days after the plane was shot down.

Fiers said there was one key fact that George didn't want revealed — the evolution of the State Department's Nicaraguan Humanitarian Assistance Office into an arms-running operation.

According to Fiers' grand jury



Associated Press

Clair George is accused of perjury and obstructing Congress.

testimony, George told him:

"I don't want to mention the story" of NHAO because "that puts the spotlight on the White House administration, Ollie North ... and I don't want to be the first person to do that."

Iran-contra prosecutors are offering two motives for the alleged cover-up:

■ A \$100 million contra aid package was pending in Congress, the indictment notes. Admitting the existence of North's network would have jeopardized the money.

■ George lied to Congress "to protect Reagan administration officials" who knew about North's operation, prosecutors said in one court filing. They did not name the officials.

A conservative cast in mold of Harding

Time magazine writers take withering look at Bush's term

By Hugh McDiarmid
KNIGHT-RIDDER

MARCHING IN PLACE: The Status Quo Presidency

of George Bush
by Michael Duffy
and Dan Goodgame

Simon & Schuster. 274 pages. \$23.

No one will mistake this book — a searing critique of most of George Bush's first term as president — for a puff piece.

It's so tough, in fact, that some readers may be tempted to dismiss it as partisan Bush-bashing. That would be a mistake. It's written by Time magazine's two well-regarded White House correspondents, and it is filled with enough persuasive documentation to unsettle even the most devout Republican.

By the book's end, the subtitle's "status quo" definition of Bush and his presidency seems an understatement. More apt might be "do-nothing," "wishy-washy," "aimless," "straddle-happy" or even "wimpish," all of which are applied by the authors at one time or another as they pile it on the prez.

There are two significant exceptions to the book's harsh tenor, and, to Bush-watchers, they will come as no surprise. First, the authors give Bush full credit for "diplomatic virtuosity" in creating and maintaining the international coalition that opposed Iraq before and during the 1991 Persian Gulf War. And, second, they note (with perhaps more awe than admiration) Bush's ability to adapt and survive politically.

"You want to remember," they write in their introduction, "that every time you tend to write off George Bush, he makes the big

play."

The authors also seem reluctant to buy into the widespread view that Bush lacks ideology. Rather, they find him — get this — "far more conservative than Reagan and more in the mold of Warren Harding." Further, they say, "He fears change and distrusts crusades. He is profoundly comfortable with the status quo. . . . His is an old-fashioned 'order' conservatism which seeks to impose no new vision of society . . . in sharp contrast with the charismatic, risk-taking, china-breaking conservatism of Reagan and Goldwater."

And, yes, the authors also observe the conventional wisdom that Bush, despite all his flaws, is, personally, a decent man with good instincts who, if he could somehow get his act together and stretch his awesomely short attention span, probably would prefer looking beyond doing "whatever I have to do" to get re-elected.

Even so, the book's timing, which will be enhanced, if that's the word, by an excerpt in Time to coincide with the GOP National Convention in Houston, could not be worse for Bush and the Republicans.

And it should delight Democrats, who may well end up assembling the best material into anti-Bush sound bites and recycling them during the fall campaign. Here are samples:

■ On domestic policy: "What was remarkable about the Bush White House, however, was the rigor, clear-eyed cynicism and political selfishness that drove their

MARCHING IN PLACE



THE STATUS QUO
PRESIDENCY OF
GEORGE BUSH

MICHAEL DUFFY & DAN GOODGAME

WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENTS, TIME MAGAZINE

domestic policy."

■ On the bully pulpit: "With his mangled syntax, his preppy locutions, and his 'call waiting' manner of piling up non sequiturs, Bush has turned the presidential platform into something of a silly pulpit."

■ On White House image-making: "Senior officials could barely keep a straight face when describing their boss as 'an agent of change.'"

■ On Bill Clinton: "The stand-

for-nothing president was suddenly confronted with a challenger who, like him or not, knew what he stood for."

■ On budget talks with Congress in late 1990: "Both by temperament and by design, Bush avoided leadership when the country most needed it."

■ On the January trip to Tokyo: "Just when Bush seemed to have run out of ways to prostrate himself at the feet of the Japanese, he got sick..."

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MIKE ROYKO

Adultery question lies out of bounds



I just took an informal survey of some of my co-workers. I asked them if President Bush should have been asked "The Question."

The question, of course, was the one thrown at him by CNN about whether he had been in the sack with a female aide.

The younger journalists said, yes, the question had to

be asked. The allegation had already been printed in *Spy* magazine and in the *New York Post*. It was being picked up by other papers. Since the story was out, Bush had to be confronted with it.

The older journalists weren't as certain. Some said, no, it shouldn't be asked. The evidence is so flimsy, secondhand gossip that supposedly originated with a person who is now dead. Others said that if it had to be asked, to give Bush a chance to deny or denounce, it should have been done privately, not ambush-style in front of cameras.

So what does the informal survey tell us? Several things.

First, there are no rules covering sleaze. What might be sleaze, and unworthy of being printed in *The New York Times* or the *Chicago Tribune*, is front-page stuff at the *New York Post*. Every editor has his own standards. Unfortunately, when those with the lowest standards go with a story, those with higher standards feel obliged to make note of it.

Second, there's a generation gap in journalism. Younger reporters and editors are more aggressive and certain that they know what the public should know.

When I started in this business in 1956, journalism was going through a transition.

There were still a lot of newspaper people who were from the "Front Page" era, named after the famous Ben Hecht play that has since been made into several movies.

Newspapers were more sensational. Crime and disasters and the human comedy were the big stories.

In 1957, a double-murder case was the No. 1 story on the front page of all four Chicago papers for an entire month.

Today, all but the most unusual murders are on the inside pages.

The older reporters weren't as well educated, although they had street smarts. They were closer to politicians because they weren't buffered by press secretaries, campaign managers, spin doctors, media experts and all the other human clutter of today's politics.

The crime reporters knew the cops. Some of them thought more like cops than the cops did. Once again, there were no press officers and other obstructionists getting between the reporters and their sources.

At the same time, a new generation of reporters was coming into the business. College-educated, many with master's degrees from journalism school.

They wanted to work on more than crime and 5-11 fires. They wanted to write about social issues, economics, urban problems. They brought change to the business, and it was good. Because of them, most newspapers got better.

And as the "Front Page" people retired, the new wave took over, becoming the editors, the managers, the decision-makers.

They, in turn, hired people who reflected their own backgrounds and values. College graduates, most with advanced degrees, some with areas of special expertise. Serious, with career goals. Joggers instead of drinkers.

So there's no doubt that today's reporters and young editors are better educated and far more professional than the hell-raisers and brawlers who were around when I accidentally stumbled into this trade. Newsrooms are serious and businesslike. You can't even smoke in most of them.

And despite what media-bashers say, today's newspapers are far better than they were 30 or 40 or 50 years ago. They deal with more significant subjects, and they do it more thoroughly and carefully. They are less politically partisan and less likely to slant news one way or another.

So if the newspapers are better, the standards higher and the reporters and editors better educated and more professional, why in the hell are they going around asking public figures if they have ever bopped someone besides their wives?

Damned if I know.

When and how did they get the idea that a public figure has no right to privacy, that the public figure's spouse and even the kids have no right to privacy?

There's nothing new about politicians doing the dirty deed, as it used to be called. Reporters have always known what the gossip was about this or that politician's bedroom adventures.

But the attitude was that it was his private life, not public business, and so forget it.

Now we have the "character issue." That's the standard excuse for asking a politician if he's played around. And modern journalists have become the character police.

When did the character cop badges get passed out? And what are the standards? Do we ask only presidential candidates if they have been unfaithful? How about Cabinet members? Senators? Governors? Aldermen? The postmaster general?

Maybe everyone running for public office, from the rural township level up to the White House, should have to pass the bedroom test.

"Mr. Scruggs, as a candidate for the town sewer board, can you tell us if you have ever had sexual intercourse with a woman other than your wife? And if so, was it as good for her as it was for you?"

So if, as a reader or a viewer, you wonder about the adultery questions, you aren't alone. I've been in this business for 36 years and I don't get it.

But I'm sure of one thing. The first candidate to punch a reporter in the snoot for asking such a question will win in a landslide.

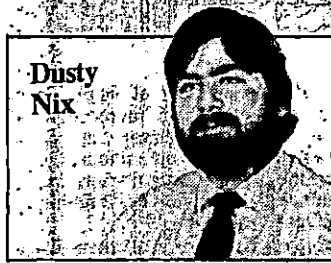
And he'll get my vote.

Royko is a syndicated columnist who writes for the *Chicago Tribune*.

Sunday

Sedger-Engle

July 12, 1992



Dusty
Nix

AuH2O still a precious resource

It surely would have been a familiar scene: Another clot of politicians, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing from which any good could ever come, buffing and puffing over the ever-troublesome question of whether homosexuals conform to the definition of "people" as set forth in the radical manifesto called the U.S. Constitution.

It could have been Atlanta or Montgomery; it could have been Auburn, where the next generation of Values Police is being bred — no doubt in lawful marital fashion (or is that fascion?) — for deployment across this soon-to-be domestically correct land.

In this instance it was Phoenix, where the issue on the city council's table (one barren of substantive matters, it would seem) was "gay rights" — that semantic hot button the Values Police press in frantic desperation whenever the "question" of basic rights vs. sexual orientation threatens to get too simple.

But this time around there was an annoying complication: a former member of council with the bad taste to come out of mothballs and inject himself into the debate.

Enter a relic of a near-extinct political species — a fossil by the name of Barry Goldwater.

Old "AuH2O," as those of us seasoned enough to recall 1964 might remember him, is so out of synch with the times that his reaction to the gay "question" was: So what's the question?

"Under our Constitution," he told a press conference Tuesday, "we literally have the right to do anything we may want to do," as long as we "do not cause damage or hurt to anybody else." "I can't see any way in the world that being gay can cause damage to somebody else."

Better head for the hills, Old Timer. Even now, the Values Police are pulling on their Father Knows Best jackboots and getting ready to kick in your door.

Maybe his advanced age will earn him an easy sentence; maybe it will be remembered that Goldwater's quaint brand of conservatism still holds that the same government which has no place in Exxon's boardroom also has no legitimate place in your bedroom.

Maybe he can be forgiven for not being up on the New Improved Conservatism — the kind that

be remembered that Goldwater's quaint brand of conservatism still holds that the same government which has no place in Exxon's boardroom also has no legitimate place in your bedroom.

Maybe he can be forgiven for not being up on the New Improved Conservatism — the kind that believes fervently in the principle of keeping government off the backs of everyone who throws a hundred grand into the campaign kitty.

We've known for years that Barry was losing touch. In August of 1974, remember, it was Goldwater, along with the minority leaders of the House and Senate, who quietly visited the White House and urged the sleazoid felon hunkered therein to get the nail out before he brought the government down around his jowly head.

In 1980, when the rest of the country was swept up in the evangelical fervor of the Neoconservative Revolution, Barry showed his lack of Neo by publicly questioning the moral and constitutional credibility of Republican Fundamentalism, and suggesting that good Americans and good Christians had an obligation to "kick Jerry Falwell in the (fundament)." 7

Now here he was, back in his hometown, talking up the dog-eared idea that an explicit and universal constitutional right is not subject to local referendum, and urging the council to come out from under the table and say so.

Barry Goldwater is a national treasure. The man who so many years ago wrote something called *Conscience of a Conservative* is a nostalgic (and, for some, rather uncomfortable) reminder of a long-ago time when conservatism still had a conscience.

Dusty Nix is associate editor of the *Ledger-Enquirer*.

Letters shed some light on King's story

Dear Abby: Please read these letters from the Houston Post's "Sound Off" section, and be enlightened on the Rodney King case.— **M.W. Daura, Bellaire, Texas**



Dear Abby

"I was in a Colorado hotel room with cable TV that carried 'Court in Session,' a live broadcast of current court cases where television was permitted, much like C-SPAN carries congressional sessions.

"The Rodney King trial was on for six hours each day. I saw a total of 40 hours. I heard and saw videotapes and testimony of the normal effect of stun guns — police-in-training

receiving a stun gun shot, and falling like poleaxed steers — yet Rodney King only blinked and kept coming at the officers.

"I heard testimony of Mr. King's throwing officers — two at a time — to the ground like rag dolls. All this was in the 20 minutes before the famous one-minute 'bite' that was all most of the media saw.

"The media explained the looting, burning, beating and killing as 'rage' over the verdict. It appears to be simply a carefree opportunity for looting, burning, beating and killing (like Watts, Miami, the St. Croix looting after Hurricane Hugo.)" — **Glen Swenumson, Houston**

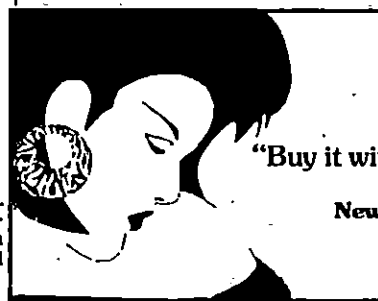
"For 13 months I've seen a 90-second clip of videotape that shows a man face down on the ground and four police officers taking turns hitting him with batons.

"It wasn't until 3 a.m. on Friday, on CNN, that I was finally given the opportunity to see the tape in its entirety. Here I saw a man who had been hit four times with 50,000 volts of electricity continue to fight and resist police. I saw him lunging at a policeman. I saw him defying all normal reaction to pain, and behaving as if he could feel no pain.

"Who decided to limit the public's access to the entire tape?" — **Julie R. Wise, Houston**

Dear M.W. Daura: Obviously, the jurors saw all the videotape. The public, including me, saw only the edited one-minute "bite," believing that was the entire story.

You can write Abigail Van Buren at Box 69440, Los Angeles, Calif. 90069.



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THE
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Crime in the United States and abroad continues to increase at an ever spiraling rate in spite of the well intentioned, yet less than effective, measures employed by police departments everywhere.

In general, this crime rate has resulted in people attempting to elude crime by fleeing from the inner cities to suburban areas, only to find, in many cases, the omnipresent and odious "stench" of crime and insecurity still present.

This has further polarized the citizenry into a two, or more, class society euphemistically denoted as "the haves" and the "have nots." Simply stated, "the haves" want to have what the haves have, and the haves want to keep what they have," and understandably so. This allows those who can afford to do so to improve their conditions while the poor live in squalid ghettos and substandard housing.

Add to this mix the premature release of criminals back into society, by a prison and judicial system mired in bureaucracy and corruption, and it is easy to see why neighborhoods are being virtually held hostage by the gangs and criminal element, so endemic to this breeding ground for crime. With this scenario as a backdrop, one can easily see how the Los Angeles Police Department's "Rodney King" incident, and its pathetic aftermath, occurred.

The constant cry for security and the control of crime by the citizenry, sparks the altruistic and political desire of the police department to "service the community." To accomplish this logistically, the department adopts operating policies and procedures, both explicit and implicit, to deal with the source of crime with a specific focus on gang and narcotics activity. This, then, engenders a mind set and attitude in the personnel at the operational level which is necessary and critical for survival, and the accomplishment of the goal of crime control.

Now, this strategy has substantial effectiveness, but has ancillary side effects which include a perception of brutality and indifference by the police, toward the community. This is reinforced by a lack of concern for the community, by some officers, and a similar lack of understanding of the police function by some citizens. This tentative "marriage", coupled with human frailties, results in an imposed "tolerance," of each other, and the adoption of a "we vs. them" mentality, on both sides. All that awaits is the "divorce" decree looming in the background, awaiting the final arguments. To fulfill this role, we see the entrance of video scrutiny of police activity coupled with media hype and distortion by omission and interpretation. Hence, the Rodney King incident polarizes a city already at odds, and the world in general, allowing for trial by media long before the case enters into a court of law. Whether the actions of the police officers were, in fact, as brutal as they appeared or not, the media's calculated refusal to show all of the videotape and evidence available, which might tend to, at least, explain and perhaps diffuse a potential conflagration, must take its share of the responsibility for the trial aftermath and rioting.

This "circus" gave the criminal element and other dissident factions within society the excuse to break the

law and the opportunity to flaunt their lawlessness internationally, ultimately resulting in the death of numerous people. This is only one example of the inner conflict and turmoil seething within some people, and society, in general, today.

The root problems and reasons are various and sundry, but most certainly include poverty, unemployment, lack of morality and work ethic, disparate educational levels, lack of leadership by community, state, and national leaders to effectively address drug usage, narcotics abuse, and crime in general, and most importantly, an obvious absence of "The Will To Win."

Some obstructions to finding solutions to these problems include the American Civil Liberties Union which seeks to maximize personal rights at the expense of societies' rights and the good of the nation.

None the less culpable is the National Rifle Association which also wants individuals to have the right to carry guns, including automatic assault rifles which have no peaceful urban application whatsoever, and pose a significant threat to the citizenry at large, especially when used by gangs, and specifically, a serious concern for law enforcement personnel.

Ironically, this acknowledgement and demonstration of a heavily armed society, with shop owners and others firing automatic weapons indiscriminately and without accountability in the urban area was hailed as proof of why automatic weapons, etc., should be legal. Somehow, I find it difficult to justify the random shooting of anyone by people in the streets of Los Angeles, or anywhere else, as a justification for the possession of automatic weapons by citizens in society.

All of this, coupled with a police department and political climate which will sacrifice officers to the will of the masses, whether they are right or wrong, ultimately has resulted, simply, in the lack of "The Will To Win," by the police. It simply is not worth the aggravation to do "the job" with righteousness and commitment if there is no support, and the consequences of real or perceived actions are dire, in the extremis.

How then do we remedy this malaise affecting society and, moreover, the police departments? Recognition and commitment is the answer.

Recognition, by society, of the fact that we are a "nation of laws," which must apply equally to everyone. And as such, we all must follow the dictates of the court and abide peacefully by its decisions whether we like them or not. There is no question that the judicial system, like other operative systems in society, is flawed. There are travesties of justice daily, including bad court decisions which result in the release of drug dealers and other criminals alike.

Nonetheless, the law is the law, and the system provides an appellate grievance mechanism to address real or perceived injustices lawfully. Looting, arson, murder, and general lawlessness, as a response to a court decision, is tantamount to anarchy and as such is unacceptable in a purportedly "civilized," albeit violent, society.

Recognition by the police department that new and innovative strategies must be devised and adopted to keep pace with societies' demands for service and to provide

the most important service of all, to society—that being free from crime and fear so that citizens may pursue a peaceful life and coexistence in society.

Recognition by politicians and administrators that the "war on crime" has a price, and the cost of "doing business" is expensive logistically, ideologically, and politically.

Simply stated, society must decide what price it is willing to pay to eradicate or control crime for, by necessity, the price will surely include a diminished sense of civil liberties as we presently perceive them.

The police must be fair and honest in their actions and confident in the backing of their superiors, and have a true commitment to service the community.

The chiefs must have contracts which provide security for their positions (as long as they are competent and fair) so that they are free to be innovative and explore new options and solutions to problems, derived from all members of the police department.

The politicians must recognize that some actions and decisions may be unpopular, but necessary, and as such, must be supported by the administration, and not allow for things such as the forced retirement of a police chief with a demonstrated record of commitment and law enforcement, simply because of

political expediency.

A commitment by society to support law enforcement and each other and to work toward the elimination of the criminal element in society, through community action, and a partnership between the police and the citizenry, is necessary.

Also necessary is a comprehensive, multi-disciplinary approach to problem solving of societal ills by all levels of government, addressing poverty, education, welfare, housing, safety, and a host of other concerns of society.

Also the reevaluation of the penal system, allowing for appropriate misdemeanants to be held in minimum security facilities like "boot camps," and the use of home monitoring systems for non-violent offenders instead of the blatant and indiscriminate imposition of probation, at best, an inappropriate and ineffective sentencing alternative. Also required is imposition of far more punitive sentencing for bona fide violent offenders who must, by necessity, have long term incarceration in prison, or if appropriate, capital punishment for the safety of society.

And finally, the resolution and commitment by all segments of society to work together to uphold the ends of justice, and unite to eradicate that criminal element, in society that holds a nation hostage, through its fear of safety and ultimately restore in all of us ... "The Will To Win."

NT

Where's Eliot Ness when you need him?

Atlanta's criminals, here's to you.
For weeks I knew the latest FBI crime statistics would be released soon, and I was wondering if the city could capture the number one spot as it has in the past.

And it did. Atlanta is number one in the National League West, number one with the '96 Olympics selection committee and right there on the top of the heap in crime.

The City Too Busy With All Sorts of Other Stuff can look down on New York, Detroit, and Los Angeles and say, "When it comes to crime, we're the big kid on the block."

You've heard of the program "L.A. Law"?

How about "Atlanta Lawlessness"?

"Matlock," a TV program about an Atlanta-based lawyer, former Mayberry Sheriff Andy Griffith, is a popular show, too. That's because there's so much crime, he's always got a great case going.

And where is his crack deputy, Barney? It appears Atlanta needs every available gun. So Barney has only one bullet. That's one more than we had before.

The Braves needed bullpen help. So what did they do? They went out and hired a stopper, Jeff Reardon, from the Boston Red Sox.

Atlanta's losing to the criminals. Getting creamed. It needs a stopper. Maynard Jackson, the mayor, doesn't appear to be the one. Neither does Police Chief Eldrin Bell.

They refused to admit there's a problem.

When the city was named number one in crime, they said, "Blah, Blah, Blah, Blah," which is cover-your-butt speak for, "The statistics are misleading."

What's misleading? The FBI made this stuff up?

Speaking of crime. Is that Treasury Department gangbuster, Eliot Ness, still alive? I always liked the way he

Lewis Grizzard



handled things in "The Untouchables." He never smiled. Not in all those years I watched "The Untouchables" on television, did I see Robert Stack, who played Ness, smile.

That's because he wasn't trying to put on a happy face and tell everybody in Chicago the statistics on how many people were getting rubbed out by Capone, Moran, Nitti and the boys, were misleading.

We could use somebody like Eliot Ness to fight crime in Atlanta. This is Dodge City. We need a Matt Dillon, an Earp, or Jim Hardie, who rode around on a horse seeing to it that the Wells Fargo stages got through without being robbed and, in case you haven't noticed, Wells Fargo is still in business today because it hired its own personal crimebuster.

When the Atlanta mayor gets back to work after his heart by-pass, I suggest one, or all of the following be hired as Atlanta's Eliot Ness:

Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, Gordon Liddy, Charles Bronson, Oliver North, Rush Limbaugh, Colin Powell or that woman who does State Department briefings on TV. She never smiles either.

Do something, Your Honor. We're number one, and damn tired of it!

Lewis Grizzard is a syndicated columnist.

BARNETT BANK
PIPELINE
SUMMER 1992

Economic Perspective

The economic outlook has improved greatly over the past few months. All the major economic indicators are showing a more positive trend. Retail spending has improved; employment is up, home sales are rising and inflation has moderated. Conditions will improve even more in coming months.

While this recovery is modest by past standards, there is increasing evidence that economic growth will be more sustainable.

The last recovery was led by strong monetary stimulus, increased defense spending, tax cuts and a rush to develop office towers and shopping centers. That mix provided a real boom during much of the 1980s but laid the ground work for the 1990 recession.

The current policy mix is unlikely to produce a boom and should help avoid a bust during future years.

Just a thought

One very belated afterthought on the Watergate break-in "anniversary," this from veteran journalist Daniel Schorr:

Schorr (who was about three weeks more timely in making his comment than I am in repeating it here) told National Public Radio that America of the Nixon years was saved "by the government it sustains, the press it despises, and whatever it is that makes conspirators into stumblebums."

Dusty Nix

Dusty Nix

He had to have been, because he was cranked up pretty high, Richards said, blowing the horn like crazy. Dear Abby: I teach macroeconomics at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst. I have decided a reasonable exam question is: "How big is the U.S. federal budget deficit?" Most answer correctly: approximately \$400 billion. What my students still find surprising is the size of the tax increase necessary to eliminate that deficit. If the balanced-budget amendment passes, and each of the 250 million people in the United States has his or her taxes increased by an equal amount to cover the deficit, that will be a \$1,600 tax increase. If we increase taxes for only those people in the labor force (about 120 million people), balancing the federal budget will require a tax increase of more than \$3,300 per working person per year! That's not a one-time increase, but an annual increase, and does not reduce our outstanding debt of about \$4 trillion. — Martha L. Olney, Associate Professor of Economics

You can write Abigail Van Buren at Box 60440, Los Angeles, Calif. 90060.

VOICES

No go, Perot

By Edward J. Rollins

Ross Perot said he would run a world-class campaign. He said he would focus on the issues.

Indeed, he pledged to dedicate 60 days to intensive study of the federal budget and related matters. He promised to bow to the wishes of his volunteers.

He — and no one else — characterized himself as a non-politician, someone who would add courage and truthfulness to a process badly in need of both.

He did none of the above and is perhaps the last person in America to understand just how low his credibility as a public figure has sunk as a result.

Mr. Perot quit the race for the presidency on July 16 because, he said, he "did not want to be disruptive."

If, as many political analysts expect, he announces that he is re-entering the race, we can add that statement to the tall pile of Perot rhetoric, which is completely void of any substance, commitment or veracity.

As his former campaign manager I hope he won't get back in the race.

The country has just five weeks to decide who our next president will be and, since it is certain it will not be Perot, he should leave the country to its serious business without distraction.

In my first meeting with Perot, in June, I wrote two words on a blackboard: "hope" and "kook."

I told him that for him to win he would have to cast himself as the agent of hope.

I also told him that every day the Republicans and Democrats would attempt to cast him as a kook. Little did I know that no one could make him look more kooky than he has himself.

I joined the Perot movement because I believe that neither major party is facing up to the serious problems that confront our country.

In the 45 days that I was his campaign manager I discovered a great deal about Perot, his temperament and his ideas — or lack of them — about governing.

Millions of Americans trusted Perot when he said he was different and would lead "their" movement. Today he believes it is "his" movement.

When he talks of re-entering the race, he claims he simply wants to force President Bush and Bill Clinton to talk about the issues.

What issues?

Perot points to his proposed budget, which he himself saw for the first time less than 24 hours

About the author

Edward J. Rollins is a political consultant who managed Ronald Reagan's presidential campaign in 1984 and briefly managed Ross Perot's campaign. He wrote this for The New York Times.

before he withdrew from the race.

Perot should not re-enter the presidential race because he is Ross Perot. His greatest political asset, his independence, has also proved to be his most fatal flaw. This is a man who will not listen to anybody.

If Perot were seriously going to pursue the presidency, which I believe he is not, he would need to develop a willingness to listen to others.

He would need far more than the 60-day crash course in public policy he pledged to take, but didn't.

And he would need to come out from behind talk-show hosts and subject himself to greater questioning and exposure in the national media.

No such conversion is about to take place in the next 42 days.

Perot's re-entry would matter little in the final results. He cannot win and would only marginally affect the outcome.

This is now a two-person race and the remaining five weeks ought to be a debate about the future of the country.

Perot has been financially successful beyond anyone's dreams, presumably even his own.

He's got a terrific family. He works hard at worthwhile civic and charitable causes. He has joined and contributed to the debate on important state and national issues.

Today he ought to be content and should quit tampering with our democratic process simply to massage his ego, badly bruised when the country finally learned he wasn't who he pretended to be and didn't have the courage to go the distance with a presidential campaign.

If he truly had the temperament to be a leader, Perot could have been the most significant third-party candidate for president since Teddy Roosevelt's Bull Moose candidacy in 1912.

But as all America has learned, Perot ... you're no Teddy Roosevelt.

TERS TO THE EDITOR

Media brainwashing

I wonder where the numbers are coming from that put Bill Clinton so far ahead of George Bush. I work with the public and meet and talk to people every day about the presidential election. So far I have only talked with one person who said they plan to vote for Bill Clinton, compared to numerous people who plan to vote for President Bush and a Republican Congress. (The numbers in this poll would be about 50 to 1 for President Bush.)

The media may think they have the people brainwashed with their ever depressing economic news, "the sky is falling" theory. If the people who are thinking of allowing you people at the Ledger to make their

decisions for them will remember the last time we had a Democrat for president (Jimmy Carter), our news at home was runaway inflation rates, interest rates sky high, jobless, homeless, etc. Our news abroad was just as bad with kidnappings, hijackings, not to mention Russia.

Well, Bill Clinton speaks like a junior Jimmy Carter. He plans to spend several million here and several billion there and tax the working people to death! (We are already working about five months out of 12 to pay our taxes.) And just like Mr. Carter, Gov. Clinton knows absolutely nothing about foreign affairs. Our country is relaxed now because President Bush has our foreign affairs under control. But you never know when we might need a strong leader. (How quickly we forget how nervous we were about Russia.) Think about it!

By the way, when housing starts were up 10½ percent in August (good news) why was it placed only in one paragraph in the business section? Strange! Ledger, Sept. 23, 1992.

Why don't you get into the

business of publishing unbiased news and out of politics? The great majority of us are quiet capable of making our own decisions!

Opinion

'Who do you trust?' backfires

"Who do you trust?"

That booming line, planned to echo in attack

ads the last 30 days of the election, had been the last-ditch hope of George Bush's campaign to close the gap with Bill Clinton.

Doesn't take a Madison Avenue genius to invent the ads. Plenty of flags. World War II photos of Lt. Bush in Navy flight gear. Maybe a famous general who'd say sternly he wouldn't trust a president who'd ducked the draft and covered it up.

Bam! Socko! Untrustworthy, truth-dodging Bill Clinton would nosedive in the polls.

But for George Bush, this seemingly surefire attack against Clinton is flying in his face like a berserk boomerang.

Bush's diatribes against Clinton's fudging on his draft record are mocked by mounting evidence that Bush has lied about his role in the Iran-Contra scandal.

Suddenly the trust issue is a Cruise missile doing a U-turn onto its launch pad.

Over and over, in two presidential campaigns and many press sessions, Bush has insisted he was an innocent bystander in Ronald Reagan's 1985-86 arms-for-hostage deal and Ollie North's skimmed funds to the Contras.

What the heck — Ron couldn't remember anything, why should George?

"When you don't know something, it's hard to react ... We were out of the loop," Bush told Washington Post columnist David Broder in 1987.

Now Bush's oft-repeated "out-of-the-loop" defense is sounding, well, loopy.

With damaging timing for Bush's '92 campaign, some involved in the Iran-

Contra fiasco say Bush knew plenty about the Gipper's arms plot.

"I myself briefed the then-vice president several times," said former National Security Council staffer Howard Teicher on ABC's "Nightline."

"Bush was in on the key decisions. There's simply no question about that. For him to suggest otherwise is false," said former Air Force Maj. Gen. Richard Secord, a key Iran-Contra operator.

A White House spokesman fires back that Secord is "pushing his new book" and, anyway, "150 lawyers have investigated this." She doesn't add that Secord says he'll vote for Bush.

The ticking time bomb was tucked amid 1,700 pages of notes written by ex-Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger. Angered by Bush's disclaimer that he hadn't known of Weinberger's and then-Secretary of State George Shultz's battle against the arms deal, Shultz bristled, "That's terrible! How can he say that? He was on the other side."

Even in his autobiography, "Looking Forward," Bush hammered home that he never knew of the Weinberger-Shultz opposition — "I was deliberately excluded from key meetings."

"That's flatly wrong," says Tom Blanton of the National Security Archives, whose documents show Bush a participant in Iran-Contra sessions. "Bush's story doesn't hold water."

The irony is that self-righteous cries by Bush & Co. for Clinton to fully confess his draft-ducking are now turned upside down.

"He (Clinton) should come clean to the American people," Bush demanded last week. His ex-National Guardsman veep, Dan Quayle, often parrots, "It's a serious character flaw that will contribute to his (Clinton's) defeat because he's not telling the truth."

Those lines have the aroma of self-mockery. Bush, whose testimony before the Tower Commission and Iran-Contra investigative panel is secret, has stonewalled his part in the arms scam. In the Contest of Amnesia,

Clinton admits memory lapses about his draft machinations 23 years back. Bush can't recall events six years ago.

"I guarantee I've answered 100 times more questions about the draft than he has about Iran-Contra," said Clinton.

So, is this a sordid tie between the '92 candidates — a Democrat who keeps changing his draft tale vs. a Republican slamming the door on his role in a national scandal?

Oddly, considering the long, noisy bombast over Clinton's draft status, most people don't see a liar's standoff.

In a September Gallup poll, 55 percent surveyed said Bush was "lying about Iran-Contra," while 60 percent thought Clinton was "telling the truth about the draft." A CBS-New York Times poll came up with similar results.

Sure, the Iran-Contra debacle is a dusty relic compared to America's 1992 economic obsessions. The bad news for Bush is that his dodging turns his "who-do-you-trust?" attacks into self-caricature.

And bad grammar, at that.

One reason Bush's poll numbers stick in the mid-40's is that Iran-Contra is a paradigm of the president's flip-flops: The infamous "read-my-lips-no-more-taxes" pledge, vows to be the Environmental and Educational President, fudging on abortion, promise of millions of new jobs. Matched against that list, hitting on Clinton's draft credibility sounds like "Saturday Night Live" parody.

Maybe Bush should scratch those flag-waving, draft-baiting "Who Do You Trust?" ads.

Too many cynical Americans seem impatient to answer the question, maybe by a landslide.

You can write to Sandy Grady in care of the Philadelphia Daily News, Box 7788, Philadelphia, Pa. 19101.



**Sandy
Grady**

Rediscovering America

1992 Olympic Flag Celebration

The Atlanta Committee for the Olympic Games will hold a spectacular Olympic Flag Celebration in Georgia this September, following the transfer of the Flag at the Closing Ceremonies in Barcelona on August 9 to the next host of the Olympic Games — Atlanta.

The Olympic Flag first arrives in the U.S. in Savannah on Sept. 10 aboard the tall ship Eagle. Then the Flag will travel by train across the state — stopping in Valdosta, Albany, Columbus, Macon, Augusta, Athens and Rome before reaching its destination in Atlanta.

At each stop, the Flag will be on display along with an exhibit of rare Olympic memorabilia.

(over)

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Did the Boland Amendment violate the U.S. Constitution?
Did the media "cover-up" the Boland Amendment?

No two documents better express the fundamental values and beliefs of our nation than the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. The Declaration ends up as follows:- "And for the support of this Declaration with a firm Reliance on the Protection of divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor."

In James Madison's book, "The Founding Fathers" on Page 46 we read the following:- 1. Without such a check in the whole over the parts, our system involves the evil of imperia in imperio (a government within a government). If a complete supremacy somewhere is not necessary in every society, a controlling power at least is so, by which the general authority may be defended against encroachments of the subordinate authorities, and by which the latter may be restrained from encroachments on each other."

The President of the United States takes this oath of office. "I do solemnly swear that I will perform the duties of the President of the United States to the best of my ability and defend, protect and preserve the Constitution of the United States. So help me God." The Constitution should be inviolable and sacrosanct.

From Modern America - Historical Viewpoints (Editor: John A. Garraty (Page 355). "Those magicians who wrote the Constitution - and they seem more prescient with each passing decade, recognized the potential for good in all groups and set up a governmental system to give it outlet. They faced the self-interest

and purblindness of every faction, and in the end depended less on the goodness of men than on restraining his evil. Warily, they constructed a government of checks and balances."

I do not have Tip O'Neill's book, "Man of The House" with me. Congress wavered, wiggled and wobbled re aid to the Nicaraguan Contras. Tip stated that he received his information re the Contras from Mayknoll priests and nuns. President Reagan got his information about the Contras from the C.I.A. and other federal sources. Kennedy and Khrushchev almost came to World War III as a result of missile launching pads in Cuba. President Reagan had to invade Grenada re Cuban-built launching pads there.

Congressman Boland was a life-long friend of Tip O'Neill and they lived together in Washington. The Constitution grants the President "veto power". The members of Congress also have the duty to defend, preserve and protect the Constitution. Congressman Boland should not be able to take away the President's Constitutional granted "veto power" by legislative legislation. President Reagan as a result of the Boland Amendment was faced with a Hobson's choice: veto the budget and its Boland Amendment and thereby cause governmental chaos with no money to run the government, the Armed services, the Courts, etcetera; or sign it and as Commander in Chief do his best to protect our country from any possible Communist Nicaraguan missile launches.

Is it possible that the media did a "cover-up" re Congressman Boland and his "anarchistic" Boland Amendment. by erecting a stone-wall (Berlin type) and an iron curtain of silence? Congressman Boland is an enigma. His purpose is unknown. His legislative record, if any, is unknown. His

(3)

rationale is unknown. There is no investigative reporter trying to ascertain the facts re the Boland Amendment.

In effect, Congressman Boland violated the sanctity of our Constitution and no one cares. Now, the Democrats with their special prosecutors are capitalizing on the rape of the Constitution at a cost to the taxpayers of over \$30, million dollars.

→ }

Is "Watergate" a myth? Did the media "cover up" the cause of Watergate?

Is "Watergate a myth," i.e., an unscientific account of an event? A news commentator stated at Watergate's 20th anniversary that the cause of Watergate was still unknown. Why did the Watergate burglary happen? Was the cause of Watergate, the stealing of the 1960 presidential election by Kennedy and Johnson? William ^{MANCHESTER} in his history chronology wrote: "1960- Kennedy won the election by an eyelash." Charles Colson in his book "Born Again" states that he suggested to Nixon that Nixon should contest the election results. Nixon replied, "No, I won't do that. It would not be good for our country." Incidentally, Colson was recommended to Nixon by Tip O'Neill. Tip O'Neill in his book, "Man of The House" states, "hard-boiled politics is voting frauds in Illinois and Massachusetts" in referring to the 1960 election.

John Mitchell, Nixon's law-partner in New York, was the Chairman of the Committee to Re-elect Nixon in 1972. He was greatly concerned about the ability of the Democrats ^{to} ~~and~~ hired the men who were involved at Watergate. Which is the greater crime; the bungled Watergate break-in or the stealing of a presidential election? If investigative reporters, Woodward and Bernstein, were able to dig up all the facts about Watergate, why were they unable to ascertain the cause of the Watergate break-in? Nixon resigned the presidency stating that it would not be good for the country to have to go through the impeachment proceedings

steal
elections and

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Lip O'Neill in his book, "Man of the House" stated that Nixon would have survived the impeachment proceedings if Emanuel Celler was not defeated for re-election by Elizabeth Holtzman.

In Time Magazine (5/28/72) page 12, Nixon talking to Billy Graham stated: "We have been here now four years. I thought by this time some of my enemies would have had me by now". He added, "You know, I am a hated man - going back to the Alger Hiss case, and Helen Gahagan Douglas and all that." It is to be noted that whenever Alger Hiss's name is mentioned by a TV news commentator, he usually adds that Hiss still proclaims his innocence. A traitor is treated with kid gloves and President Nixon is crucified daily by the media. One editorial writer calls Nixon a "sleazebag felon". Daniel Schorr told National Public Radio that America of the Nixon years was saved "by the government it sustains, the press it despises, and whatever it is that makes conspirators into stumblebums".

From Modern America - Historical Viewpoints - by Editor John Garraty (Pages 353 & 354)

"If the 1968 Republican campaign had one dominant theme, it was Nixon stood for the 'common man', for the middle classes. As Chief Executive, his actions were closely attuned to their economic, social and psychological urges, whether expressed as the White House standoffness toward the black revolution or the celebrated attacks on the 'effete snobs' of the Eastern Communications industry and universities."

Nixon made a big mistake in attacking the media. No one attacks the media and survives.

(6)

Phil Donohue is wont to say, "We don't make the news, we only report it." Too bad, it is not a true statement! Tip O'Neill states in his book that he was shocked when he saw FDR in a wheel-chair, but that's the way things were back then. The cover-up of Roosevelt's paralysis set back the cause of our disabled fellow citizens 50 long years. Go to the Little White House at Warm Springs and see that the only book on display is: "The Great Deception". Article I of the Bill of Rights states: Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech; or of the press" etc.

In the Rodney King case, the media only showed its famous one-minute bite - in effect, the media distorted the news.

Anyone who saw the "one-minute bite" thought it was an example of police brutality at its worst. Then, "the media explained the looting, burning, beating and killing as 'rage' over the verdict. Later, we get the truth from a "Dear Abby" column.

Ask Nixon and Agnew about the power of the press. Ask Al Campanis and Jimmy the Greek. (*Lapsa lingua, non culpa mente*)

Ask Leona Helmsky about the power of the press. Ask the citizens of Los Angeles about the power of the press. At the recent Democratic Convention, there were about 5,000 delegates in attendance and 13,000 members of the media there also.

If a person read Ben Bradlee's Code of Ethics for the Washington Post, one would arrive at the conclusion that it was fool-proof. However, the current new members of the media are not fools. They are well educated and have their degrees in journalism. Unfortunately, many of them (not all) are amoral, i. e., they don't know what is right or what is wrong. They ask hypothetical questions which no one in his right mind should even consider answering.

The media needs to be elevated to be on a par with the medical and legal professions. The present members should be "grand-fathered" in. The media needs something like the Hippocratic oath of the medical profession. At least or at best, they should cause no harm. The media needs a media exam similar to the bar exam to get qualified members and something similar to disbarment if they violate their canon of ethics. As I write, the media is telling the story of Hurricane Andrew and their coverage calls for praise of the highest order.

From "Government and Liberty" - "The American System" by William Beard. (Page 183) "The President as a Guardian of the Constitution and of Justice".

The President not only proposes laws, he interprets them. This is no mere accident; it is required of him. His oath of office requires him to defend, protect and preserve the Constitution. This clearly places him under obligation to pass judgment on the constitutionality of statutes.

The Courts have also taken to decide, in cases properly brought before them, whether statutes are or are not constitutional (Chapter 12). Where the President and the federal courts come to the same conclusion as to the legality of an act of Congress, there is no difficulty. When they do not, serious friction may develop between the courts and the Chief Executive. Such conflict, on several occasions, loomed large in the political history of the U. S. Since the President appoints the members of the Supreme Court, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, he may, as federal vacancies occur, strive to bring the Court around to his views

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by naming "the right kind" of lawyers to serve as justices in that Tribunal.

Furthermore, the President has the power of reviewing cases decided by the courts and granting reprieves or pardons to persons convicted of offenses against the U.S. except in cases of impeachment. He can either before or after the conviction of accused persons, waiving fines, commuting or preventing the execution of death sentences, or issuing full pardons.

This broad discretionary authority is used with caution by the President. The customary procedure is for the convicted person or his representatives to appeal to the President or the Attorney General for clemency. In any event, one of the Attorney General's agents examines the evidence in the case, calling on the court which imposed the sentence to make a statement as to the merits of the application. The Attorney General then sends the record to the President with a suggestion for action. The President, however, makes his own decision, for or against the petitioner. Where an injustice has been done, this method provides a quick and dramatic means of remedying it. So it may be said that the President acts as a final court for righting wrongs that may be done in the trial and conviction of offenders against the criminal laws of the United States.

Summary.

The best defense is a strong offense.

To be is to do. "Socrates". To do is to be. "Plato".

To win the election - "Iran-Contra" and "Watergate" must be debunked. The federal government can accomplish three things best of all: national defence; internal order; and an honest currency.

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In this 20th century, it was a Democratic President who led the U.S. into all of its major wars. Wilson led the nation into World War I and our nation was ill-prepared for war. The civilian population had no coal to heat their homes; no coal for furnaces; one stood on line to get a 50 lb bag of coal; the flu epidemic struck and decimated the home front population. The men in the trenches suffered from shell shock and poison gas. World War I led directly to Communist Russia, Fascism in Italy and Nazi Germany. Wilson could have had us join the League of Nations if he would not run for a third term. World War I spawned World War II.

From "The Time For Decision" by Sumner Welles.

Page 294

"Upon two occasions during those final months, the President received urgent, detailed requests from Prince Konoye, then still Prime Minister, to meet with him at some point in the Pacific in order to try to solve through personal conference a situation becoming more and more insoluble as the weeks passed.

Page 295

The plan for a meeting between Roosevelt and Konoye is at least a tantalizing subject for speculation, particularly if one bears in mind the President's extraordinary ability to achieve practical results by personal conference with the heads of foreign governments. In any event, he determined not to venture upon what seemed a forlorn hope.

With the removal of Prince Konoye as Prime Minister in October, 1941, and the appointment of General Tojo as her successor, any possibility of such negotiations vanished from that time on. The die had been cast.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

Spanish designer Javier Mariscal poses with "Cobi," the official mascot of the 1992 Barcelona Summer Olympic Games.

tray some sort of father image to those kids. I try to find songs that mean something to them, but also mean something to moms and dads, too."

Skaggs won the Country Music Association's Entertainer of the Year award in 1985.

North says Weinberger witch hunt victim

OMAHA, Neb. — Oliver North, himself a center of the Iran-Contra affair, says the indictment of former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger is a modern-day witch hunt.

"They're going to take a 75-year-old man who's crippled with arthritis, whose wife is very ill, and they're going to drag him through one of the worst ordeals he's ever known in the last days of his life. It's crazy," North told WOWT-TV.

North, a retired Marine lieutenant, spoke Friday before an appearance at a "Freedom Rally" sponsored by the Assemblies of God Glad Tidings Church.

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

July 14, 1992

Judge criticizes Iran-contra delays

Accuses federal agencies of impeding trial process

Associated Press

WASHINGTON — An angry federal judge suggested Monday that intelligence agencies are trying to impede the Iran-contra trial of the highest-ranking CIA official ever charged with a crime arising from his work.

"I want some public accountability for who's trying to thwart this trial from going forward. I want a name," U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth told prosecutors at the opening of jury selection for the trial of Clair George, ex-CIA chief of operations.

George is charged with covering up the Reagan White House's secret contra arms supply network.

Lamberth even asked prosecutors to haul into court the official responsible for exam-

ining certain documents for secret information that must be paraphrased at the trial. But he settled for the name.

It was Peter Badger, an attorney for the super-secret National Security Agency, prosecutors told Lamberth after a half-hour recess to check.

Deputy Iran-contra independent counsel Craig Gillen told Lamberth that Badger had worked on the documents a total of 12 hours and 15 minutes over three days, skipped one day and sent an aide on another day when Badger's son was graduating from school.

Lamberth called that "a poor explanation at best for conduct of the National Security Agency in failing to complete the review."

The judge threatened to discipline the government over the delays, although he



GEORGE

never specified how he might do that. He could hold in contempt any official who he found had knowingly disobeyed his order to process the documents by last Friday.

As prosecutors struggled to explain the document delay before they had obtained the account of Badger's work week, Lamberth had hinted at more drastic action. "I can put the government out of its misery. I know how to end it."

He could dismiss the case or even exclude evidence needed to prove one or another of the nine counts against George, but that seemed unlikely since it would play into the hands of anyone who had tried to delay the trial.

Chief Iran-contra Prosecutor Lawrence Walsh was chosen by a panel of judges so he would be independent of the Reagan and Bush administrations. Walsh's prosecutors must rely, however, on potentially uncooperative intelligence agencies to get the documents ready for court.

WINNING ELECTIONS

From "Remembering America" by Richard Goodwin: (Page 91) - With Kennedy's nomination, I had passed through the first stage of my political education. Unlike my earlier experiences - the Supreme Court, the quiz show investigation - The objective was not to find rational justice or uncover the truth, but to win elections.

Charles Colson in his book - "Born Again" - alleges that the Kennedy-Johnson team stole the 1960 Presidential election by voting frauds in several key states. Colson wanted Nixon to protest and contest the election but Nixon declined - saying, "It would not be good for the Country".

Could the Democrats use the legislative branch of the United States to win an election. Read Page 558 of "The Glory and The Dream" by William Manchester, a noted historian.

"Truman cried, Senator Barkley and I will win this election and make the Republicans like it - don't you forget it!, he shouted: If the voters don't do their duty by the Democratic party, they are the most ungrateful people in the world!"

He then turned to the Republicans, reviewing the list of programs he had proposed, and the Hill had rejected - for medical care, housing, price controls, aid to education. They had killed such measures, he said - and then, in an unparelled display of cynicism and hypocrisy, they had approved a presidential platform calling for all of them. Very well, he would test their sincerity.

He delivered his haymaker: "On the 26th day of July, which out in Missouri we call "Turnip Day", I am going to call the Congress back in session, and I am going to ask them to pass some of the laws they say they are for in their platform. Now, my friends, if there is any reality behind the Republican platform, we ought to get some action from a short session of the 80th Congress. They can do this job in 15 days if they want to do it, and they will still have time to go out and run for office.

This, the New York Times reported, "set the convention on fire." The weather, the hour, the bitter internal strife and the impending defeat in November were for the moment forgotten. Truman waited till the din abated a bit, and then he drove it all home: "They are going to try to dodge this responsibility," he called, "but what that 'worst' 80th Congress does in this special session will be the test of whether they mean what they say!"

They were on their feet giving him a standing ovation. He was hewing to the plan, keeping himself "controversial as hell," and the reaction outside Convention Hall confirmed it. Editorial writers were all but speechless; *using federal funds for a *campaign swing was bad enough, but calling a special congressional session to score partisan points was almost grounds for impeachment.

(Page 550 Why shouldn't Truman dip into his \$30,000.00 a year presidential travel allowance to make a nationwide railroad journey to educate people about his achievements at home and abroad, and, while he was at it, to say a few choice words about his problems with Congress?

THE BOLAND ENIGMA

Is it possible that the media is doing a cover-up of the "anarchistic" Boland Amendment by erecting a stonewall of silence?

Congressman Boland is an enigma. His Boland Amendment is an enigma. His legislative record is unknown. His rationale is unknown. Congressman Boland is either the greatest peace-nik our country has ever known; or the greatest stooge.

Is it possible that the prominent Democrat who tipped off Walter Mondale that he could win the 1984 election by choosing Geraldine Ferraro as his vice-presidential candidate; thereby gaining the woman's vote, etc., also tipped off Congressman Boland that the Democrats could "entrap" President Reagan if he tried an end-run around the Boland Amendment and thereby win the 1988 election?

The media covered up President Roosevelt's physical condition. Go to Warm Springs, Ga. and you will see the book on display re: "The Great Deception".

The Democrats cannot run on their record. In this 20th Century, every Democrat President except Carter got our country involved in major wars.

In 1916, President Wilson campaigned on the premise that he kept our country out of World War I and implied that he would continue to do so. He lied.

President Roosevelt, running for a third term in 1940, gave a solemn promise in his famous "again and again" speech to the mothers and fathers of our country that he would not send their sons into World War II. He lied and led us into war.

President Truman, in violation of his oath of office, got us involved in the Korean War. According to our Constitution, only Congress can declare war. The Chinese communists fought us to a stand-still and all these years later, we are still standing at the DMZ zone. There is a theory that as a result of our involvement in the Korean War, Chairman Mao decided to destroy America through drug addiction. Mao has succeeded beyond his wildest dreams.

President Johnson, with his Gulf of Tonkin resolution, led us deeper and deeper into the Vietnam War. The resolution was a lie. In "Remembering America" by Richard Goodwin (Johnson's speech writer) on Page 359 there is the following: "My own failure of comprehension was extended to most of the country within 48 hours. Secretary McNamara went to testify in support of the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution. His calculated deception of Congress, and, indirectly, the American people makes the current circumlocutions and out-right lies of Poindexter, North, et al., seem like models of honest witness -- and on a matter of far greater import than the bungling effort to extricate both hostages and contras with a single intercontinental scheme."

HAVE NOT RECEIVED

FORMAL INVITE

10/8: To Central Files

never received

"formal invite"



ARCHDIOCESE OF WASHINGTON

5001 EASTERN AVENUE
POST OFFICE BOX 29260
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20007

JUN - 3 1992

May 29, 1992

OFFICE OF THE ARCHBISHOP

The Honorable James A. Baker, III
The Secretary of State
2201 C Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20520

My dear Mr. Secretary,

I write to extend to you a most cordial invitation to attend the annual Red Mass, sponsored by the John Carroll Society of the Archdiocese of Washington. This Mass is always offered on the Sunday prior to the beginning of the new term of the Supreme Court. On this occasion we gather to offer prayers for our nation's highest court; prayers are offered for the President and for all who serve in the executive, judicial and legislative branches of our government. We ask God to bless and protect all those who lead and guide our nation.

This year's Red Mass will be offered on Sunday, October 4, 1992, at ten o'clock in the morning at the Cathedral of St. Matthew the Apostle.

I am happy to announce that our homilist will be His Eminence, Roger Cardinal Mahony, the Archbishop of Los Angeles. Cardinal Mahony serves the largest Archdiocese in our nation and is a most effective homilist and teacher. I know that his words will be both insightful and inspiring.

I also want to assure you that media coverage will be restricted at this Mass. This is an occasion for worship and every effort is being made to preserve a prayerful atmosphere.

You will receive a formal invitation as the day of the Red Mass draws near. I wanted to send you early notification, however, in the hope that you will include this important event in your fall schedule. I look forward to your participation in this joyous occasion.

With the assurance of my prayers and with kind personal regards, I
am

Sincerely in Christ,

*Hold for
formal
invite*

James Card. Hickey
Archbishop of Washington

John C. Dixon

Attorney at Law

P.O. Box 70

Barbourville, Ky. 40906-0070

Phone: (606) 546-4111 or 546-3523

10/8 - CJ called - "Sherry"
Thanked; noted
donation not
included - if he
felt inclined to make
contrib. wld need
to go to B-A not
WH.

September 30, 1992

Honorable James Baker, III
Chief of Staff's Office
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D. C. 20500

Re: H. R. Bill 1637
Improvements to Black Lung Benefits Act
(copy enclosed)

Dear Mr. Baker:

*Not
Enclosed
Bmr
10-6-92*

Enclosed is our \$135.00 donation to help guarantee the
re-election of the Greatest President in the history of our
country.

As you know, Kentucky could be a vital state in the re-election of the President and also the re-election of our Kentucky delegation in Congress, including Congressman Harold Rogers. Please understand my main interest is the President. It has been pretty much the majority vote of the 5th. Congressional District that means whether Kentucky goes republican or not.

I am a practicing attorney in Southeastern Kentucky and do a large number of black lung cases and the black lung law has become a joke, even though it is on our law books. In fact, less than four (4%) per cent are winning their cases at the present time.

I requested Congressman Rogers to sponsor the above numbered legislation introduced by Congressman Perkins, which Congressman Rogers is co-sponsoring. Republican Congressman Rogers has been silent on his sponsorship of this legislation even though I think it is the key to his re-election and causing President Bush to carry Kentucky.

Congressman Rogers has, in my opinion, almost deserted the republican party and only thinking of being elected himself.

John C. Dixon

Attorney at Law

P.O. Box 70

Barbourville, Ky. 40906-0070

Phone: (606) 546-4111 or 546-3523

Page two (2)

Honorable James Baker, III

September 30, 1992

The Courier Journal headlined that Rogers was skipping the Republican National Convention to come to Kentucky to work for himself, implying he was afraid of the President's standing in the supposed polls.

I am of the opinion, even though I am strongly supporting Congressman Rogers, that he could be in serious trouble himself, as our new Fifth Congressional District is about 40% republican now.

The Courier Journal, in it's edition of September 18, said "Black Lung Bill Running Out of Time in Congress". I am enclosing a copy of this article. Understand, whether it passes Congress or not and we carry Kentucky and re-elect our President, it would be worth the effort. In my practice of the black lung law, I meet attorneys and people interested in black lung and in our section, it is of more interest than any issue in this election at this time and in my opinion, of the persons affected and those interested and indirectly affected, make up most of the population in our 5th. Congressional District.

My idea on a solution for payment of the additional costs of this legislation would be cut down administrative costs by the government, such as medical administrative costs, lessen or shorten the on set date for beginning of payments to the winners.

 I would like for you to discuss this letter with the persons needed in your organization and try to get the President to support this legislation as I sincerely think it is the key to carrying Kentucky. I think one speech at Hazard, Kentucky and one at London or Harlan, Kentucky would be all that is necessary to swing Kentucky.

Whether this legislation is passed or not will not affect me personally and very little financially, as I am in my twilight of my law practice which I have engaged in 39 years and 24 years was as a County Official in Knox County, Kentucky.

John C. Dixon

Attorney at Law

P.O. Box 70

Barbourville, Ky. 40906-0070

Phone: (606) 546-4111 or 546-3523

Page three (3)

Honorable James Baker, III

September 30, 1992

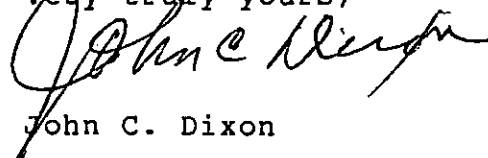
Please, even if my method of paying for this legislation would not work, we don't need to have budget worries at this time.

I honestly think the suggestion in this letter will surely carry Kentucky for the President, my main interest. Anyway, if we lose this election and the Bill is never passed, which I doubt that it will, we have not misrepresented anything.

Mr. Baker, if you have any questions on this correspondence, please call me as the time is right for this move. Please send someone to make this announcement, if you think it is good and not to be made by our Kentucky Republican Chairman, as he is a coal producer and his firm is actively engaged in defending these black lung claims.

With every personal regard, I am

Very truly yours,



John C. Dixon

JCD:wsm

Enclosures:

cc: Honorable Richard N. Bond

102D CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 1637

To make improvements in the Black Lung Benefits Act.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

MARCH 22, 1991

Mr. MURPHY (for himself, Mr. PERKINS, Mr. KOLTER, Mr. APPEGATE, Mr. GAYDOS, Mr. YATRON, Mr. POSHARD, Mr. WISE, Mr. MCCLOSKEY, Mr. BEVILL, Mr. STAGGERS, Mr. BOUCHER, Mr. WILLIAMS, and Mr. MILLER of California) introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on Education and Labor

MARCH 17, 1992

Additional sponsors: Mr. KANJORSKI, Mr. MURTHA, Mr. FEIGHAN, Mr. JONTZ, Mr. RANGEL, Mr. FORD of Tennessee, Mr. SERRANO, Mr. JEFFERSON, Mr. OWENS of Utah, Mr. ESPY, Mr. LIPINSKI, Mr. TRAFICANT, Mr. EVANS, Mr. YATES, and Mr. ROGERS

A BILL

To make improvements in the Black Lung Benefits Act.

1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*

3 **SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE: REFERENCE.**

4 (a) **SHORT TITLE.**—This Act may be cited as the
5 “Black Lung Benefits Restoration Act of 1991”.

6 (b) **REFERENCE.**—Whenever in this Act an amend-
7 ment or repeal is expressed in terms of an amendment

1 to, or repeal of, a section or other provision, the reference
2 shall be considered to be made to a section or other provi-
3 sion of the Black Lung Benefits Act.

4 **SEC. 2. BENEFIT REPAYMENT.**

5 Part C is amended by adding at the end the following:

6 "SEC. 436. (a) In the administration of the benefits
7 payable under this part, if a claimant receives benefits
8 under this part for at least two years before final adjudica-
9 tion of the claim for benefits is made and if the final adju-
10 dication is that the claimant is ineligible for benefits, the
11 payment of such benefits to the claimant shall not be con-
12 sidered an overpayment of benefits and the claimant shall
13 not be legally responsible for the return of such benefits.

14 "(b) If, before the date of the enactment of this sec-
15 tion, a claimant received benefits under this part for at
16 least two years before a final adjudication of the claim
17 for benefits was made, the claimant will not be required
18 to repay such benefits. If, before the date of the enactment
19 of this section, a claimant who received benefits under this
20 part for at least two years before final adjudication of the
21 claim for benefits was made was required under regula-
22 tions of the Secretary to repay the benefits as an overpay-
23 ment of benefits, the Secretary shall refund to the claim-
24 ant the amount repaid by the claimant."

1 SEC. 3. EVIDENCE.

2 In the administration of claims submitted after the
3 date of the enactment of this Act under part C of the
4 Black Lung Benefits Act, a party adverse to the claimant
5 may not submit more than one opinion from an examining
6 or consulting physician and may not submit more than
7 one X-ray reading to supplement such an opinion. Reason-
8 able weight shall be given to the evidence submitted by
9 a physician who treated the person with respect to whom
10 the claim is made.

11 SEC. 4. SURVIVORS AND DEPENDENTS.

12 (a) AMENDMENT.—Part C is amended by adding
13 after the section added by section 2 the following new sec-
14 tion:

15 “SEC. 437. The Secretary shall award the survivor
16 or dependent of a deceased miner benefits under a claim
17 under this part if the conditions in any one of the following
18 paragraphs are met:

19 “(1) The deceased miner worked 25 years or
20 more in one or more coal mines.

21 “(2) The miner’s death was due in whole or in
22 part to pneumoconiosis.

23 “(3) The miner was receiving benefits for
24 pneumoconiosis at the time of the miner’s death.

1 “(4) The miner had a claim for benefits for
2 pneumoconiosis pending at the time of the miner’s
3 death—

4 “(A) in which the existing medical evidence
5 or such evidence combined with any additional
6 medical evidence submitted by survivors or de-
7 pendents demonstrates a level of impairment
8 sufficient to qualify for benefits under section
9 441(a), or

10 “(B) in which the medical evidence was not
11 sufficient to qualify for benefits under this part
12 but lay evidence (i) demonstrates by a prepon-
13 derance of the evidence the existence of a
14 respiratory disease or pulmonary impairment
15 that would prevent the miner from performing
16 the miner’s usual coal mine work, and (ii) such
17 disease or impairment is established in accord-
18 ance with this part as resulting from the min-
19 er’s coal mine work.”.

20 (b) EFFECTIVE DATE.—For purposes of section 437
21 of the Black Lung Benefits Act, added by subsection (a),
22 survivors and dependents are those individuals who filed
23 claims under part C of such Act after the date of enact-
24 ment of this Act or whose claims under part C of such
25 Act are eligible for review under such part.

1 (c) IN GENERAL.—

2 (1) In the administration of the Black Lung
3 Benefits Act—

4 (A) a widow of a miner who received or is
5 receiving benefits under that Act shall not be
6 disqualified to receive such benefits if the widow
7 remarries, and

8 (B) a widow of a miner shall be entitled to
9 receive such benefits without regard to the
10 length of time the widow was married to the
11 miner.

12 Any regulations of the Secretary of Labor which dis-
13 qualify a widow described in subparagraph (A) or
14 impose a minimum marriage period as described in
15 subparagraph (B) shall on and after the date of the
16 enactment of this Act have no legal effect.

17 (2) Any widow who on the date of the enact-
18 ment of this Act is entitled to receive benefits under
19 the Black Lung Benefits Act because of paragraph
20 (1) shall file a claim for such benefits within 3 years
21 of the date of the enactment of this Act.

22 **SEC. 5. ELIGIBILITY FOR BLACK LUNG BENEFITS.**

23 (a) INTERIM PRESUMPTION OF ELIGIBILITY FOR
24 BENEFITS.—Section 422 (30 U.S.C. 932) is amended by
25 adding after subsection (l) the following:

1 “(m)(1) Notwithstanding any other law, rule, or reg-
2 ulation, in the case of any claim filed under this part be-
3 tween July 1, 1973, and April 1, 1980, by a miner who
4 has engaged in coal mining employment for at least ten
5 years (or by an eligible survivor of such miner), such
6 miner shall be presumed to be totally disabled due to
7 pneumoconiosis, or to have been totally disabled due to
8 pneumoconiosis, or the death of such miner shall be pre-
9 sumed to be due to pneumoconiosis, arising out of that
10 employment if any medical requirement described in para-
11 graph (2) is met.

12 “(2) The medical requirements described in this
13 paragraph are the following:

14 “(A) A single positive chest roentgenogram (X-
15 ray), biopsy, or autopsy indicates the existence of
16 pneumoconiosis.

17 “(B) A single set of positive ventilatory studies
18 indicates the presence of a chronic respiratory or
19 pulmonary disease.

20 “(C) A single set of positive blood gas studies
21 indicates the presence of an impairment in the
22 transfer of oxygen from the lungs to the blood.

23 “(D) Other medical evidence, including the doc-
24 umented opinion of a physician exercising reasonable

1 medical judgment, indicates the presence of totally
2 disabling respiratory impairment.

3 “(3) The presentation of evidence which meets any
4 of the requirements under subparagraphs (A) through (D)
5 of paragraph (2) shall be sufficient to invoke the presump-
6 tion under such paragraph.

7 “(4) Nothing in this subsection shall be construed to
8 require proof of any such medical requirement by a pre-
9 ponderance of the evidence or by any higher evidentiary
10 standard.

11 “(n) All relevant medical evidence shall be considered
12 only in connection with rebuttal of the presumption under
13 subsection (m). Such presumption shall be rebutted if:

14 “(1) The evidence establishes that the individ-
15 ual is, in fact, doing his usual coal mine work or
16 comparable and gainful work.

17 “(2) In light of all relevant evidence, it is estab-
18 lished that the individual is able to do his usual coal
19 mine work or comparable and gainful work.

20 “(3) The evidence establishes that the total dis-
21 ability or death of the miner did not arise in whole
22 or in part out of coal mine activity.

23 “(4) The evidence establishes that the miner
24 does not have, or did not have, pneumoconiosis.”.

25 (b) REVIEW OF CERTAIN CLAIMS.—

1 (1) IN GENERAL.—Notwithstanding section 435
2 of the Black Lung Benefits Act (30 U.S.C. 945), or
3 any other law, rule, or regulation, the Secretary of
4 Labor shall review any claim that—

5 (A) was filed under part C of such Act be-
6 fore April 1, 1980, or under part B at any
7 time; and

8 (B) is either pending on the date of enact-
9 ment of this Act, or has been denied on or be-
10 fore that date,

11 to determine if the evidence establishes eligibility
12 under the regulation published in 20 CFR 410.490
13 (except that the language limiting application of that
14 regulation to claims filed before July 1, 1973, or to
15 claims in cases in which the miner died before Janu-
16 ary 1, 1974, shall be inapplicable), taking into ac-
17 count the amendments made to the Black Lung
18 Benefits Act before and by the enactment of the
19 Black Lung Benefits Reform Act of 1977 (as well
20 as the regulations promulgated to effectuate such
21 amendments, except regulations published in 20
22 CFR 727.203) and excluding any amendments to
23 the Black Lung Benefits Act made after such date
24 of the enactment (as well as the regulations promul-
25 gated pursuant to such amendments). The Secretary

1 shall review each such claim regardless of whether
2 the claimant also filed any subsequent claim under
3 the Black Lung Benefits Act, even if any such claim
4 resulted in an award of benefits.

5 (2) NOTICE TO CLAIMANTS.—The Secretary
6 shall promptly notify each claimant having a claim
7 subject to review under subsection (a) that the claim
8 shall be reviewed by the Secretary in accordance
9 with this section.

10 (3) APPROVAL OF CLAIM.—The Secretary shall
11 approve any claim reviewed under this section if the
12 evidence meets the criteria of eligibility set forth in
13 subsection (a) and shall immediately make or other-
14 wise provide for payment under the claim.

15 (4) CONCERNING CERTAIN ADDITIONAL EVIDENCE.—
16

17 (A) In carrying out the review of a claim
18 under this section, the Secretary shall not allow
19 the claimant or any other party to submit addi-
20 tional medical or other evidence if the Secretary
21 determines that the evidence on file meets the
22 criteria of eligibility set forth in subsection (a).

23 (B) If the Secretary determines that the
24 evidence on file does not meet the criteria of eli-
25 gibility set forth in subsection (a) of this sec-

tion, the Secretary shall provide an opportunity for the claimant to present additional medical or other evidence to substantiate his or her claim under such criteria and shall notify the claimant of that opportunity.

(5) AWARDS.—Any individual whose claim is approved pursuant to this section shall be awarded benefits prospectively (unless, at the time of such approval, the individual is receiving black lung benefits prospectively pursuant to an award made in connection with a separate claim) and retroactively for any period beginning on or after January 1, 1974, for which the claimant (1) has not received benefits, and (2) is eligible under the statutory and regulatory provisions governing the retroactive payment of benefits for claims that are not subject to the special review required by this section.

(6) ADMINISTRATIVE AND JUDICIAL REVIEW.—Each claim reviewed under this section shall be afforded the administrative and judicial review that is afforded claims that are not subject to this section.

(7) BENEFITS ASSESSED AGAINST TRUST FUND.—Any benefits granted in accordance with this provision shall be assessed against the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund.

1 **SEC. 6. DE NOVO HEARINGS.**

2 (a) **AMENDMENT.**—Section 422(a) (30 U.S.C.
3 932(a)) is amended by inserting “(1)” after “(a)” and by
4 adding at the end the following:

5 “(2) If a person files more than one claim for benefits
6 under this title and if each of the claims has been denied,
7 such person shall, in accordance with regulations of the
8 Secretary, be provided a de novo hearing before an admin-
9 istrative law judge on the merits of the last claim. The
10 procedures in effect on the date of the enactment of this
11 paragraph for de novo hearings before administrative law
12 judges on the merits of claims for benefits under this title
13 shall apply to a hearing under this paragraph.”.

14 (b) **EFFECTIVE DATE.**—The amendments made by
15 subsection (a) shall apply to any claim filed under the
16 Black Lung Benefits Act for benefits under that Act on
17 or after April 1, 1980, which on the date of the enactment
18 of this Act have been denied or are pending before the
19 Department of Labor or the courts.

20 **SEC. 7. CONTINGENCY FEE ARRANGEMENTS.**

21 Section 422(a) (30 U.S.C. 932(a)) is amended—

22 (1) by striking out “Subject to” and inserting
23 in lieu thereof “(1) Except as provided in paragraph
24 (2), subject to”, and

25 (2) by adding at the end the following:

1 “(2) Notwithstanding section 28 of the Longshore
2 and Harbor Worker’s Compensation Act (33 U.S.C. 928)
3 and the regulations of the Secretary in effect under this
4 section on the date of the enactment of this paragraph,
5 the following provisions govern any proceeding under this
6 section:

7 “(A) Any person who files a claim under this
8 section may enter into an arrangement with an at-
9 torney for representation in a proceeding under this
10 section under which—

11 “(i) the attorney will receive compensation
12 for such representation only if such person pre-
13 vails in such proceeding, and

14 “(ii) will, except as provided in subpara-
15 graph (B)(i), receive compensation only for pe-
16 riods during which the attorney represents such
17 person.

18 “(B) An arrangement described in subpara-
19 graph (A) shall provide that the attorney will receive
20 as compensation for representation—

21 “(i) in the first proceeding initiated by
22 such person in which such person is represented
23 by an attorney, an amount which is not more
24 than 25 percent of the benefits paid to such
25 person—

1 “(I) from the date of the person’s re-
2 tirement or if an attorney began rep-
3 resentation of such person after such pro-
4 ceeding had been initiated, from the date
5 the attorney began representation of such
6 person, and

7 “(II) to the date such person prevails
8 in such proceeding or the attorney no
9 longer represents such person in such pro-
10 ceeding, whichever occurs first, and

11 “(ii) in a subsequent proceeding initiated
12 by such person, an amount which is not more
13 than 25 percent of the benefits paid to such
14 person from the date the attorney files a notice
15 of appearance in such subsequent proceeding to
16 the date such person prevails in such proceed-
17 ing or the attorney no longer represents such
18 person in such proceeding, whichever occurs
19 first.

20 “(C) An attorney may, as prescribed in an
21 agreement, be paid upon the completion of any level
22 of the proceeding.

23 “(D) An attorney who enters into a contingency
24 arrangement described in subparagraph (A) shall file
25 notice of such arrangement with the Secretary of

1 Labor and the coal mine operator or the Black Lung
2 Disability Trust Fund against whom the proceeding
3 is brought.

4 “(E) If a person has entered into an arrange-
5 ment described in subparagraph (A) and is being
6 paid benefits under this section, the coal mine opera-
7 tor or the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund paying
8 the benefits shall establish an escrow account for the
9 payment of the compensation prescribed by such ar-
10 rangement. If in a subsequent proceeding the em-
11 ployee does not prevail, the amount held in the es-
12 crow account shall be paid to the coal mine operator
13 or the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund which paid
14 the benefits.

15 “(F) If a person who filed a claim under this
16 section has been paid benefits under this section and
17 if a coal mine operator or the Black Lung Disability
18 Trust Fund is no longer required to pay such bene-
19 fits to such person under this section, the employee
20 will not have to repay any amount paid to an attor-
21 ney from the account described in subparagraph (E).

22 “(G) If a coal mine operator or the Black Lung
23 Disability Trust Fund is required to pay benefits
24 under this section to a person who has entered into
25 an arrangement described in subparagraph (A), the

1 coal mine operator or Fund shall, within 30 days of
2 the date—

3 “(I) the period for appeal from the pro-
4 ceeding which required such benefits to be paid
5 has lapsed, or

6 “(II) of the termination of such proceeding
7 if there is no appeal from such proceeding,
8 pay the fees required by subparagraph (B).”.

9 **SEC. 8. BENEFIT PAYMENTS.**

10 The Black Lung Benefits Act is amended by adding
11 after part C the following:

12 **“PART D—BENEFIT PAYMENTS.**

13 “SEC. 501. Benefits for claims approved under part
14 C after the date of the enactment of this part shall be
15 paid from the Black Lung Disability Trust Fund.”.

○

HAROLD ROGERS
5TH DISTRICT, KENTUCKY

WASHINGTON OFFICE:
343 CANNON BUILDING
WASHINGTON, DC 20515
(202) 225-4601

DISTRICT OFFICE:
203 EAST MOUNT VERNON STREET
SOMERSET, KY 42501
(606) 679-8346 or
1-800-632-8588

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives

Washington, DC 20515

March 18, 1992

COMMITTEE ON
APPROPRIATIONS

SUBCOMMITTEES:
COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE,
AND JUDICIARY
(VICE CHAIRMAN)
TREASURY-POSTAL SERVICE
GENERAL GOVERNMENT

COMMITTEE ON THE BUDGET

CHAIRMAN
HOUSE TASK FORCE ON
COAL EXPORTS

Mr. John C. Dixon
P.O. Box 70
Barbourville, Kentucky 40906

Dear Mr. Dixon: 

Thank you for contacting me with your suggestions and support for black lung legislation. You will be happy to know that I am cosponsoring a black lung bill.

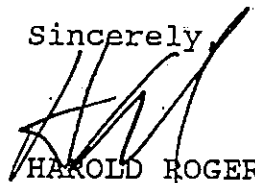
As you know, this bill will make it easier for people to get their black lung benefits and will also eliminate the offset that now affects Social Security. I know how much our people need this bill, and I am proud to cosponsor it.

It is good to know that I have been able to help you and others in the Fifth District receive your black lung benefits. I will continue to help as many people as I can.

Your suggestion on holding town meetings in every county is a good one, and I plan on visiting as many towns as possible in the upcoming months. I am glad to know that I have your support on this.

I appreciate hearing from you and knowing that you are behind me in my campaign. If there is anything else I can do for you, please let me know. I am proud to serve you.

Sincerely,


HAROLD ROGERS
Member of Congress

HR:ss

(703)751-1850
Joseph W. Darling
1211 Janneys Lane
Alexandria, Virginia 22302

2 October 1992

NKN

The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Bush:

POLITICS IS THE ART OF THE POSSIBLE

FEAR AND GREED MOTIVATES THE MASSES

The masses perceive the Republicans as favoring the rich, with tax cuts, however cerebral correct long run the economy may be stimulated. Trickle down leaves them cold.

JOBS, JOBS, JOBS, is what the masses want. Private industry if possible, but WPA type government stimulation on a massive scale, if industry fails to produce the jobs, now.

Tax cuts dont affect the unemployed.

JOB, JOBS JOBS, the hope of them now will get the votes of the unemployed, rising by 400,000 this week, all of whom will vote for the one who promises quick reemployment.

However morally correct anti-abortion may be, the masses, and polls show the less advantaged, and large groups of vociferous women are pro choice. Down play anti abortion, or federal gov involvement.

Deficit means nothing to the masses, without pay checks.

A reemployment tax at the source would be accepted, if millions of new jobs were created by the Republican administration. This could automatically reduce the deficit.

READ MY LIPS. MASSIVE NEW JOBS. NOW!!

Emotions will win the election.

Fear and Greed, the need for jobs by the mass of unemployed, the swing vote, which we the Republicans must capture from Clinton, or Perot.

Win the election, out promise Clinton, and Perot. Then reason can prevail, over fear and greed.

jwd CC: J Baker ✓ Most sincerely, Joseph W. Darling

C/S ,Hon.James A Baker 111

The White House

1600 Pennsylvania Ave.N.W.

Washington,D.C.

20500

JOSEPH W. DARLING
1211 JANNEYS LANE
ALEXANDRIA, VIRGINIA 22302

FRED PARKS
ATTORNEY AND COUNSELOR AT LAW
1750 HOUSTON CLUB BUILDING
811 RUSK
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002-2814
PHONE (713) 222-6251
FAX (713) 222-7501

NRN

October 7, 1992

The Honorable James Baker
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, D.C. 20002

Dear Jim:

Enclosed is an article that I came across while having breakfast this morning. I faxed it to my secretary to send to you, although I am sure you are probably aware of it.

Best regards,



Fred Parks

FP/jac
Enclosure (1)

A Mystery in the Clinton File

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

WASHINGTON—The Bush administration has refused to clarify reports that it is investigating possible tampering with the passport records of Bill Clinton, but has fueled partisan suspicions of skulduggery by suggesting that the FBI might eventually report on the matter.

The State Department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, was bombarded with questions at a briefing this week about a report by Newsweek magazine that the FBI had been called to investigate after State Department officials who retrieved Mr. Clinton's passport file found "that several pages appeared to be ripped out."

Mr. Boucher responded: "The FBI, if it believes it appropriate to do so, may comment on this at a later date. The State Department doesn't have any comment."

In fact, the FBI had no comment, a spokesman said. The agency also refused to confirm that it was involved in an investigation of Mr. Clinton's passport file.

The official statements prompt-

ed a wide range of partisan speculation among Democrats and Republicans, who variously suggested that Democrats may have sought to cover up potentially damaging information in Mr. Clinton's record, that Republicans may have removed such information to leak it to the press, or that reports of the FBI's involvement may have been intended to cast a shadow on one side or another.

Administration officials said the State Department and FBI statements Monday were meant to signal a degree of uncertainty about the case. One official said it is now up to the FBI to decide "whether there is anything to look into." Another source suggested that the FBI hoped to come to a decision on the matter as quickly as possible.

The reports about the passport file coincided with insinuations by some Republicans that a visit Mr. Clinton paid to the Soviet Union in 1970 may have had to do with the anti-war movement or with giving up his U.S. citizenship to avoid the draft.

A statement issued by the Bush

campaign, echoing a report in The Washington Times, charged that Mr. Clinton "turned up" in the Soviet Union "six weeks after he helped organize a massive anti-war protest in London."

Mr. Clinton suggested this week that the Republicans' focus on the trip he made to Moscow was part of a smear campaign.

Mr. Clinton, appearing on a special edition of the CNN program "Larry King Live," said the visit was part of a holiday.

"I was born an American," Mr. Clinton said. "I've always wanted to be one."

He said he had no idea why his passport file may have been tampered with.

"I didn't even know I had a State Department file until this rumor came up," he said in the interview.

Sources said Mr. Clinton's passport file was originally pulled because of several requests under the Freedom of Information Act from news organizations investigating the trip, taken during a school vacation from Oxford. (WP, AP)

To : Judy Coover
From : Parks Fred
BADEN-BADEN, GERMANY.

OCTOBER 5, 1992.

NRN

THE HON. JAMES A. BAKER
CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20500

DEAR MR. BAKER

I HAVE CONTACTED THE OFFICES OF
REPUBLICANS AND OFFICE HOLDERS ALL
OVER THE COUNTRY, DURING THE
PAST SEVERAL WEEKS, IN AN ATTEMPT
TO PROVIDE INFORMATION WHICH
WOULD HAVE ENABLED PRESIDENT BUSH
TO DEFEAT BILL CLINTON, BOTH IN
THE DEBATES AND THE ELECTION.
BUT NOT EVEN ONE PERSON IN
AUTHORITY, HAS BOTHERED TO
SPEAK TO ME FOR EVEN THE THIRTY
SECONDS I REQUESTED.

THIS RIDICULOUS DISREGARD FOR
ANYONE ELSE'S OPINIONS HAS ME
BAFFLED. THEY DO NOT KNOW WHO I AM
OR WHAT I MAY HAVE TO OFFER.
SUPPOSING I AM A GRASSROOTS

PERSON, WHO HAS SOME CONTROL OVER WHOM SEVERAL HUNDRED PEOPLE MAY VOTE FOR, AM I TO UNDERSTAND THE REPUBLICAN PARTY WOULD RATHER LOOSE THOSE VOTES, THAN TO SPEAK TO SOMEONE FOR THIRTY SECONDS AND SHOW HIM WHY HIS IDEAS ARE NONSENSICAL.

IF THE PRESIDENT GOES DOWN IN DEFEAT, I WOULD SPEND MY LAST DOLLAR PUBLICIZING THE INFORMATION WHICH NO ONE WANTED AND YOU WILL DISCOVER THAT REPUBLICANS MADE THE MISTAKE OF A LIFETIME. I DO NOT WANT JAMES BAKER TO BE ABLE TO AVOID HIS RESPONSIBILITY BY SAYING HE DID NOT KNOW ANYTHING ABOUT IT.

THIS LETTER IS BEING SENT REGISTERED MAIL, WITH A SIGNED RECEIPT BEING SENT BACK TO ME

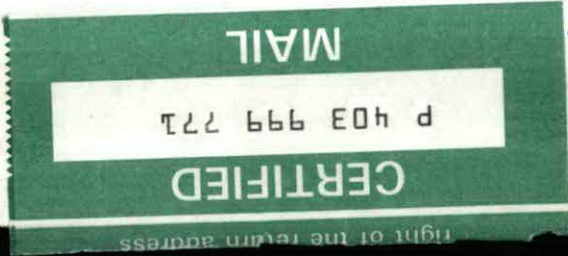
AS PROOF THAT IT WAS RECEIVED
BY YOUR OFFICE. IF FOR ANY
REASON IT IS NOT BROUGHT TO
YOUR ATTENTION, YOU WOULD STILL
BE RESPONSIBLE FOR AS MACHIAVELLI
SAID IN THE PRINCE, "TO KNOW
THE PRINCE, SEE HIS LIEUTENANTS".

WITH WARM REGARDS,
JOHN ROBERTS.

1 914 964 0732.

CONFIDENTIAL

P.O. BOX 1461
YORKERS, NY 10702



THE HON. JAMES A. BAKER III
CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D.C. 20500



James Baker
Director of re-election campaign-
White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
Washington, DC 20500

September 30, 1992

NRN

gay
alliance

Dear Mr. Baker:

This letter in response to the demonstrations during the Republican Convention in Houston. While I was not there, I have friends who have returned with accounts and their reactions to what happened to them during that time. I also want to state that these people were severely tramatized and even to this day have not fully integrated their experience in Houston. I think this is a tragedy.

I think once again election conventions should be concerned with what happens around their activities including the demonstrations which naturally occur at these times. One reason why I feel its important for the delegates and others to be concerned is that these people can give an environment of nonviolence so that unnecessary abuse will not happen to these people who reiterate the important issues for all of us.

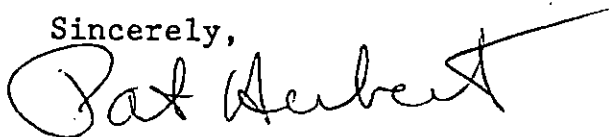
This, of course, did not happen. The police were very brutal without giving the usual required notice of disbursements. Marching in this country has never been illegal in expressing freedom of speech. Street theatre is also an old tactic of people in demonstrations. None of these actions were particularly threatening to anyone either on the street or inside the convention.

And, I thought it was totally uncalled for when the President later made an announcement pronouncing the police did the right thing in charging the demonstrators. These actions of support only serve to divide your party and the American public from understanding and, therefore, voting for Republican candidates for any office.

When people of nonviolence choose to demonstrate about an issue, their demonstration should be watched but not controlled unless it is very evident the action has become violent to person or property. Then only should the perpetrators be controlled. There is never an excuse for indiscriminate action on the part of the police. We understand the problems when many people congregate to demonstrate. We don't understand abuse from well trained and equipped official representatives of the government and local authorities.

Thank you for allowing me to comment upon this event.

Sincerely,



Pat Herbert
P.O. Box 95966
Seattle, WA 98145

cc: Chairman Rich Bond
Republican National Committee
310 First St. SE
Washington, DC 20003

P. Herbert
P.O. Box 9596 &
SEATTLE, WA 98145



RETURN RECEIPT REQUESTED

James BAKER
Director of re-election campaign
WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., NW
WASHINGTON, DC 20500

5 OCT 1992

TED SNYDER
1844 GOLFVIEW DR
TARPON SPRINGS FL 34689 06AM

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▶ JAMES BAKER CHIEF OF STAFF
1600 PENNSYLVANIA AVE
WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20500

NRN

suggestion

WAS CLINTON ABOARD HELSINKI VIET PROTEST TRAIN MOSCOW 1969 (?). IF
SO, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE SHOULD KNOW ALL ABOUT THE DETAILS. HORTON
CASE WOULD LOOK PALE IN COMPARISON.
TED SNYDER
1844 GOLFVIEW DR
TARPON SPRINGS FL 34689

11:50 EST

MGMCOMP

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, PHONE WESTERN UNION ANYTIME, DAY OR NIGHT:

FOR YOUR LOCAL NUMBER, SEE THE WHITE PAGES

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OR

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NRN

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suggestion
Gen. support

Oct 3rd, 1992

Mr. James Baker
The White House
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir:

About three, or four, weeks ago I sent a letter to the President wherein I had sent a page from the US World & News magazine with a complete editorial from a leading Arkansas paper titled "THE SHALLOW MAN."

This editorial ripped Clinton up and down and I certainly feel it could work to the President's favor if used wisely.

It should be easy to find it.

God only knows what happened to my first letter but feel it's worth following up with you.

Best of luck in the election.

W. J. Straub
2 Greenway Road
So Glens Falls Ny
12803

W. J. STRAUB
2 GREENWAY ROAD
SOUTH GLENS FALLS
NEW YORK 12803



Mr. James Baker
The White House
Washington DC
20500

NRN
suggestions

Jerome D. Pinn
801 15th St. S. #322
Arlington, VA 22202

October 3, 1992

James Baker
c/o The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

I write to draw your attention to a story that the four news networks have not covered, but which will ensure that the President is re-elected if he draws attention to it.

You may already be familiar with it: Not only did Bill Clinton dodge the draft. He actively participated in anti-war demonstrations during 1969, while "studying" abroad in England. This information has been brought to light the last few nights by Rep. Bob Dornan (R. Cal.) on C-Span.

I plead with you to investigate this matter, and to run television ads on it, or have President Bush mention it during the debates. Mr. Clinton was not only opposed to the war, he supported the other side. In short, Bill Clinton was a traitor to his country.

The following are documented facts, entered into the Congressional Record by Bob Dornan: During 1969, Bill Clinton did not register for his second year at Oxford. He did not even get a room, but rather stayed with friends. During that fall semester, he travelled through Europe organizing and participating in anti-war demonstrations. These demonstrations were anti-American, pro-N.L.F. and pro-Hanoi. They burned the American flag. It is shocking that a man who may become President organized demonstrations against his nation during wartime, while abroad. The major media refuses to investigate it. Why has the Bush campaign ignored it thus far?

1) While purportedly attending Oxford, Bill Clinton organized and participated in anti-U.S. demonstrations in London during October and November 1969.

Sources: a) Bill Clinton letter to Colonel Holmes, written from England, dated Dec. 3, 1969 ("I went ... to England to organize the Americans here for demonstrations here Oct. 15 and Nov. 16"); b) book by Rev. Richard McSorely, Peace Eyes, published in 1977, discussing anti-war activities in London in November 1969 ("Bill Clinton of Georgetown ... came up and welcomed me. He was one of the organizers.... Bill introduced me to some of his

friends. With them, we paraded over to the American Embassy, carrying white crosses made of wood 1 foot high. There we left the crosses as an indication of our desire to end the agony of Vietnam").

2) During one of these demonstrations, Bill Clinton himself carried a casket to the United States Embassy in London. Those familiar with left-wing protests know that the casket symbolizes American "genocide".

Source: 138 Congressional Record H9277-01 (September 23, 1992), describing an account from a book written by Daniel Berrigan.

3) Friday night (Oct. 2), Rep. Dornan read from a 1969 London Times newspaper article by a reporter named Dupuy, written in Hanoi, stating that "Hanoi salutes" the National Moratorium demonstration that Bill Clinton was leading in London. Because this came out only last night, it has not yet been published in the Congressional Record.

4) During mid-December 1969, Bill Clinton participated in anti-war activities in Oslo, Norway. What was Bill Clinton doing in Norway? He didn't go to school there. He was there to undermine the American war effort in Vietnam.

Source: 138 Congressional Record H9526-09 (September 25, 1992); 138 Congressional Record H10006-02 (September 30, 1992).

5) On December 31, 1969, only two weeks after his escapades in Norway, Bill Clinton travelled to Moscow for approximately a week. Didi Myers of the Clinton campaign admits that he was in Moscow "on vacation", but has not told us the details of the trip, or what Clinton did while in Moscow.

Source: June 12, 1989 Arkansas Gazette; 138 Congressional Record H9277-01 (September 23, 1992); 138 Congressional Record H10006-02 (September 30, 1992).

6) Clinton is quoted in the June 12, 1989 Arkansas Gazette as saying about his December 31, 1969 trip to Moscow, "When I visited the Soviet Union, it was during a period of detente." 138 Congressional Record H9526-09 (September 25, 1992). That is not true. Detente did not commence until 1972. Clinton says "It was a friendly time. It was a good atmosphere, very friendly. It was fascinating." 138 Congressional Record H9526-09 (September 25, 1992). This too is false. It is very likely he met with the K.G.B. controlled Soviet peace movement during his visit.

No one in the major media has explored Bill Clinton's trip to Moscow. At the time of his visit, the U.S.S.R. let no one

in or out unless it had a reason to. Clinton must have visited a Soviet embassy to get an entry visa. The Soviets kept track of Americans abroad who led anti-war efforts. It is at least 99 percent likely that the K.G.B. had a file on Bill Clinton, containing information about his anti-war activities in Europe.

Why did Mr. Clinton visit Moscow during the height of a war in which the Soviet Union was supporting and directing our enemy? Who paid for his trip? How did he get there? How long was he there? Who did he meet with? What did he do there?

Bob Dornan was joined on the floor of the House by Reps. Duncan Hunter (R. Cal.), Randy Cunningham (R. Cal.) and Sam Johnson (R. Tex.). Four U.S. Congressmen now accuse Clinton of being a traitor. Reps. Cunningham and Johnson were shot down over Vietnam and held captive, Johnson in solitary confinement for three years. Cunningham holds the Congressional Medal of Honor, and said he will turn his medals upside down if Clinton is elected.

I plead with you to at least talk to Rep. Dornan, who can document these facts. I cannot imagine why the Bush campaign is ignoring this. You will defeat Clinton if you make this an issue. If you wait too long, it will be seen as a ploy. There is no downside, because the facts are there. They are documented and undeniable.

All you have to do is have President Bush ask Bill Clinton at the debates "What were you doing in Moscow on December 31, 1969, only weeks after organizing anti-war demonstrations in London, England?" "What were you doing in Oslo, Norway that same month?" "Were you studying there?" "Who did you meet with while you were in the Soviet Union?" Please let the American people know that they are about to elect a man who supported our enemy during wartime, while abroad. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jerome D. Pinn".

Jerome D. Pinn

MPN
suggestion
Jerome D. Pinn
801 15th St. S. #322
Arlington, VA 22202

October 6, 1992

James Baker
c/o The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

I plead with you to draw attention to the fact that Bill Clinton organized and participated in anti-war demonstrations during 1969, while "studying" abroad in England. Today, the Washington Times ran an article on this on page 1. My Democrat friends have said that this bothers them, and that if this is made into an issue, it will throw open the election.

Clinton told the Arkansas Gazette in October 1978 that he only observed two anti-war protests. In fact he organized and led the largest demonstration in London, England, where people soiled the American flag, and heaped scorn on our fighting men. Please run television ads on this, or have President Bush mention it during the debates. Mr. Clinton was not only opposed to the war, he supported our enemies, the Viet Cong and North Vietnam.

You can't count on the major electronic media to cover this story. They are intentionally sitting on it because they realize how damaging it is to Bill Clinton.

Clinton organized and participated in anti-U.S. demonstrations in London during October and November 1969. He carried a coffin to the U.S. Embassy in London, and this is documented in the Washington Times article. Bill Clinton's demonstrations were warmly received in Hanoi, Peking, and Moscow. During December 1969, Bill Clinton participated in anti-war activities in Scandinavia, meeting with 100 American deserters. On December 31, 1969, only two weeks after his escapades in Norway, Bill Clinton travelled to Moscow for approximately a week, then on to Prague, a year after the "Prague Spring". Clinton's demonstrations in England were supported by organizations affiliated with the World Peace Council, i.e., the K.G.B. The Soviet Union didn't just let anybody in at that time. It had good reason to let Bill Clinton visit.

I plead with you to bring this to the attention of the American people because the major media thus far is covering it up, realizing how much it damages Clinton. You will defeat Clinton if you make this an issue. If you wait too long, it will be seen as a ploy. This is the winning issue.

All you have to do is have President Bush say to Bill Clinton at the debates "You told the people of Arkansas that you only observed a few anti-war demonstrations during the Vietnam war. You lied to them. In fact, you organized anti-war demonstrations in England, marching on our Embassy there." Or you can run ads showing that Clinton lied about the draft, and his anti-war activities. Please let the American people know that they are about to elect a man who supported our enemy during wartime, while abroad. Thank you.

Very truly yours,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jerome D. Pinn". The signature is fluid and written in dark ink.

Jerome D. Pinn

THE EMBASSY OF THE UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA
TO THE HOLY SEE

FACSIMILE MESSAGE

FAX NO. [39-6] 638-0153

DATE: OCTOBER 7, 1992

TO: MR. CARON JACKSON, OFFICE OF CHIEF OF STAFF
THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, D.C.

FROM: AMBASSADOR THOMAS P. MELADY

SUBJECT: ATTACHED LETTER

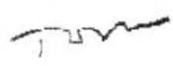
FAX: 202-456-2397

DEAR CARON:

PLEASE PASS ATTACHED LETTER TO CHIEF OF STAFF BAKER.

THANKING YOU IN ADVANCE, I AM

VERY SINCERELY YOURS,


THOMAS P. MELADY

Thomas Patrick Melady

American Embassy (VAT)
PSC 59
APO AE 09624

Fax: (39-6) 638-0159

October 7, 1992

Dear Jim:

Mr. William Greenway, an active member of Republicans Abroad in Italy and a classmate of the President, has asked me to pass on to you the attached which I am doing.

I am not an expert on the matter discussed, so I pass it on without comment.

With warm regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Tom

Thomas P. Melady

Enclosure:

As stated

The Honorable
James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

RECONTA ERNST & YOUNGVia Abbruzzi 15
00187 RomaTel: (06) 48171
Fax: (06) 4873353
Telex: 614571

NRN

9-011-39-46-48121 (Rome)

The Honorable James A. Baker, III
Chief of Staff
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500
U. S. A.

October 5, 1992

spoke by phone
on 10/8 - regretted
JAB mtg. - he'll
call Treasury (Gibson)
lew Preston.

Dear Mr. Baker:

Many events have happened since our last meeting at the Quai d'Orsay in July, 1989, events oftentimes influenced, if not, guided by you and our President. Would that the American electorate today recognize these historic accomplishments of our Republican Administration.

In the isolation of the voting booth, and faced with an uncertain future, I have a feeling that the Americans will vote to re-elect President Bush, my classmate of '48.

My friend, Masumiso Lidohi, an international financial man, has had the only plan for the new role for gold developed over the past ten years by his professionals anticipating this particular moment in history, the American economic crisis developing over the globe. The enclosed "Dialogue with Diogenes" describes the form of the plan and its ramifications. Your reference to gold during the 1987 IMF conference started a journey which could end happily now.

The plan of Lidohi's Institute for Monetary Stability founded in 1983 is simple in concept, supple in implementation with a resultant that will transmogrify the American economy, the world economy, thanks to you.

We would like 45 minutes of your time, Mr. Baker, to present the substance of this plan "viva voce", which will contribute positively to our President's re-election.

My kindest personal regards to you and Susan. I do hope to see you again soon.

Sincerely,
B. Greenway
V.W.H. Greenway
Advisory Board

Encl.

DIALOGUE WITH DIOGENES

question: The major ill confronting the U.S. today is the soft, flat, passive economy. If you were President Bush, what cure would you administer?

answer: The revalidation of the dollar, its restoration to the preeminent role it occupied in the USA for 200 years since 1792 and internationally for the past 50 years (effectively the world's reserve currency). The reestablishment of its position as the strongest international means of exchange, again commanding total respect and confidence.

q: What do you mean by revalidation?

a: The continuing budget deficit, our weak economic performance and our past inability to contain speculation, must be corrected simultaneously and immediately by a cure which will be applied in the next presidential term. Details will not be divulged because speculators who recently created havoc on the international financial market will undoubtedly profit. Succinctly, it encompasses the dollar and a new role for a number of commodities, including gold, for world economic order.

q: Would this validation create growth, hence jobs?

a: A weak currency demoralizes a nation. A valid, strong currency is the symbol of a strong nation. A nation is strong because it believes in itself and its future. Taxes will not increase and valid money will be available for sectors that need urgent attention: jobs, education, health, crime, and drugs. There will be a golden age based upon a valid dollar by the middle of 1994. A strong dollar is the symbol of a strong global economy.

q: Do you think that the American people will believe and react positively to this potent cure?

a: Yes, because President Bush will be the President who moved America forward at the moment of the greatest crisis of its history, by telling the truth, acting boldly and with conviction and will be remembered as such.

q: Why did he not speak of this before?

a: As in every major decision, timing is all important. His team has studied this matter extremely carefully and the moment is now ideal. One month ago President Bush spoke of fixing the international monetary system through the use of "independent reference point". The then Secretary of the Treasury, James A. Baker, III, spoke of this problem during the IMF meeting in 1987.

q: What would be the world reaction to this revalidation, particularly the other G7 countries?

a: The world of the global village outside America would welcome a stable dollar heralding low interest rates, increased world trade, ability to fund progress and growth in former Communist countries, setting Africa on a correct growth course. The global economy needs this kick-start, without which we will go into a major depression.

The other G7 countries attacked by speculation in their country would understand and applaud this firm attitude to quell this speculative cancer engendered by a few to the detriment of billions of people. A stable valid dollar equals a stable, peaceful world economy.

q: Would US exporters rail at the loss of markets overseas because of a stronger dollar?

a: A valid dollar would not necessarily mean a higher dollar. Against other currencies it means it is correctly valued. The German and Japanese economies manage a sizeable trade balance. The answers have always been quality products backed by full service.

q: How do you top speculation and illicit gain by validation?

a: If the US dollar, the most traded unit of currency is stable and valid, its stability will communicate itself through the system to other G7 countries and thence to other traded currencies which are for most part not the subject of speculation.

q: What are the negative aspects of validation of the dollar?

a: In a confused world where normal human beings want to work, get on with their lives and have the expectancy of a secure future, one cannot see how stability of the most utilized, traded and symbolic currency can be negative. The only negative aspect would be letting the cat out of the bag too early, for speculation instead of stability to benefit.

q: What is the major role revalidation will play?

a: It will restore the US economy to health giving all Americans who want to work decent money and a viable fruitful future providing the world economy a solid base for our generation and those to follow.

q: In view of the sensitivity of the plan for re-validating the US dollar, how do you envisage informing the media?

a: There will be a two tier release of information: firstly, an advance confidential release, private and confidential briefings with a time and date embargo. This would be addressed to a small select group of key specialists (pundits).

Secondly, for immediate release, statements would be issued to the press, international news agencies, radio and television.

q: Will this plan result in President Bush's re-election?

a: Most likely, but if not, President Bush will out of his innate patriotism and his great concern for the good of the United States of America bequeath it to his successor in the White House for the next term. It is for the American people in their wisdom to judge if the father of the plan should bring it to full fruition.

LAW OFFICES
OF
NORTHCUTT ELY
A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION
300 E. STATE ST.
REDLANDS, CALIF. 92373

TELEPHONE: (714) 793-4818

FAX (714) 792-2139

FAX MESSAGE

FROM: Northcutt Ely

DATE: 10/6/92

FAX 714-792-2139

Redlands, CA

TO: Hon. James Baker

The White House

FAX PHONE NO. 202-456-2883

THIS MESSAGE CONTAINS 4 PAGES, INCLUDING THIS COVER SHEET.
IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE THE ENTIRE MESSAGE, OR IF THERE ARE ANY
PROBLEMS WITH THE TRANSMISSION, PLEASE CALL (714) 793-4818
IMMEDIATELY.

LAW OFFICES
OF
NORTHCUTT ELY

A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION

300 E. STATE ST.

REDLANDS, CALIF. 92373

NRN

TELEPHONE: (909) 793-4818

FAX: (909) 792-2139

October 6, 1992

BY FAX

Honorable James Baker
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Baker:

I have faxed to my friend, Dick Darman, the annexed suggestions for the debates.

I have not met you, but Senators Stevens and Hatfield will vouch for me.

You will note my reference to possible amendment of the Constitution on the initiative of the States, in accordance with Article V, to give the President authority for a line-item veto, and to impose term limits on members of Congress.

Advocacy of such a constitutional convention might also cut the Gordian Knot on the abortion issue. If proponents of abortion want to write Roe v. Wade into the Constitution, so be it. Conversely, if opponents of abortion want to leave this issue in the hands of the States, so be it. Let the constitutional convention decide.

Something has to be done to distance the President from the fanatic anti-abortion plank in the Republican platform. It is costing him millions of votes. Mrs. Bush gave the right answer. This is a matter of individual conscience.

Respectfully,

Northcutt Ely
Northcutt Ely

NE/lmd
Enclosure

LAW OFFICES
OF
NORTHCUTT ELY

A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION

300 E. STATE ST.

REDLANDS, CALIF. 92373

TELEPHONE: (909) 793-4818

FAX: (909) 792-2139

October 5, 1992

BY FAX

P E R S O N A L

Honorable Richard Darman
Director
Office of Management and Budget
Washington, D.C.

Dear Dick:

You outpointed the competition on "Meet the Press" Sunday, despite the interruptions.

Some thoughts for the debates:

1. Even if Clinton had the character of Woodrow Wilson, he should not be elected. He cannot escape the tar-baby embrace of a spendthrift Democratic Congress.

2. Seven and a half percent unemployment is bad, but this figure means that twelve out of thirteen workers are still employed. They weren't when Carter was President, and they won't be if Clinton becomes President.

3. Tabulate the spending proposals of prominent Democratic candidates for Congress. For example, a California newspaper has accused Congresswoman Boxer, candidate for the Senate, of introducing bills that would require spending of \$300 billion. Is this true? If Clinton wins, there will be no veto to protect the taxpayers against the congressional freebooters. President Bush would gain credibility if he were to veto an appropriation bill, preferably the bill for legislative appropriation. Does Congress need a 50,000 person bureaucracy on the Hill?

4. The drastic Congressional reforms needed to restore federal fiscal respectability -- a balanced budget constitutional amendment, line item veto, term limitations -- will never be enacted by a Democratic Congress. This hog will not butcher itself.

LAW OFFICES
OF
NORTHCUTT ELY
A PROFESSIONAL CORPORATION

Hon. Richard Darman
October 5, 1992
Page Two

5. If these reforms are to come about, it must be via amendments to the Constitution. There is a way to accomplish this without depending on Congress to first propose the amendments. The alternative is a Constitutional Convention called by petition of the States.

6. The President dares not propose a Constitutional convention because people will assume that the objective is an amendment prohibiting abortion. It is essential that the President distance himself from the fanatic Republican platform plank on abortion which is killing him. A reasonable position is that this is a matter for individual conscience, as Mrs. Bush has said, subject to limitations to be fixed by the several State governments, not the federal government.

Best wishes,

Sincerely,



Northcutt Ely

NE/lmd

NRN

1 October 1992

The Honorable James A. Baker, III
c/o The Republican National Committee
310 1st Street SE
Washington, DC 20003

Dear Mr. Baker,

As the election draws near and the polls show a continuing decline for the President, I feel that I should write to express some opinions on the service he has given this country. I must point out that I am a retired naval officer and am currently a government employee. Because of my uncertainty of the Hatch Act implications of this letter, I will have to remain anonymous.

I believe that the American people have a general misconception of just what the President can and can not do, on how the budget process works, and the role of the Congress in determining the economic well-being of the country. They also do not understand how much it costs to maintain Congress and the Judiciary, how uncontrolled entitlements impact the budget, and the relatively small percentage of the budget that is controllable.

Although the President promised not to raise taxes, I do not feel that he had much of a choice in the budget compromise. Congress refused to pass the budget. I doubt voters realize how serious the budget crisis actually was ... especially in light of the Gulf situation at the time. Government employees know, we received layoff notices. If I were Mr. Bush, I would point out that only Congress has the power to tax and ask the people to check the congressional voting record on the compromise budget bill ... who really raised their taxes?

When I consider the Presidency of the United States and the candidates, I am reminded of the three functions of the Presidency: Chief Executive, Head of State, and Commander-in-Chief.

On the first function, both candidates have extensive experience. I know very little about how well the Governor has done, so I will not address who is best qualified. However, on the other two, clearly the President is far better qualified and seasoned. In these two areas lay his greatest strength and yet, I do not feel that his campaign has focused sufficiently on them.

As an example, if one would reflect on the greatest concern of most Americans four years ago, it would be national survival and the threat of war with the Soviet Union. The people were tired of the enormous cost of national defense, supporting NATO, and the seemingly endless diplomatic maneuvering we had to endure to ensure the Soviets did not take advantage of every world hot spot. This administration removed all that. Through extraordinary leadership, yours included, we have seen the threat of global war disappear, the defense budget drop, our troops coming home after 40 years in Europe, the overthrow of Communism and the establishment of a democratic eastern Europe, the fall of the Soviet Union, and the United States emerge as the only super power.

On top of that the President accomplished one of the most difficult and dangerous feats any president has ever done, he averted what could have become World War III through his superior world leadership and statesmanship.

For years the military planners in this country have viewed the Middle East as the most probable location for the start of a major world conflict. Clearly our support of Israel as placed us at odds with other regional powers. The situation in Iraq, had it been allowed to continued, would have brought a military response from Israel. Had that happened, the United States would have been in the same position it was in 1973, supporting Israel at the expense of other very important friends in the region. The President's leadership and the superb statesmanship of the Department enabled the United States to draw together a coalition of forces backed by virtually the whole United Nations. In my view, the President's actions averted a far greater crisis and may have prevented a worldwide conflict. I am not sure that the Governor has the depth of knowledge, experience, or leadership capabilities to have accomplished that. In fact, I believe he is a politician but not a statesman. The President, on the other hand, has gained the respect of the world and has earned the right to lead the free world. We even have peace talks on-going in the Middle East now, thanks to you and this administration.

On the third function of the Presidency I think I share the view of most military people, if you don't have the guts to serve, then you do not have the right to lead. I am sure that there are others who used political influence to avoid the draft and may even have used a similar strategy that the Governor used to avoid serving in Vietnam. But they are not seeking the Presidency, he is.

I know from an extensive study of military history and the making of policy and strategy that it is easy for politicians to, "send in the military" without exhausting all diplomatic options. It is especially easy if you had never served in combat. The President was a Navy pilot in World War II; I fought on the rivers in Vietnam. I am sure that the President would join me in saying that the last person who wants a war is the one who has to fight it. But if you have never even worn the uniform, how would you know! And believe me, "sending the National Guard" is not the same.

In closing I would just like to say that an I feel the President has a good chance if the voters are better educated. They have to understand that the true "peace dividend" is security; that it will take time for the economy to adjust to the reduction of government spending (especially on military related items); that the President really is dependent upon the Congress for the actual budget; that entitlements have disproportionately driven up the cost of government; and that now that the world is a safer place, more time can be devoted to domestic issues (without being insular).

However, the federal government can not do everything and should not be expected to solve all social ills and local issues. Economic growth is synergistic, jobs are created by domestic spending. Big government is costly, the more government spends (your tax dollars) the less money individuals have to spend.



THE HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER, III
% THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE
310 1ST STREET SE
WASHINGTON DC
20003

9/24/92

We feel he's on
the right track!

What do you
think?

Louise & Pete

Appendix

NRW

Check List for All Federal Candidates

We would like to have your specific plans to:

- Eliminate the deficit
- Keep the budget balanced through binding legislation
- Pay off the national debt
- Rebuild the job base and put our people back to work
- Develop an intelligent, supportive relationship between government and business
- Develop strategic plans industry by industry to strengthen and rebuild our companies
- Target the industries of the future and develop specific plans to be the world leader in those industries
- Stimulate the growth of small businesses
- Maintain and build our manufacturing base
- Make "Made in the USA" the world's standard of excellence
- Rebuild our cities
- Make our public schools the finest in the world
- Get rid of illegal drugs
- Dramatically reduce crime and violence throughout our country
- Provide affordable health care
- Get rid of waste, fraud, and abuse in the federal government

APPENDIX

- Develop a new tax system that is fair, paperless for most Americans, and raises the money necessary to pay our country's bills
- Get rid of foreign lobbyists and foreign political contributions
- Develop *fair* free-trade agreements
- Pass laws prohibiting cashing in on prior government service
- Develop an intelligent energy policy
- Implement the line item veto for the President
- Pass laws to stop Congress from exempting itself from laws it imposes on the rest of the country
- Bring the congressional retirement plan in line with private-sector plans
- Pass laws requiring the return of all excess campaign funds to the U.S. Treasury
- Pass laws to reduce the time for federal elections, reduce the cost of federal campaigns, and create equal opportunity for all new candidates by providing equal television time for all candidates
- Replace the electoral college with the popular vote
- Pass laws eliminating all possibilities for special interests to give large sums of money to candidates
- Pass a law to hold elections on Saturday and Sunday, instead of Tuesday
- Pass a law forbidding release of election information before the polls in Hawaii close
- Slash staffs in the executive and legislative branches
- Get rid of unnecessary perks throughout the federal government

This should
be empha-
sized in cam-
paign speeches.

Orrin & Helen Ritchie
Route 3, Box 3164-C
Clarkesville, GA 30523



9-29-92

restaurant owner, their laundryman, who- ever. But the only ones they get to vote we were in a recession." What is true here is true in similar sub-urbs for their vote.

Gore's an Environmental Extremist

Joan Beck

THE Clinton/Gore campaign is soft-focusing the environmental convictions of the vice presidential candidate—with good reason.

The senator from Tennessee has bought into the whole extremist, apocalyptic, sky-is-dying vision of the global future and has been advocating sweeping measures that would require enormous economic, political and lifestyle changes throughout the world and especially in the United States.

Al Gore has been calling for no small plans to improve Earth's environment. He wants to make environmental concerns "the central organizing principle of our civilization," as he explains in his book, "Earth in the Balance," published just before he joined the Democrats' presidential ticket.

What he means is "embarking on an all-out effort to use every policy and program, every law and institution, every treaty and alliance, in short, every means to halt the destruction of the environment and to preserve and nurture our ecological system."

"Minor shifts in policy, marginal adjustments in ongoing programs, moderate improvements in laws and regulations, rhetoric offered in lieu of genuine change—these are all forms of appeasement, designed to satisfy the public's desire to believe that sacrifice, struggle and a wrenching transformation of society will not be necessary."

Gore's "sacrifice, struggle and a wrenching transformation of society" suddenly got translated into "new opportunities for jobs" in the hands of Bill Clinton's spin doctors.

But Gore's book leaves no doubt whatsoever that the vice presidential candidate advocates severe restrictions on American lifestyles, new global governmental constraints and massive assistance from the United States to Third World countries—all in the service of environmental alarms that are still highly controversial.

What's particularly worrisome is not only the drastic changes Gore believes necessary to prevent worldwide disaster, but his unwillingness to acknowledge that many reputable scientists don't share his crisis views. In fact, much good scientific data contradict the apocalyptic theories of global warming and other impending ecological calamities the senator finds so compelling.

But Gore sees no time to collect more information or to consider the impact of his proposals before tak-



Al Gore wants to make environmental concerns 'the central organizing principle of our civilization.'

ing drastic actions to remake the world in a greener image.

"It is essential that we refuse to wait for the obvious signs of impending catastrophe, that we begin immediately to catalyze a consensus of this new organizing principle," he says in his book.

Never mind that some of the most highly hyped environmental concerns have turned out to be overblown or manufactured to serve other agendas—for example, Times Beach, Alar, Agent Orange.

Or that some government efforts to help have actually cost thousands of American lives—like the auto emission standards that have forced cars to become smaller, lighter and less safe.

Or that some government attempts to deal with environmental programs sometimes turn out to be hideously expensive and largely ineffective—like the Superfund to clean up toxic waste dumps.

Or that private enterprise and intelligent incentive programs can often accomplish more environmentally than government regulations—as hundreds of specific instances show.

In his book Gore calls for dozens of radical and controversial actions that would not endear him to much of the public if they understood the scope of his intentions.

Among them are requirements that the wealthy nations "allocate money for transferring environmentally helpful technologies to the Third World and to help impoverished nations achieve a stable population and a new pattern of sustainable economic progress."

He adds, "To work, however, any

Gore advocates drastic changes to prevent worldwide disaster but many scientists don't share his crisis views.

such effort will also require wealthy nations to make a transition themselves that will be in some ways more wrenching than that of the Third World, simply because powerful established patterns will be disrupted."

All this is to be accomplished through complicated treaties and agreements that "establish global constraints on acceptable behavior but that are entered into voluntarily—albeit with the understanding that they will contain both incentives and legally valid penalties for noncompliance."

Gore makes it sound sensible and easy. But the horrendous political and practical difficulties relief organizations are experiencing in trying to help the starving people of Somalia suggest how complicated it can be to intervene in other cultures and political systems even when disaster is obvious and immediate.

There is no shortage of people who do care about the environment. But many of them are painfully aware of the toll of environmental problems that have been caused or aggravated by government management and regulations and by unintended consequences occurring because situations were not adequately understood.

The good guys don't necessarily push public-sector intervention or speedy action to accomplish environmental goals. The bad guys may turn out to be alarmists set off by findings of one part per billion of a substance associated with a tumor in a rat, or regulators whose rules have unintended consequences.

But Gore is right to be concerned and to care. Protecting the environment is essential. People do need to understand the impact of their lives and choices on the future of Earth. But before we make staggering changes in our institutions, our economic system, our tax structure and our way of life, before we lean hard on other countries to change their cultures and their political systems, it's imperative to understand the problems and the impact of proposed solutions better than we do now.

Chicago Tribune

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Barbara:
Please forward
for appropriate
handling.

Thanks.

8. 8

DOS

Frederick J. Ferris, D.S.W.
5101 River Road
Bethesda, Maryland 20816

Sept. 26, 1992

Hon. James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Baker:

For the first time in years, I wrote to you as Secretary of State, and to the President on July 24. The letters had two points: (1) commending you for your visit and comments in Zahle, Lebanon on July 23; and, (2) asking if the Administration would support the request for \$100 million in fiscal 1993 for humanitarian aid to Lebanon.

No reply has been received from either letter. Attempts to follow up by telephone with the correspondence offices have been fruitless.

Please designate one of your staff to follow up on my letters and let me know the position of the Administration.

May I have a reply?

Sincerely yours,

Frederick J. Ferris

HUNTER & MOFFETT CONTRACTORS, INC.

2117 BRODERICK ST. - SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA 94115 - (415) 567-6332

Sept. 29, 1992

President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW
Washington D.C. 20500

NPN

James Baker
Republican National Committee
301 First St. SE
Washington D.C. 20003

Gentlemen:

Election Day is approaching and as loyal Republicans we are deeply concerned that your messages are having little impact and that your domestic policies of the last four years (and those proposed by Bill Clinton) offer this country very little hope. The "peace dividend" is quickly evaporating under monumental spending increases in nearly all agencies since you took over four years ago. It was completely overwhelming to us to realize that the large deficits of recent years amount to 20-30¢ of every federal dollar spent.

Major restructuring of the federal government can only be accomplished because you don't have to seek reelection in 1996. Bill Clinton can't promise to ignore partisan politics! While these drastic measures will be unpopular, if the enormity of the problem is explained to those of us in the silent majority, our group will make sacrifices to see a new domestic plan become workable. We believe the voters will flock to the first candidate who proposes to reorganize a majority of this federal bureaucracy which is serving a minority of the populace.

Specific changes need to be explained to the voters. Drastic reductions of 50% should be demanded in many areas, including agricultural subsidies, academic research, foreign aid, overseas military assistance, foreign embassies, executive airplanes, veterans affairs, minority assistance, programs highlighted by Mr. Proxmire over the years, and the multitude of pork barrel programs that produce negligible benefits for today's society. The taxpayer should be promised that any new legislation requiring any financing will be vetoed. Recently enacted costly legislation, such as the handicap program, should be delayed five years while this restructuring occurs. Finally, all entitlement spending should be cut a flat 10% so that doctors, pensioners, and welfare recipients will be forced to contribute equally. There is no other alternative! We might even need a constitutional amendment to achieve these types of changes.

Our only first-hand connection with the Federal Government started in 1966 on a HUD project. In 1979 we started our own very successful general contracting business and at that time nearly half our work was HUD financed. Our frustration with HUD increased over the years to the point that we avoid their projects. Their local office probably produces 10-20% of the housing it did in the early 1980s; however, their budget has increased from \$ 19.7 billion to \$ 28.2 billion since you took office and their local office staff has never decreased in size over the last 25 years. We have pursued our own minority goals after complete disillusionment with minority hiring and contracting scams which all levels of government promote. From our narrow perspective, drastic changes are mandatory.

Your very generalized proposal to cut spending \$ 300 billion in 5 years would appear to be only an annual reduction of 4.2% in spending. We need to double or triple these cuts and you need to tell the voters, local governments, and Congress where these savings must occur to rescue our economy. Please forget partisan politics and reshape our domestic policies on a par with the Reagan-Bush reordering of the Cold War.

Yours, very truly

Bill Moffett

Ursula Moffett

Bill & Ursula Moffett

APR 11

October 1, 1992

When you were Secretary of State I cannot tell you how much I respected you and admired your work around the world.

Now you ~~assume~~ the job of Campaign Director for the re-election of George Bush. I saw you on television last night and could not believe I was watching the same James Baker.

Is winning at any price really worth it? If truth and an honorable campaign will not permit President Bush to be re-elected then how dishonorable are you prepared to become. I have seen part of it already. How much further down do you plan to reach? For all decency and integrity?

No. I still admire and respect you. No. You deserve neither. A lack of honor is disgusting. When it stands at the front of the further destruction and disruption of America it comes close to treason. This was once a great nation. Look at it now; look at yourself.

This is not a hate letter, it is a cry of shame and pain from a citizen of a country she loves. There is no salutation or closing to this letter. You deserve neither.

Katharine M. Shea

P.S. I realize you will probably never
even read this letter. But what would
I be if I didn't write it?

Katherine M. Shea
2055 Sierra Road #61
Concord, CA 94518

Lorraine M. Shea
2055 Sierra Road #61
Concord, CA 94518



MLDCR #C8

James Baker
c/o Republican Party Headquarters
310 First Street
Washington, DC 20003

Willard E. Nudd
14667 Poncho Conde Circle
Rancho Murieta, CA 95683

October 5, 1992



President George Bush
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am a 94 year old conservative Republican (retired, of course) who is concerned about the possibility of your re-election. You have been stressing your economic recovery plan which is very good and basic, but Congress has its own such plan and the two sides, seemingly, cannot get together and nothing is done.

It is this lack of constructive action which frustrates the public and is causing many citizens to vote for anyone who is suggesting a change. Newscasters say that unless you, Mr. President, present something new and bold, the likelihood of your re-election is very much in doubt. Therefore, the following plan of action is suggested:

1. A freeze on wages of all military and all civilian government employees.
2. Rescind congressmen's wage increases, voted by themselves, sometimes at 2 A.M. in the morning.
3. Completely revise the pension system. An example: Margaret Chase Smith and Tip O'Neil receive more in pensions than they earned when working.
4. Retired congressmen should not be allowed to take campaign funds. It is not really their money and was not used for the purpose given.
5. Fight for line-item veto.
6. Fight for the Capital Gain Tax reduction.
7. Revamp the welfare system. Perhaps pattern it after Oregon and Michigan.
8. Reduce the staff of the Congress and the White House.
9. Freeze Social Security benefits. (This is not the same as "cutting".)
10. Limit the terms of members of Congress.

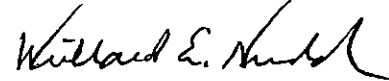
The main idea of this overall plan is to reduce government spending and apply any resulting savings to the deficit as well as to eliminate some of the ills and extravagances that exist.

The President
October 5, 1992
Page 2

I am sure that you could list many more items but I suggest that, instead of talking about Hillary, family values and the draft, you stress the primary and basic issues that are troubling the public and make a real fight to put forward the items which you know to be extravagant and wrong and which cannot be afforded in these economic times.

It should be expected that pollsters (which seems to be the order of the day) would take polls on public reaction to this Plan and give broad publicity to the results which I believe would show overwhelming support. With such overall approval by the people, Congress will have to respond and act accordingly, and your re-election will no longer be in doubt.

Very respectfully yours,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Willard E. Nudd". The signature is fluid and cursive, with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Willard E. Nudd

WEN:cjv

cc: James Baker, Campaign Chairman
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20050

Dear Mr. Baker,

NRN.

Hello. Here is a question.

How can we ignore men who've dedicated their lives to helping their fellow man?

You have made a dedicated move towards helping President Bush and your fellow countrymen.

President Bush has made such a move.

The Catholic clergymen, held captive by the Red Chinese in China, have also dedicated their lives towards helping their fellow man.

Can we call ourselves caring
human beings? We are ignoring
the brutal treatment of the clergymen
by the hands of their communist
jailers.

Respectfully in Christ,

James E. Rasmussen

OCT 6, 1992

NRN

James Baker
Chief of Staff

Dear Mr Baker

On CNN interview of
Clinton and Gore.

1. They said there would be a
member on the screen. I did
not see one.

2. all questions asked favored
Clinton Gore, no negatives.

3. I wonder if the questions
were staged so it would benefit
Clinton Gore

4. I hope fair treatment
of our President will be given
by all news

Leslie Perry

2024 3 30

to the lab. etc.

913-267-4217

FRANK CARL BURGER

10/6/92

NRN

MR. JAMES A. BAKER III
CHIEF OF STAFF
THE WHITE HOUSE

* PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

202-456-2883

DEAR MR. SECRETARY:

I HAVE WRITTEN TO YOU BEFORE DURING THE PERIOD LEADING UP TO, THRU, AND SHORTLY AFTER THE GULF WAR PERIOD, RECEIVED A "HEARING" FOR MY IDEAS, AND KIND RESPONSE FROM YOUR ASSOCIATES AT THE STATE DEPARTMENT. THE MAIN POINT OF WHICH I WROTE WAS: "WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION"- NOW A POPULAR PHRASE, INCLUDING BY GOVERNOR CLINTON'S RUNNING MATE.

GIVEN THAT THIRTY DAYS REMAIN TILL THE ELECTION, I WILL TRY TO BE BRIEF- AS UNNATURAL AS IT IS FOR ME TO DO SO- BECAUSE I THINK IT VERY IMPORTANT THAT THE PRESIDENT BE RE-ELECTED.

I HAVE THREE THINGS TO SAY:

A. SETTLING WITH SADDAM.(SPECIAL ATTENTION, MR. DENNIS ROSS).

OF THE SEVERAL IDEAS WRITTEN BEGINNING IN OCT. 1990, ONE SEEMS TO HAVE GAINED FAVOR IN THE PLANNING OF YOUR GROUP: THAT IRAQ BE THOUGHT OF, (UNTIL SADDAM RETIRES TO MAURITANIA, THE FRENCH RIVIERA, OR HIS CAROTID ARTERY BECOMES PART OF A MEDICAL EXHIBIT SOMEWHERE), AS THREE "ZONES"- NORTH:MIDDLE: SOUTH- KURD, SUNNI, SHIITE.

* HOWEVER, WHAT I HAVE CAUGHT NO DRIFT OF IS WHETHER THE ECONOMIC "VERSAILLES REPATRIATION" INITIATIVE IS TO BE EMPLOYED. BRIEFLY: IRAQ OIL REVENUES TO BE GENERATED, UNDER U.N./"COALITION" AUSPICES, ON THE RATIONALE THAT THAT REPATRIATIONS ARE DUE AND OWING, BY IRAQ. THESE COULD FLOW FROM THOSE NORTHERN (ZONE 1) OIL FIELDS THRU TURKISH PIPELINE.

TURKEY, CONSIDERING THE COST OF THE WAR TO THEM, AND THE REPORTED "SLUGGISH" REPAYMENTS, MIGHT BE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED- NOT TO MENTION THE KURDS.

QUITE SERIOUSLY, AND IN THE FULL RECOGNITION OF DOMESTIC TIME PRESSURES/PRIORITIES, I BELIEVE SUCH AN INITIATIVE WOULD BE FUNDAMENTALLY SOUND, ENFORCEABLE, BASED ON PRINCIPLE, AND OF BENEFIT TO THE PRESIDENT IN THE NEXT THIRTY DAYS. OF COURSE, ORGANIZING SUCH AN INITIATIVE ON SHORT NOTICE WOULD BE AN EXTRAORDINARY ACCOMPLISHMENT- BUT WORTH THE EFFORT.

1- I'VE WRITTEN (OVER-WRITTEN?) ABOUT THE CENTRAL IMPORTANCE OF WATER IN FINDING FORMULAS (STRUCTURAL SOLUTIONS) TO THE USUAL TURMOIL IN MIDDLE EAST AND NOW MORE PROMINENTLY, SOMALIA. YOU'VE MENTIONED THIS THEME IN

FRANK CARL BURGER

YOUR FAREWELL SPEECH(ES) FROM STATE, SO I KNOW THAT YOU'VE ACCEPTED THE IDEA. NUF' SAID, EXCEPT, NOW WOULD BE A PROPITIOUS TIME TO HAVE A PROGRAM OF IMPLEMENTATION!?

"ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE EAGLEBURGER (GREAT SUFFIX), ON BEHALF OF THE ADMINISTRATION IS PLEASED TWO ANNOUNCE A TWO-FOLD DIPLOMATIC AND ECONOMIC INITIATIVE, IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE U.N. AND THE O.A.U., FOR THE REGION OF SOMALIA/ETHIOPIA AND, ERR..(BIAFRA?)"

"FIRST, THE U.N. WILL BE ANNOUNCING A LONG-TERM PROGRAM FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF WATER RESOURCES IN THE (REGION), BASED UPON NATURAL, ANCIENT AQUEDUCTS FIRST BUILT BY THE ROMAN LEGIONS- AS CONFIRMED BY OUR SATTELITES (SEE SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTE MAGAZINE- NOT TO MENTION SEN. GORE'S TECHNICAL ENVIR. RESEARCH BRIEFS);"

"SECONDLY, THE O.A.U., IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE U.N., HAS VOLUNTEERED TO ASSIST THE LEGIMATE LEADERS OF SOMALIA (?) IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE "FOOD FOR GUNS" EXCHANGE PROGRAM, WHICH THE PRESIDENT AND THE ACTING SECRETARY OF STATE HAVE BEEN QUIETLY CAMPAIGNING FOR, THRU DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS."

ALL APPEARANCE OF FECEICIOUSNESS ASIDE, I AM SINCERELY PROPOSING THAT SOME OR ALL OF THE ABOVE BE PURSUED WITH VIGOR.

B. SENATOR GORE APPEARS TO HAVE TAKEN ON THE ROLE OF "MIDDLE LINEBACKER" ASSIGNED TO TACKLE THE "FULLBACK OF FOREIGN POLICY"- (THAT'S YOU).

NOW SENATOR GORE IS A GOOD MAN, VERY CAPABLE, AND HE LOOKS AND SOUNDS MORE "PRESIDENTIAL" THAN THE GOVERNOR. HE KIND OF LOOKS LIKE THE ACTOR WHO PLAYED SUPERMAN, THE MOVIE; A SERIOUS COMPETITOR. HOWEVER, NO ONE'S PERFECT- REMEMBER "KRYPTONITE".

THE "CLEAN AIR ACT" SEEMS TO BE HIS LEGISLATIVE CENTER-PIECE. IT IS A WELL-INTENTIONED BLUNDERBUSS OF A VEHICLE, AND THEREIN LIES ITS' FATAL FLAW. AS A PRACTICAL LEGISLATIVE VEHICLE * IN THE REAL WORLD, IT APPEARS TO HAVE ALL OF THE INEFFICIENCIES OF THE THOUGHT PROCESSES BEHIND THE CENTERPIECE LEGISLATION OF THE LYNDON JOHNSON ERA. "BLUNDER-BUSS" VEHICLES, WELL-INTENTIONED, MOST COSTLY AND UNDIRECTED.

FOR EXAMPLE; IT ADDRESSES ASBESTOS REMOVAL. CONCURRENT WITH THE PASSAGE OF THIS ACT CAME THE SCIENTIFIC EVIDENCE THAT THERE ARE THREE KINDS OF ASBESTOS, OF INCREASING DEGREES OF POTENTIAL HARM- THAT EVIDENCE WAS THOROUGHLY IGNORED.

THE MOST HARMFUL, AND THAT WHICH IS PREDOMINATELY FOUND IN SCHOOLROOMS, WOULD, THE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH REPORT POINTED OUT, CAUSE MORE HARM TO REMOVE THAN TO LEAVE AND NEUTRALIZE.

FRANK CARL BURGER

FURTHER, MANY OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE C.A.A. WOULD BE OF SUCH HORRENDOUS COST, THAT IT WOULD BANKRUPT THE U.S. TREASURY (WHEN IT GETS UN-BANKRUPT). ALSO, THE SULFUR DIOXIDE REMOVAL REQUIREMENTS SUFFER TOO FROM IMPRACTICALITY. IN SHORT, THEY ARE A "BELTWAY LAWYERS" APPROACH, (NOTHING PERSONAL MR. SECRETARY), TO CREATING THE APPEARANCE OF SOLVING ENDEMIC PROBLEMS.

THE MAIN POINT IS THAT IN THE "BELTWAY LAWYERS", NEVER MIND THE COST, GET THE LEGISLATION RIGHT APPROACH, AND & "BLUNDER-BUSS", OUT-OF-HISTORICAL-SYNCH, FEDERALISTIC/F.D.R." THINKING, LIES THE THEME FOR CONTENDING THE PRESUMED RHETORICALLY STRONG HOME BASE OF THE OTHER CAMP: CONCERN FOR THE TRUE CITIZENS, NOT THOSE WEALTHY REPUBLICAN INDUSTRIALISTS, THOSE RICH GUYS, ETC.

THE COUNTER-POSITION IS THAT: "SURE, THE PRESIDENT CAN LOOK LIKE A HERO PUSHING RHETORICAL LEGISLATION IN THE SHORT-RUN, BUT (IT) WOULD BE STRUCTURALLY UNSOUND FOR THE COUNTRY OVER TIME. (THERE ARE MANY EXAMPLES TO DEMONSTRATE THE ABOVE, AND I'M GETTING WORDY).

C. WHAT THE PRESIDENT NEEDS TO DO IN THIRTY DAYS OR LESS IN ORDER TO GET RE-ELECTED.

PRESIDENT BUSH NEEDS TO:

* WITH YOUR INDULGENCE, I WOULD LIKE TO PAUSE AT THIS TIME FOR A WORD FROM MY SPONSOR (BOSS), IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN MY PRESENT EMPLOYMENT. PART "C" WILL FOLLOW LATER TODAY.

ALSO, I DO NEED TO BE A BIT MORE DIPLOMATIC, AS THIS DOES CONCERN THE PRESIDENT (AND HIS C.O.S.'S PROGRAMS MOST DIRECTLY).

IF I HAVE NOT TREAD ON TOO MANY TOES YET, I WILL FOLLOW A.S.A.P. W/ "C".

RESPECTFULLY,
FRANK C. BURGER *

* COMPUTER FAX, UNSIGNABLE UNLESS I BUY AN OPTICAL READER,
(HOWEVER, YOU HAVE MY SIGNATURE IF NOT IN SHREDDER)

FRANK C. BURGER

10/7/92

MR. JAMES A. BAKER III
CHIEF OF STAFF
THE WHITE HOUSE

PERSONAL & CONFIDENTIAL

202-456-2883

DEAR MR. SECRETARY;

GOOD MORNING.

A.1- FURTHER ON "A", YESTERDAY'S FAX MEMO, (ATT: MR. D. ROSS)

HOW OFTEN HAVE WE HEARD A POLITICAL PUNDIT (NOW THE DEMOCRATIC CAMPAIGN), UTTER &/OR WRITE: "THE PROBLEM FOR GEORGE BUSH ON IRAQ IS THAT: "SADDAM-IS-STILL-IN-POWER"? (AND BY NEXT JANUARY OF COURSE, THE PRESIDENT MAY NOT BE)".

WITH YOUR INDULGENCE, AND NOT IN AN ATTEMPT TO PLAY PAROCHIAL WORD GAMES, "WHICH OF THE COMPONENTS OF THAT THOUGHT POSSESSES THE MOST FRUITFUL SOLUTION?" FEELINGS FOR INDIVIDUAL RETRIBUTION ASIDE, I JUDGE AS FOLLOWS: THAT..."SADDAM-IS", IS LESS IMPORTANT FOR THE MOMENT THAN THAT HE..."IS IN POWER"?

"POWER" AS THE FOCUS OF ANALYSIS:..MILITARY..POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC. MILITARY=POLITICAL=ECONOMIC=OIL REVENUE. THEREFORE, OIL REVENUE IS POWER? (NOT A BILL BUCKLEY LEVEL OF LOGICAL EXERCISE, BUT IT WORKS; MORE IMPORTANTLY, IT HAS PRACTICAL, CURRENT SIGNIFICANCE).

GIVEN THE EXISTING TREATY/ U.N. SANCTIONS ENDING THE WAR AND LIMITING S.H. MILITARY MANUVERINGS, (BUT NOT STRIKING AT THE STRUCTURE, AT THE SYSTEMIC UNDERPININGS OF HIS POWER), "DO 'WE' OR NOT HAVE THE LEGAL RIGHT TO EXACT REPATRIATIONS?" (IF NOT: HOW DO WE GET IT IN A HURRY?)

THERE MIGHT EVEN BE AN ARGUMENT FOR LEAVING HIM THERE WITH MODIFIED POWERS, UNTIL SUCH TIME AS IRAQ'S DEVELOPMENT AND FUTURE PLANS ARE MORE CLEAR, AND IRAQ- IT'S PEOPLE, NOT SIMPLY THE TIKRITS- CAN SELECT A NEW LEADER. (NOT TO MENTION THE MATTER OF BROADER REGIONAL ISSUES).

IN BRIEF SUMMARY, THE PROPOSED

- OBJECTIVES ARE: TO MAINTAIN AN IRAQ; SEPARATE SADDAM FROM HIS SOURCE OF POWER (OF CONSEQUENCE); TO ENFRANCHISE MORE OF THE DIVERSE POPULACE.
- GOALS ARE: TO GENERATE OIL REVENUES AND REDEPLOY SAME TO REPARATIONS, LEGITIMATE, NON-MILITARY AND REGIONAL CIVILIAN, HUMANITARIAN CAUSES.
- MEANS ARE: U.N. SUPERVISED INDIGENOUS OPERATION OF EXISTING OIL SYSTEM- WITH "COALTITION" ENFORCEMENT IF NECESSARY.

IN SHORT, TO REDISTRIBUTE POWER TO A BROADER BASE THRU ECONOMIC MEANS, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME EXACTING CONSEQUENCES FOR HIS ACTIONS- AND APPLYING THAT PENALTY TO HIM, NOT THE

FRANK C. BURGER

PEOPLE OF IRAQ. (REMEMBER THE PRESIDENT'S WORDS: "THE PEOPLE OF IRAQ ARE NOT OUR ENEMY, SADDAM IS!").

THANK YOU FOR YOUR ATTENTION; I HOPE THAT THE ABOVE IS JUDGED OF VALUE AND NOT AMATEURISH NOR PRESUMPTUOUS, WHATEVER IT'S LIMITATIONS IN PRESENTATION.

RESPECTFULLY,
FRANK C. BURGER

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Letter	From: a Staff Sergeant of the California Army National Guard To: James Baker Re: War on Drugs (2 pp.)	09/02/92	(b)(7)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Chief of Staff to the President, Office of the
Series: Baker, James A. III
Subseries: Public Correspondence Files
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: [Public Correspondence, Sept/Oct 1992] [12]

Date Closed:	4/26/2001	OA/ID Number:	93009-002
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Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Our hard work is paying off, President Bush

19 DEC

BRAWLER NEWS

72% drop in cocaine use, says report

WASHINGTON (AP) — The government today released figures showing a 72 percent drop in the use of cocaine over five years. President Bush said that shows "our hard work is paying off."

"There has been some marked progress — changing attitudes and behaviors as more and more of our neighbors and co-workers have turned away from illegal drugs," Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan said in announcing the new figures.

He said the number of people using illicit drugs was down 44 percent over the past five years, from 23 million in 1985 to 12.9 million in 1990.

"The news we have today suggests that our hard work is paying off," Bush said. He spoke briefly at a news conference called to release the 1990 National Household Survey on Drug Abuse.

Although the government study showed dramatic declines in casual and moderate use of cocaine, it showed continued high rates of frequent or intense cocaine use.

Among 6.2 million people who used cocaine at least once in the past year in 1990, the study showed approximately 662,000 people used it once a week or more — down from 862,000 in 1988.

However, the number of people who use cocaine daily actually increased — to 336,000 for 1990 from 292,000 in 1988.

The survey found that while the overall number of current cocaine users decreased in 1990 from 1988, the number of crack-cocaine users "remained stable." There were nearly half a million current crack users among the 1.6 million who used cocaine at least once a month in 1990.

Bush said one of the most encouraging conclusions of the study

KEY FINDINGS

■ Current cocaine use down 72% since 1985

■ Marijuana still most commonly used illicit drug, although current use down 10.2 million users this year, compared to 22.5 million in 1979

■ Number of adolescent drug users down 13% from 1988

Survey based on interviews with 6,259 people ages 12 and over

was the decline in drug use among teenagers, which he called "evidence they're learning to say no."

However, Bush said, "A declaration of victory would be premature," noting that drug use still remained an enormous national health problem.

"There will be no retreat in our efforts to end the international menace of drugs," he said.

"These figures must be greeted with guarded optimism," said Sullivan. "In spite of our individual and national efforts, there are still millions of Americans trapped in the web of addiction, poor health, violence, crime and death."

Despite this "impressive good news about our progress in reversing our nation's drug using habits, many pockets of serious drug problems remain," the HHS secretary said.

Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph R. Biden Jr., D-Del., criticized the survey, saying it

See DRUGS, A6

Overall drug use down while cocaine use up, survey shows

► The drug czar says the anti-drug message is difficult to deliver to hard-core users.

By Paul Anderson
Knight-Ridder Newspapers

WASHINGTON

Overall drug use continued to decline in the last year, especially among adolescents, although cocaine use by adults increased slightly, according to the federal government's annual survey of drug abuse.

But a sample of drug-related cases in hospital emergency rooms showed an overall increase in the first six months of 1991 over the first half of last year.

The studies — due to be released today — suggest that President Bush's war on drugs has cut into casual use but has yet to reach those who are considered hard-core drug addicts, especially minorities in inner cities, drug czar Bob Martinez admitted.

Partial results of the studies obtained yesterday showed that the overall decline was led by those who hold jobs, are better educated and live in the suburbs.

"As drug use goes down, it becomes harder to make progress because what is left are those who are most resistant to anti-drug messages," Martinez, the former governor of Florida, said in remarks prepared for a press conference with Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan. "Progress against hard-core use becomes more difficult."

Bruce Carnes, director of planning and budgeting in the Office of National Drug Control Policy, said in an interview that Bush's fourth annual drug strategy, due in January, will call for greater spending on expanded drug-treatment programs in targeted urban areas.

"The sad truth about drug use is that, once you start it, it's very hard to get off. Some addicts have to go through a treatment program five or six times," Carnes said. "But we're not going to write these people off."

The data in the National Household Survey on Drug Abuse is based on responses from 32,000 people, either through interviews or questionnaires. Critics have claimed the survey understates the country's most hard-core drug addicts, who are not likely to respond. However, federal officials defend it since in recent years the sample size was nearly quadrupled and projections were added for the homeless and other hard-to-reach segments of society.

The percentage of Americans over the age of 12 who admitted using any illicit drug in the past month — known as "current use" — declined from 6.4 percent in 1990, or about 12.9 million people, to 6.2 percent in 1991, or about 12.6 million people, according to the household survey.

That showed a leveling off in the trend of the last decade. In 1982, 12.3 percent admitted using drugs in the last month; in 1988, that was down to 7.3 percent.

While those who admitted currently using marijuana dropped from 5.1 percent in 1990 to 4.8 percent in 1991, the number admitting to current cocaine use rose from .8 percent to .9 percent.

5 AUGUST

COLUMN ONE

Drug War Looks Like a Long One

■ As cocaine use declines, new problems cloud the horizon—increased violence among traffickers and a rising tide of heroin.

By PAUL RICHTER
and RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—When President Bush declared late last year that the nation was on the road to conquering its drug problem, some entrepreneurs from Nigeria, Thailand and Taiwan apparently were not listening.

Smugglers from those countries began showing up at Los Angeles International Airport last fall carrying ever-larger quantities of heroin—in the hollowed-out soles of tennis shoes, in suitcases with secret compartments and even in condoms they had swallowed. So far this year, U.S. Customs seizures of heroin at LAX have mounted to 86.8 pounds, compared to 10 pounds all of last year.

"This is really alarming," says Carol Boyd Hallett, commissioner of the U.S. Customs Service.

The heroin traffic at LAX is just one more sign that, despite evidence of progress against what Bush has called the greatest domestic threat, new fronts continue to open in the "war on drugs."

While overall drug use is declining and law enforcement authorities are gaining skill in disrupting narcotics traffic, drug barons in South America and Asia remain unbowed and drug-related crime rages unabated in many American cities.

And now the President's war on drugs faces new threats, fading political commitment and a potential waning of public interest.

A flagging of political will seems evident in Congress' apparent determination to cut as much as \$600 million from Bush's \$11.7-billion anti-drug plan for fiscal 1992. Congress' slimming down of that budget is likely to kill Bush's proposal that \$99 million be spent for treatment of 200,000 addicts, and it jeopardizes the \$25 million the Administration wanted to spend on education efforts directed at hardcore users.

There is "the potential for the effort to unravel because of a steady erosion of funding, of consensus and of the support it needs to allow the program sufficient flexibility and time," said Melvyn Levitsky, assistant secretary of state for international narcotics matters.

A year ago, Operation Desert Shield pushed the drugs issue out of the top position on the public agenda it had held since 1989. It has yet to regain that position.

Now, with middle-class consumption of illegal drugs falling, some experts fear that Americans will lose interest—and the willingness to pay for continuing the fight in the inner city.

William J. Bennett, who was the first director of the White House Office of National Drug Control Policy, has predicted that his successor, Florida's former Gov. Bob Martinez, will have a harder time.

Please see DRUGS, A14

DRUGS: Some Use Falls, but the War Is Far From Over

Continued from A1
than he did getting attention for the cause. Now "it's not Page One news," Bennett said, "so it's a more difficult job."

That is significant because, in the view of many experts, efforts of the White House's drug war officials to shift public attitudes have been their most important contribution.

Amid these sobering prospects, the good news is growing evidence of a long-term decline in drug use.

According to federal surveys, the number of Americans who used illegal drugs slid to 13 million last year from 23 million in 1985, when the crack epidemic first exploded.

The total number of illicit-drug users peaked in 1979, and you had a narrowing but deepening of the drug problem in the 1980s," said Mark Kleiman, a former U.S. Justice Department official who teaches drug policy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. All the speeches demanding the middle class get off drugs were calling for the sunset after it had already gone down," he said.

The trends among more hard-core users are not so reassuring. A government survey released in June found that the number of Americans using crack cocaine once a month was steady at 500,000 last year, just as in 1988. The survey found a 15% increase, to 336,000, in the number of people who said they used cocaine daily.

Many experts see the drug plague as part of a cycle that has recurred at intervals throughout history.

Trends in Cocaine Use

"Casual" use declines as number of hard-core users rises.

	1988	1990
Users who report consumption in the past month	2.9 million	1.6 million
Users who report consumption daily or almost daily	292,000	336,000

Source: National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee

gon withdrew long-range radar surveillance planes late last year for use in the Persian Gulf War, authorities say that gap was filled immediately by shorter range P3 reconnaissance aircraft and other equipment of the Customs Service.

U.S. authorities count among the anti-drug allies' achievements the disabling of the Medellin cartel, whose 90% share of the cocaine market may have dwindled to as little as 10% as the Colombian government has killed or captured dozens of its members. The biggest fish netted so far is drug supremo Pablo Escobar, who surrendered in June and is awaiting trial.

"If four or five years ago you had said all the leaders of the Medellin cartel would be killed or

sentence. Some wonder, too, whether authorities will get him to cooperate in dismantling the organization that has killed hundreds of Colombian judges, soldiers and policemen, or to give up assets worth billions of dollars.

Martinez has been openly critical of Escobar's comfort in exile. He says that U.S. authorities have made it clear to the Colombians that only a lengthy sentence will send the proper message to other traffickers.

Stanley E. Morris, Martinez's deputy for supply reduction, noted that when Escobar and other Medellin leaders were on the run their communications were disrupted and management was difficult. Now, "in some ways, his incarceration provides stability for the cartel to operate," he said.

off by a lack of political will, both here and abroad," he said.

Indeed, some experts say, the Andean strategy demonstrates that there are more efficient ways to spend drug-fighting dollars than trying to halt cultivating and production efforts that involve 250,000 peasants in an area of more than 1 million square miles.

Rensselaer W. Lee, a drug consultant and scholar at the Foreign Policy Research Institute in Philadelphia, said U.S. dollars are better spent to seize drugs en route, tighten controls on money laundering, confiscate traffickers' assets and improve drug treatment and education programs.

Fighting the problem in the producing areas "is the least promising approach," said Lee, who is skeptical that the effort has brought any significant reduction in the flow of cocaine from South America. "We've spent billions on international assistance programs and have nothing to show for it."

Another thorny problem is curbing heroin production.

Please see DRUGS, A15

By RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Current cocaine use by Americans plunged 45% from 1988 levels and 72% from five years ago, according to the government's most comprehensive drug survey, which President Bush immediately hailed Wednesday as "the most compelling evidence that drug use is declining significantly."

The cocaine results, along with other signs of marked improvement reported by the National Institute of Drug Abuse, were sharply disputed by Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.).

The Administration's study "actually misses more addicts than it counts," said Biden, chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee. A study done by the Democratic staff of his committee found that the household survey "grossly underestimated the number of hard-core cocaine addicts and weekly heroin users."

The Los Angeles Police Department also took issue with the survey's upbeat findings. "The numbers we see do not suggest any drop as dramatic as that," said Lt. Fred Nixon, a department spokesman. But he added: "I can't give you any number."

Bush said the results suggest that our hard work is paying off and that our national strategy is having an effect," but he cautioned that "a declaration of victory would be premature." He pledged that there will be no cutback in the stepped-up federal effort against illicit drugs.

The survey, conducted from March through June, included these highlights in comparison with the last survey, which was done in 1988.

- The number of adolescents using any drug dropped to 1.5 million from 1.8 million. The number of adolescents using cocaine fell 47%, to 119,000 from 225,000.

- The number of crack users stayed stable, with 494,000 among the 1.6 million current cocaine users. Individuals are counted as current users if they admit using the substance at least once in the last month.

- Current use of any illicit drug fell to 12.9 million individuals from 14.5 million.

- Daily cocaine users ran counter to the downward trend, increasing

to 336,000 from 292,000. Those using cocaine once a week or more dropped to 662,000 from 862,000.

But some critics called the 662,000 figure virtually meaningless because the homeless, those in jail and others living in institutions are not counted in the survey, and 18% of all those approached refused to participate. Officials acknowledged that that group is most likely to contain illegal drug users.

- Although those engaged in any current illicit drug use declined to 6.4% of the population, some demographic subgroups had markedly higher rates. Among 18- to 25-year-olds, 14.9% used drugs; among the unemployed, 14%; among blacks, 8.6%; among those living in large metropolitan areas, 7.3%; and among residents of the West, 7.3%.

- Marijuana remains the most commonly used illegal drug in the country, with 66.5 million Americans, or 33.1% of the population, having tried it at least once in their lifetimes and 20.5 million having used it at least once in the last year.

- Alcohol and cigarette use continued to decline, as it did from 1985 to 1988. The latest total of 102.9 million current drinkers of alcoholic beverages was down almost 3 million from the 1988 figure. Cigarette smokers dropped to 53.6 million from 57.1 million.

The survey involved interviews in 9,250 randomly chosen homes.

Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan, joining Bush in announcing the results, spoke of "marked progress [in] changing attitudes and behaviors as more and more of our neighbors and co-workers have turned away from illegal drugs."

Sullivan cited favorable results from a survey of cocaine-related cases reaching hospital emergency rooms. Such cases dropped by 9.5%, from 8,323 cases in the first quarter of 1990 to 7,532 cases in the second quarter.

The emergency room statistics are among the most important indicators of hard-core drug abuse, because they monitor the overdoses and drug-related violence that are among the most tangible consequences of chronic cocaine addiction.

Biden was joined in questioning the household survey by Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.), chairman of the House Select Committee on Narcotics.

A26

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 20, 1990

Cocaine Use Down 45%, U.S. Says; Doubt Voiced

■ **Drugs:** Bush hails results of survey. The findings are sharply disputed by Sen. Biden and L.A. Police Dept.

COCAINE: Drug Supply Down for 1st Time in Decade

Continued from A1

police department in Torrance. "I think we have the drug dealers on the run."

The DEA report to the Senate Judiciary Committee provided the first detailed federal explanation for data from across the United States showing that prices dealers are paying for cocaine have surged in recent months. When declining purity is taken into account, the price of pure cocaine has surged an estimated 88% in Los Angeles since last December, DEA officials said after the hearing.

The drug agency cautioned that large quantities of cocaine probably remain stockpiled in South America and it noted that the drug still is readily available for purchase in most American cities, though often in diluted form.

But in formal testimony by a high-ranking official, the DEA cast aside its past reluctance to draw conclusions from the trends and said that it is now certain that intensified law enforcement crackdown in South America has disrupted cocaine shipments and left American markets in short supply.

"This is really the first dip we've seen since the epidemic began," said Ronald Caffrey, a DEA deputy assistant administrator.

The chairman of the Senate panel, Sen. Joseph R. Biden Jr. (D-Del.), immediately hailed the report as "good news" and a long-awaited sign that the United States had begun to make inroads against the cocaine supply.

And in Los Angeles, police department spokesman Cmdr. William Booth said that the same shortages that have sent wholesale

prices soaring have now forced some dealers to switch from peddling cocaine back to selling marijuana.

But officials from both political parties, and all levels of law enforcement tempered their comments with warnings against excess optimism, saying that the new findings demonstrate the need to keep up the pressure on drug trafficking.

"We should have more disruption, more pressure," William J. Bennett, director of the White House Office of Drug Control Policy, said in an interview. "If this is a response to our putting the heat on, then let's turn up the thermostat." Added Biden, considered a leading Democratic spokesman on drug issues, "We still have a long, long way to go."

The new indications of a cocaine shortage reflect a dramatic shift in the U.S. market for the drug. In the last three months, wholesale cocaine prices in major American cities have spiraled upward while average purity of the drug has spiraled downward.

The resulting diminution in the purity of cocaine—from an average 66% to 55% since the end of the year—is expected to have an accelerating effect on what was already a significant decline in cocaine-related medical emergencies in the United States, officials said.

Besides the 88% increase in Los Angeles since December, the combined effect of the price boom and quality plunge has meant that the real cost of pure cocaine at wholesale has jumped by an estimated 67% in Houston, 64% in New York City, 50% in Chicago and 23% in

Miami.

The percentage increases were calculated by adjusting the average wholesale price of a kilogram of diluted cocaine to reflect the price actually paid for the pure drug it contains. The adjusted percentages are higher because the purity has been declining at the same time that the price of the diluted product has been increasing.

Even the average price for the increasingly diluted product has jumped across the board, increasing to \$32,000 per kilogram from \$25,000 in Chicago, for example.

The drug agency did not provide detailed statistics from 19 other U.S. cities surveyed by its officials in recent weeks. But Caffrey said that the agency is now confident that shortages of the drug had emerged at the wholesale level "almost nationwide."

Law enforcement officials in Chicago and Houston echoed that assessment, saying that sharp price increases in their cities, coupled with accounts provided by confidential informants, have convinced them that incoming cocaine shipments have become increasingly scarce.

And in Miami, James Hall, director of the Up Front Drug Information Center and a member of an advisory panel for the National Institute of Drug Abuse, said it is clear that there has been a "dramatic escalation" of wholesale cocaine prices in most American cities.

The shortage in the wholesale market is regarded as particularly significant because it is the area most likely to reflect disruption in the pipeline that delivers cocaine

from South American manufacturers to distributors in the United States.

Caffrey, the senior DEA official, acknowledged in his testimony that there are some indications that the shortage has resulted from a calculated decision by traffickers to stockpile cocaine in safe havens outside the United States in hopes of forcing prices up.

But he said other evidence points to the role played by the law enforcement crackdown, which in recent months has resulted in record cocaine seizures in Mexico and Colombia and targeted millions of dollars in U.S. funds to stepped-up efforts to intercept drug shipments.

As a result, Caffrey and other federal drug experts said, drug traffickers may have been unable to deliver sufficient supplies of cocaine to the United States or been forced to postpone some shipments in hopes of rerouting them along more secure supply lines.

"I think they have to work a little harder in their minds to get it through the lines," the DEA official said.

The disruption in the wholesale market has not emerged in an obvious fashion on the street, where law enforcement officials across the country said that one-gram quantities of cocaine still are available at prices that have remained constant for months.

But federal officials said their new findings show that those one-gram quantities are considerably less pure than they were six months ago.

Staff writer Ron Smith in Los Angeles contributed to this story.

18504993
LATimes

Nation & State

Illegal drug sales in U.S. top \$40 billion

The Associated Press

WASHINGTON
Americans shelled out more than \$40 billion for illegal drugs last year, according to a new and "very rough" estimate of the illicit retail market.

"A hell of a lot of money is being spent for drugs," Bob Martinez, director of the Office of National Drug Control Policy, said yesterday as he released the report.

The study estimates "the amount of money America's users actually took out of their pockets, or took out of other people's pockets, to purchase drugs," Martinez told a national conference on state and local drug policy.

He said illicit retail sales declined over the last three years, but "we still devoted

\$40 to \$50 billion to it in 1990."

The report is more specific, estimating that last year's retail sales totaled \$40.4 billion. That reflects a decline from an estimated \$49.8 billion in 1989 and \$51.6 billion the year before. Last year's total included \$17.5 billion for cocaine, \$12.3 billion for heroin, \$8.8 billion for marijuana and \$1.8 billion for other drugs.

For comparison, the report said Americans spend \$44 billion a year on alcoholic beverages and \$37 billion a year on tobacco products. The Pharmaceutical Manufacturers Association says Americans spent \$38.6 billion on prescription drugs in 1990.

Martinez cautioned that the conclusions are not definitive and said he expects them

to be scrutinized and updated as better data become available. The study was done by Abt Associates Inc. of Cambridge, Mass., to serve as a "benchmark" by which to judge progress in the war on drugs, he said.

Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y., chairman of the House Select Committee on Narcotics, dismissed the report as "irrelevant and insignificant. It adds nothing to the policy discussions and debate over how we should slay the drug dragon."

The study analyzed data already published by various federal agencies, said Bruce Carnes, the drug office's director of planning, budget and administration.

He said the figures are "a very rough estimate."

For example, estimates of last year's retail marijuana sales ranged from a high of \$20 billion to "much lower" than the \$8.8 billion ultimately included in the report. "We made an inference on the marijuana number," he said.

Martinez touted the study as the government's first effort to document the illicit retail sales.

However, the government's National Narcotics Intelligence Consumers Committee, consisting of numerous federal agencies involved in the war on drugs, made similar estimates from 1977 through 1980 before dropping the exercise because of methodological problems. The committee's final estimate was \$79 billion, the midpoint of a range, in 1980.



Frederick W. Smith
Chairman and
Chief Executive Officer

October 6, 1992

VIA FAX: 202/456-1121

2006 Corporate Avenue
Memphis, TN 38132
901 396 3377
U.S. Mail, Box 727
Memphis, TN 38194-1841

The Honorable James Baker
Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. Secretary:

I'm sorry we were unable to speak on the phone. Therefore, I decided to send this information.

The conference report on H.R. 11 currently being considered in the Senate has many provisions that will help the economy and American business:

- Incentives for housing, jobs, and Research and Development expenditures;
- Savings incentives (through IRAs);
- Investment incentives (in the enterprise zone provisions);
- Simplification provisions relating to pension plans and intangible assets;
- Customs Modernization.

The latter two issues are of major significance to Federal Express and tens of thousands of our employees - especially the pension issue which was passed by Congress as H.R. 4210 last spring but was vetoed by the President. These two issues are essentially revenue neutral by the way.

Businesses, including Federal Express, have worked hard for a number of years on tax code improvements that are included in H.R. 11. We believe this bill should become law.

If the President points to what is left in this bill as the reason for a veto, I fear the press might report it as "President vetoes own tax bill" and attempt to portray him as putting politics ahead of governing and the economy. Further, the President has said he is going to sign the Energy bill which contains miscellaneous revenue provisions similar to those in H.R. 11. Won't the President be severely damaged if he supports legislation put forth by the major oil companies but refuses to support those issues of broader concern in H.R. 11?

- CJ called to acknowledge
- JAB saw; appreciated letter

NRN

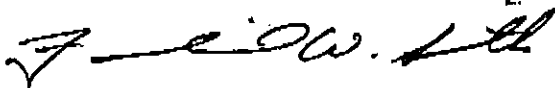


The Honorable James Baker
Page 2
October 6, 1992

When he vetoed H.R. 4210 last spring, the President made clear that he viewed the across-the-board reductions in personal exemptions and itemized deductions as "new taxes" that he opposed. However, in an effort to address the President's concerns, Congress eliminated those tax increase provisions from H.R. 11. The remaining provisions that raise any revenue are simply increased collection of existing taxes, speed up of existing taxes, structural changes, or the closing of loopholes.

While this may be a difficult decision, the President has often done what he believes to be right to increase employment and to enhance the competitive position of American business. I strongly urge you to recommend that President Bush sign H.R. 11 when it is finally approved by both the House and the Senate.

Sincerely,



FWS:mmm
8943

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▶ HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER III
CHIEF OF STAFF
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON DC 20005

Janet Mullins

TO: HONORABLE JAMES A. BAKER III
CHIEF OF STAFF
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, DC 20005

FROM: JACK E. ROBINSON II
ROBINSON & ROBINSON ADVERTISING GROUP
61 ARBORWAY
BOSTON, MASS 02130

DEAR MR BAKER:

I ATTENDED THE GOP CAMPAIGN COLLEGE IN 1972 AFTER HAVING BEEN SPONSORED BY CHARLIE BLACK, WHILE HE WAS AT THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE WITH JACQUIE IRBY AS DIRECTOR OF THE COLLEGE. I PROCEEDED AFTER GRADUATION TO GET THE LARGEST, STATE VOTER PERCENTAGE (21 PERCENT) FOR RICHARD NIXON IN THE ONLY STATE THAT HE LOST, MASSACHUSETTS.

BILL CLINTON PRESENTLY ENJOYS THE LARGEST LEAD THAT ANY PRESIDENTIAL CHALLENGER HAS HELD SINCE THE TRUMAN-DEWEY RACE OVER 44 YEARS AGO.

BLACK AMERICANS ARE STRONGLY, IN THE CLINTON CAMP. 47 PERCENT CLINTON, HOWEVER 53 PERCENT ARE NOT. WHY ARE WE ABANDONING THIS GROUP? IN MANY URGAN AREAS THIS IS THE "CLINTON MARGIN" OF VICTORY.

SINCE 1991 I HAVE WRITTEN CLAYTON YEUTTER AND BOB TEETER. I HAVE TRIED TO PENETRATE THE CIRCLE THAT GUARD CHARLIE BLACK AND FRED MALEK ALL TO NO AVAIL.

THE NOVEMBER GROUP HAS REFUSED TO ACCEPT OR EVEN REVIEW THE TV AND RADIO SPOTS THAT WE CREATED ESPECIALLY TO ADDRESS THIS LARGE VOTER GROUP. WITH THE MAGIC JOHNSON RESIGNATION, IT MAKE THE JOB OF DIRECTING THIS VOTER SEGMENT TO THE PRESIDENT, A BIT MORE DIFFICULT, HOWEVER NOT IMPOSSIBLE.

MY FIRM HAVE DEVELOPED A "WINNING CAMPAIGN FOR THOSE VOTERS",

TO REPLY BY MAILGRAM MESSAGE, PHONE WESTERN UNION ANYTIME, DAY OR NIGHT:

FOR YOUR LOCAL NUMBER, SEE THE WHITE PAGES

OF YOUR LOCAL TELEPHONE DIRECTORY

OR

DIAL (TOLL-FREE) 800-325-6000



CAN WE ASSIST THE PRESIDENT IN THIS CAMPAIGN?

I AM A REPUBLICAN, I HAVE WORKED IN EVERY REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SINCE 1972, AND HAVE SERVED ON THE NATIONAL BLACK AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR ALL REPUBLICAN PRESIDENTIAL CONTENDERS SINCE 1972.

I HAVE ALSO WORKED IN MY OWN STATE LEADING THE MASSACHUSETTS BLACK AMERICAN'S FOR REPUBLICAN CONTENDERS.

JIM, I AM FIGHTING HARD TO DISPEL THE NOTION THAT MANY BLACK AMERICAN'S HOLD, THAT THE "REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE, GEORGE BUSH DOES NOT WANT BLACK AMERICANS TO PUBLICLY HELP IN THIS ELECTION".

AM I WRONG?

PLEASE ADVISE, OR LET US HELP...

SINCERELY,

JACK E. ROBINSON - PRESIDENT
ROBINSON & ROBINSON ADVERTISING GROUP LTD.

CC: PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

BUSH/QUAYLE "92"
BOB TEETER
CHARLIE BLACK
FRED MALEK

NOVEMBER GROUP
CLAYTON WILHITE

MARTIN COHN

13:17 EST

MGMCOMP

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OR

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NRN-10/17 cj called to
thank - JAB appreciated
etc.

Princeton University

Princeton, New Jersey 08544-0015

President's Room

October 1, 1992

The Honorable James A. Baker III
Chief of Staff and Senior Counselor
to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Jim:

Knowing what your schedule must be at this point, I would only write on a matter of great importance. I understand that there is a slim chance that tax legislation will be passed before the Congress adjourns for the election. If such a bill is passed, we hope very much that it will include the restoration of full deductibility for all gifts of appreciated property. This important incentive for private giving is critical to Princeton and many other colleges, universities, and charities.

Our Trustee Committee on Public Affairs, chaired by Jack Danforth, has identified this issue as one of its most important legislative goals. Jack has been a very effective champion for the legislation on behalf of the charitable community.

As these matters reach the point of decision, we would be grateful for anything you can do to assure that the provision restoring full deductibility of appreciated gifts is included in any legislation that may be adopted.

We hope that you will be on campus again soon. Your last visit, although brief, generated substantial student and faculty enthusiasm.

Sincerely,



Harold T. Shapiro

Filed: 10/6/92
(517) 487-
0090

copy

NRN

DATE: 10/5/92

TO: President George Bush,
Mr. James Baker, Mr. Robert Teeter

COMPANY: THE WHITE HOUSE

FAX: (202) 456-2461

RE: MESSAGE SUGGESTIONS TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE

FROM: Ms. Carol M. Speier

OUR FAX: (313) 348-5598 / THERMAGUARD, INC.
Novi, Michigan 48375

MESSAGE: Dear Mr. Bush, Mr. Baker, and Mr. Teeter:
Please review the enclosed suggestions for
possible incorporation into Mr. Bush's
campaign messages. Thank you.

10/6/92 See initial
for copy sent
ahead of this one
CS



CAROL M. SPEIER
29601 Citation Circle
Apartment 9102
Farmington Hills, Mi. 48331
(313) 855-7055

October 1, 1992

Mr. George Bush
President
United States of America
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear President Bush:

I'm placing in writing the most important single message you must relate to the American people in order to win, this Presidential race.

The message is: DO WE, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE, WANT CAPITALISM -- OR SOCIALISM -- as the governing force of our great nation?

DO WE WANT FREEDOM -- or CONFINEMENT AND LIMITATION OF OUR RIGHTS?

DO WE WANT TO GROW AS A SOCIETY -- or LOSE OUR FREEDOM AS A PEOPLE?

These are the real issues in this election. They must be echoed loud and clear in laymens' terms.

Additionally, since our words are walking magnets, you must give this message:

I'm grateful that the American people have chosen me to lead this great country. And, I need to be elected to another term to be given the opportunity to implement my projects and my programs.

I need your help to make this happen. In short, I need your vote.

copy

October 1, 1992

To: Mr. George Bush, President
Re: The Most Important Message to Relate to Your Constituents,
continuing

Page 2.

Remember, Mr. Bush, that

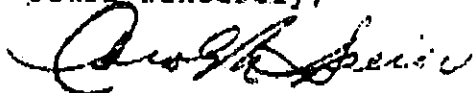
FOCUS EQUALS REALITY

Therefore, focus verbally on the "POSITIVES" and don't allow your opponents to bring you down to their level.

Hoping these suggestions will be of assistance to your assistants and writers of speeches, as well as significant staff members, I close, wishing you the best of luck for a victory this coming November.

I am

Yours sincerely,



Carol M. Speier

CS/cs

cc: Mr. Baker
Mr. Teeter

*Fixed: 10/6/92 to Mr. David Doyle for suggested
input into the Presidential Campaign
messages.*
Carol