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Story Name: LOOK BACK AT KHRUSHCHEV'S VISIT TO UN

Air Date: 1988-12-06

Start Time: 00:00:00

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Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Finally here this evening, an item that caught our eye in the Soviet newspaper Izvestia about Mr. Gorbachev's visit to the UN. "It will be pointedly different", the newspaper said, "than Nikita Khrushchev's appearance in 1960". And as some will remember, Mr. Khrushchev was hardly the model leader of a major power. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(OLD FTG THROUGHOUT) Nikita Khrushchev's visit in 1960 seemed to bring out some of the worse on both sides. (PROTEST) Pickets showed up outside the Soviet Mission. Some signs questioned Khrushchev's sexual orientation. (PC) In response, he held a press conference on a balcony to denounce the demonstrators. (UN FTG) At the United Nations, Khrushchev pounded desks. (POUNDING) Finally, one day, when British Prime Minister Harold MacMillan spoke back quietly, it all came to a head not with anger but a chuckle.

PRIME MINISTER HAROLD MACMILLAN

(UN FTG) There's been a great deal of communist denunciation at both this assembly and elsewhere.

JOHN MARTIN

As he disputed Khrushchev's claims, the Soviet leader stood up. (KHRUSHCHEV SCREAMING)

PRIME MINISTER HAROLD MACMILLAN

But I'd like it translated if you would, certainly. (LAUGHTER)

JOHN MARTIN

There was perhaps no way to translate what Khrushchev was doing except to say he was behaving like a spoiled brat. (UN FTG) And thanks to a Englishman's mild reaction, for one moment, everyone understood perfectly. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: US CRITICIZED FOR REFUSING ARAFAT A VISA FOR UN SPEECH

Air Date: 1988-11-28

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

We begin tonight with a beating that the US is taking because the Secretary of State decided that the PLO chairman, Yasir Arafat, could not come and speak to the United Nations. Yasir Arafat will seem to his enemies an unlikely symbol of free speech, but all sorts of people who cannot automatically be described as friends of the Palestine Liberation Organization, believe the US has made a major diplomatic mistake. ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** is at the United Nations.

JOHN MARTIN

At the United Nations today, Arab delegates studied ways to get the United States to reverse its decision or to move the debate on Palestinian statehood out of New York to Geneva.

MAN

This decision by the United States is a clear, unambiguous, outright violation of the host country's obligation.

JOHN MARTIN

But in Washington, Secretary Shultz defended the ban.

REPORTER

Do you think that's the way to encourage Palestinian moderation?

SECRETARY GEORGE SHULTZ

It's the way to encourage people not to engage in terrorism.

PRESIDENT REAGAN

I think the other way would have sent out a wrong signal that we were patsies.

AMBASSADOR CLOVIS MAKSOOR

Denying Mr. Arafat a visa does not show any macho, it does show a behavior of a big power but not necessarily a great power on this issue.

JOHN MARTIN

(UN GENERAL ASSEMBLY) At a UN meeting even American allies called on the US to reconsider, but it would not.

CHARLES REDMAN

That decision is firm and final and the Secretary stands behind it totally.

JOHN MARTIN

In Baghdad today, Arafat asked, "Why are the Americans afraid that I speak to world opinion and explain the new Palestinian decisions?"

(ARAFAT) Arafat spoke at the UN 14 years ago. At that time, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger told associates the UN treaty prohibited the US, as host country, from barring him. Now, says the State Department, the PLO's failure to halt terrorist activities by some of its associate units is a threat to Americans. It cited the murder of US tourist Leon Klinghoffer aboard the Achille Lauro. (SU)

Even so, two of Secretary Shultz's closest advisers told ABC News they were aghast at his decision, but would not say so publicly. (DELEGATES) Late today, as delegates met in a second public session, behind the scenes they tentatively agreed to move the Palestinian debate out of New York. A high US official told ABC News, the extraordinary session would be convened December 13th in Geneva and would probably last two to four days.

JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, New York.

PETER JENNINGS

The only officials who were publicly happy about the US decision on Arafat appeared to be those in the US government who supported Mr. Shultz and Israeli officials, who consistently refuse to consider Arafat a spokesman for Palestinians.

----- Segment Number: 10 -----

Story Name: LOOK AT KENNEDY LEGACY: THE PEACE CORPS

Air Date: 1988-11-22

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Different news organizations, just like different individuals have concentrated on different aspects of the Kennedy legacy. This week, we have long been impressed by that particular challenge which President Kennedy issued to young Americans about how they could serve their country by serving the people of other lands. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(KENNEDY) At his inaugural, **JOHN** Kennedy issued a call to service. **PRESIDENT JOHN F. KENNEDY**

Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country.

JOHN MARTIN

The speech unleashed a tide of idealism and two months later the Peace Corps was born. Bill Moyers joined as a deputy director.

BILL MOYERS

When he talked about the Peace Corps, suddenly he was saying to me, hey, there's a world out there and you're part of it, go and belong.

JOHN MARTIN

(PEACE CORPS WORKERS) Despite meager pay, there was a flood of applicants. At its peak, 15,500 Americans were sent overseas. The idea was simple. Help countries which needed trained workers, promote understanding of America and help Americans understand the world. Chris Dodd was a 22 year old community organizer in the Dominican Republic. Today, he is a United States Senator from Connecticut.

SENATOR CHRISTOPHER DODD

No matter what job I'll ever hold, there'll be no job that meant as much to me or has profound an effect on my life as being a Peace Corps volunteer.

JOHN MARTIN

(PHOTO) Mike McCaskey was a 22 year old philosopher, who taught English and science to high school students in Ethiopia. Today, he is President of the Chicago Bears. (GAME) He says the Corps taught him how to mold team spirit.

MIKE MCCASKEY

Wanting to make the effort to understand how things look from the other guy's point of view, I think, is a very strong product of having spent two years working in another culture.

JOHN MARTIN

(FILM MAKING) Hollywood film director Taylor Hackford learned about another culture in Bolivia, where at 22 he says he gained a lesson for life.

TAYLOR HACKFORD

Well, you learned that it isn't, you know, like facile, you just can't say, okay we'll do this, this, this and the problem is solved.

JOHN MARTIN

Today the Peace Corps is smaller, about 6,000 volunteers and older, average age, 31. (VARIOUS PEACE CORPS SCENES) It's budget was cut in the 1970s, but now Congress wants to fund 10,000 volunteers by 1992.

G. SABORIO FERNANDEZ

I love them. You remember the story of the ugly American? Well, they are the beautiful American.

JOHN MARTIN

In all, 180,000 Americans have served and more are ready.

LORET RUPPE

But if you challenge Americans, they will answer yes in the '80s just as they did in the 1960s.

JOHN MARTIN

Last night at the Capitol, some returned to a vigil for the President whose message lives on.

VOICE OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY

(ETERNAL FLAME) There can be no greater service to our country and

no source of pride more real than to be a member of the Peace Corps
of the United States.

JOHN MARTIN

JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, Washington.



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----- Segment Number: 3 -----

Story Name: QUAYLE TRIES TO REASSURE AMERICANS OF HIS CAPABILITY

Air Date: 1988-11-14

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Vice President-elect Quayle said today that he intends to resign from his Senate seat in time to give his successor a jump in seniority over other new senators who will not be sworn in until January the 3rd. Republican Governor Robert Orr of Indiana will choose Quayle's replacement. Meanwhile Quayle has been in Washington concentrating on his new job. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(QUAYLE) Dan Quayle is embarking on his first important assignment, preparing to be President if needed, while repairing his reputation. Today he was hard at work.

VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT DAN QUAYLE

I'm going to have full access to the President-elect. I will be by his side as a very good, capable, a confidential adviser. In due time, the American people certainly will not only have the respect and confidence of me, but they're going to learn just how great a President George Bush is going to be.

JOHN MARTIN

But Quayle is fighting the deep suspicion, even by Bush supporters, that he is not up to the job. Some openly criticize his staff as incompetent, an idea he shrugged off today.

VICE PRESIDENT-ELECT DAN QUAYLE

We have 70 days between now and inauguration. So I have plenty of time to recruit the best and the brightest people I can find.

JOHN MARTIN

But beyond those suspicions, Quayle is burdened by being the butt of jokes.

MARK RUSSELL / COMEDIAN

I like the man because, particularly when he said, if he were made President all of a sudden he would say a prayer, and oh, wouldn't we all.

JOHN MARTIN

There are continuing questions by editorial analysts, and ridicule by newspaper cartoonists around the nation. (CARTOONS) Dan Quayle in a tree house sentenced to stay out of sight. As lightweight as a feather. And television comedians making light of the man who could be President.

MAN

(SATURDAY NIGHT LIVE SCENE) President-elect George Bush this week finally owned up and admitted that the only reason he chose Dan Quayle as his running mate was to guarantee that no one would attempt to assassinate him in the next four years.

JOHN MARTIN

Despite the smiles and wisecracks, some experts say Quayle has no lasting problem.

STEPHEN HESS / BROOKINGS INSTITUTE

This is a passing fancy. He's this month one-liner and we'll go on to something else next month.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) Quayle has been courting conservative journalists to win a better press. For now, he faces a fight almost as difficult as winning election, winning the confidence of the people he serves.

JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, Washington.

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Air Date: 1988-11-10

----- Segment Number: 5 -----

Story Name: NATIONWIDE CONSUMERS ARE CONCERN OVER INSURANCE RATES

Air Date: 1988-11-10

Start Time: 00:00:00

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Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Well, as you can imagine, this concern over the high cost of car insurance is shared by consumers in many parts of the country. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(CRASH SCENE) If you survive this crash, and somebody did, chances are your insurance would cover some of the costs of repairing your car and restoring your health. But your premiums would go up, say insurance companies, to keep pace with daily hospital costs, up 100 percent in ten years and jury damage awards, up 140 percent.

(HOSPITAL/COURT SCENE) New Jersey drivers pay the most in the nation, an average of 603 dollars a year. (HIGHWAY/GRAPHICS) Iowans pay the least, about 243 dollars a year. So if it is upheld in court, the California reform is likely to spread. (INSURANCE OFFICE) Texas is one state that already sets rates. It employs a general council to serve policyholders. She's delighted about California's grass roots activism but still worried.

KAY DOUGHTY

However, I am afraid that that initiative may have gone too far and that the voluntary market for property cashed insurance may dry up.

JOHN MARTIN

Nationwide, insurers say they can't afford drastic rate cuts.

CRAIG BERRINGTON

No industry can be expected to provide a product for so much less than what the product costs.

JOHN MARTIN

(NADER) But the man who started the California revolt insists the insurance companies are gouging customers.

RALPH NADER

We're talking about an insurance industry that is reporting record profits historically. And they can certainly afford a modest refund for the overcharges of the past four years.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) But Wall Street analysts report only modest profits. So if the California reform spreads, it will put companies and consumers on a national collision course. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 5 -----

Story Name: US DIFFICULTY IN DEALING WITH DRUGS TRAFFIC: COCAINE FOUND ON

Air Date: 1988-10-24

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

There was another reminder today of the tremendous difficulty in dealing with the plague of drugs on an international level. Two Mexican police officers were arraigned in New York City on charges of plotting to smuggle at least 50 million dollars worth of heroin a month into the United States. As we said a reminder that despite good intentions, the United States and the governments of other countries are fighting an uphill battle. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

In Colombia, soldiers destroy cocaine laboratories. (VARIOUS SCENES) In the islands off Florida, Bahamian police and American agents search for smugglers. In Mexico, the government stages a show of destroying marijuana and cocaine. All these efforts look good but appearances are deceiving. Case in point, Mexico. A third of all the marijuana, heroin and cocaine reaching the United States last year, was produced in or transported through Mexico.

WILLIAM VON RAAB

The area just south of the US-Mexican border remains a safe haven for drug traffickers.

JOHN MARTIN

American agents have identified nearly 50 pirate airstrips in Baja California alone. This dry lake bed, called Laguna Salada has a runway less than 40 miles from the border. But US agents are severely restricted from operating inside Mexico.

KEITH POWELL

The border for us is an iron curtain, we cannot cross it. Obviously the smuggler doesn't play by the same rules.

JOSE ORTEGA PADILLA

(INTERPRETER) Americans should work in their country, they should resolve their problems and we should try to resolve ours.

JOHN MARTIN

Mexico says it has imprisoned 8,000 drug traffickers this year alone, yet American agents charge that some smugglers operate under government protection.

JOE HOLLER

Some of the officials on that side are in on what's coming across.

JOHN MARTIN

Six weeks ago, at this ranch outside Tijuana, Mexican Marines stormed a suspected drug depot. They killed four men believed to be Mexican police making extra money guarding drugs.

WILLIAM VON RAAB

So they're really unable to police their own country because of the corruption.

JOHN MARTIN

Mexico is America's third largest trading partner and a major supplier of oil. Just last week with Mexico's oil revenues in decline, the US provided a 3.5 billion dollar short term loan. (WH) Yet US officials do not use this leverage, the threat to cut off trade or aid, to force improved cooperation on drugs. But what about countries where America has used leverage and gained cooperation. Case in point, the Bahamas. The government here permits the US to fly surveillance balloons and assigns Bahamian police to patrol aboard American helicopters. But with 80,000 square miles and only 1,600 Bahamian police officers, the islands are still a primary transshipment point for drugs and there are suspicions about officials at the top.

MAN

(SILHOUETTE) I know that some of the top cocaine barons of the world have bought and paid for the public officials and land in the Bahamas.

JOHN MARTIN

This man, Prime Minister Lynden Pindling, has been identified as the intended recipient of protection money, a charge he denies. You

have no suspicions about the prime minister?

PAUL ADDERLY

Absolutely none. None whatsoever, no justification for it. I'm damn tired of people just because we happen to be small and black, deciding that this is some kind of banana republic, that some damn crackpot dictator can run it by putting a gun to anybody's head.

JOHN MARTIN

Dictatorships or not, foreign governments resent being told what to do and many complain they get conflicting signals from Washington.

PAUL ADDERLY

The State Department is a government, the Justice Department is a government, the FBI is a government, the DEA is a government, the Embassy here is another government and you get sometimes, you get six answers from the six of them.

JOHN MARTIN

Some Americans agree. Justice Department officials say the State Department failed to fight hard enough to win the extradition of some major drug traffickers.

ROBERT MERKLE

Our diplomatic efforts have been largely couched in terms of economic and political initiatives and the drug trafficking problems have been relegated to the bottom shelf.

JOHN MARTIN

(SHANTY) The reasons for the disparity are clear. In Mexico, for example, how can the United States crackdown on a vital southern neighbor facing economic and political chaos. (SU) So a confusion of voices, corruption abroad, and the continuing high demand for drugs suggests that until it creates a coherent international strategy, the United States will almost certainly continue to lose the war on drugs. JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, New York.

PETER JENNINGS

One other note on drugs today, customs agents in Miami have seized an Eastern Airlines jet after it arrived from Colombia with 56 pounds of cocaine hidden on board. (JET) And as a result Eastern could be fined close to a million dollars for having inadequate security.

----- Segment Number: 1 -----

Story Name: BUSH USING HORTON FURLOUGH ISSUE AGAINST DUKAKIS

Air Date: 1988-10-07

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: SAM DONALDSON, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: SAM DONALDSON

The Republicans today were busy trying to change the subject away from Dan Quayle and get off the defensive. (BUSH) Vice President Bush, campaigning in Ohio, hit Governor Dukakis again on the issue of crime. He assailed the prison furlough program in Massachusetts as a stupid law. And cited a Maryland couple assaulted by a prisoner on release. That couple, Angela and Clifford Barnes, has been telling their story publicly on behalf of the Republican ticket. **JOHN MARTIN** reports on this campaign tactic and on the furlough program behind it.

JOHN MARTIN

In 1986, in Maryland, Clifford Barnes was assaulted and his fiance raped by a convicted murderer, Willie Horton, serving life without parole. (PHOTOS) Horton had escaped from a Massachusetts prison furlough program on his tenth trip outside the walls. (BARNES) Today in Los Angeles, Barnes started a tour of California and Texas denouncing furloughs. George Bush's supporters are paying his expenses.

CLIFFORD BARNES

My wife and I have never heard from the Dukakis administration, there's never been even an apology to us for what happened to us.

JOHN MARTIN

In Ohio, Bush called on Dukakis to apologize to the victims for a program he called a tragic mistake.

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

The Massachusetts furlough program was unique in all the country. The only one, the only furlough program to let first degree murderers, sentenced to life, without parole, out on weekend passes.

JOHN MARTIN

(OLD FTG) The Massachusetts program was unique but it started not under Dukakis but under a Republican governor 16 years ago. (PRISON INT) And despite the fears created by some notorious cases, at least 36 states permit convicts serving life sentences to spend time outside the walls. (GRAPHICS) All 50 states have some sort of furlough program for convicts serving less than life sentences. Federal prisons do too. Campaign officials declined to say whether George Bush favors any furloughs, but even law and order conservatives have discovered how hard it is to predict what will happen when convicts are furloughed. (SWEARING-IN) When Ronald Reagan was Governor of California, two inmates convicted of non-violent crimes committed murders while on furlough. In March, Dukakis signed a bill denying furloughs to convicts facing life in prison without possibility of parole. But Willie Horton has become a campaign burden for Michael Dukakis. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name:

Air Date: 1988-09-25

Start Time: 00:00:00

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Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: DAVID BRINKLEY, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content:

ANNOUNCER

From ABC News, This Week with David Brinkley. Now, from our Washington headquarters, here's David Brinkley.

DAVID BRINKLEY

It does seem that the American people are easily able to contain their enthusiasm for either George Bush or Michael Dukakis and that neither of them has set the voters aflame. Therefore, if there is a clear and obvious winner in tonight's debate, that could start him on his way to the White House and, at least, the people will see how the two of them stand up under some pressure. It will, of course, be seen here tonight on ABC at 8:00 o'clock Eastern. In the meantime, we will question spokesmen for each of the two candidates on how they see the debate and the campaign so far: James A. Baker III, Chairman of the Bush Campaign and Theodore Sorensen, Senior Adviser to the Dukakis Campaign. Some background from our man Jack Smith and our discussion here with George Will, Sam Donaldson and David Gergen. All here on our Sunday program. First, a little news since the Sunday morning papers. In Plains, Georgia, Billy Carter, the younger brother of former President Jimmy Carter, died this morning. He was 51. He died of pancreatic cancer. The same disease killed his father and a sister. In Winston - Salem, North Carolina, on the campus of Wake Forest University tonight, the first of 1988's presidential debates. Four journalists have been invited there to ask the questions and ABC's Peter Jennings is one of them. Peter is there in Winston - Salem now. Peter, why are you standing outside?

PETER JENNINGS, ABC NEWS

Because, David, the Secret Service has already begun sweeping or cleaning Wait Chapel behind me, which has, I must say, just added to the tension the people already feel here. Wait Chapel is where the debate's going to be held. They've used it for everything, including rock concerts. It's well established for the television show, which it is, and everybody is just about ready.

MR BRINKLEY

Peter, I understand that you have been asked to ask about 8,000 different questions of the candidates tonight.

MR JENNINGS

Well, I think that on Monday morning, David, anybody whose question we don't ask is probably going to think of us with ill favor, but yes, we've had questions from all across the country, from special interest groups, from average citizens. I discovered last week, as I told somebody, what the fax machine was invented for. And even in Wake Forest here we had some questions from an entire classroom of children. So it's a reflection, at least among special interest groups, I think, of how high their intense interest is.

MR BRINKLEY

Give us an example, will you?

MR JENNINGS

Well, there have been questions on just about everything - a lot of questions about the environment, questions about Central America, the Middle East - but many questions which appear to wish to find out more about the candidates. What we've had from people is essentially a reflection of the polls, that a great majority of Americans don't yet feel they know either of these men very well.

MR BRINKLEY

Okay, Peter. Thank you. We will all be there tonight to put it all on the air, beginning at 8:00 o'clock Eastern Time, through to the end and, in fact, beyond. Thanks again. See you shortly.

MR JENNINGS

I look forward to seeing you, David.

MR BRINKLEY

A new poll by The New York Times and CBS, out this morning, showed that 37 percent of the voters had no great preference for Bush or Dukakis and could easily change their minds between now and Election Day. And more than half - 52 percent - said neither candidate was saying much or saying enough about the important issues. The poll had

Bush leading, 46 percent to 40. We'll be back with all the rest of today's program in a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MR BRINKLEY

Tonight, the debate in Winston - Salem, North Carolina. The town's biggest industry is tobacco and it produces a brand of cigarettes called Winston and one called Salem. But the biggest industry tonight will be presidential politics and before we ask our guests about it, here's some background from Jack Smith. Jack?

JACK SMITH, ABC NEWS

(VO) David, 1960, the first presidential debate ever televised. But it was Richard Nixon's pasty make - up and sweaty face viewers noticed, not what he said and JOHN Kennedy won the debate and the election. There were no debates again 'til 1976, when Gerald Ford's famous gaffe about Poland sent his campaign into a tailspin and he lost the election to Jimmy Carter.

PRES GERALD FORD

(1976) There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe and there never will be under a Ford Administration.

SMITH

(VO) In both cases, the candidates' performance had a devastating effect, so don't expect tonight's exchange to be like the Lincoln - Douglas debates a century ago.

ROBERT BECKEL, POLITICAL ANALYST

There really is not much spontaneity left in presidential debates because the stakes are so high that the inclination is to be cautious, to be over - coached, to have lines down pat before you go in.

SMITH

With a television audience estimated at one hundred million, tonight's 90 - minute debate here at Wake Forest University will be watched by more people than any other event of the campaign. (VO) But it will be highly structured. The candidates have two minutes to answer a panel's questions, one minute for rebuttals, no follow - up questions, nor any opening statements, though each man does have two minutes for a closing statement. Both candidates have been rigidly coached for weeks on everything from how to smile, where to look and what to say. So expect memorized answers, often to questions that aren't asked.

CARTER ESKEW, DEMOCRATIC MEDIA CONSULTANT

The reason that the candidates' handlers are so nervous at these things is that, you know, all of a sudden, the candidates are off on their own for 90 minutes. My God, what could happen?

SMITH

(VO) And the candidates. Should they be nervous? Listen to Walter Mondale who debated Ronald Reagan four years ago.

WALTER MONDALE

That, oh, 60 - foot walk from my dressing room to the debating floor where I was going to debate the President of the United States, was the longest walk I've ever taken in my life.

SMITH

(VO) Bush this weekend said he was relaxed.

VICE PRES GEORGE BUSH

I don't feel any more tense about it than I did with the - going down there to New Orleans.

SMITH

(VO) And Dukakis?

GOV MICHAEL DUKAKIS

Just looking forward to it, getting ready. It's going to be fun.

SMITH

(VO) And critical as well, for Dukakis has more at stake tonight. Bush's aggressive campaigning has Dukakis on the defensive. Just this week, he was outflanked in his own backyard on the crime issue when Bush was seen getting the endorsement of the Boston Patrolmen's Association and Bush has come close to wrapping the flag around his candidacy.

GOV DUKAKIS

Where is George Bush? He's visiting a flag factory today.

SMITH

(VO) But voters are no longer asking, "Where was George?" They're asking, "Who is Michael?" The latest ABC News / Washington Post poll this week not only showed Bush maintaining the lead he's held since last month's GOP convention, 50 to 46 percent, but also indicated he's better known. Sixty - nine percent said they knew enough about Bush to make up their minds. Only 45 percent said they knew enough about Dukakis. If Dukakis, then, has more to gain tonight, Bush has more to lose. He's not only the front runner, he's also notoriously prone to gaffes. Remember what he told a veteran's group earlier this month?

MR BUSH

(Sept 7) Today is Pearl Harbor Day. Forty - seven years ago to this very day, we were hit and hit hard at Pearl Harbor.

SMITH

(VO) It took him nearly a minute to realize his mistake.

MR BUSH

Did I say September 7th? Sorry about that. December 7th, 1941.

DON PENNY, POLITICAL MEDIA CONSULTANT

The Vice President has a problem sometimes with conceptual thought. And that's an electrical malfunction such as the one that Ford had, which means that the brain is two paragraphs ahead of the mouth.

SMITH

(VO) Small wonder the Bush Campaign was less than eager to have debates.

JAMES A BAKER III, BUSH CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN

(August 30) But there are other ways to campaign. Debates have a way of freezing the campaign during their pendency.

PAUL BROUNTAS, DUKAKIS CAMPAIGN CHAIRMAN

We want more debates, they want fewer. We want to start them earlier, they want to start them later.

SMITH

(VO) Dukakis sought just one moderator so he could engage Bush more directly. Instead, there'll be a moderator and a panel. He wanted four debates, there will be two and their dates, starting later than Dukakis wanted, mean the second debate and the debate between the vice presidential candidates, will fall at a time when viewers are distracted by major sports events, like the baseball play - offs and the World Series. This is not the first time, though, a front runner has tried to reduce the impact of a debate by minimizing its audience. In 1984, Ronald Reagan was the front runner. Listen to a tape recorded conversation between some of his aides then. The voices include those of Stu Spencer, now a senior Bush aide and Robert Teeter, now Bush's pollster. (clip from tape recorded conversation)

ROBERT TEETER

You want to do two debates, two weeks in a row?

STU SPENCER

I'd just as soon get those goddamn things over with.

AIDE

Well, if you do them two weeks in a row, you'd probably have an even greater fall - off.

MR SPENCER

Yes, that's right. Pick them on a night of the World Series game, you'll really have a fall - off.

SMITH

(VO) As the debate has drawn closer, both campaigns have sounded an odd note: praise of their opponents.

MR BUSH

He's probably a better debater. I'm lowering expectations.

SMITH

(VO) In fact, Dukakis had two years' experience in the early 1970's moderating the public TV discussion program, The Advocates. But should George Bush really be conceding this sort of thing? You bet. It's called the expectations game and both campaigns are playing it. They're busy lowering expectations for their own candidate so they'll have an easier time afterwards shaping public opinion, especially if their man slips. Four years ago, expectations played a crucial role. The President, over - coached for his first debate with Walter Mondale, appeared so disoriented his age became an issue. He overcame that in a second debate with Mondale by telling a joke that put the age issue to rest.

RONALD REAGAN

(1984) I am not going to exploit for political purposes my opponent's youth and inexperience.

MR BECKEL

And when he came up with that line, I knew that debate was over.

SMITH

(VO) Bob Beckel was Mondale's campaign manager.

MR BECKEL

When the expectations are established going in and one person on that stage can exceed expectations - find a way to turn the tables on everybody, like Reagan did on the age issue - then it's over.

SMITH

Tonight's debate, then, is really a piece of theater. But does that mean watching is a waste of time? No. Despite all the efforts of the candidates' handlers, tonight is the first time voters will see the two men in a situation they do not totally control. And no matter how contrived debates have become, try to imagine what the campaign would be like without them. David?

MR BRINKLEY

Jack, thank you. Coming next, Theodore Sorensen, a senior adviser to the Dukakis Campaign. And, shortly, James A Baker III, until recently Secretary of the Treasury and now Chairman of the Bush Campaign. In a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MR BRINKLEY

Mr Sorensen, thanks for coming in today.

THEODORE SORENSEN, DUKAKIS CAMPAIGN SENIOR ADVISER

My pleasure.

MR BRINKLEY

Pleased to have you with us. Here in the studio are George Will of ABC News and Sam Donaldson, ABC News White House Correspondent. Now, you've been involved, directly or indirectly, in a number of debates in your political career. What do you expect to see tonight?

MR SORENSEN

I think tonight is going to work to the advantage of Governor Dukakis.

MR BRINKLEY

Why?

MR SORENSEN

Well, I'd say there are three reasons. The first is, as your newscast already stated, George Bush is far better known to the one hundred million or more viewers who will be tuning in tonight. I think it helps Mike Dukakis to become better known, to - so they know more about him. The second reason is I've always thought that if this campaign were decided on the issues, Mike Dukakis would win. He's been out there talking about issues, about health care and college education, the environment, drugs, crime and more conventional defense forces and so on. And he's been talking about his record in Massachusetts in cutting taxes, cutting pollution, cutting crime, but unfortunately, the media has not been reporting much on the issues. Tonight, he will have a chance to talk directly to a hundred million people about the issues. The third reason is that there is a sharp contrast between Bush and Dukakis, a sharp contrast in terms of their leadership qualities, their experience in decision - making, their positions on the issues. Tonight, George is not - George Bush, the Vice President, is not going to be hiding behind the flag anymore, he's going to have to come out and let people see that contrast.

GEORGE WILL, ABC NEWS

The word debate is, of course, a misnomer here. We're going to have parallel press conferences, two guys on a stage littered with journalists in a very rigid format, that is, very short answers to these questions. This is not, I gather, the format that the Dukakis camp preferred. What would you like to see in terms of debates?

MR SORENSEN

I think that we would prefer to have the journalists out of the way except to keep time and let the two candidates go at it man to man.

MR WILL

Well, why do you think the other side insisted on this?

MR SORENSEN

They apparently prefer to have a more diffuse presentation which offered fewer opportunities for verbal gaffes and a little more opportunity to think about how to word their answers.

MR WILL

You've been through debates before - you were through the Kennedy - Nixon debates 28 years ago - and then you saw governance. You stood next to a president as he governed, President Kennedy. What do debates have to do with governance? I mean, what are we testing tonight that is in any way relevant to what actually goes on when you're in the Oval Office?

MR SORENSEN

Debates, like campaigns, have less and less relevance to what goes on in the Oval Office but they are not totally irrelevant. For a candidate for president to be up there or without advisers whispering in his ear, without a prepared text, without knowing exactly what question will come to him, tells the American people something about his character and ability.

MR WILL

What? I mean, that almost never happens in the presidency. The presidency isn't a solo act. You're always surrounded by advisers, so isn't this testing an irrelevant attribute?

MR SORENSEN

No, because in the end, under our system, it's the president who must make decisions. We put an awful lot into the judgment of the president and that judgment is in some ways tested by this debate.

SAM DONALDSON, ABC NEWS WHITE HOUSE CORRESPONDENT

But Mr Sorensen, I want to continue the theme that George began here. In 1960, your man - the man you served so long and so ably, **JOHN** Kennedy - was thought to have won that debate because Nixon looked

nervous and perspired. No one - well, Quemoy and Matsu. I defy many people to even remember what that is. So that debate was not won on substance, was it?

MR SORENSEN

In part, it was. I agree that it's become part of the popular myth that Nixon's sweating and makeup and loose collar were the reasons -

MR DONALDSON

Reality -

MR SORENSEN

- and no doubt, his looks contributed to the -

MR BRINKLEY

That's not a myth.

MR SORENSEN

- but I think his appearance reinforced what he was saying, what Nixon was say - Nixon decided to be "The New Nixon". He decided to be statesmanlike and it came over weak.

MR DONALDSON

But maybe there's nothing wrong with that. I suggest to you that people watching tonight are going to be watching to see "who are these guys?"

MR SORENSEN

Yes.

MR DONALDSON

I mean, "What comes through to me, do I really think I trust this man? Does he wave his arms around? Now, does this other one exude coolness instead of warmth?" And isn't that proper for the American people to look at those factors?

MR SORENSEN

I think it is proper.

MR DONALDSON

So, based on that, who wins tonight, in your judgment.

MR SORENSEN

Well, I think that both candidates are going to have the right tie and the right shirt and I think they're both going to be well coached about gestures and so forth. But based upon what we've seen in the past, Mr Bush is more likely to make a mental error than Mr Dukakis is.

MR DONALDSON

And if Mr Jennings or Mr Mashek or Ms Groer asks about the budget and how precisely would you reduce the deficit, do you expect either man to say, "All right, I'm glad you asked me that. I'm going to be precise for the first time in the campaign," or will they simply talk around the issue?

MR SORENSEN

Well, neither candidate has been very precise on how they're going to reduce the budget but I do think that Governor Dukakis has been more precise and had more to offer than Vice President Bush has. And, on a number of other issues -

MR DONALDSON

And patriotism, will that come up?

MR SORENSEN

Well, I - I hope patriotism does not come up because it is not an issue and it's outrageous that Vice President Bush has been raising questions about -

MR DONALDSON

Well, will Dukakis - how will Dukakis defend himself if Bush - and I'm sure Bush wouldn't do it in a frontal assault, but just one of these little, very carefully thought - out asides about the love of country - what is Dukakis prepared to say?

MR SORENSEN

I don't want to give away the game plan before the game, Sam, but I think the American people know that Michael Dukakis, from the earliest moments of his life through his service in Korea, through his service as Governor, is just as devoted a patriot as George Bush is and I'm sure George Bush is.

MR WILL

You're a writer. You wrote a lot of some of the more memorable speeches and lines of President Kennedy and you had at least a tangential role in the preparation of Governor Dukakis' acceptance speech in Atlanta -

MR SORENSEN

Very tangential.

MR WILL

- the central line of which was, "This is an election about competence, not ideology". Now, after a month of downspin after that line, do you think that's correct? Isn't this inescapably an election about ideology and isn't ignoring that one of the reasons Mr Dukakis has had such troubles?

MR SORENSEN

Ideology may not be the right word but is this about more than competence? Is it about their differences in philosophy and policy? It certainly is. I agree with that. They both have very different records of their attitudes toward the middle class. They both have very different visions of the future.

MR WILL

That being so, why did he begin his campaign with such a flat and false statement?

MR SORENSEN

I think Michael Dukakis rightly takes pride in his competence. To be the governor of an industrial state and to be able to reduce taxes, to balance the budget ten times, to cut pollution, cut the drug use in schools and crime on the streets, to be the first governor to have health insurance for all working men and women in the state - that's a broader definition of competence and that's what Mike Dukakis is talking about.

MR WILL

Recently, he has been quoting a line from a speech on which you worked, President Kennedy's inaugural address, the part about - and I won't get it exactly right - "we will go anywhere, bear any burden, pay any price, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the success and survival of liberty".

MR SORENSEN

You didn't get it quite right.

MR WILL

Well, close enough for government work. He won't even go to Grenada. Why is he quoting that? I mean, isn't that - doesn't that really not jibe with his foreign policy?

MR SORENSEN

No, I think it's very consistent with his foreign policy and particularly his foreign - I would to put it the other way around, his foreign policy is very consistent with the entire inaugural address of **JOHN F. Kennedy**.

MR WILL

Let's stick with this -

MR SORENSEN

He added - he added about willingness to negotiate and to plan joint enterprises in which we could work with the Soviets. Dukakis is willing to use American force whenever American interests are in danger. He's not willing, he said, to -

MR WILL

That's not what the line said. It didn't say where American interests are in danger, it said to assure the success and survival of liberty.

MR SORENSEN

Well, I think Americans are very interested in liberty, but -

MR WILL

Wasn't it at stake in Grenada?

MR SORENSEN

- but what he didn't say, that you put in your phrase, **JOHN Kennedy** did not say, "go anywhere in the world".

MR WILL

What did he say?

MR SORENSEN

Well, now you expect me to quote it.

MR DONALDSON

Well, you wrote it.

MR SORENSEN

No, no. That's **JOHN F. Kennedy** is speech.

MR BRINKLEY

Now, you said at the beginning, Mr Sorensen, that your candidate, Mr Dukakis, you expect to benefit from the debate tonight because he is at this time not as well known as George Bush.

MR SORENSEN

Yes.

MR BRINKLEY

Now, Lyndon **JOHNSon**, among others, has refused to debate because he didn't see any point in publicizing his opponent. George Bush has agreed to do it, though he didn't have to. Is this an act of magnanimity on his part?

MR SORENSEN

Well, I'm certainly glad he has been willing to debate twice and - although four debates were called for. In fact, all of this arose from a commission sponsored by the Twentieth Century Fund which developed a debate format and program with both political parties and all candidates in both parties at the time agreed to three debates. George Bush has cut it back to two.

MR BRINKLEY

Well, he didn't have to do even that if he didn't want to.

MR SORENSEN

In this country you don't have to do anything you don't want to.

MR DONALDSON

Mr Sorensen, you said you don't want to give the game plan away. Well and good. But can we expect to see Governor Dukakis assertive? Can we expect him to see an attack on Bush's record, the same as he has attempted to do from the stump?

MR SORENSEN

Yes, in addition to spelling out his own positions, I think that he intends to ask George Bush to stand up and tell us why he wanted to send arms to the Ayatollah, why he was willing to pay ransom for hostages, why he dealt with Noriega, the notorious drug runner.

MR DONALDSON

And do we also expect - very quickly - to see some one - liners that have been pre - cooked, that have been prepared to deliver those zingers?

MR SORENSEN

Well, unfortunately, Roger Ailes - in managing and handling George Bush - is much more expert at that than we are.

MR BRINKLEY

George, we've got time for one brief -

MR WILL

Is Governor Dukakis angry, at this point, at George Bush about the patriotism issue?

MR SORENSEN

I don't know that I would say he is angry, but I think he has a right to be indignant about this well - controlled campaign to smear him, smear his wife, smear his brother, smear his patriotism. Of course, he's angry about this.

MR BRINKLEY

Mr Sorensen, thank you. Thanks very much for being with us.

MR SORENSEN

Thank you.

MR BRINKLEY

Glad you came. Coming next, James A Baker, Chairman of the George Bush Campaign. In a moment.
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MR BRINKLEY

Mr Baker, welcome. Glad to have you with us.

JAMES A BAKER III, CHAIRMAN, BUSH CAMPAIGN

Thank you, David.

MR BRINKLEY

Glad you came.

MR BAKER

Thank you.

MR BRINKLEY

Now, if you were one of the questioners in Winston - Salem tonight, what would be your first question directed at Michael Dukakis?

MR BAKER

Well, you know, I heard Ted Sorensen earlier say that he didn't think he ought to talk - give away the game plan before the game starts and I feel somewhat the same way. I would probably decline to answer that question on those grounds.

MR BRINKLEY

Well, but the fact that you would ask the question doesn't necessarily mean that that's what George Bush is going to say.

MR BAKER

And it doesn't necessarily mean that the question will be asked, either.

MR DONALDSON

Well, put it this way. What do you think the weakest point is about the Dukakis Campaign, that you hope will emerge from the debate tonight?

MR BAKER

Well, I think that it's our hope that the American people tonight will have a chance to see the real contrast between these two candidates. I heard Mr Sorensen say that that's their hope as well and so we're in sync on that and maybe that's in fact what will happen. Because, you see, we think that Governor Dukakis really is not within the American mainstream in a whole host of different areas - defense policy, law and order and things like that - and we would welcome a contrast - just the facts - a contrast of positions -

MR DONALDSON

Well, now, that's interesting. You say just the facts. Why has your man then gone around with such exaggerations as this: "He's opposed every weapons system since the slingshot". Those aren't the facts.

MR BAKER

Well, that is perhaps an exaggeration but perhaps again, Sam, it flows from - maybe you didn't get a chance to watch the Democratic Convention. The Democratic Convention was three or four days of

personal attacks on the Vice President of the United States. Maybe you didn't notice the Governor of Massachusetts referring to the President of the United States as a rotting fish head. Maybe you didn't notice his reference to the administration's drug policy as criminal or his suggestion that George Bush was a hypocrite unfit for public office. Now, I don't - I'm not suggesting that we should respond in kind to these things. I don't think we should. I think both campaigns should make every effort, really, to address the issues and spend more time addressing the issues. But I do agree with Mr Sorensen when he says that, you know, you try and address the issues sometimes and that's not always what people want to report or what people want to cover because, unfortunately, we campaign these days in 30 - second sound bites.

MR DONALDSON

Well, but we report what you do. You remember the famous day, last Tuesday, I think it was, when Michael Dukakis outlined his proposal - you don't have to like it if you don't want to - for health insurance for everyone -

MR BAKER

Right.

MR DONALDSON

- and you went to a flag factory. And we reported that.

MR BAKER

Indeed, we did. We, had of course, previously laid out some rather detailed positions on child care, on drugs, on the environment, on energy, on ethics, so -

MR DONALDSON

Why wasn't he talking about them, then, after Labor Day?

MR BAKER

Well, because I don't think it's particularly smart to spend your time responding to the other candidate. I don't think any political -

MR DONALDSON

You mean if one candidate talks in substance, you don't think it's smart to respond by talking in substance?

MR BAKER

No, I've already said I think it's - I think it would be good if we could get more coverage of the substance that both candidates are offering -

MR DONALDSON

May I have just one more, George?

MR BAKER

- and I really believe that both candidates are offering a great deal more substance, Sam, than we're seeing covered.

MR DONALDSON

Let me just have one more on this subject. Tonight in the debate, do you believe that you can say, or that Governor Dukakis could say, anything you want to about the other person's record without relevance to the exact truth?

MR BAKER

No, no, no. I certainly do not. I think that's

MR DONALDSON

Well, I mean, Pete Teeley, who was Mr Bush's Press Secretary in '84, said on the record that, you know, you can say what you want to and then when the correction catches up with it, 80 million people have heard the first assertion and only maybe 20,000 hear the second.

MR BAKER

Well, I - I differ with that. I do not think that's the way you should campaign. I certainly don't think it's the way you should approach a debate. It's not the way the Vice President of the United States will be approaching this debate tonight.

MR WILL

It is partly your doing, I gather, that we have the format we have for tonight, which is to say, we have nothing remotely resembling a debate. My question is this: does not this format, which emanated, I guess, from the Bush Campaign, express alarming lack of confidence in George Bush? That is, it seems designed to prevent any interplay, any spontaneity, any thinking on his feet -

MR BAKER

Well, you know, we have made the point that the Vice President is not a professional debater. He is not a lawyer. He has not run a television program. He has not engaged in as many televised political debates as the Governor of Massachusetts has. At the same time, George, let me say that this format is exactly the same format that has been utilized in the other general election presidential debates that have been held in this country since the Kennedy / Nixon debates.

MR WILL

But he has been in public life for a quarter of a century.

MR BAKER

Well, that's correct, with an impeccable record of integrity and all the rest, but he is not a professional debater. Again - again, this is why -

MR DONALDSON

May I say, sir, that a lot of people would respond to that by saying, "Nonsense". I mean, I remember moderating a debate in 1970 between George Bush and a guy named Bentsen, and he's been in the primary debates and he debated Ms Ferraro in '84. And while a lot of people complained about some of his actions, he's deported himself quite adequately.

MR BAKER

Well, I'm not suggesting that he won't handle it extraordinarily well tonight. I certainly hope he will. We believe he will. He feels good about it. He's ready for it. But George asked me why this format and that's the answer to the question, "Why this format?" Again, the same format that was followed in '76, the same format that was followed in '80, the same format that was followed in '84.

MR WILL

Mr Sorensen, sitting there a minute ago, said that Dukakis, if he's not angry, has a right to be indignant because he's been smeared on a number of issues, not the least of which is patriotism. George Bush says, "No, I'm not accusing Mr Dukakis of lack of patriotism". Put it into your words. What is he saying about Michael Dukakis when he says the Pledge of Allegiance bothers him?

MR BAKER

He is basically saying, if I may say so, that in his view, Governor Dukakis is outside of the mainstream, the political mainstream in this country, in a whole host of different areas. With respect specifically to the Pledge of Allegiance, all that the Vice President is saying is, "Had I been governor of Massachusetts at the time, I would have been looking for a way to sign that legislation, not a way to avoid signing it". The Governor of Massachusetts did not ask for an advisory opinion of the Massachusetts Supreme Court for every piece of legislation that came his way during that period of time and yet he chose to seek an advisory opinion with respect to this. That's all George Bush is saying. "I would have been looking for a way to sign legislation requiring teachers to give students an opportunity to say the Pledge".

MR WILL

It is conceivable that the American people, however, have heard enough about the Pledge of Allegiance and want to hear something else. Can you tell us how the Bush Campaign is going to be different in October than it was in September?

MR BAKER

Well, I - it's not going to be a lot different in some respects. I've just mentioned to you a whole host of specific substantive proposals that the Bush Campaign put out in September. I'll repeat them if you want, but drugs, child care, environment, ethics, energy and so forth -

MR DONALDSON

You put them out but you didn't talk about them.

MR BAKER

Yes, we did.

MR DONALDSON

You talked about the flag.

MR BAKER

No, no. You're quite wrong. We spent a good bit of time talking about the environment. We spent a good bit of time talking about drugs and the other issues. And we will be - we will be doing the same thing in October, so there won't be a significant difference -

MR DONALDSON

On drugs, do you agree that Mr Bush has had to change his story about when he knew that Noriega was a drug runner?

MR BAKER

No. I don't.

MR DONALDSON

Well, he first said that he didn't know about it at all until the indictments and now his Press Secretary, Stephen Hart, had to admit the other day, "Well, what he didn't know about was conclusive proof. Yes, he probably had heard the story".

MR BAKER

Suspicions. Well, I - it's been my understanding that there were suspicions prior to the time of the indictment and there wasn't -

MR DONALDSON

Then why didn't he say that?

MR BAKER

- there wasn't sufficient evidence to indict until that time.

MR DONALDSON

Well, why didn't he say that when first asked? Why didn't he say,

"Well, I heard stories but they were suspicions"?

MR BAKER

That's - it's my understanding that that's his position.

MR DONALDSON

Now it is but it wasn't originally.

MR BAKER

Well -

MR DONALDSON

Why has he had to change his story?

MR BAKER

- you're asking me - you're asking me why he might have said something differently at a time when I was off trying to run the Treasury Department, Sam, and I can't answer that.

MR DONALDSON

It wasn't on your watch. Is that your answer?

MR BAKER

No, I'm not saying it wasn't on my watch, but I wasn't around so I -

MR BRINKLEY

Mr Baker, I know you wouldn't want to give away the game plan - you've just told us that - but it is fairly certain that there will be a question tonight about the federal debt - deficit and so on and how the two candidates expect to deal with it. Neither one has really responded to that question. Will Mr Bush tonight?

MR BAKER

He will respond in detail with respect to a rather detailed proposal he has already submitted which calls for a flexible freeze. He will say, "My" - he will say, "I would deal with the deficit by continuing to push to restrain federal spending". He will say that the deficit came down \$70 billion last year alone. We're getting another \$75 billion this year as a result of the agreement between Congress and the President. He will say, "The important thing, though, is to resist raising taxes to try and deal with the deficit 'cause when you raise those taxes, Congress spends it on other programs". He has been, if I may say so, David - and I'd like to say this because Mr Sorensen said a few minutes ago that Governor Dukakis had been more specific on the deficit than the Vice President. That is simply not accurate, in my view. I think the Vice President's deficit reduction proposal has been a good bit more specific. Governor Dukakis has said, for instance, it would be - it would not be reasonable to expect a president to tell you exactly how he's going to deal with the deficit until he becomes president. Those are his words.

MR DONALDSON

Mr Baker, may I ask you whether your campaign, the Bush Campaign, has in any way gotten any information about Dukakis' game plan tonight? Do you have a black briefing book on Dukakis?

MR BAKER

None whatsoever, Sam, and if one came over the transom, I would send it directly to you. I would not read it. It would go to you without passing go.

MR DONALDSON

In 1980, you had one, as you admitted -

MR BAKER

That's true. It did.

MR DONALDSON

- on Carter.

MR BAKER

We did, indeed. It came over the transom and - and we made the mistake of reading it. And we had - we caught a lot of grief as a result. If we got one this time, I want to tell you the first place I'd mail it would be directly to you.

MR BRINKLEY

All right, Sam, stand around the mailbox. Thank you, Mr Baker. Thanks for coming.

MR BAKER

Thank you, David.

MR BRINKLEY

Pleasure to have you. Coming next, our discussion here - and if there is disagreement and even argument, you have been warned - and joining us will be David Gergen of the US News & World Report. In a moment.
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MR BRINKLEY

As we have said, it is not a debate in the Oxford University sense, but whatever it is, it's going to take place tonight and it should be interesting to anyone who cares about politics and the election. Now, I'd like your opinions. What - what does either of the two candidates have to do to be judged a winner? We don't give points, we don't have judges, as in a classic debate. What do you have to do to win it? David?

DAVID GERGEN, "US NEWS & WORLD REPORT"

Well, you know, all week we've heard about the pre - packaging, the expectations game, the one - liners and that sort of thing.

MR BRINKLEY

Right.

MR GERGEN

In Wake Forest, I gather, the students are now calling it "The Grapple in the Chapel" is the line there. But I have to tell you, I think, with all the pre - packaging, if one of the candidates tonight can offer some just plain talk about the country, about the country's future and get away from the kind of campaign we've seen in the last few weeks, I think he could win the debate.

MR BRINKLEY

Sam?

MR DONALDSON

I think - I think Dukakis wins it if he can somehow reassure people that he is not the caricature that Bush has, with some success, tried to paint him. That is, if he can reassure people that he's not going to unilaterally disarm, he's not going to allow criminals to run free on the streets, that he's not going to give away the federal treasury. And he can do this both in positive ways and also by just simply standing there and not looking like a guy with horns. He wins it to that extent. But I've got to tell you, David, just as we were talking with Ted Sorensen about the 1960 Kennedy/Nixon, a lot of people - and I think rightly, I'm going to defend people who say, "I don't know why I thought so - and - so won it or lost it, but the impression I get is I like that guy". And so both of them - I mean, Bush is going to have to stop waving his arms and appearing frenetic and Dukakis somehow has got to exude some of the warmth that his friends say he has but that comes across very rarely on television.

MR BRINKLEY

George?

MR WILL

There are two kinds of warmth and I think you may see both and I think we had a hint of that from Mr Sorensen. One is the warmth of a smile. Smiling is not high on the Dukakis agenda so far. I think people would like to see that he's capable of it, that his face wouldn't break if he actually smiled. But also, I think, Dukakis is probably a little bit angry at this point and you may see a little decorous, tempered indignation. It's very hard to do on television because whatever you do on television, you're doing in a stranger's living room and people do not want a scene there. So you have to be coolly warm, but I think he'll be a little bit angry.

MR GERGEN

Yeah, George Bush has been very successful in making the Massachusetts record more of an issue in this campaign than it ordinarily becomes with a challenger. And I think that Dukakis has to move quickly to put that back and some of the indignation could help him enormously with that. But then, I think he has to move on and be more high - toned and talk - and with warmth but with compassion, and address people's anxieties and concerns about the future, which these candidates are not doing.

MR WILL

I think he started that this week. I think if you sit down and talk to people and you say, "What are you worried about?" We're now a society with four - generation families, the elderly living longer, people worried about their parents and about medical care and all that. When he starts talking about medical care, he's talking about the future and a future anxiety.

MR DONALDSON

Well -

MR WILL

No question Ronald Reagan won the argument of the '80's and the question is can we extend that into the '90's? America very rarely give a party a third term in the White House. The Democrats last won a third term in 1940. The Republicans haven't done it since 1928. So what Dukakis has to do is say, "I'm a plausible change".

MR DONALDSON

But, George -

MR WILL

Americans love change and -

MR DONALDSON

- the people who've been paying attention to this campaign, they know that the superficial, critical examination of what the media has done - which is that we've only put on flag and balloons and what have you - is absolutely wrong. Now, Baker says that Bush has been talking substance. I have not covered the Bush Campaign so I'm not going to dispute it. But I'll tell you, Dukakis, beginning the first week of the campaign after Labor Day, started an outlining of these programs for student loans - you may disagree with his proposal, but he was

there with a proposal - for health care for people, for prenatal care. He outlined his view of his defense program. He said what weapons systems he was for and why, what weapons systems he was against and why. And we put all that on the air.

MR BRINKLEY

I was about to ask, didn't all of this get on the air?

MR DONALDSON

We put it all on the air. We didn't put just the flags and balloons.

MR BRINKLEY

Then why do we hear all the time that we're not covering issues and they discuss issues and it never gets to the public because we -

MR DONALDSON

May I say, at the risk of being beaten to death by my print colleagues - and I value them - because they're not watching or because they have a stereotype in their mind that "We don't have to beat television because television's superficial, so let's write another column saying they're not talking about the issues". Boys and girls, you're wrong.

MR GERGEN

I disagree with you. I think the Pledge of Allegiance has gotten far more attention than the health care proposals and -

MR DONALDSON

And who made that, the media or George Bush?

MR GERGEN

Well, I'm telling you the networks have carried that story day after day after day when everyone - and particularly, I think, the people here in this group - would agree it's a non - issue in this campaign.

MR DONALDSON

Not from the Dukakis camp. We've carried Dukakis' story but Brit Hume has had to carry Bush's story. Brit Hume, our reporter, can't make up a story and say, "Well, Bush should have talked about national health insurance today".

MR WILL

Could Brit Hume come on one night and Jennings say, "Brit, what happened today in the campaign?" and (unintelligible) say, "Oh, same old stuff, Peter. Back to you," and not cover it.

MR GERGEN

Exactly.

MR DONALDSON

Well, I think that - I think that's difficult. If -

MR GERGEN

Why not - why is it so difficult?

MR DONALDSON

- if George Bush wishes to go to a flag factory and say, "Ladies and gentlemen, this is my campaign. Vote for me because I wrap myself in the flag," I want George Bush to be exposed.

MR BRINKLEY

If you did that - anyone who did that would be seen by the audience as being frivolous, as being biased, as being silly. You can't do it.

MR GERGEN

Well, I think it's worth one or two lines that George Bush went to a flag factory but I must say that when Governor Dukakis came on and proposed his plan for student loans, one of the networks came up and said, "Here's a couple of items from it but it's too complicated for us to discuss," and they moved on. And the frivolous is being given as much attention as the serious. I think one of the reasons that Dukakis has been doing better in the last ten days is he has been more serious and he has put forth proposals.

MR WILL

Sam, I -

MR DONALDSON

Dukakis is doing it and we're reporting that. I mean, if Dukakis is more serious than Bush, it's not the media that has made him so, David.

MR WILL

Sam, I believe that conservatism, the conservative message as it is today, is more suited to television than the liberal message. That doesn't mean it's right or wrong, it's just more suited.

MR DONALDSON

You mean the issue message?

MR BRINKLEY

Why do you say that, George?

MR WILL

Because it is simple. "Read my lips. No new taxes". Boom. Took five seconds. It's simple, not to say simpleminded and you can get it right out. And that's where we come to a limitation of the medium. Let me ask, for our viewers' benefit, an inside baseball question. How long is your average story from the Dukakis Campaign on the Evening News?

MR DONALDSON

It's about a minute forty to a minute forty - five and that's a little longer than the normal average story.

MR WILL

That's right, so about a hundred seconds.

MR DONALDSON

Yeah.

MR WILL

Now, you've combined brevity - a hundred seconds - with -

MR GERGEN

That's 200 words.

MR WILL

The fact that you're - 200 words - the average column I write is 750 words - with the fact that you are wedded to what I am bound to say is an inherently superficial news coverage, and the camera -

MR DONALDSON

But then, George, after my 90 seconds to 120 seconds and Brit Hume's 120 seconds, we have Richard Threlkeld with an issues piece or **JOHN MARTIN** with an issues piece or Jim Wooten with an issues piece.

MR GERGEN

But why not, when there's a serious issue like the deficits or competition or whatever, why not open up ten minutes to discuss it if it's that central to the country's future?

MR DONALDSON

We do, on Nightline, on The Brinkley Show, on a number of forums, David.

MR BRINKLEY

What has been said by either candidate on the deficit that is worth ten minutes?

MR GERGEN

Well, that's one of the problems of that campaign. I think that the degree to which - if we in the press continue to give a lot of coverage to the frivolous, it provides an incentive to the candidates to continue being frivolous and not discuss -

MR DONALDSON

Well, I think - that's why I agree with someone who said here. Journalists should not be on this panel tonight.

MR GERGEN

I agree with that.

MR DONALDSON

Now, I've been invited and I think they should do what they've been asked to do. But the format should not have had journalists. And that's not our fault, that's the candidates. That's George Bush and maybe Michael Dukakis, who are afraid to debate one another. Of course, Dukakis says he'll debate Bush. I think it's Bush who doesn't want to get into a real slug fest with Dukakis.

MR BRINKLEY

Well, he doesn't seem to be that formidable. Do you think Bush sees him as a frightening figure?

MR DONALDSON

Well, the give both men lowballing it. I tell you I've - as I said, I've watched George Bush debate and, sure, he has his moments of wildness, but he handles himself pretty well. This idea that somehow Dukakis is the fearsome Debater of the Western World is just lowball stuff from the Bush camp.

MR GERGEN

But Dukakis has one great advantage going into this debate and that is he's the challenger and, typically, the challenger wins. We've had four presidential debate series over the years and three times out of four, the challengers won the first debate. Bush has one great advantage and that is he's got the experienced team behind him. He has - you know, he has Baker, he has these fellows who played this, Roger Ailes and the rest of them.

MR WILL

In 1980 -

MR GERGEN

They're very helpful.

MR WILL

In 1980, Ronald Reagan, against the advice of some of his advisers, went to - like where was it, Baltimore, to debate **JOHN** Anderson.

MR GERGEN

Right.

MR WILL

What was in it for Ronald Reagan? Ronald Reagan understood, "My problem is people have doubts about an actor, a governor, can he handle himself". So he just said, "There's a camera going on stage with anyone. Go out and perform well". Now, Dukakis doesn't have quite that easy to solve a problem, as people ready to like Reagan, ready to get rid of Carter, so all he had to do was show up and do

well.

MR GERGEN

That's right.

MR WILL

Dukakis has a persuasion problem.

MR GERGEN

But he has - but I think Sorensen was right about saying that Dukakis has the opportunity in this debate to become better known to a lot of people who are not quite certain of him. And that's what - as you say, with Reagan in 1980, the Anderson debate and the Carter debate, helped to resolve that -

MR DONALDSON

Going back to the smile, it's 90 minutes, give or take some.

MR GERGEN

Right.

MR DONALDSON

Dukakis has said all along that "I grow on people". Maybe he does, but it takes a long time for Michael Dukakis to grow on people and I wonder if in 90 minutes - and I'm not talking about the issues now, I'm talking about that - whatever people exude that others say, "I like that guy. I mean, I trust him. I think he's solid". Dukakis will come across as solid. I would be surprised if he makes some gaffe like West - or Eastern Europe. He'll know his positions and he's articulate but he doesn't always come across as someone that you really want in your living room on a Saturday night.

MR GERGEN

He did in Atlanta in his acceptance address.

MR BRINKLEY

All right, we'll -

MR DONALDSON

It's as close as I've ever seen him.

MR BRINKLEY

-tune it in tonight, eight o'clock Eastern. We'll all be there. Not all of us but -

MR DONALDSON

Seven o'clock Central.

MR BRINKLEY

Seven o'clock Central. Isn't that what we're always supposed to say?

MR DONALDSON

We always say it. And the Mountain zones and Pacific zones, they can go fish.

MR BRINKLEY

All right, well, they can do the subtracting on their own. Now, there's another event that is not political, or at least, not altogether and that is that we are about to launch another shuttle called Discovery and the first one in about, what is it, two years now, since the Challenger tragedy.

MR DONALDSON

January of '86, was it?

MR BRINKLEY

Yeah, I think that's right. Do we have any plans beyond that, David, or do you know of any? I don't.

MR GERGEN

I'm not aware of any clear strategy.

MR BRINKLEY

The next president will have to do something about it.

MR GERGEN

And it's clear it's the next president - - that's not an issue in this campaign, but yet that's one of the first issues the next president's going to have to face. The Congress has put aside - we're looking at a space lab of some \$25 billion that it's going to cost us to erect one of these space stations and put it up there well. And the next president is going to have to make that decision, are we going to build it or not build it and, if we're going to build it, why are we building it? And no one's sure of those answers right now.

MR BRINKLEY

Well, in the present state of national impoverishment, do we need to spend \$25 billion on a thing like that?

MR WILL

Yes.

MR GERGEN

Well, that's what the debate ought to be.

MR DONALDSON

Unless -

MR BRINKLEY

George?

MR WILL

Absolutely and that's what great nations are for. That's what government's for -

MR DONALDSON

Tell me about it. To throw money away when you don't need it?

MR WILL

It is great collective enterprise. I mean, there's no question in life comparable to cosmology. Where'd we come from? How'd we get here and we - I mean, that - that's of course what you ought to use government for.

MR DONALDSON

And where are you going, to Mars?

MR WILL

We are about to send up soon the Hubble Space Telescope which will exponentially increase our knowledge. It will be the greatest scientific experiment in the history of the world. No one even knows about it.

MR BRINKLEY

Do you need the space platform for this?

MR WILL

No, no, not for that.

MR BRINKLEY

It'll go on its own? All right.

MR DONALDSON

George, you may be right. Maybe it is in the national interest to do this, but I agree with David. Before we do it, we ought to think through precisely what we hope to accomplish, not just say, "Great nations do these things".

MR WILL

There are limits - no, wrong. Wrong. There are limits to the precision you can ask for in science. Science is inherently open-ended and ill-defined. That is part of the glory of it.

MR GERGEN

That is part of the glory of it, but I think that, in retrospect, many people believe about the US space station that we were misguided in trying to make it a manned space program all along -

MR WILL

Could be.

MR GERGEN

- that the Soviets have moved ahead of us by being steadier with a non-manned space thing and have done pretty well at it and have gotten ahead of us in many respects. And it seems to me right now, we ought to - at least in this campaign and certainly after the campaign, we ought to resolve what is it we're trying to accomplish?

MR DONALDSON

Without a clear goal, why spend the \$25 billion when you need it here for health care, you need it for education?

MR WILL

The goal is - the goal can be put in one word. It is knowing and that is a sufficient reason to do things. No more.

MR DONALDSON

Well, that's why you climb Mt. Everest, perhaps, because it's there -

MR WILL

No, that's to get there.

MR DONALDSON

- but that is not why you go into space.

MR GERGEN

How quickly do you need to know and should we spend \$25 billion quickly to get there, to know?

MR WILL

Yes. Go.

MR GERGEN

Well, let's have the debate.

MR BRINKLEY

Would it not be nice to clean up some of our other problems first before we do this?

MR WILL

No, because you never get your problems cleaned up first. That's -

MR BRINKLEY

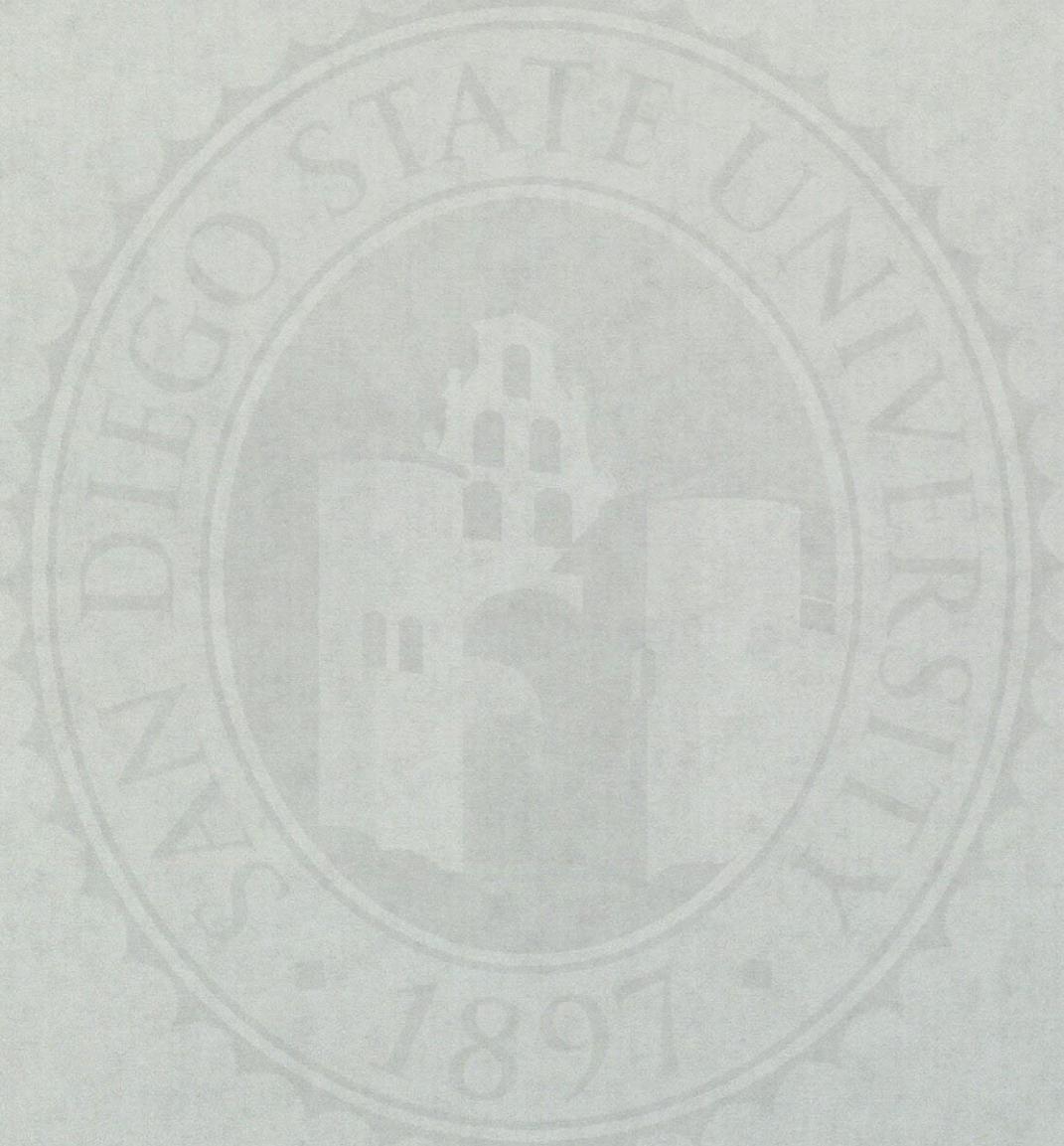
All right. All right. Well, we're not going to clean it up today anyway because the time is up and I thank you all very much. We'll be back with a few words about the politician's high art of not answering questions. In a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

MR BRINKLEY

Finally, contemplate for a moment the rules and procedures that Bush and Dukakis have insisted on for tonight's debate. They have tried to make it a low-risk operation, to see that nobody gets a custard pie in the face. For example, reporters asking questions will not be allowed to ask follow-up questions. Well, why is that? 'Cause every politician of higher station than Assistant Water Commissioner knows how to avoid tough questions. It's simple: don't answer them. Instead

of answering a question, talk about it. Work around the edges of it. Say, "that, well, people disagree. There's no easy answer," and so on. And keep that up until the time runs out. And since the reporter can't follow up and can't say, "You haven't answered the questions," he can get by with it and go on to the next question which maybe will be an easy one. Any candidate who cannot do that would never have made it to a presidential debate anyway. Tonight, we'll be there to bring it all to you and until tonight, then, thank you.



Document ID: WNT19880922

Library: NEWS-NY

Asset Type: Transcript

Air Date: 1988-09-22

----- Segment Number: 2 -----

Story Name: CONGRESS PASSES A TOUGH BILL ON DRUGS

Air Date: 1988-09-22

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Well, in this election year being tough on drugs has become a major issue among congressmen up for reelection this fall, which may explain some of the provisions in an antidrug bill passed overwhelmingly by the House this afternoon. Despite warnings that some of those provisions may not be constitutional. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(HOUSE FLOOR) The bill would punish drug users in stronger terms than before. It would create novel penalties. Anyone convicted twice or more of drug use could be denied federal benefits, including student loans, veterans benefits, federal housing assistance, even government contracts. (GRAPHICS) Anyone caught with even a small amount of illegal drugs could face a civil fine up to 10,000 dollars. The bill also encourages states to revoke drivers licenses for repeat offenders. Another provision, opposed by Civil Liberties experts, would permit courts to consider evidence obtained by the police searching without warrants.

CONGRESSMAN CHARLES RANGEL

This war against drugs seems like it's becoming a war against the Constitution.

CONGRESSMAN DAN LUNGREN

I reject the notion that someone here is assaulting the Constitution. That's the kind of rhetoric you hear when you've lost the argument unfortunately.

JOHN MARTIN

(RAID/PRISON) The warrantless search provision is expected to face opposition in the Senate, so is a provision permitting federal execution of anyone who intentionally kills someone during a drug related felony. (SU) The bill now goes to the Senate with a final provision for a single federal executive to run the war on drugs.

JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, Washington.

Document ID: WNT19880919

Library: NEWS-NY

Asset Type: Transcript

Air Date: 1988-09-19

----- Segment Number: 7 -----

Story Name: CENSUS REPORT ON HOME LIVING; SAT SCORES DOWN

Air Date: 1988-09-19

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BARRY SERAFIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: BARRY SERAFIN

There's a report tonight that tells us something about ourselves and the way we live. More specifically, who we are and aren't living with. **JOHN MARTIN** has details.

JOHN MARTIN

The Census Bureau is telling us some vital statistics for the '80s. (FAMILIES) The number of people living together who are related by marriage, birth or adoption has declined by 20 percent in the last 40 years. (GRAPHICS) In 1948, families made up about 90 percent of all American households. Now it is only slightly more than 70 percent. Why? Demographers say there are many more widows and widowers living alone, couples living together but not married, and many young people postponing marriage and children for schools and careers. The number of unmarried couples living together has jumped to 2.6 million. (GRAPHICS) That's up 63 percent just since 1980. Another fact, for the second time, there are more couples without children, 33.2 million, than couples with children, 31.9 million. (FAMILIES) And finally, the number of two parent families is slipping even farther. It has dropped from 40 percent of all households in 1970 to just 27 percent today. (SU) So demographers say the trends continue, fewer traditional families, more unmarried couples, and larger numbers of Americans now choosing to live alone. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

BARRY SERAFIN

One other report about numbers, test score numbers. The people who give the national Scholastic Aptitude Test to college bound high school students, say that for the first time in eight years average scores are down slightly, but for the fourth year in a row, scores for minority students improved.

----- Segment Number: 8 -----

Story Name: REAGAN TO PAY UN DUES; ARCHEOLOGICAL TREASURE FOUND IN PERU

Air Date: 1988-09-13

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

One other note about the world. With the United Nations very close to going broke, President Reagan said today that the United States was going to pay its back dues, 188 million dollars now and 332 million dollars in current and back dues over the next several years. The US, as we've reported before, had withheld their payments in part because it complained the UN was too bureaucratic and in some cases, because the UN had not been very favorable to US positions.

PETER JENNINGS

There is word today of what at least one expert calls the richest archeological find ever in the western hemisphere. More than 1,000 artifacts, many of them finely crafted gold and silver pieces, have been recovered from a 1,500 year old tomb on the northern coast of Peru. Scientists believe the tomb is the burial place for a warrior of the Moche people, predecessors of the Inca civilization.

7:00 FEED SUPPLEMENT:

PETER JENNINGS

Finally here this evening, what one expert calls the richest archeological find ever in the western hemisphere. More than 1,000 artifacts have been recovered from a dig in Peru. Here's ABC's JOHN MARTIN to tell us about it.

JOHN MARTIN

(TOMB) The tomb was found near a series of pyramids eroded by rain along the north coast of Peru. Archeologists say they found the burial costume of a warrior priest whose wealth makes his tomb a treasury of the ancient culture of a people called the Moche. They lived 1,500 years ago. The National Geographic Society displayed some of their treasure today.

WILBUR GARRET

It's the finest scientifically valuable tomb ever found. This as you'll see is one of the most spectacular archeological finds of the new world.

JOHN MARTIN

(ARTIFACT CUS) Moche artisans made gilded copper faces and miniature pieces of jewelry sculpted with ornate depictions of their warriors. According to specialists, Peruvian police alerted archeologists to the tomb. They reported wholesale looting by robbers selling to black market buyers in pre-Colombian art. Although the scientists moved quickly to excavate, by one estimate, 80 percent of what was once here, treasure equivalent to what was found with Egypt's King Tut has already been stolen. JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 6 -----

Story Name: ED SEC BENNETT SAYS SCHOOLS SHOULD GO BACK TO BASICS

Air Date: 1988-08-30

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BARRY SERAFIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: BARRY SERAFIN

William Bennett made his final report today as Secretary of Education. Bennett, who leaves office in three weeks, is an ardent advocate of a back to basics approach to learning. He hit that theme hard again today, aiming this time at this country's elementary schools. ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** reports.

JOHN MARTIN

(CLASSROOM) They are America's 5 to 13 year olds and they are doing better in school and facing fewer problems, says Secretary of Education Bennett, than their high school counterparts. Still, hesays, they are falling behind worl

SECRETARY WILLIAM BENNETT

The longer you are in school in America, the further behind you fall relative to your counterparts in other countries.

JOHN MARTIN

(GRADUATION) Bennett calls for every elementary school graduate to read, write and speak clear grammatical English, to have studied a foreign language, investigated history and art, explored biology, chemistry and physics. (CLASSROOM) Subjects, he claims, too few teachers are prepared to teach.

SECRETARY WILLIAM BENNETT

Something less than 25 percent of all of our elementary school teachers have had a college level science course.

JOHN MARTIN

The problem, claims Bennett, is that teachers are too often trained to teach the skills of learning, rather than the knowledge itself, who George Washington was; what a sentence is; why there was mutiny on the Bounty. Bennett cites a study showing Japanese fifth graders spend 87 percent of their time on academic activities, American only 64 percent. He urges Americans to work harder.

SECRETARY WILLIAM BENNETT

The thing about little kids is that when they're working hard and working on interesting things, this doesn't exhaust them, this energizes them.

JOHN MARTIN

A long time critic seemed pleased by Bennett's suggestions today, paralleling ideas she said she offered in 1985.

MARY FUTRELL

So, I think he's learned and we're listening, unfortunate that it happened at this late stage in his career as Secretary of Education.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) So ironically, a man once called the secretary of confrontation, finds himself leaving office on a rare note of conciliation. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 3 -----

Story Name: A LOOK AT DAN QUAYLE'S BACKGROUND

Air Date: 1988-08-24

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: SAM DONALDSON, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: SAM DONALDSON

Senator Dan Quayle, who a week ago was virtually unknown outside of Indiana and the US Senate, yesterday said, "The American people want to know who Dan Quayle is". He's clearly right, given his sudden elevation to national prominence and the controversy that has surrounded him. We asked **JOHN MARTIN** to take a look at Quayle's background. Where he's from, what he's done, and how a man so young by national political standards, got to where he is today?

SENATOR DAN QUAYLE

American people are getting a little bit sick and tired. They want to know who Dan Quayle is.

JOHN MARTIN

(PHOTOS) Dan Quayle is a member of the most powerful publishing family in Indiana and Arizona. The grandson of the late Eugene Pulliam, once one of America's most influential publishers, and a staunch Republican supporter. Dan Quayle was a young man for whom growing up was a matter of ease and pleasure. His mother now says,...

CORINNE QUAYLE

Maybe I should've been pushier and expected more from him, because he always wanted to please.

JOHN MARTIN

(HOUSE) Quayle grew up here in Huntington, Indiana in a modest house. (PHOTOS) His mother was Eugene Pulliam's daughter. And his father, a World War II veteran, worked in the family publishing business. In 1955 they moved to Scottsdale, Arizona, but returned to Huntington eight years later when the family bought the local newspaper. Quayle graduated from Huntington high school in 1965, and went to De Pauw University where he was captain of the golf team, active in a fraternity, undistinguished in class.

ROBERT SEDLACK

He was not an outstanding student, he's not a student that one would remember. But at the other extreme, he's not a, not a disastrous student.

CORINNE QUAYLE

You know, I never was one of these parents that just pushed for A's, and you know, you have to make A's. I just hoped that he'd do the best that he could in whatever he chose, and something that would make him happy, because there's nothing worse than being in a job that you don't like.

JOHN MARTIN

(PHOTO) With family help, Dan Quayle seems to have avoided jobs and situations he didn't like. Faced with the probability of being drafted, he sought help from people in high places, starting with his grandfather's newspaper.

MAJOR GENERAL WENDELL PHILLIPPI

He said, I'm interested in joining the National Guard, and I said, okay, I'll call down there and tell them you're coming down this afternoon.

JOHN MARTIN

Editor Phillippi, a retired general, called the head of the Guard who said he'd check personnel and found several openings.

MAJOR GENERAL ALFRED AHNER

I said, fine, just hold one of them, and General Phillippi is sending over an individual.

SENATOR DAN QUAYLE

I was on active duty for six months. I could have been called up to Vietnam as other Indiana units were.

JOHN MARTIN

Quayle says he would have gone to Vietnam if sent, but his parents who strongly supported the war, are not sure their son shared their views.

CORINNE QUAYLE

I don't know. He may have viewed Vietnam a little bit differently

than I did, but you must remember that I am, you know, of another generation.

JAMES QUAYLE

We had, you know, pretty strong editorials in favor of the war. I mean, we don't like war, but this was a noble and just thing that we did.

JOHN MARTIN

(COLLEGE) To go to law school when his grades were too low, he visited the dean, made his case personally and gained admission. While in the Guard and attending law school, he used another family connection. M. Stanton Evans, editor of the Indianapolis News. Evans advised Quayle to find a job in the Attorney General's office.

M. STANTON EVANS

I called somebody over there to find out where Dan should call to set up an interview. He called, set up the interview, he got the job.

JOHN MARTIN

And the Attorney General, Theodore Sendak was also a family friend. This wasn't unusual for Indiana, where political families can win favors. Frank Pope studied law and worked in state government alongside Dan Quayle.

FRANK POPE

Danny Quayle wasn't given a job because of Danny Quayle. I wasn't given a job because I was Frank Pope. We were given an opportunity to have jobs because of what our families had been in politics.

JOHN MARTIN

(PHOTOS) Two years after law school, one year after he finished his National Guard duty, at the age of 28, Dan Quayle was elected to Congress, helped by George Bush. As a House member, he missed 40 of 61 subcommittee hearings. When Ronald Reagan won a landslide in 1980, Dan Quayle rode into the Senate, where colleagues credit him with growing more serious, concentrating on a job's training act and defense contract reform. (CONVENTION) But for all his growing maturity in the Senate, last week Dan Quayle was thrust into an arena for which he was unprepared.

JAMES QUAYLE

Danny had what, two hours to prepare, one hour? We don't even know how much time he had to do it, and he got caught.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) So now a young man who got a long way in life on the kindness and power of family and friends, must now convince voters he is qualified to be Vice President, only a step away from the presidency. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: CONTROVERSY OVER QUAYLE'S NATL GUARD ADMITTANCE

Air Date: 1988-08-19

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

The Republican ticket of George Bush and Dan Quayle has spent much of today trying to get over the hurdle posed by Senator Quayle's military record. It hasn't all been completely resolved. And one of the things that hasn't been resolved are the technical difficulties between here and Indiana where they're campaigning, so we're actually going to begin this evening with the democratic day. Michael Dukakis has been campaigning through Missouri, Illinois and Arkansas on train, reminding many people of Harry Truman's whistle stop, which was intended. And of course, the thing on the democratic side today has been a response to the Republican speech last night by Vice President George Bush. We're going to go then first to a report by ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**. Here it is.

JOHN MARTIN

The retired editor who helped Dan Quayle get into the Guard, says his role has been exaggerated by the newspaper he once managed. (PHOTO) Wendell Phillippi, who also once commanded Indiana's 38th Division, told ABC News he has asked the Indianapolis News for a correction.

WENDELL PHILLIPPI

One phone call.

JOHN MARTIN

One phone call? No letter. Who did you call?

WENDELL PHILLIPPI

The military department, whoever answered the phone in the military department. They all knew me down there.

JOHN MARTIN

Some people have told us that as far as they could tell, you had to have connections to get in that particular unit. Do you know whether that's true or not?

WENDELL PHILLIPPI

Oh I, I would assume not. I've never heard that, I've, I don't think that's right.

JOHN MARTIN

(CAMP) This is Camp Outerberry where Quayle's unit was detached for duty beginning in 1972. Despite disclaimers of privilege, several former enlisted men said the unit was largely made up of professionals and the sons of prominent citizens, including a lobbyist, a publisher, and the State Attorney General. (SU) Former National Guard officials disagree about whether it was difficult or easy to join the Guard in the spring of 1969. Records show that statewide there were vacancies, but not in all units. Unfortunately, the Guard says, there are no records to show whether Quayle's unit had openings when he applied or whether he was admitted instead of somebody else. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Indianapolis.

----- Segment Number: 1 -----

Story Name: DID QUAYLE USE INFLUENCE TO GET INTO THE NATIONAL GUARDS

Air Date: 1988-08-18

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, INDIANAPOLIS, INDIANA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

In 1969, Dan Quayle was 22 years old. His dilemma was that of his generation. As he told us here in New Orleans yesterday, he never expected to be here in 1988. In other words, here on the Republican ticket, billed as a great defender of the national security, and with the possibility of a damaging stain sweeping through his resume. ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** has been trying to unearth the facts of 20 years ago in Indianapolis today.

JOHN MARTIN

(NEWSPAPERS) The newspapers published by Dan Quayle's grandfather gave the first details today of how Quayle's family connections helped him get into the National Guard. (GRAPHICS) In a front page story, retired managing editor Wendell Phillippi who had also commanded the state National Guard, told the newspaper that he wrote and telephoned Guard officials, urging them to admit Quayle in 1969.

Quayle's grandfather, Eugene Pulliam, was Phillippi's employer. Phillippi said Quayle asked if the Guard might be called to active duty, as were some other units. Quayle's draft number, 210, was scheduled to be called, according to draft officials at the time. (PHOTOS) Quayle was one of about a dozen Guardsmen sent to Stout Field in Indianapolis. Their job was to write articles for a quarterly magazine. Guardsmen who served with Quayle, said political connections helped a number of men gain assignment to the unit. The son of then Attorney General, Theodore Sendak was also in Quayle's unit. But some guard officials said today, there was no favoritism, that there were many vacancies in the Guard, and one of Quayle's officers denied Quayle was trying to evade the war.

SAM GRAVES

I found him to be very conservative, very much interested in the military, interested and supportive of the war in Vietnam.

JOHN MARTIN

(PHOTO) Fellow Guardsmen who talked privately to ABC News said that while the unit did its work efficiently, it did not always attend summer camp each year as required. (SU) Some members including Quayle, missed many meetings, and that when they were together, they spent much of their time drinking. "We were a wild bunch", said one man. Quayle's connections here are evident, but retired editor Phillippi and the paper's current publisher said today, they still don't believe they used undue influence to save Dan Quayle from the draft. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Indianapolis.

Document ID: WNT19880805

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Air Date: 1988-08-05

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: JUDGE DELAYS NORTH TRIAL UNTIL AFTER ELECTION

Air Date: 1988-08-05

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

On a presidential campaign there are good days and bad, and this was a good one for George Bush. His campaign got something of a boost today from two decisions in Washington. Mr. Bush finally has a campaign manager he thinks will make the difference between now and November, the Secretary of the Treasury, James Baker. And a federal judge has ruled that the trial of Oliver North, with all of its attended publicity for the Reagan-Bush Administration, will not begin until after election day. We begin tonight with the North trial. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

The judge's order said both sides had requested more time to go over hundreds of thousands of pages of classified documents. As a result, North's trial will not start before the presidential election, and probably not until next year. (NORTH) This gives North more time to raise money for his legal fees, as he's been doing in recent months. But political experts say the man who will profit most from this delay is George Bush.

EDWARD ROLLINS

The original timing of the North trial would have really put the prosecutor try and make a case against the whole administration at a very crucial period of time.

PETER HART

For George Bush has to be happy news. The reason is, the one question the American people want him to answer is, what was his role in the Iran-Contra affair?

JOHN MARTIN

(GRAPHICS) North is accused of conspiring to illegally divert funds to the Contras, of wire fraud, stealing government documents, destroying government property, obstructing justice, and lying to Congress. Bush will now avoid the possibility of being implicated in these charges during the election campaign, where democratic candidate Michael Dukakis has been criticizing Bush directly.

GOVERNOR MICHAEL DUKAKIS

We're going to have a vice president who won't sit silently by when somebody at the National Security Council comes up with a cockamamy idea that we should trade arms with the Ayatollah for hostages.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) President Reagan has said he would not pardon Oliver North before trial, and today's delay makes that even more remote. So George Bush seems even more unlikely to have to defend a Reagan pardon before election day. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 3 -----

Story Name: BIAGGI FOUND GUILTY OF RACKETEERING AND BRIBERY

Air Date: 1988-08-04

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

A New York congressman, Mario Biaggi and five of his six codefendants were found guilty today on a variety of charges, including racketeering and bribery. They all stem from efforts to help the Wedtech Corporation, a New York City company, get big contracts from the Pentagon. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

At the federal courthouse here in Manhattan today, Congressman Biaggi listened to the jury's verdict, guilty to charges he extorted millions of dollars in stock from the Wedtech company.

JAMES LA ROSSA

Obviously the Congressman's very distressed over the verdict. He will appeal the verdict.

JOHN MARTIN

(BIAGGI) During the trial, prosecutors charged that Biaggi took the stock to use his influence in Congress in a conspiracy that included the company's founder, an elected city official, and a federal administrator. They are among more than a dozen public and private figures enmeshed in a scandal that began nearly eight years ago. At its peak, Wedtech employed some 1,400 workers, and held 494 million dollars in government contracts. It did so well, it sold stock to the public. (MARKETING VIDEO) But the company's fortunes darkened when investigators turned up evidence of corruption.

RUDOLPH GIULIANI / ATTORNEY GENERAL

They utilized every conceivable corrupt scheme or device to accept or to pay bribes.

JOHN MARTIN

In simple terms, here is how Wedtech made its money. (GRAPHICS) It bribed public officials to award inflated contracts. It falsified documents to show work finished that actually had not been completed. It bribed union officials to keep silent when Wedtech did not make its full pension fund payments. And it even bribed the relatives of a congressman who might've investigated its operations.

(MEESE) Investigators tracked Wedtech lobbying all the way to the White House, where presidential counselor Edwin Meese helped the company get an important hearing. (WALLACH) His lawyer Robert Wallach, has been indicted for allegedly influencing Meese in exchange for bribes. A special prosecutor found no evidence to indict Meese. Meanwhile in Congress today, Biaggi's colleagues in the House said, they are prepared to vote on his expulsion next month, unless he resigns beforehand. (SU) Biaggi and the others convicted today, now face fines, prison terms and forfeiture of property, in a conspiracy the government says, turned public service into a criminal enterprise. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, New York.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: REAGAN'S RESPONSE TO AIDS REPORT

Air Date: 1988-08-02

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: SAM DONALDSON, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: SAM DONALDSON

(VO) It took a year to write, but critics charge only a month to shelve. The President's AIDS Commission Report. Is the Reagan administration dragging its feet in dealing with the disease that has already killed 40,000 Americans? (on camera) Good evening. I'm Sam Donaldson, and this is Nightline. (VO) Today, the White House responded to the recommendations of President Reagan's Commission on AIDS.

MARLIN FITZWATER, WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN

The President has ordered all federal agencies to eliminate AIDS discrimination in the federal workplace.

DONALDSON

Critics charge the response is disastrously short of what's needed.

ANNOUNCER

This is ABC News Nightline. Substituting for Ted Koppel and reporting from Washington, Sam Donaldson.

DONALDSON

When a tough national problem comes along about which there is great controversy, presidents, under fire to do something, often duck, and lay it off on a commission. "Take a look," says the President. "Let me know what you think we ought to do". That buys time and, to be fair, does bring some expertise to bear on the problem. But eventually the commission reports back and says, "Okay. Here's what we ought to do". That happened today on the controversial and deadly subject of AIDS. President Reagan's commission offered its recommendations, and to many of them - including a key one proposing a national law to protect AIDS victims against discrimination - the President said "Thanks, but no thanks". That was certainly his right, but it's made a lot of people very unhappy, naturally including the commission members who did the recommending. **JOHN MARTIN** tells us more.

JOHN MARTIN, ABC NEWS

(VO) The toll of death is growing day and night. Nearly 70,000 Americans have been diagnosed with the virus that destroys their immunity against disease. Nearly 40,000 have died.

PRES RONALD REAGAN

(July 23, 1987) Today we're taking another big step against AIDS.

MARTIN

(VO) A year ago, President Reagan formed a commission to create a national strategy to combat the deadly epidemic. Five weeks ago, the commission issued a final report.

ADM JAMES WATKINS, AIDS COMMISSION CHAIRMAN

(June 2) This document that you have, 270 pages, with nearly 600 recommendations, is evidence that the system, for whatever reason, has failed, and is not working well. And we'd better get on it.

MARTIN

The key points: that the President extend federal anti-discrimination laws to protect everyone infected with AIDS; that he propose firm legal sanctions to protect the confidentiality of medical records; that he expand drug treatment to help stem the rising tide of intravenous drug users infected with AIDS; and that he appoint a so-called federal czar to oversee all national efforts to fight AIDS.

ADM WATKINS

People come before you time after time after time - the rule, not the exception - losing jobs, losing homes, can't attend school, afraid to come forward to be tested, can't get insurance. I mean, you're at the rock bottom of social issues, and we've got to find out ways to get out from under that.

MARTIN

(VO) Today, the President's drug policy adviser announced a plan to implement some, but not all, of the commission's recommendations. He said Mr Reagan has ordered federal agencies to eliminate AIDS discrimination in the federal workplace. He urged private employers

to follow his policy, but he left private employees to seek their own protection from state and local laws.

DR DONALD IAN MACDONALD, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
I think the President clearly puts his self - himself, out in front of saying compassionate, fair treatment of people who are infected. The states and communities are coming up with laws, or already have, to take care of this problem, and that should cover people in the workplace.

MARTIN

(VO) Dr MacDonald said 36 states already ban discrimination against AIDS patients and those who carry AIDS antibodies, but critics say only 11 states currently have anti - discrimination laws specifically aimed at AIDS - related cases, that many private employees are not covered, and that those who are can face years of litigation to recover damages.

NAN HUNTER, ACLU

The laws that exist throughout the country, the state laws, are very spotty and very uneven. The number given by the White House is extremely misleading.

MARTIN

(VO) In Salt Lake City, for example, this woman had no protection when she was fired from her job after tests showed she was carrying the AIDS virus.

JANA GEORGE, WAITRESS

When you get this virus, you're a monster, and you should be an outcast from this society, and people treat you like that. And it's not fair.

MARTIN

(VO) On the issue of confidentiality, the President offered no new safeguards, raising fears that AIDS carriers will be driven away from testing. "JOHN Doe" had his medical records revealed during a job interview. His tests showed he had been exposed to AIDS, and he claims that cost him the job.

"JOHN DOE", PHARMACIST

If people can't freely go for HIV testing, without fear that those test results are going to be released or are going to be accessible to others, nobody's going to go for testing. And what it's going to do is, it's going to drive this epidemic underground.

MARTIN

(VO) On the issue of drug treatment, the President's 10 - point plan today expressed his continuing "concern" about drug use, and called for Congress to pass his anti - drug plan that would spend about \$100 million more next year for treatment and prevention. Drug experts and addicts say they are denied treatment for agonizingly long periods of time.

LEVON MAZON, FORMER DRUG USER

It took me approximately six weeks to get inside. And a lot of programs I had went to had six month waiting lists.

MARTIN

(VO) Also today, the President did not appoint a so - called czar to oversee the national effort, as urged by his commission.

DR MACDONALD

Let me just make a comment about the commission recommendations, is 40 percent of the recommendations that are federal in that piece, we're already doing, you know, this is not new to us. In the year that the commission was working, the federal government was also working, and many of these things are much further along than perhaps our statement suggests.

MARTIN

Finally, today, the President did direct the Health and Human Services secretary to study new ways to finance health care, and to study ways to promote out - of - hospital care. The President also directed the attorney general to study state and federal laws and recommend further steps to protect against discrimination.

BENJAMIN SCHATZ, NATIONAL GAY RIGHTS ACTIVIST

What the President is really suggesting is a study of a study of a study. And what that really means is, "We're going to study AIDS to death". When we study AIDS to death, that is literally true, because we don't have the luxury of time. And when we do waste time, people die.

MS HUNTER

This administration has had every chance to show leadership and to lead the country through what is a very difficult - in many ways, a very difficult set of issues. And it has lost every opportunity. And now, today, it has really lost its last opportunity. And I think President Reagan is simply obviously willing to go into history as the President who did nothing to lead the country through this particular crisis.

MARTIN

What worries patients, health care professionals and civil libertarians is that the reaction they see coming from the White House seems so meager, in the face of massive problems. Their only consolation is that both candidates for president have embraced the commission's report, so the next president to occupy this house is pledged to action. But that cannot happen, if it does, for five long months. This is **JOHN MARTIN** in Washington, for Nightline.

DONALDSON

When we come back, we'll be joined by President Reagan's chief adviser on the AIDS issue at the White House, Dr Donald Ian MacDonald. And by a member of the Presidential Commission on AIDS who disagrees with him, Kristine Gebbie.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

DONALDSON

Dr Donald Ian MacDonald is special assistant to the President and director of the White House Office on Drug Abuse Policy. As a physician and member of the White House staff, Dr MacDonald was given the task of reviewing the report issued by the Presidential AIDS Commission, and formulating the administration's response. He is with us tonight in our Washington bureau. Joining us from our affiliate KATU in Portland, Oregon, is Kristine Gebbie, a member of the President's Commission on AIDS. And Ms Gebbie, a registered nurse, is also assistant director of health at the Oregon Department of Human Resources, and administrator of the Oregon State Health Division. Ms Gebbie, your commission has issued its report to the President. He's had it studied, and today he took some action, and you find that disappointing. Why?

KRISTINE GEBBIE, AIDS COMMISSION MEMBER

Because it just doesn't go very far at all. It suggests further study, it suggests some action on discrimination, but falls short of following through with federal law. That was such a critical issue for the commission. It's so clear from so many hundreds of the witnesses who came before us that that was an essential building block for all other action, that I am - I am really grievously disappointed about that one.

DONALDSON

Now, you're talking about a proposal to make it a federal law that AIDS victims not be discriminated against.

MS GEBBIE

Yes.

DONALDSON

What was the reasoning behind your belief that that's so clear?

MS GEBBIE

Well, first, let me clarify that we suggested a law covering all persons with disabilities, that persons with HIV infection are no different than someone with epilepsy or any number of other diseases who are currently not protected by a broad federal civil rights type statute. And so often we heard from individuals who'd lost their house, lost their job, lost their opportunity for an education because it became - because they became identified with the epidemic. And over and over again, advocates, physicians, patients said, without protection from discrimination, the people you most need to reach with education, with testing, with service will not come forward. They are too frightened, they are too scared. This is an essential message that they are a part of our community, that they are a valued part of our society whatever problems they have, that we will treat them equitably, taking into account only those things that are relevant to their infection and to their illness.

DONALDSON

All right. Dr MacDonald, let's begin by having you respond to that point. What is the case against a national law banning discrimination against - for AIDS victims?

DONALD IAN MACDONALD, SPECIAL ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT

I don't think we know enough yet to pass a national law, Sam. I think there's a misrepresentation of what the attorney general was directed to do. He was directed to look at existing law and provide leadership. There's no question that what Kristine says is correct. People have been and are discriminated against, and we need to stop that. There are a variety -

DONALDSON

Well, let me just ask you, why not stop it now? Why not do it now instead of studying it some more?

DR MACDONALD

- well, nobody's suggesting studying it, but there are some questions that are still unanswered. We're not sure, despite what the commission says, have gotten several legal opinions, on the status of 504503.

DONALDSON

Well, now, the President felt strongly enough that he directed that

federal officials not discriminate against federal employees, no matter where they are, whether they're in the District of Columbia or any of the other states. What about people who are not federal employees, though? You're saying to them, in effect, if a particular state law can cover you, fine, otherwise you take your chances. Where's the fairness there?

DR MACDONALD

Well - well, I think that the President did, as the commission suggested, set up the federal workplace as a role model. That word role model appears several times in the commission recommendations. And indeed, that's what he did today because he could do it immediately, and that will take place this week or as soon as those directives go out to the agency heads. What the earlier news piece referred to is the fact that the states are moving very rapidly, all differently, but something like 24 states have not got AIDS discrimination laws but have included HIV infection as a handicapping illness. Other states are having AIDS - specific laws, Florida just recently. We see it happening. Now, there are advantages to doing it locally that you lose in a federal law. The really - the key issue, in addition to law, is local mediation, and having people at the local level who are able to work on the problem, say.

DONALDSON

All right.

DR MACDONALD

In San Francisco, for instance, where a city law covers it, no case has gone to court. No case has gone to court in Los Angeles, where these have come in. When you establish a federal law -

DONALDSON

And yet, and yet, Doctor, you have just said earlier that you admit that there is discrimination against AIDS victims. Ms Gebbie, what about that? Dr MacDonald seems to be saying that local laws are moving very rapidly to cover this situation.

MS GEBBIE

Yes, there are some local laws that have been put into place, and some of them do seem to work fairly well. But you're going to end up with a huge patchwork. People do move across state lines, there are many metropolitan areas that have multiple jurisdictions and include more than one state. I don't think you're going to get a quick and equitable system. I think it's possible to build in quick response within a federal law. Just because it's a federal law it doesn't mean you have to go into four years to work a case through the system. I would also add that this panel was not the only group looking at this issue, and a separate federal commission on the disabled made a similar recommendation very close to the same time we came out with our report. We were not operating in a vacuum, but in fact were looking at materials prepared by another group appointed by this president saying the same thing.

DONALDSON

Dr MacDonald, is there another factor here? You told a group of reporters earlier today, I believe, that there are some administration officials that believe that an anti - discrimination law nationally would reward a type of behavior that ought not to be rewarded, that causes the infection.

DR MACDONALD

Well, you know, one of the concerns that you do have when you talk about discrimination is that our government is on record as being focused on the drug user as a person that indeed we do want to discriminate against. Workplace policy is - and workplace efforts clearly do that. I think it's possible to separate those out, but it is an issue where the same group of people we want to discriminate on the basis of their drug activity, we don't want to discriminate on the basis of their HIV infection.

DONALDSON

Okay, hold that thought. I want to ask both of you about that when we continue in just a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

DONALDSON

Dr MacDonald, you've just said that "we want to discriminate against drug users". I take it you mean by that "we want to discourage their practice of abusing themselves and society by using drugs," but is there a hint in that, in that somebody in the administration wanted to discriminate against people who, through sexual contact, have contracted AIDS because they believe that is an illicit, an immoral practice which somehow puts them outside the norms of society?

DR MACDONALD

That may be so, Sam, but that's not what I implied in my remark.

DONALDSON

All right. I wanted to clear that up, because there have been some in the administration in the past, as you know, who have said that AIDS

somehow was a curse that came from God because of immoral behavior. But you're telling us that was not part of the President's thinking here?

DR MACDONALD

Absolutely. Let - let me just go back a little way and comment on the report generally. I think the commission did a terrific job, and when - when it was implied earlier that we rejected large numbers of their recommendations, that's just not true. Of 53 specific recommendations that we found in here dealing with discrimination, there are four that are in question. Out of the whole report, four, five hundred and ninety - seven, we saw 26 in the federal area that we didn't completely agree with their method of carrying them out. Just as an example, there are 51 or 52 drug recommendations which we agree with. Pretty much. There are three that we have troubles with. One directs a specific outreach method. We would use a different method. In your comments about drugs, there's some misperceptions about what we said. We feel very strongly with the commission that we need to increase drug use in the country. I don't know where you come up with the \$100 million shown. We think the commission number is too high, and let me just run through that quickly.

DONALDSON

Well, may I, may I just stop you there. Certainly I'll let you do that, but the commission suggested that all drug testing be voluntary, not mandatory. You rejected that. The commission suggested that \$1.7 billion be set aside for new programs to help intravenous drug users. You rejected that. The commission suggested a drug czar be appointed to pull all of this together. You rejected that.

DR MACDONALD

We rejected 26 out of 597.

DONALDSON

But you rejected the main points, did you not?

DR MACDONALD

Now, wait a sec - no, let me - let me explain the drug treatment issue, okay, Sam. When I've checked around and said how much could the treatment system grow in a year, the experts tell me that the most new money and resources they could handle is 20 percent of what they're presently doing.

DONALDSON

Okay.

DR MACDONALD

They could not - they're presently spending \$2.5 billion, that's the total budget on drugs.

DONALDSON

All right. That's a good point.

DR MACDONALD

If I divide that by 20 percent, that's \$500 million.

DONALDSON

That's a good point. Let me ask Ms Gebbie about that. Ms Gebbie, why did you propose such a large amount? Doesn't Dr MacDonald have a point, that just throwing money at a problem if it can't be properly used won't solve it?

MS GEBBIE

He makes a very good point. And I, running a system, understand what a problem you can have if you suddenly want to double your staff or increase something too rapidly. And -

DONALDSON

Well, then, what's this figure of \$1.7 -

MS GEBBIE

- the commission acknowledged that.

DONALDSON

- what's this figure of \$1.7 billion?

MS GEBBIE

But, we arrived at that figure talking with folks who are in the field, asking about the number of people seeking treatment. We did suggest phasing it in, suggested there will have to be training programs, there will have to be support programs, there will have to be capital construction programs to allow the system to grow. But the quick commitment, to tell those people on the streets doing drugs, "If you want off, walk in our door, we will help you". I think the worst message we can give in all of this non - drug stuff we have is to say we want to help you, and then when a person walks in the door or calls up, to say "But we can't help you for six months". That is a crazy message. (crosstalk)

DR MACDONALD

She's absolutely right, and I have no argument with that, but the system can expand at about 20 percent a year if the system - and that comes out to about \$500 million -

MS GEBBIE

Well, you -

DR MACDONALD

- so there's no disagreement in point, but we estimate the total system at \$2.5 billion right now.

DONALDSON

Ms Gebbie, what about Dr MacDonald's larger point, that in fact they've accepted most of the recommendations. There have been a few that they've not accepted, but they've embraced your findings overall.

MS GEBBIE

Well, of course I haven't seen the written report, and I don't want to step too hard on something I haven't seen, but among the ones -

DONALDSON

Oh, go ahead, we do it in Washington all the time.

MS GEBBIE

- well, we've worked together in the past, and I know that we have some very similar commitments, but the recommendations that seemed to be put on hold, or being treated with the least interest, are ones that the commission saw as most central. And the ones where the commission felt a very strong, aggressive, prompt presidential response, to say, "We're going to move on this, we're going to get behind this, we want this stopped or we want this started," would be most critical to triggering the better response from the private sector, the better response from individual citizens, better response from philanthropy, better response from state governments. I think what's happening here is that now state governments will be given an opportunity to say, "Well, if the feds are going to study how long it takes to create treatment centers, we don't need to rush in to find our matching funds to build it up as well". Or, "If this doesn't take a federal law, maybe we should wait a while and see whether a county ordinance would do the trick".

DONALDSON

Okay.

MS GEBBIE

And I just see it as leading to too much delay.

DONALDSON

Now, there's one more issue I think we'll have time to cover. It's the business about a federal czar. And we'll do that - if you'll stand by - when we continue our discussion in just a moment.
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

DONALDSON

Continuing our conversation with Kristine Gebbie and Dr Donald Ian MacDonald. Ms Gebbie, the commission recommended a federal czar. What was your thinking behind that?

MS GEBBIE

Well, the final version actually didn't come out quite that way, but our point was that the chain of command from the President through the cabinet down to every program in the federal government that worked on this infection needed to be made much more clear. We heard too many examples of agencies tripping over each other, of committees talking about the issue, but nobody clearly in charge, and -

DONALDSON

Well, let me understand. You said the final version didn't come out that way. Have we got it wrong?

MS GEBBIE

Well, it doesn't call for a newly hired czar. Again, the language is something on the order of a very clear chain of command from the cabinet to every federal agency with a person in charge of the whole system. The earlier draft, I think, used the language like czar and talked about a newly hired individual. And we moved away from that in the final version.

DONALDSON

Okay. All right. Dr MacDonald, what about this, then, accepting that it's the chain of command? Is this a good idea, and should someone be designated in the White House to follow through?

DR MACDONALD

I - I think that when Kristine and others read what's here they're going to feel better about it. Kristine, the whole issue of health care financing which you raised, the President directs that we take a look at that. A serious look. The whole business of impediments in the system, resource impediments to buildings and full - time equivalents, is addressed very specifically here. The President says he wants the impediments removed and he wants adequate resources. The words immediately show up throughout this document.

DONALDSON

Yeah, but Dr MacDonald, you have 10 seconds to tell me, what about a czar or a chain of command?

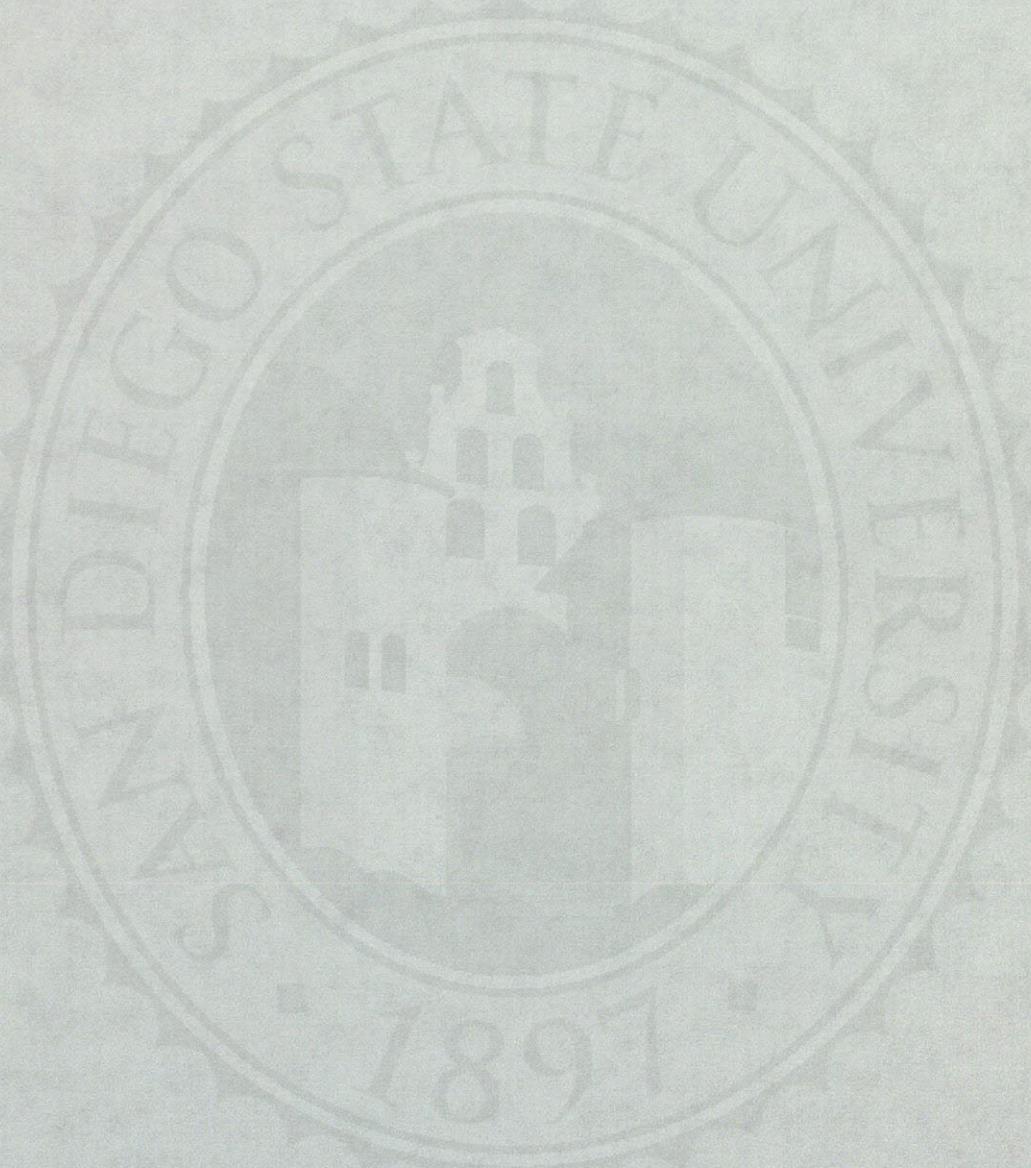
DR MACDONALD

Well, the czar in this field today is the President, who intends, through the directives he's sent out, to direct his cabinet to get

these things done.

DONALDSON

Okay. Ronald Reagan, czar, that's a new title. But I want to thank both of you for being with us tonight. That's our report for tonight. I'm Sam Donaldson in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.



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Story Name: POSSIBLE US COVERT ACTION TO OVERTHROW NORIEGA

Air Date: 1988-07-27

Start Time: 00:00:00

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Anchor: BARRY SERAFIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: BARRY SERAFIN

President Reagan, frustrated for months in his efforts to force Panama's military strongman Manuel Noriega from power, has authorized new measures to step up the pressure. First, there were economic sanctions, then the administration tried to negotiate a deal under which Noriega would leave Panama in return for the dropping of drug charges against him in this country. But that deal fell through. Now something else may be in the works, covert action to overthrow Noriega. Details from **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

At the White House today, the President wouldn't confirm there is a finding or authorization for covert action, but he made it clear he has no use for General Noriega.

PRESIDENT REAGAN

Certainly he is not good for Panama or good for our relations.

JOHN MARTIN

(DELVALLE) Sources said the finding was signed by Reagan two weeks ago and made known by telephone to Eric Delvalle, the man the United States recognizes as the legitimate leader of Panama. The finding authorizes the CIA to assist opposition forces in overthrowing Noriega, who is under indictment as a partner in the international drug trade. (GRAPHICS) It orders other US agencies to provide logistical and operational support. Some sources said the finding permits American training and equipping of a small military force of Panamanians. The State Department declined comment on possible covert action plans but not on Noriega.

CHARLES REDMAN / STATE DEPT

The intent of our policy is to support the efforts of the Panamanian people, President Delvalle, in their efforts to restore democracy, to remove Noriega.

JOHN MARTIN

(NORIEGA) One way to remove Noriega, according to US officials, would be to get this man to lead a revolt of younger military officers. (HERRERA) Colonel Eduardo Herrera was a military commander dismissed by Noriega and sent to Israel as Ambassador. He is now in Miami. (SOLDIERS) Herrera has a reputation for honesty and enjoys support within the Panamanian officer corps. His supporters said they hope Herrera can take some action, perhaps establishing a military beachhead in Panama. But the finding has already encountered major opposition in Washington. The Pentagon opposes it as dangerous and unrealistic. The CIA is reported unenthusiastic about it. On Capitol Hill, Senate Intelligence Committee members may withhold funds fearing it could be interpreted as authorizing Noriega's assassination. (SU) Finally there are political questions. Is this finding a way to keep President Delvalle from losing heart and abandoning his effort to overthrow Noriega? Or is it, as the Noriega government said today, a way for the Reagan Administration to hide its embarrassment over its failure to resolve the Panamanian crisis, a failure it said, the Democrats are already using against George Bush. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 9 -----

Story Name: CONTROVERSY OVER MOVIE ABOUT JESUS CHRIST

Air Date: 1988-07-25

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BARRY SERAFIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Content: BARRY SERAFIN

More than 30 years ago, a controversial novel by Nikos Kazantzakis, the man who wrote "Zorba the Greek" was first published in this country. Called "The Last Temptation of Christ", the book provoked a storm of outrage from conservative religious leaders who denounced it as sacrilegious. Now, "The Last Temptation of Christ", is being made into a movie, and as ABC's JOHN MARTIN reports, the battle lines are being drawn once again.

JOHN MARTIN

(MUSIC) This is the music track of a movie sequence that ends in the crucifixion of Christ. Today, director MARTIN Scorsese was listening to it being mixed in a sound studio. The movie is called "The Last Temptation of Christ". (MOVIE STILL) In it, Christ dreams of being married, even creating a child with Mary Magdalen as his wife, then decides to fulfill his mission of death on the cross. Temptation is not due out for two months, but it has already caused intense resentment among fundamentalist religious groups.

LARRY POLAND

The studio's decision to denigrate the contribution of Jesus Christ is an affront to Christians, and to those on an honest spiritual search for him.

JOHN MARTIN

(PROTEST) Pickets have claimed the film will create an anti-Semitic backlash among Christians, since the film company president Lou Wasserman is Jewish.

REVEREND ROBERT HYMER

It's dangerous for the Jewish people to have this film put out.

MAN

Don't make up off, this thing as a Jewish thing.

REVEREND ROBERT HYMER

I'm not.

MAN

Because then you're becoming the anti-Semite.

JOHN MARTIN

The Reverend Robert Thompson is one of the few clerics who have seen the film.

REVEREND ROBERT THOMPSON

See I think people whose faith is so flimsy that it can be called into question by a movie, need to look at their faith first, before they watch any movie.

JOHN MARTIN

In fact, some clergy refused to watch a screening, but criticized the movie anyway. Director Scorsese says the film is an attempt to portray the human qualities of Christ.

MARTIN SCORSESE

He has desires, I mean, usually the films that you've seen on Jesus, Jesus walks in the room and everybody turns because he kind of glows.

JOHN MARTIN

In reaction to glorified portrayals, some directors have gone the other way. In "Life of Brian", the writers satirized the difficulty of Christ being heard from the mount when he said, "The meek shall inherit the earth". (MOVIE SCENE) The first temptation is to call this controversy a box office bonanza, which it may be. But perhaps more important, mainstream religious leaders, despite some reservations, so far do not seem ready to denounce this film.

JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, New York.

Document ID: WNT19880711
Library: NEWS-NY
Asset Type: Transcript
Air Date: 1988-07-11

----- Segment Number: 6 -----

Story Name: PAISLEY AIDES MAY HAVE ILLEGALLY COPIED CLASSIFIED DOCUMENTS
Air Date: 1988-07-11
Start Time: 00:00:00
End Time: 00:00:00
Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA
Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA
Content: PETER JENNINGS

The investigation of fraud in the Pentagon's military procurement system has now revealed the possible involvement of at least two foreign companies. ABC's Dennis Troute reports tonight that investigators are looking into links between two Israeli arm suppliers and the former assistant Secretary of the Navy, Melvyn Paisley. The investigators already believe that Mr. Paisley may have taken payoffs from a number of defense contractors while he was at the Pentagon. As **JOHN MARTIN** reports, ABC News has learned some of what Mr. Paisley may have delivered to the contractors.

JOHN MARTIN

(PAISLEY) Senior military aides to assistant Navy Secretary Melvyn Paisley ordered staff members to illegally copy classified documents for distribution to defense contractors and consultants. Investigators suspect the documents gave favored companies and consultants inside advantage in bidding for military contracts. A former staff member told ABC News she was ordered to copy classified papers under protest.

WOMAN

I said this is wrong, you know, we're not supposed to be doing this, we're not supposed to duplicate classified material.

JOHN MARTIN

One of those directly involved, according to former staff members, was Paisley's executive aide, Navy Captain Robert Tolle. (PHOTO) Captain Tolle, now retired, has been questioned by investigators about the way the office operated. Captain Tolle denies there was illegal copying. "Absolutely false" he said. Was Captain Tolle aware that documents were being photocopied?

WOMAN

I did it on his direction.

JOHN MARTIN

When she questioned the legality of copying and giving classified documents to contractors, she said she was told--

WOMAN

We don't worry about things like that up here. Maybe out in the fleet, but not here.

JOHN MARTIN

The former staff member said classified documents were carried out of the Pentagon by consultants who had met in secret with Paisley.

WOMAN

I can remember making four copies of this or six or eight or 20 copies of something.

JOHN MARTIN

(GRAPHICS) The Navy confirmed that Paisley's handling of documents and contracts is under investigation. At the same time, ABC News has learned that consultant William Galvin, a major figure in the defense fraud investigation, called or visited Paisley's office two or three times a weeks. (GALVIN) Yet Galvin's name was mysteriously kept off all official logs maintained by the staff. Military justice codes forbid tampering with the accuracy of the logs, violators can be court-martialed.

WOMAN

It was kind of an office joke, you know, we'd just, we were told you don't put him on the log he's a friend of Mr. Paisley's.

JOHN MARTIN

At his 17 acre estate in rural Virginia this weekend, Galvin refused to answer questions. The former staff member called Galvin, the "greaser" and "Santa Claus" because he frequently bought gifts for Paisley's office workers.

WOMAN

We always got some little token of his appreciation for making sure that the man got in to see who he needed to see.

JOHN MARTIN

Captain Tolle denied he ordered any special treatment for Galvin in the office logs and a lawyer for Paisley said it's too soon and not proper to talk about illegal use of classified documents since he said it may be part of the government's on-going inquiry.
JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, Washington.



Document ID: WNT19880708

Library: NEWS-NY

Asset Type: Transcript

Air Date: 1988-07-08

----- Segment Number: 2 -----

Story Name: VINCENNES INVESTIGATION CONTINUES: IMPROVING AGEIS RADAR

Air Date: 1988-07-08

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

The latest on the investigation into the attack on Iran Air flight 655. Military analysts continue to go over the tapes brought back from the USS Vincennes in the Gulf, and one of the questions they may answer, is whether those on the ship heard conversations between flight 655 and the civilian control tower at Bandar Abbas in Iran. Yesterday Iran's air force commander said the Vincennes should've been able to hear 21 minutes of conversation clearly indicating that it was a civilian flight. Meanwhile ABC News has learned that the Navy is considering making changes in its radar system, that could have enabled the Vincennes to distinguish between a military and a civilian plane. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

The Navy is moving swiftly to remedy serious limitations exposed in the radar identification system aboard Aegis cruisers. High Navy officials are examining systems from a number of US arms manufacturers to see whether they can add the capacity to visually identify oncoming aircraft. (JETS) Northrop Corporation which supplies an optical radar system for the F-14 jetfighter, has agreed to provide a briefing and demonstration, perhaps next week. (ANIMATION) It's existing electronic optical system, called TCS enables crewmen to view actual television pictures of the target from 40 to 100 miles away. Two years ago in the Gulf of Sidra, American Navy pilots identified these Libyan Air Force jets, using the television system. The Pentagon wants to see if it can be adapted quickly to the Aegis cruisers. (SU) Northrop started developing the system during the Vietnam War, after Americans shot down one of their own planes. Now, faced with problems in a billion dollar computerized system, the Navy may find itself turning to a technology available for many years. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 3 -----

Story Name: AEGIS CRUISER TOO SOPHISTICATED FOR GULF AREA

Air Date: 1988-07-06

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

The Pentagon considers the Aegis to be the most sophisticated naval defense system in the world. As ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** reports, part of the problem may have been that the Aegis was too sophisticated for this particular crisis.

JOHN MARTIN

(SHIP) In the Gulf, the cruiser Vincennes operates in a zone of dense commercial and military flight traffic. It carries the Navy's most advanced combat anti-aircraft system. (ROCKET LAUNCHERS) But even though its radar constantly monitors 360 degrees for hundreds of miles, the captain and his highly trained crew still cannot do what most travel agents can do, electronically scan the airline schedules for flights. (CONTROL ROOM) Because it was not considered reliable or essential for combat, the schedule was not entered in the ships computers. Nor can they see what most civilian air traffic controllers can see looking at their radar. (RADAR) Whether the blip represents an A-300 airliner or an F-14 jet fighter. In this case, size was not considered vital information for combat where friend or foe is the crucial question.

RETIRE REAR ADMIRAL WAYNE MEYER

Such airplanes if they're flying head on generally gave the same appearance.

JOHN MARTIN

The Aegis is a deadly combat system designed to detect the enemy at long range in the open sea. (ROCKET) But it is now based in an area no bigger than Lake Michigan or Chesapeake Bay. To avoid accidents, the Navy says it tried to discipline the traffic system. It says it issued a notice to airmen and mariners to be on guard. It warned pilots in thousands of radio conversations to maintain altitudes and monitor an international radio channel. But a former Iranian pilot said most Iran Air flights do not monitor that channel.

MAN

Very impractical.

JOHN MARTIN

He said pilots are too busy listening to routine air traffic control. (CREW) The ship did have an ability to call towers in the area including the Iranian tower, but it had just been in combat with Iranian ships and had only four minutes to scan all of its electronic data. (SU) So a billion dollar system may have done everything it was designed to do, but it wasn't designed to be sent into a dense mixed zone of combat and commerce. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 9 -----

Story Name: CELEBRATING JULY FOURTH: VISITING WASHINGTON, DC AT NIGHT

Air Date: 1988-07-04

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BARRY SERAFIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: BARRY SERAFIN

Finally tonight, America's 212th birthday. It began before dawn in California with fireworks over the beach of Santa Monica, and all across the country, Americans have found traditional ways to observe the holiday. As night falls, the fireworks will be back again in cities and towns across the country, including the national celebration in Washington, DC. But it's not just fireworks which attracts thousands of people to the mall in Washington, and not just on July Fourth, but every night. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(NIGHT SHOT OF LINCOLN MEMORIAL) They come at night. Sometimes 8,000 people a night. To pay homage, to play, to flirt, but most of all to celebrate America's history. From North Carolina, a mother and her daughters.

WOMAN

Abraham Lincoln's monument means a lot to us because he means so much to this country. We especially wanted to see it at night. It's much more beautiful.

JOHN MARTIN

From Long Island, 29 Girl Scouts reading the words of Lincoln.

GIRL

These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. Let us strive on to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds...

JOHN MARTIN

From Washington State, a program manager reciting the entire Gettysburg Address from memory.

MAN

And this country shall have a new birth of freedom, and the government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish in the earth.

JOHN MARTIN

Why that's terrific.

MAN

Well it's close.

JOHN MARTIN

The monuments seem to make them all proud and inquisitive. They learn there is Colorado marble on the outside, Indiana limestone inside, and Lincoln's figure, 19 feet high is built of Georgia marble.

WOMAN

He just looks so natural just sitting there like if he were still alive today.

JOHN MARTIN

(NIGHT SHOT OF JEFFERSON MEMORIAL) Nearby, a memorial to the man who wrote the Declaration of Independence. (SINGING) But is that why they come here at night?

GUARD

We get quite a few here at the Thomas Jefferson memorial because it's considered a more romantic spot because of the aesthetic beauty.

MAN

She took me to dinner, and we decided I'd never seen the Jefferson Memorial.

JOHN MARTIN

(MONUMENT) At the Washington monument, crowds encircle the base, moving forward to take a ride nearly 500 feet up into the night.

TOUR GUIDE

To give you some idea just how high up in the monument you are, as you're looking out of the windows up top with just above your heads you will see the red Lincoln aircraft warning lights that you see from the outside.

JOHN MARTIN

A family of chicken ranchers from North Carolina.

WOMAN

It is just spectacular, beautiful. To me it represents the freedom that we love so much.

JOHN MARTIN

(MEMORIAL) At the Vietnam Veterans' Wall, they find the names of more than 58,000 men and women who died in the war.

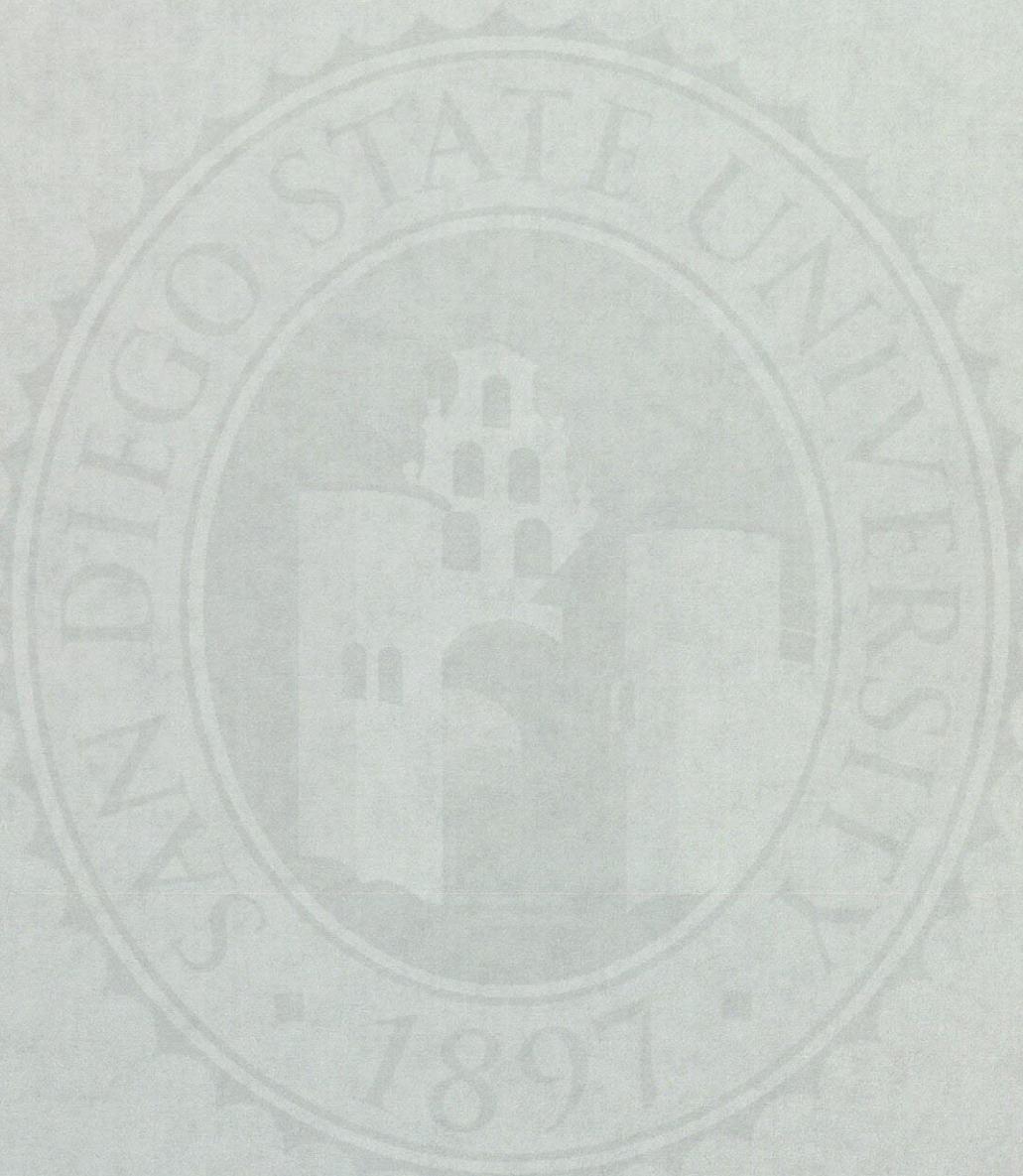
MAN

I feel at one with them. A lot more so during the nighttime than during in the daytime. Maybe it's alone in the night.

JOHN MARTIN

(FACE CU OF JEFFERSON/LINCOLN) Alone but somehow together, looking for a sense of what America is, and they find it at night.

(KID SINGING) **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.



Document ID: WNT19880630

Library: NEWS-NY

Asset Type: Transcript

Air Date: 1988-06-30

----- Segment Number: 1 -----

Story Name: CONSULTANTS SHRED DOCUMENTS; PAISLEY'S BACKGROUND CONCEALED

Air Date: 1988-06-30

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BARRY SERAFIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: BARRY SERAFIN

New developments today in the unfolding Pentagon fraud scandal. Investigators have revealed that documents have been destroyed. ABC's Dennis Troute reports some defense consultants apparently shredded documents after the scandal started to become public. And ABC News has obtained new information about one of the central figures in the case, the former assistant Navy Secretary Melvyn Paisley. Last week we reported there'd been allegations that Paisley was involved in bribery and wiretapping while he was an executive at Boeing, before he went to the Pentagon. Now there are questions about how much of his background was known to the White House, the Pentagon and Congress before he got his job. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(PAISLEY) Melvyn Paisley's nomination to a high Pentagon post was recommended by the White House in 1981 despite FBI background reports that uncovered substantial derogatory information. (WH) Federal investigators told ABC News, the reports contained allegations of bribery and other corrupt behavior. (GRAPHICS) A Reagan Administration source said the FBI's reports were sent to White House counsel Fred Fielding. (PHOTOS) Despite numerous negative references to Paisley, the source said, the White House counsel's office eventually cleared the nomination. It was under strong pressure from Navy Secretary **JOHN** Lehman. (PHOTO) The White House clearance was sent to the Senate Armed Services Committee without the FBI reports. In a nine minute hearing the committee recommended Paisley's nomination by the full Senate. Senator Carl Levin said the committee never saw the FBI reports and that the White House refuses even now to turn them over. He has written the FBI for copies.

SENATOR CARL LEVIN

It's important as part of the confirmation process to know whether or not allegations were properly checked out by the White House or the FBI.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) A former Senate staff committee member said the committee had an arrangement with the White House that no nominee would be offered if serious derogatory information was unresolved about him. A former White House official said he couldn't remember much about the FBI report on Paisley except that he had many wives. So until the FBI report is made public, there will remain many questions about how and why Melvyn Paisley was nominated. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 2 -----

Story Name: FORMER BOEING ASSOCIATE TELLS OF PAISLEY'S CORRUPT BEHAVIOR

Air Date: 1988-06-23

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Before he became the Assistant Navy Secretary Melvyn Paisley worked for a major defense contractor, the Boeing Company in Seattle. One of Paisley's former associates at Boeing has told ABC News, the Reagan Administration was warned about him when he first went to the Pentagon. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(PAISLEY) Former Boeing Company associates of Melvyn Paisley say he had a reputation for corrupt behavior dating back more than 20 years. James Durst is a former Boeing executive who says he tried to warn Reagan Administration officials in 1982 that Paisley was an unsavory character. Durst said Paisley boasted of bugging the offices of a competitor, Pan Am, in this Florida office building.

(BLDG) Boeing and Pan Am were bidding for a contract in 1970 at nearby Patrick Air Force Base.

JAMES DURST

So what Paisley decided to do was to take his man and rent the suite underneath the Pan Am suite, where they knew somehow where the proposal was being written by Pan Am and ran a tap on it so they could get the price and their competitors's price.

JOHN MARTIN

This morning, leaving his house, Paisley declined all comment.

(PAISLEY'S) In 1982, after Paisley's appointment to the Pentagon, Durst wrote to former Idaho Governor Don Samuelson, a personal friend. (LETTER) "Mel Paisley bragged to others and to me that he had committed a felony wiretapping operation, conducted bribery internationally on military projects. He is known as a famous philanderer. I feel very strongly", Durst wrote, "that considering his unsavory character and amorality, that he is an extraordinary risk to security. Very highly susceptible to blackmail". A second former Boeing executive, who declined to be interviewed on camera, said Paisley bragged of his reputation with women and of bribery attempts. He made notes in an office diary. (DIARY) Former Governor Samuelson passed the information to Senator Paul Laxalt of Nevada, President Reagan's campaign manager and close friend. (LAXALT) Laxalt replied to Samuelson, "We alerted appropriate staff in the Defense Department. The person has cleared a very thorough FBI clearance, whether anymore will happen now I just don't know", Laxalt wrote, "but the allegations are most serious and will likely be checked". A Laxalt aide, Ed Allison later discussed the case with Durst by telephone.

JAMES DURST

I'd harassed Allison, he'd say, well I sent it over to Weinberger's personal staff and over to Lehman. He said that's all we can do.

JOHN MARTIN

(LAXALT) Laxalt's office acknowledged the letters but called them a routine referral. Allison's office said he could not recall ever receiving a reply from the Pentagon or anyone. (WEINBERGER) Weinberger said he never heard the information but that Navy Secretary **JOHN** Lehman had pushed strongly for Paisley and often praised his cost cutting, which Paisley himself boasted about a year ago.

MELVYN PAISLEY

We had an acquisition program that was in a mess. We have straighten that out.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) So far Paisley hasn't been accused of any crime. He had no comment today. Tomorrow he'll meet here with his lawyer, who is ironically, a member of Paul Laxalt's law firm, which he says is a sheer accident. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

PETER JENNINGS

The Pentagon story for today.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: CARL ROWAN AND THE GUN CONTROL CONTROVERSY

Air Date: 1988-06-20

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BRIT HUME, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: BRIT HUME

A nationally syndicated columnist who for years has advocated strong gun control laws shoots an intruder on his property with an unregistered gun.

CARL ROWAN, COLUMNIST

I'd rather not have had to use it, but I did what I had to do.

HUME

(VO) The result: a major new debate, and some surprising new perspectives on an always controversial issue. Good evening. I'm Brit Hume, and this is Nightline.

BEN SMITH

(WMAL Radio) He had no right to shoot me. I mean, I guess I was trespassing, but that's no reason to shoot a person, is it? For swimming in their pool?

HUME

(VO) How much of the controversy is about gun control, and how much of it is about columnist Carl Rowan?

MR ROWAN

Anybody who is threatening my family becomes my enemy, and I don't care whether he's black, white, blue or green.

ANNOUNCER

This is ABC News Nightline. Substituting for Ted Koppel and reporting from Washington, Brit Hume.

HUME

In the long march of history, this episode is likely to be little noted nor long remembered. But in that special world of politics and the law headquartered here in Washington, this story has been a huge hit. Partly, of course, it is the pleasure of seeing a big shot caught doing what he said no one should ever do. Indeed, doing what he said others should be jailed for. That alone might be enough to keep the story on the front pages here and elsewhere. But the case of "the Jacuzzi gunman," as one of Carl Rowan's detractors gleefully labeled him, has awakened anew the remarkable passion stirred by one of this nation's most enduring controversies: the issue of handguns and the law. And as JOHN MARTIN reports, this already powerful mixture has been strengthened by the charge in some quarters that the whole uproar is tinged with racism.

JOHN MARTIN

(VO) The facts are simple. A newspaper columnist hears noises at his window at night. He calls police, and discovers a young man and his date swimming in his pool. As the police arrive, the columnist, who opposes the legal use of handguns, takes out a gun and confronts the young man, who seems to be advancing and refuses to halt. He fires, and hits the man in the hand.

CARL ROWAN, SYNDICATED COLUMNIST

I thought I was within the law the morning that this incident occurred. I had been assured by my son, who had been assured by the gun control office, that that gun was legally and properly in his possession. I'd rather not have had to use it, but I did what I had to do.

BEN SMITH

(WMAL Radio) Carl Rowan, whoever, came out and he says, "Hold it". And so I stop and he shoots me. He had no right to shoot me. I mean, I guess I was trespassing, but that's no reason to shoot a person, is it? For swimming in their pool?

MARTIN

(VO) But columnist Rowan says the young man lunged at him.

MR ROWAN

I regret that it had to happen. I regret that I'm lying in my bed, trying to get one of a few good night's sleeps, when trouble came finding me. I didn't go anywhere looking for trouble.

MARTIN

(VO) For now, both men have found trouble. The authorities are currently deciding whether to charge Smith with trespassing, or Rowan

with illegal gun possession, or both, or neither. So a young man is facing a possible trespassing fine and jail term, an older man is facing a possible \$1,000 firearms fine and jail term, plus the cries of his critics, who call him a hypocrite, and his friends, who call him confused.

MARTIN KONDRACKE, THE NEW REPUBLIC

(WRC, "The McLaughlin Group") I mean, what Carl Rowan should have done is to have locked the windows of his house and called the police, like anybody else who's in favor of gun control would do who doesn't have a gun.

PATRICK BUCHANAN, POLITICAL COMMENTATOR

The point is, if the kids are in the pool, you don't have any threat. Did the kid try to break into the house? In that case, Rowan might have a case of being scared to death.

MARTIN

(VO) It seems as if the whole country is deciding who did the right thing. The shooting has been debated in newspaper columns, in talk shows, for a week. Ironically, the District of Columbia has one of the earliest laws banning handguns in the country, beginning in 1976. Gun lobbyists say the law has failed. But the number of murders here is reportedly still far below what it was before the ban. For many years, Carl Rowan has written against the illegal use of guns, against Bernhard Goetz's subway shooting of four black men, the 1980 murder of **JOHN** Lennon, the assassinations of **JOHN** and Robert Kennedy, and Dr **MARTIN** Luther King, Jr The massacre of McDonald's patrons in California in 1984. The attempt on Ronald Reagan's life. " ... we have got to make it almost impossible for these people to get handguns," Rowan wrote in 1981. Now, after the swimming pool incident, the National Rifle Association is laughing at Rowan.

WAYNE LAPIERRE, NATIONAL RIFLE ASSOCIATION

There's no doubt that we'll use it to highlight the ridiculous nature of some of these statements in terms of people trying to take away firearms ownership from the other side.

MARTIN

(VO) Some of Rowan's supporters, meanwhile, detect what they feel is racist criticism.

JESSE JACKSON, (D), PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE

If this had been some other well - known media person - Buchanan, for example - and if four black teenagers had come across into his yard at two o'clock in the morning and were approaching his bedroom, he could very well have taken on hero proportions for having defended his home and defended his honor.

MARTIN

(VO) But Rowan insists that what he did has nothing to do with race or politics.

MR ROWAN

This is a simple matter of a husband and a head of a household doing what he had to do, regardless of who's out there.

MICHAEL BEARD, NATIONAL COALITION TO BAN HANDGUNS

He is, in my mind, a victim of this gun, because of what happened to him. His credibility is called into question all across the country. Simply because a gun was present.

ABSALOM JORDAN, DC FIREARMS ASSOCIATION

I don't think anyone is gloating over the situation that Mr Rowan found himself in. And I don't think anybody's happy for it. We want people to be able to own firearms to protect themselves, their home and their family if they choose to own a firearm.

MARTIN

(VO) For the moment, 19 states require a waiting period to buy a handgun. Twelve require a permit to buy. Seven require registration of the weapon. Five require licenses for the owner. But only one state - Maryland - has banned the manufacture and sale of handguns. (on camera) And the gun lobby is on the counteroffensive. In Maryland, it is working to repeal the new law. In Illinois, California and Florida, it is fighting to eliminate or at least weaken gun control laws. So, for the moment, the Rowan affair has helped rekindle a bitter debate, with unexpected consequences.

CHARLES KRAUTHAMMER, POLITICAL ANALYST

The gun lobby has been arguing for decades, everybody has to have a gun. And I'm afraid that this particular case seems to reinforce that position.

MARTIN

(VO) This is **JOHN MARTIN** for Nightline in Washington.

HUME

When we come back, we'll get two views on the Carl Rowan case as we talk with a supporter of the right to own and use firearms, Richard Atkinson, who heads the District of Columbia Firearms Association, and with an advocate of strict gun control, Josh Sugarman, former communications director for the National Coalition to Ban Handguns.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Richard Atkinson, who joins us in our Washington bureau, is president of the 2,000 - member DC Firearms Association, which is affiliated with the National Rifle Association. Josh Sugarman, who's also with us in Washington, is former spokesman for the National Coalition to Ban Handguns, and is currently writing a book about the gun control movement. Mr Atkinson, Carl Rowan seems to have done exactly what organizations like yours and the National Rifle Association say that people should have a right to do, that is, to acquire and use a handgun for self - protection. But it didn't turn out very well for him, did it?

RICHARD ATKINSON, DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA FIREARMS ASSOCIATION
Well, it sure didn't. But you are absolutely correct. What we have been advocating all along is merely that we think that a citizen, a law - abiding citizen, has the right to defend his home and his person. And that's exactly what Carl Rowan said and did. And yes, we do support that right.

HUME

Well, gun control advocates have argued through the years, however, that this unrestricted ability - if indeed it is unrestricted - to acquire and use handguns can only lead to more trouble. That the presence of guns means guns will be used, and used in circumstances which cannot be controlled or predicted. And that that, ultimately, amounts to an argument for handgun control. It's hard to see how this case really amounts to much of an argument in favor of unrestricted use of handguns.

MR ATKINSON

Not at all. As a matter of fact, in a great many states around the United States, there are less restrictive laws than Washington, and they don't have 136 homicides like we do in Washington already this year.

HUME

Well, I understand that, but tell me if you can, just look at the circumstances of this case. How is it that Carl Rowan's ownership and use of a handgun ultimately defended him in any way or gained him anything?

MR ATKINSON

Well, you see, we never know what kind of person that might have been in his pool. And as Carl Rowan said, that he is glad that people are writing this mockery about him rather than writing his obituary. And I was remarking earlier to someone that I saw a bumper sticker somewhere that says it very plainly. "I'd rather be judged by 12 than carried by six". Considering the kind of drug madness that's out there, if you see somebody that's skinny - dipping in his underwear, you have no idea what kind of crazy nut you're dealing with.

HUME

I don't disagree with you for a minute, Mr Atkinson, but what I'm really trying to get at is if we assume that Carl Rowan had had no gun in his house -

MR ATKINSON

Yes.

HUME

- then it is clear that he might have been more inclined to stay in the house until the police had arrived at his front door, or wherever they might have arrived. Certainly this young man would not have been shot. He would have not been held up to the scorn and ridicule of his critics that he has suffered. Wouldn't he, inevitably, have been better off?

MR ATKINSON

That's not completely true either. I would refer you to the courts here in Washington, DC, specifically a case known as Warren V. DC In the Warren case, three women were brutally attacked. They called 911 when they heard some people banging vigorously at their door. When finally these attackers broke into their door, and when the police finally arrived, the police asked the question, did anybody here call the police? And naturally, the would - be rapist said no, we didn't send for the police. The police left. It turned out one of the three women had concealed herself. When the police turned around and left, the concealed woman came out and called 911 a second time. Anyway, she was discovered and she was attacked. Now, at the bottom line of all of this, the court held that the police had a duty to protect the community as a whole, not individuals. Therefore, these three individuals could not sue the city for failure to protect them when they called the police. So I would say that Carl Rowan had no assurance that he would have been protected.

HUME

All right. Mr Sugarman, let me ask you this question. Doesn't the fact that even so strong an advocate of gun control as Carl Rowan saw

fit to own and ultimately to use a handgun tell you that the people in the United States - as Mr Atkinson suggests - really don't feel safe in their homes and perhaps should not feel safe in their homes? And that one of the political problems that organizations like yours have encountered is that you're running against a very strong tide of opinion, indeed, of circumstance, in this country?

JOSH SUGARMANN, HANDGUN CONTROL ADVOCATE

I think it's very true that Carl Rowan, like many Americans, bought into what is essentially the myth of the self - defense handgun. No one is denying that people like Carl Rowan feel afraid. Americans feel afraid, and there is crime out there. But when we look at the facts, the self - defense handgun really is not effective. We have found that for every time a citizen uses a handgun to kill a criminal, 118 innocent lives are ended in handgun murders, suicides and fatal accidents. I think when you look at the Rowan incident, it exemplifies very clearly why someone should not own a handgun. If Mr Rowan had not had the weapon, he would probably have done as you had mentioned, locked his door and then called the police, taken his wife and left the house. I find it ironic at best that one of the reasons Mr Rowan stated he shot the intruder in his backyard was because he feared that the man would take the handgun and use it against himself or his wife.

HUME

All right. Now, it's possible that Carl Rowan will be charged in this case, and ultimately convicted and held up to further scorn and ridicule, as has already occurred. And yet he was the law - abiding citizen at home, asleep in his bed behind locked doors, with a fence around his yard. How can that outcome possibly be just? And it will result, of course, from the very kind of gun control laws that your organization advocates?

MR SUGARMANN

Well, I think it's important to remember that most Americans - unfortunately, as I said - do view self - defense being clear with handguns. And there are effective means of self - defense that can be used instead of a handgun. If Mr Rowan had turned a light on instead of challenging the intruder, if Mr Rowan had owned a dog, we wouldn't be in the situation we are today. I think it's important to remember Mr Rowan - and his victim, of course - are very lucky that he didn't kill the man. I think if that were the case, we'd be having a very different conversation today. But I think our problem as a movement and as handgun control groups work in this country, is that we're fighting a TV myth, fighting a myth put forth by the National Rifle Association, that a handgun is an effective self - defense tool. But when you look at the facts - 20,000 dead a year, hundreds of thousands wounded or assaulted with the handguns - the exact opposite is true.

HUME

One more question for you, Mr Sugarmann. How much damage do you think this episode has done to your movement?

MR SUGARMANN

I think without doubt it is damaging, unfortunately because the handgun control movement is not a top issue until someone famous is shot or things like this happen. It's somewhere between baby seals and fluoridated water a great deal of the time. You'll often find that anecdotes, vignettes, take the place of facts, especially when there's always a mound of conflicting quote unquote "facts". I think you're going to find that Mr Rowan will be used, will be put on the shelf with other anecdotes that are always trotted out by the National Rifle Association. But I think, as a movement, if we once again keep trying over and over again to present the real story, and real options to fear, and real self - defense measures that work, we can overcome this.

HUME

All right. Thank you very much. We have to take a break now. When we return, we're going to explore some of the other issues that have been raised over the past few days with columnist Roger Wilkins, a long - time friend of Carl Rowan.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Roger Wilkins, who's with us now in our Washington bureau, is a former writer for The New York Times and the Washington Post, and a former assistant attorney general. He is currently professor of American history and culture at George Mason University, as well as a columnist for Mother Jones magazine. Roger, let me mention by the way first here that we did ask both Carl Rowan and Ben Smith, who was the victim of the shooting incident, to appear on the broadcast tonight. And they both - I believe on advice of counsel - declined. Jesse Jackson has said that the whole uproar over this incident is really racially motivated. If this had occurred involving some white person

and a black youth that the whole atmosphere would have been different. Do you think that's so?

ROGER WILKINS, GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY

Not entirely. I think that if it happened a few years ago when Allen Barth was alive - Allen Barth was a great gun control advocate on the Washington Post - if Allen had done it we would have had the same uproar. On the other hand, if the case had been tilted the way that Jesse tells it, I think people would have talked about the case.

HUME

You're speaking, of course, of his suggesting that if it were Pat Buchanan, who supports the right to use and keep firearms, having shot some black kid in his yard, that it might have been a different matter altogether.

MR WILKINS

Well, that's right. There is a racial undertone to this. Jack Kilpatrick, one of Rowan's friends, said on "Inside Washington" -

HUME

That was the show that we all saw Carl speaking on, right.

MR WILKINS

- right. And he said, "Yes, in Washington you need a handgun. Of course, everybody would have a handgun". That's not true. I've lived in Washington for a quarter of a century. I live near poor people, poor black people. I've never owned a handgun, and I've never felt afraid. But the sense that he was conveying is that of course, in a 70 percent black city, you need a handgun.

HUME

Isn't it possible, though, Roger, that what he meant was in a city which has, and has had for many years, a fairly high crime rate - regardless of whether it involves blacks or not - that you may feel you need a handgun?

MR WILKINS

I don't believe that those words could have meant anything but that in a 70 percent black city you need a handgun. It was - the underlying fact is that this is a 70 percent black city, and a lot of poor blacks live in the city.

HUME

Let me ask you, Mr Atkinson, you're black, you live in this city, you're an advocate of the right to keep and bear arms. How did you take Mr Kilpatrick's remarks when you heard them on the air? Did you react to them in the same way that Roger Wilkins did?

MR ATKINSON

Not at all. As a matter of fact, I think that really, the media - by injecting this whole race aspect into it - is frankly demeaning the whole process. It seems to me that up in New York City, with the Bernhard Goetz situation, had quite a circus up there in which they were alleging all sorts of racial motives involving that. And I take note that it's New York CORE that's really been one of the major supporters of Bernhard Goetz up there, trying to dispel the notion that that is racial. And I think all we have to do is listen to Carl Rowan himself. Carl Rowan himself said that this is not racial.

HUME

Well, I think what he was referring to, though, wasn't he, was the idea that this was not a racially motivated incident in terms of the facts themselves. He wasn't talking about the uproar that has ensued afterwards, was he?

MR ATKINSON

Well, let me say this. I think that really it's an extraneous issue. There is one fundamental issue, and that is whether a law - abiding citizen has a right to defend himself.

MR WILKINS

But the point is that when Jack Kilpatrick said what he did, he wasn't saying that people in Washington need handguns to protect themselves from savage hordes of blond kids from Chevy Chase.

MR ATKINSON

What - he was referring, Roger, to the crime that's in Washington. That's what he was referring to. Washington has a very large amount of crime. And even while figures are dropping numerically, the amount of viciousness that's involved, people no longer want to just pick your pocket or snatch your pocketbook. They want to hurt you in the process. And it's that vicious quality of the crime that's growing in Washington which is quite the problem.

MR WILKINS

I have lived near public housing projects for the whole time I've lived in Washington, and I have not been a victim of all this vicious crime you're talking about. I have never felt the need of a handgun. I feel my family is safer without a gun in the house. So I don't, I don't understand what Jack was talking about, and I frankly don't really understand what you're talking about.

MR ATKINSON

Well, frankly I think all this is related to a certain amount of paranoia that I think far too many of us have, that yes, there is racism about, but I think the issue is whether or not a person can defend himself. I have been born and raised in this city, just as you were saying, and if you don't realize that there's crime around, and that blacks are the number one victim of this crime, then you just really don't know what's going on in Washington. The crime is out there. I think you should consider yourself fortunate that you have not been a victim.

MR WILKINS

But I am not a policeman, and I am not going to inhibit crime by carrying a gun in my pocket or having a gun in my bedroom. It's enough for me to have a baseball bat in my house. If somebody comes into my house, he's going to get hurt. He's not going to get killed.

HUME

Roger, hold that thought if you will just a moment. I want to ask all of you to imagine yourselves in circumstances similar to those confronted by Carl Rowan, and to tell me what you think you would have done. And I'll have you do that when we continue our discussion in just a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Continuing our conversation with Richard Atkinson, Josh Sugarmann, and Roger Wilkins. Mr Atkinson, let me ask you. Put yourself, if you can, in exactly the circumstances which confronted Carl Rowan. You've opened the door, you have the handgun in your hand, and you see this young man moving towards you. Would you have done exactly as he did?

MR ATKINSON

I would have done exactly what Carl Rowan did.

HUME

You would have shot?

MR ATKINSON

Yes.

HUME

And would you have fired a warning shot, or would you have shot at him?

MR ATKINSON

No, matter of fact, I think probably what happened in this situation, it may have been a ricochet that hit the kid. I think it's a very dangerous practice, shooting warning shots.

HUME

Well, do you think, then, that - does that argue for a licensing system under which people would be trained in how to use guns? It seems apparent from this that Carl Rowan isn't a terrific shot.

MR ATKINSON

Well, I think that people should know how to use a weapon, but I'm very cautious as about how we approach any licensing system. That is too often used as a means of back - door control.

HUME

All right. Let me ask you, Mr Sugarmann. I want to give you a similar hypothetical, but I want to change it just a little bit. I want to place the intruder already in the house. All you can see is his shadow. There is a handgun and it is within reach of you, and he's advancing toward you. Are you going to do anything with a gun, or what?

MR SUGARMANN

What I would do, I think most police recommend that any person in a situation would be to avoid confronting or having to face that criminal in your house.

HUME

Well, suppose you've got your wife there, and she's asleep, or she's lying upstairs. Are you going to run out of the building? What are you going to do?

MR SUGARMANN

What you do is, if you have to, run up to the bedroom and lock yourself in. Call the police. The last thing any person wants to do is come face to face with a criminal and get into a shootout. That person may be armed, and it only increases your chance of being hurt.

HUME

All right. Roger, let me ask you. You've lived in Washington for much of your life. Tell me what you'd do under the same circumstances.

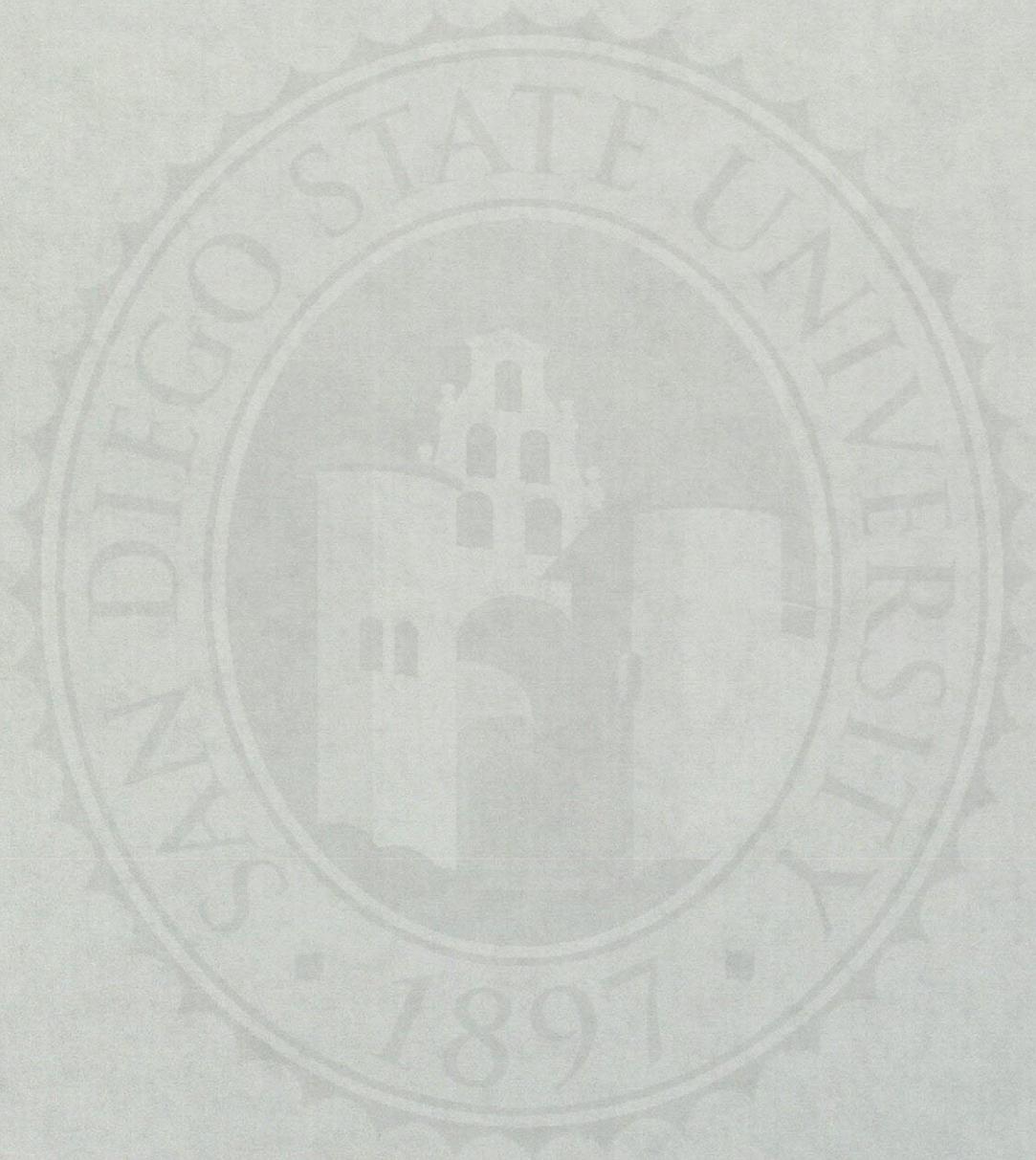
MR WILKINS

Well, I can't imagine having a gun in the house. I suppose if my son had been an FBI agent and my son was a terrific guy like Carl's son is, I might have taken his advice. But in my case, I'd take a baseball bat to the guy.

HUME

I think we'll let that be the last word. Gentlemen, I want to thank you all very much, Roger Wilkins, Josh Sugarmann, and Mr Atkinson,

thank you as well for coming in. That's our report for tonight. I'm
Brit Hume in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.



----- Segment Number: 8 -----

Story Name: USSR'S GERASIMOV'S VISIT TO ALASKA'S DIOMEDE ISLAND

Air Date: 1988-05-24

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: TED KOPPEL, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, LITTLE DIOMEDE ISLAND, ALASKA

Content: TED KOPPEL

Finally tonight, when President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev sit down to talk at the summit, one item they'll discuss is a symbolic friendship flight between Alaska and Siberia. As ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** reports, it's an effort to end the kind of cold war way up north in the Bering Strait.

GENNADY GERASIMOV

It just like Russia. You cannot really tell which is which when you fly over. It's just the same, snow, rocks, and it's so close.

JOHN MARTIN

(AERIAL OF ISLANDS) Gennady Gerasimov, the spokesman for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, flew to Little Diomed Island recently on a private mission. At the invitation of a peace advocate, he saw the spot where his country and America are only three miles apart. (MAP) Big Diomed Island, Soviet territory, is just across the Bering Strait from Little Diomed Island, where he landed. (ESKIMOS) Eskimo natives put up a big Russian sign for peace and they turned his visit into a combination town meeting and party. (CELEBRATION) The Eskimos hope that the summit meeting in Moscow will result in an agreement to allow them to visit friends and relatives on the other side.

ANDREW KUNAYAK

We've got quite a few, quite a few neighbors over there like our cousins, our uncles, really that we've never seen for about 39 years now. We'd sure like to see them once in a while.

GENNADY GERASIMOV

I think cold war years must be over and with cold war years over this ice curtain must melt.

JOHN MARTIN

But would Gerasimov help the ice curtain melt, push the idea in Moscow? Some natives, not all, thought he would.

TIM GOLOGERGEN

He sees firsthand the situation on the coastline here. I'm pretty sure he will put in a good word for us.

GOVERNOR STEVE COWPER

I'd like to have Alaska be considered by the Soviets as something more than a target.

DIXIE BELCHER

It's very important for the spokesman of the Soviet Union to come to Little Diomed Island and look across 2.7 miles to the Soviet Union. I hope that he will take back a picture of, in his mind, of these people that people all over the state of Alaska really want these people to be reunited.

JOHN MARTIN

So ultimately the superpowers must decide, perhaps at the Moscow summit. (TUNDRA) Will this remote coastal region remain a barrier frozen between them or will it become a bridge to join them.

LELA OMAN

Maybe after I am gone, there will be benefits for my children, grandchildren, families visiting each other, exchanging gifts and also knowing what freedom is.

JOHN MARTIN

(KIDS FACES CU) **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Little Diomed Island, Alaska.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: MEESE MELODRAMA CONTINUES

Air Date: 1988-05-17

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BRIT HUME, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content:

BRIT HUME

(VO) The case for Edwin Meese, as President Reagan made it today.

PRES RONALD REAGAN

(Today) In this land of ours, you are innocent until you are proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. For him to step aside would be what he himself once said, that he would then live for the rest of his life under this cloud with nothing that had ever been proven.

HUME

(VO) Is the President right? (on camera) Good evening. I'm Brit Hume, and this is Nightline. (VO) Even conservatives are calling now for the attorney general to step down. Is it, as the President insists, a case of political pressures versus the demands of fairness? Or is it a different matter when the nation's chief law officer is in the eye of the storm?

ANNOUNCER

This is ABC News Nightline. Substituting for Ted Koppel and reporting from Washington, Brit Hume.

HUME

It all sounds remarkably familiar. A senior Justice Department official leaves, while voices in the media and on Capitol Hill sound the call for Edwin Meese to resign. An independent counsel is about to release a report on the attorney general, and while no indictments are expected, neither is the report expected to praise him. The President says he stands by his old friend. So what's new here? For one thing, that senior Justice Department official who left was spokesman Terry Eastland, a stalwart conservative and a Meese and Reagan loyalist. He was fired. Those editorial and congressional calls for Meese's resignation are now coming from the right, not the left. And President Reagan, as you've just heard, is now saying Meese should stay as a matter of principle. The personal and political drama of Edwin Meese is once again center stage in Washington, and JOHN MARTIN brings us up to date.

JOHN MARTIN

(VO) Edwin Meese faces a modern Washington predicament. He has been under investigation for months, but not charged. He sits at the center of controversy and ridicule but he refuses to quit.

EDWIN MEESE, ATTORNEY GENERAL

("This Week with David Brinkley," March 13) Obviously, I shouldn't step aside because, look, if honest public officials can be hounded out of office by partisan political attacks, by media barrages, then no honest public official is safe.

MARTIN

(VO) The suspicions about Edwin Meese involve everything from a corrupt defense contractor, to a Middle East pipeline deal, to anti-trust decisions involving stock he owned. Although two of his associates have been indicted and Meese himself has repeatedly appeared before a grand jury, there have been no formal accusations. So, is he a corrupt public official? Or is he just unwisely loyal to his friends? Or is he the victim of a political vendetta by his enemies? Today, the President defended him as a friend.

PRES REAGAN

(Today) I have complete confidence in him, and I know -

NEWS REPORTER

Why?

PRES REAGAN

- because there have been a great many allegations made, but nothing has been proven, and I've seen no evidence of any wrongdoing on his part of the kind that is inferred in the allegations that are being kicked around -

NEWS REPORTER

How about the perception -

PRES REAGAN

- and right now, on this particular thing, I think you'd have to talk to him about that. I think there's more than meets the eye with

regard to this latest departure.

MARTIN

(VO) The departure of Justice Department spokesman Terry Eastland shocked even Meese's associates. He was fired, and Eastland implied it was over how strongly he was willing to defend Meese.

TERRY EASTLAND, FORMER JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SPOKESMAN

(Yesterday) ... in my letter. The attorney general wants someone who is willing to defend him apparently very aggressively, more so apparently than I've done.

MARTIN

(VO) Whatever the reason for it, Eastland's dismissal created an uproar among Republicans. George Bush's campaign staff says Meese's problems are hurting Bush's candidacy.

REP LYNN MARTIN, BUSH CAMPAIGN

Any time you have an administration problem - and this is one - it has an effect if the sitting vice president becomes the candidate.

MARTIN

(VO) The Washington Times called on Meese to resign, more out of sadness than suspicion.

TONY SNOW, WASHINGTON TIMES

Our argument's really kind of utilitarian. The sad fact is that the attention and the effort required to clear one's name is simply inconsistent with running the Department of Justice.

SEN ARLEN SPECTER, (R), JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

Nobody can answer that question as to whether the Justice Department is going down the tubes. But that is a big question which confronts the country today, when you have so many resignations and when you have so many distractions that involve the attorney general himself.

SEN PATRICK LEAHY, (D), JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

I've had people tell me, I mean, they go and they're almost ashamed to say where they work, because people start snickering.

MARTIN

(VO) Through it all, Edwin Meese has protested his innocence and condemned his critics, calling them a "lynch mob".

MR MEESE

("20/20," April 1) The problems are not what's going on within the Department of Justice or the leadership here, but it is all of the false statements and false accusations on the outside.

MARTIN

(VO) On the outside, it seems at times as if the whole world is laughing at Ed Meese, a fugitive hiding out in his own office, a dunce who shoots himself in the head, a fireman insisting there's no fire. The New York Times recently called him "Attorney General Clouseau". Inspector Clouseau, the addled French detective. Meese's critics see his apparent blindness to possible improprieties as the real - life equivalent of a Clouseau movie. And television comics think so, too.

JOHNNY CARSON

("The Tonight Show," Carson Productions, May 13) A little news bulletin today you may have missed. Attorney General Ed Meese was not indicted for anything today.

MARK RUSSELL, COMEDIAN

What about the attorney general? Personally, I feel we ought to have one.

MARTIN

(VO) It was this constant barrage of ridicule that concerned some of the men who quit the Justice Department. William Weld, who ran the criminal division, before leaving said, "Walking into a courtroom subjected his attorneys to the fear of laughter".

MARK RUSSELL

Last year alone Meese has had his hand on more Bibles than Billy Graham, and yet!

MARTIN

(VO) Still, neither President Reagan nor Meese have succumbed to the pressure of ridicule or controversy, perhaps because both men cannot forget the words of a cabinet member who was accused of crimes and then exonerated.

PRES REAGAN

Nothing has been proven. These allegations continue to be made. This has been true of others. This was true of Ray Donovan, and his poignant line I think fit the situation.

MR MEESE

You remember what Ray said? He said, "What office do I go to now to get my reputation back?"

MARTIN

So the question is whether an innocent man is losing his reputation, or whether an entire department of government is losing its credibility, because its leader cannot remove his personal problems from his professional duties. This is **JOHN MARTIN** for Nightline in

Washington.

HUME

When we come back, we'll talk to the man named to replace Terry Eastland as Edwin Meese's official spokesman, Patrick Korten. And with Eugene Hickok, a former Justice Department official who suggests that the department may need more than public relations to deal with its problems.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Patrick Korten is Edwin Meese's new director of public affairs, replacing Terry Eastland, whose firing has set off the latest controversy concerning the attorney general. A former radio reporter, Mr Korten was hired by Terry Eastland in 1985 and served as his chief deputy. He joins us in our Washington bureau. Eugene Hickok, who's with us from WITF in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is a former high-ranking official in the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel under Attorney General Meese. He now teaches political science at Pennsylvania's Dickinson College. Pat Korten, one question I do want to ask you about. The President's remarks today, he said that there's more to this dismissal of Terry Eastland than meets the eye. What did he mean by that?

PATRICK KORTEN, JUSTICE DEPARTMENT CHIEF SPOKESMAN

Well, I'm not absolutely sure, Brit. When Mr Meese was asked about that later on in the afternoon, he said that as far as he was concerned what the President meant was that there was nothing more difficult here than the fact that Mr Meese wanted to make a management change, and in the public affairs office. And that the headlines were rather misleading in that regard.

HUME

There have been some reports that one thing that led to Eastland's departure was that he would not say that he would defend the attorney general regardless, and that with the independent counsel's report coming, he wouldn't swear that whatever that said, that he would stand behind and defend the attorney general. Do you know whether that's true or not?

MR KORTEN

No. As a matter of fact, Mr Meese made clear to me and in other forums over the last couple of days that he doesn't expect any of us to sit there and defend him in the matters that are before the independent counsel. That's the job of his personal lawyers. We send any calls we get from the press over there, and that'll continue to be the case.

HUME

Well, what is it that he wants done differently now, under you?

MR KORTEN

Well, I think that he simply wanted a fresh start. He's got eight more months - as we all do in the Reagan administration - and wanted to be able to put a fresh look on the public affairs operation. I've worked closely with Terry over the last three years, and frankly, I would have been perfectly content to serve out the rest of the term as his deputy. I thought he did a great job, but it's Mr Meese's prerogative to decide who he wants to sit in that or any other position, and I respect that.

HUME

The President has said, made the point today that the attorney general has not been convicted of anything, and I think the record would indeed show that the attorney general has not been officially charged, at least on a criminal basis, with anything. The question, I think, that a number of people have raised is shouldn't the public expect that the attorney general would be not only above conviction or above being officially indicted, but above suspicion?

MR KORTEN

Well, the problem here that you face is, as Mr Meese has said many times before, the independent counsel law, and the way that whole independent counsel process is set up involves a much lower threshold than the ordinary criminal investigation. It doesn't take much to trigger an independent counsel investigation, and yet the way the system is set up, it can go on for a very long time. Well, the independent counsel has absolutely nothing else to do but to investigate one particular individual, runs down every single lead no matter how minute. That's the reason you wind up with a lengthy investigation and a lot of press stories along the way. But I think everybody expects that when the final report comes out, there won't be anything much there.

HUME

What is the effect, Pat, of this prolonged and protracted investigation - which is, after all - not the first such investigation? What's the effect, Pat, on the morale of the Department of Justice?

MR KORTEN

I don't think it has any significant effect on the morale of the department. I want you to bear one thing in mind, you and your viewers, that out of 70,000 people in the Department of Justice, the vast majority of them are working out of US attorneys' offices around the country, or in prisons, or in FBI offices in San Diego or someplace. Those of us who live here in the white heat of politics inside the Washington Beltway may see things one way, but by and large the business of the department goes on elsewhere just as it always did. You've got thousands of very good professional career civil servants and lawyers running the department, and that doesn't change.

HUME

Mr Hickok, that point would seem to be well taken. The Department of Justice is a big - and to a great extent, decentralized - bureaucracy, and perhaps it's true that if the man at the top is under siege, no real effect on the troops. Do you accept that?

EUGENE HICKOK, PHD, DICKINSON COLLEGE

Well, I accept part of it. You've got to remember that 95 percent of the business of the Department of Justice goes unchanged, whether it's a new attorney general, Ed Meese or William French Smith, or a new president. The job of the Department of Justice is to enforce the laws, and not Ed Meese's laws, or Ronald Reagan's laws, but the laws of the country. But I think there is a morale problem at the margins. I think the argument would be that the mission of the Department of Justice under Ed Meese to ensure the Reagan revolution of law - a mission that he pursues continuously and, I think, for the first year and a half of his administration was vital to the success of the Reagan revolution - has been halted somewhat. There's no two ways about it.

HUME

How do you measure that?

DR HICKOK

It's difficult to measure. You measure that in the fact that members of the department now find themselves frustrated in the attempt to address the major issues, modes of interpretation of the Constitution, separation of powers issues, federalism issues. The very issues that Ed Meese brought to the public agenda with his president and now seem to be dying on the vine because of the controversy that surrounds the attorney general.

HUME

Well, now, the President is saying that the attorney general really ought to stay because of this basic principle that you're innocent until proved otherwise. Do you agree with that, or do you think that it isn't as necessary that he stay?

DR HICKOK

I agree with the basic principle that the President has espoused. And I also think that the attorney general - who has himself said the same thing - is a man of honor and integrity. There are other principles at stake as well, though. One of the things that we have to look for now is the fact that this administration is winding down, and the first one to survive two full terms since Eisenhower's. And the question now becomes whether the Reagan legacy can be maintained in the coming years. That's an important principle, the principles that this president brought to office. And one thing we have to look for is the fact that Mike Dukakis and George Bush and others out there in the political hinterlands realize that that legacy is up for grabs in November. And that's politics.

HUME

Well, politics is the subject I want to turn to. We have to take a break in just a moment. And when we return we'll get another perspective on the Meese affair as we talk with conservative columnist Robert Novak.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Columnist and public affairs commentator Robert Novak has long been considered one of America's leading conservative journalists. Along with his colleague of 25 years, Rowland Evans, he writes a syndicated column that appears in 150 newspapers nationwide, and co-hosts a weekly public affairs program on CNN. He joins us now in our Washington studios. Bob, talk to me a little bit about the politics of the situation. How much damage does the Meese flap do to the Reagan administration in its final months, first of all?

ROBERT NOVAK, SYNDICATED COLUMNIST

Oh, it's just one other incident, along with the astrology, and the Noriega drug business. It's just very bad times for the Reagan administration. They're bad times for George Bush. I think that there is no evidence whatsoever, I don't think there's going to be, of corruption on the part of Ed Meese. I think there is a vendetta on

the part of the liberals to get Ed Meese, and the thing that has turned his situation critical is his loyalty to his old college chum, Mr E Robert Wallach, who is now under indictment. And this is what has caused all the trouble for Ed Meese. When Ed Meese is loyal, so loyal to this man - who has used him in every possible way - that he even wanted to make him counselor of the Justice Department at one time - and he fires somebody like Terry Eastland, I think he has lost a lot of his perspective.

HUME

It sounds to me like Bob Novak is very close to saying that Ed Meese should go.

MR NOVAK

Well, I'm not going to say he should go, but I would say he is a sheer political liability. He can do no good. The idea that the Justice Department is working well now is absolutely laughable. It, they are crippled in this fight against drugs. Mr Meese is supposed to be the leader of that war, and he is worrying about his own difficulties and shooting himself in the foot by firing Mr Eastland, who is a man whose credentials in the conservative community are probably better than Meese's at the moment. And whose credentials with the journalists are very good indeed.

HUME

The Washington Post says on the front page this morning that the firing of Eastland has set off a civil war among conservatives. Few people cover the conservative community more closely than you. Is that correct?

MR NOVAK

Well, it's an uneven civil war, I would say. I would say that most people really felt that with the firing of Terry Eastland, there was really no reason any longer to come out in support of Ed Meese. He has, it's almost a suicidal act. And it's a question of what can he do for the Reagan revolution in these months, and what can he do against it? And the balance is really against it. My understanding is that the loyal Reaganites at the Justice Department did not approve of this move. They thought it was a silly move, and if Ed Meese thinks that his problems with the media - and indeed, with the city of Washington - rested with Terry Eastland, then he really has lost all perspective.

HUME

Well, Pat Korten, that sounds like a pretty strong indictment of the attorney general, coming from someone whose conservative credentials are pretty strong. How do you respond to that?

MR KORTEN

Well, ordinarily I agree with Bob in almost everything. In this case I guess I'll have to disagree. So far as I'm concerned, first of all, to say that Ed Meese should never replace someone in any position of the department, director of public affairs or anything else, is like telling a baseball manager he should never pull a pitcher in the middle of the game because the fans are going to walk out. I think that's silly. The attorney general has a perfect right to make changes. Everybody knows - and he's made very clear - that there's no animus on his part toward Terry Eastland. And Terry made clear that he feels the same way.

HUME

Still, though, it must be said, Pat, that all of this is rather vague, isn't it? I mean, I think that it's, you'll agree, that Terry in his news conference yesterday sounded a little bit mystified about all this, about whether he had defended him strongly enough or not. Nobody around town seemed to think that he had failed in any respect. Your account of what your new mission was from the attorney general is exceedingly unspecific about how anything's going to be any different. And what we're left with is a sense of somebody who is clearly a loyalist and an ideological ally of the attorney general, has been dumped, without any clear sense of why, being replaced by somebody who is his deputy and his own soulmate. None of it really adds up to making very much sense.

MR NOVAK

Can I make a suggestion?

HUME

Go ahead.

MR NOVAK

I don't think there's any doubt that Terry Eastland defended the attorney general in every particular. He did not defend E. Robert Wallach. There's no question that Terry made it clear to newspapermen that he wasn't going to restrain anybody from saying harsh things about Wallach, who had used the attorney general. And I would like to ask Mr Korten if he is going to defend E. Robert Wallach. And I think if he's not going to defend him, I think he may be in trouble with the attorney general next.

MR KORTEN

Ed Meese has never asked Terry Eastland or me or anybody to defend Bob Wallach. As a matter of fact, he's very carefully avoided saying anything himself about Bob Wallach. That's a matter for the courts to decide. He's under indictment up in New York, and whatever the disposition of that case is, will be. It would be inappropriate for anybody in the Justice Department to say anything one way or the other about Bob Wallach. That's something for the criminal justice system to decide.

HUME

I'd like to steer us back to the question of the administration of justice for a moment. Mr Hickok, you haven't called for the attorney general to depart, but you've suggested that it might not be such a bad thing. Given the confirmation process and given the politicized atmosphere in an election year on Capitol Hill, it would probably be near the end of the year - or at least it would be several months - before a new attorney general could be in place. Would it really make a difference?

DR HICKOK

Well, I don't know if it would make a difference or not. I think Mr Novak raises the important point, and that is, what happens to the Reagan revolution? What happens to the Reagan legacy? What are the chances of George Bush successfully becoming president in November, given the current situation? You know, I'd like to point out, this is not just another management change by the attorney general. There's something more important going on here. What he's decided to do - and I think he has every right to do it and, given the frustrations of the situation, it's understandable that he's doing it - he's changing from a public affairs officer to a public relations man. He wants someone who will sell Ed Meese, who will protect and promote Ed Meese. In Pat Korten, I think he has found a very able man to do that. And I think in Ed Meese, Pat Korten has a good product to sell. But there's a difference between selling Ed Meese and trying to provide information on the workings of the department, which is what Terry Eastland was trying to do. And that distinction shouldn't be lost in the push and pull of politics right now.

HUME

Pat, I want to give you a chance to respond to that. We do have to take a break, and I'll get to you when we come back. We'll continue our discussion in just a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

With us again now are Pat Korten, Eugene Hickok and Robert Novak. Pat, I want to give you an opportunity quickly to respond to the idea that what the attorney general is seeking in you is not a spokesman but a salesman.

MR KORTEN

I don't understand Gene's distinction, frankly, public affairs versus public relations. I've been splitting roughly in half the public affairs duties with Terry Eastland for the last three years. I haven't done anything different than he's done, and I don't plan to do anything different in the future.

HUME

All right. I want to try all three of you on one last question, quickly. We haven't got much time left. How do you think that all of this is going to be viewed in 10 years, as we look back on it? Will this look like a case of an attorney general and a close friend of the President who overstayed his welcome and did political damage to the president he was serving, or will this look like a situation in which a politicized atmosphere in Washington hounded a man or sought to hound a man out of office? Go ahead, please, Mr Hickok.

DR HICKOK

I think the latter. And I also think in 10 years a lot of people will look back and say this is a prime example of what was wrong with the independent counsel law and the effect it has upon the ability of good men and good women to do their job in a situation which is always difficult, always demanding, and this independent counsel statute makes it even more so.

HUME

Bob Novak, why don't you try that? We've got about 30 seconds left.

MR NOVAK

I agree with Mr Hickok completely on that, but I also say that in a time of politics, there is a time to go. There is a time to realize when you help your friends most by leaving. And Ed Meese, who has done so much over the years for Ronald Reagan, ought to consider that.

HUME

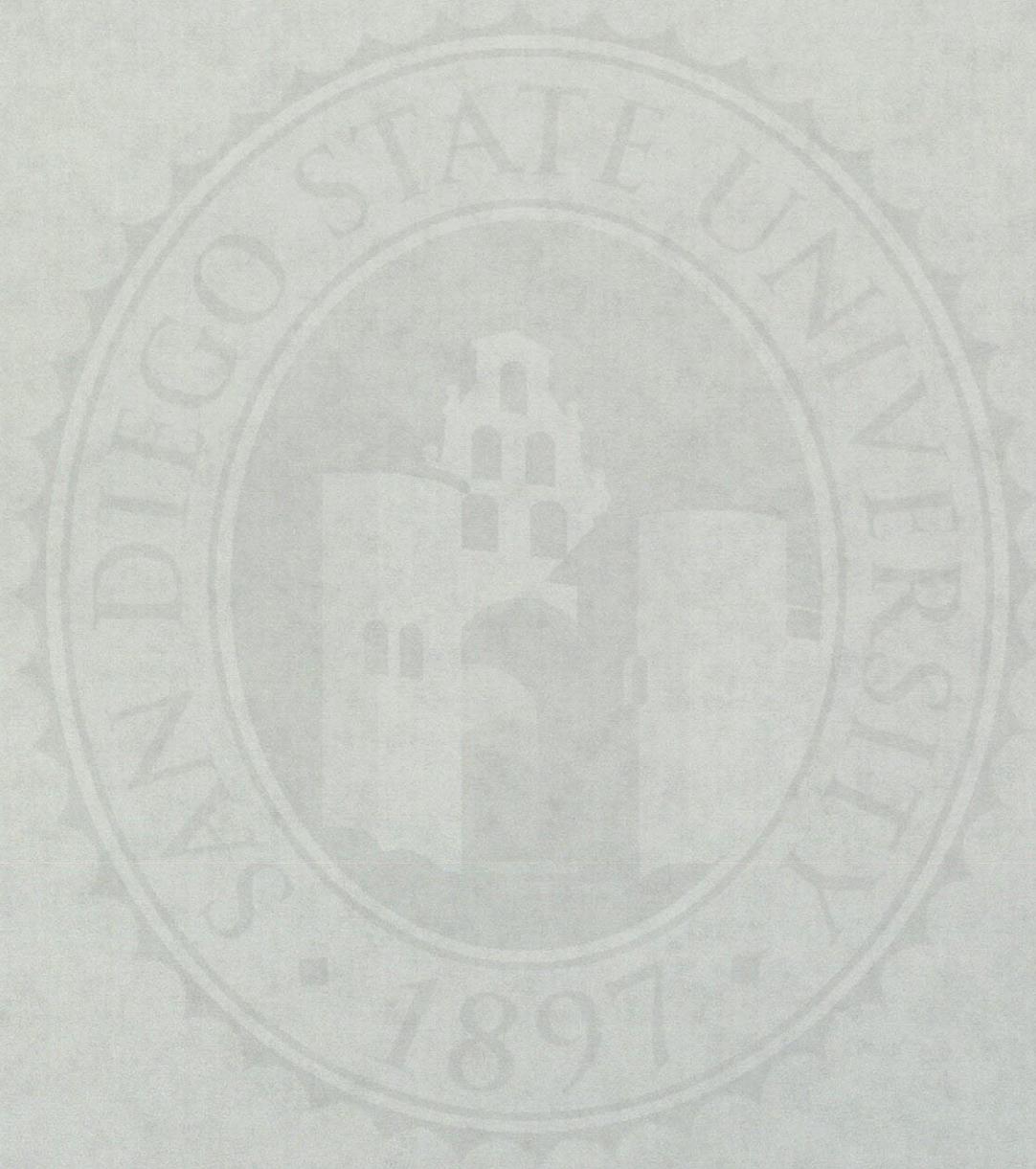
Pat, I'm going to give you the last word. We've got about, oh, 15 or 20 seconds to go.

MR KORTEN

Well, I think that 10 years from now, people will know three things. Number one, that Ed Meese stayed through the end of the term. Number two, that he did more than any other attorney general in recent history to articulate conservative views on constitutional jurisprudence. And thirdly, he did more than any other recent attorney general to make the drug issue an important one for the country, and to fight the war.

HUME

Well, Pat, thank you very much for being with us. Mr Hickok, thank you for coming. And Bob Novak, thank you for coming in. That's our report for tonight. I'm Brit Hume in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.



----- Segment Number: 11 -----

Story Name: UPDATE ON ROBOTIC TECHNOLOGY

Air Date: 1988-05-10

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, LOS ANGELES, CALIF USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

We have a report tonight on robots. From time to time we try to keep up with the technology with which we live and which is increasingly affecting the way we live and do our jobs. Robots are not new, they've been around in one form or another since the early part of the century. They've become increasingly sophisticated as you might guess, but they still haven't come as far as we imagined. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

This is a robotic arm dancing a ballet choreographed by a human using a computer. (ROBOT DANCING) The dancer is Swedish, the choreographer is American and the concept is only the latest step in modern society's love affair with robots. So much has been said about robots that we've come to ask ourselves, is this the face of the future? Are these the jaws or legs of a creature from the 21st century? (ROBOT PART CU)

WOMAN

(TO CHILD) Look at him. Do you believe he walks and everything, think about that Craig.

JOHN MARTIN

For nearly 70 years we have been thinking about that, machines like us.

ROBOT

("SHORT CIRCUIT" SCENE) Attractive. Nice software. Mmmmm.

ALLY SHEEDY / ACTRESS

You sure don't talk like a machine.

JOHN MARTIN

But they are machines. They don't act or look like they do in the movies. Still, beyond these fantasies, in the last decade, we have come some distance in creating robots. In San Diego, at a vast new naval hospital, 24 robot orderlies roll through the halls, delivering meals and medication on command. (VARIOUS ROBOTS) At MIT, researchers are playing astronaut wearing a robotic arm and moving it inside a space capsule, while outside, seen on a monitor, its twin arm makes the same motion, a device for repairing equipment in hazardous situations. (FACTORY) And in Los Angeles, at a General Motors plant, robotic arms work fast on the assembly line. In 38 seconds, they make 70 welds on an automobile body. But for all the wonder of what they do, robots have failed to take over either at work or at home. After a decade of experimentation and development, the robot makers are more humble. They have seen the majesty of ordinary humans.

THOMAS BARTHOLET / ODETICS INC

We're certainly a long ways yet from the science fiction descriptions of robots as human forms. The human body is just a marvelous device.

DAVID NITZAN / SRI INTERNATIONAL

The dexterity of a human hand is phenomenal.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) The effort to reproduce a human hand is still in the embryonic stage, but researchers have come up with some remarkable devices. This one has five fingers, it has joints like those in a human hand and it can be programmed with a computer to move those fingers. (FINGERS) But even with more advanced models, some robotics experts admit they're not even close.

DAVID NITZAN

The tectile, the sensing of our skin, it's very difficult to get in engineering hardward. We'll get it, we'll get it some day. But it'll take some time.

JOHN MARTIN

(ROBOT) Meanwhile some robots touch the cord of human kindness. In Palo Alto, California, a quadriplegic talks to an experimental robot to bring him food or drink.

EARL JOHNSON

Maybe this guy will make myself more independent where I won't need

him.

MICHAEL VAN DER LOOS

Our robots can use the intelligence of the person to drive them.

JOHN MARTIN

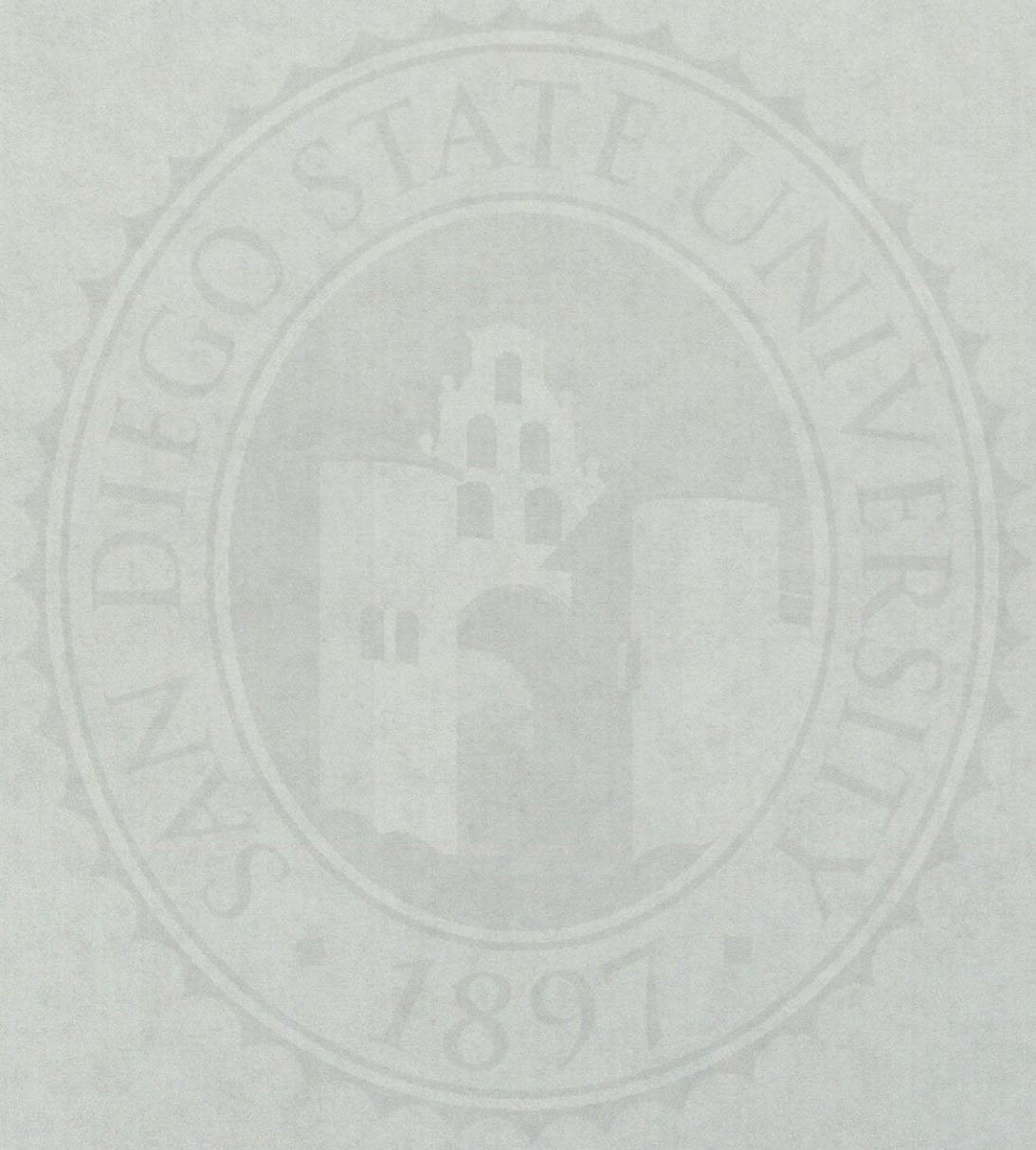
Others use the artistry of humans to program them. At the University of Southern California, a choreographer punches in commands to move a robotic arm with grace and style.

DR. MARGO APOSTOLOS

A machine doesn't just have to work, a machine can be entertaining, it can be very beautiful.

JOHN MARTIN

(DANCE) So the dream continues, machines like us. Not yet a reality, but growing closer. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Los Angeles.



----- Segment Number: 7 -----

Story Name: BUSH'S KNOWLEDGE OF NORIEGA'S DRUG TRAFFICKING

Air Date: 1988-05-09

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

The issue of General Noriega's alleged involvement in smuggling drugs into the United States is being raised again as a political question for George Bush, who is being asked again what did he know and when did he know it. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(BUSH) The question is whether George Bush knew or should have known years ago that General Manuel Noriega was deeply involved in smuggling drugs. (NORIEGA) The General was indicted in February, Bush has repeatedly denied knowing of any hard evidence against him before the indictment.

VICE PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH

I don't know what everybody knew and when but I can just speak for myself. I don't know when the Justice Department first started looking at it or anything of that nature.

JOHN MARTIN

(GRAPHICS) This weekend reports surfaced and were denied that Bush was given evidence of Noriega's criminality long before he says he was. The Vice President's staff said however, that reports of drug dealing were different than hard evidence. A spokesman declined further comment today. In Cincinnati a week ago, the Vice President said there are a lot of people around the world who don't pass the perfection saliva test, but in terms of did we know he was smuggling drugs, no. But a Bush campaign adviser who is a former National Security Council staff member said there was ample evidence years ago from satellite photos, telephone intercepts and spies.

NORMAN BAILEY

I would say this was not a smoking gun, this was more of a 21 cannon salute.

JOHN MARTIN

No question that the General was somehow involved in drug trafficking?

NORMAN BAILEY

There's no question whatsoever in my mind.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) It is still unclear whether George Bush was ever briefed on that intelligence. He sits on the National Security Council, he chairs his own task force on drugs, but he continues to insist he knew nothing definitive about General Noriega's alleged involvement in drugs. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 6 -----

Story Name: EVIDENCE THAT VP OFFICE INVOLVED IN CENTL AMERICAN OPERATION S

Air Date: 1988-04-29

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Other news of Central America. A senior adviser to Vice President George Bush has admitted that he went along as an observer on a helicopter attack against antigovernment guerrillas in El Salvador during 1986. The presence of army Colonel Sam Watson would appear to violate US regulations barring American personnel from accompanying Salvadoran government troops on combat missions. The attack was led by a former CIA operative Felix Rodriguez. As ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** reports, Rodriguez says the Vice President's office was the place he turned to for help.

JOHN MARTIN

(BUSH) Vice President Bush's staff has denied many times that it coordinated combat operations in Central America. But evidence released yesterday raises new questions about its involvement in operations. A former CIA officer says the Vice President's office pressured the Pentagon to help him carry out helicopter raids in El Salvador. In an exclusive interview with ABC News, Felix Rodriguez says that in 1986 he obtained spare parts for attack helicopters through Mr. Bush's office. (RODRIGUEZ) Rodriguez said that to obtain the parts, he repeatedly contacted Bush's staff.

FELIX RODRIGUEZ

If you're talking in the context of that, yes, telephone calling probably have been quite a bit and I hope somebody recorded it, because you would have heard in there that it was a strictly 100 percent requesting helicopter parts for this operation.

JOHN MARTIN

One of those people Rodriguez said he contacted was Donald Gregg Mr. Bush's National Security Adviser. Gregg wrote a letter to the Washington Post last year denying the Vice President's office was involved in combat operations. "My position on the Vice President's staff", said Gregg "does not involve me in directing or coordinating operations in Central America or anywhere else". (MEMO) But in this 1986 memo to Bush, Gregg tells the Vice President he is pressing the Pentagon to supply helicopter parts that he believes are vital for defeating the Salvadoran rebels. The word good appears over the Vice President's initials. Today a Bush spokesman said the memo merely offered the Vice President information and that it does not show the office directed combat operations. (SU) The spokesman said Gregg's pressure on the Pentagon wasn't an operational matter, but logistics can play a key role in operations.

So did the Vice President and his staff do more than they've said in Central America? **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: "KISS AND TELL" BOOKS

Air Date: 1988-04-22

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BRIT HUME, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN,

Content:

BRIT HUME

(VO) This book takes us inside the White House (Speaking Out). This one, behind the scenes at CBS News (Prime Times Bad Times). And this one takes us inside the auto industry (Iacocca). But some of the people inside feel they would have been better off if the authors left the rest of us outside. (on camera) Good evening. I'm Brit Hume, and this is Nightline.

PRES RONALD REAGAN

I have no affection for these "kiss and tell" books that are being written, and I find it entirely fiction.

HUME

(VO) He may call them "kiss and tell" books, but lately they seem to producing a lot more snarling than kissing. Our guests tonight, three authors: former White House spokesman Larry Speakes; Ed Joyce, former president of CBS News. And Bill Novak, who did the writing for such luminaries as Lee Iacocca and Tip O'Neill.

ANNOUNCER

This is ABC News Nightline. Substituting for Ted Koppel and reporting from Washington, Brit Hume.

HUME

The memoir is a time - honored literary form, traditionally associated with prominent public people who take pen in hand after retirement to tell their personal stories for the benefit of history. By the time such conventional memoirs appear, most of those who populate them are usually retired or dead. Now, though, the bookstands and best - seller lists are increasingly occupied by memoirs of a different sort, written by people who have just completed a tour of duty in government, or a corporation, or even a football franchise. They are marked by the same candor you'd expect from accounts of events long past, except that the events recounted are anything but long past, and the people involved may be still very much in the public eye. The current record for such instant "tell - all" books probably belongs to the New York Giants 1987 Super Bowl team, which produced no fewer than eight books. But as **JOHN MARTIN** reports, this trend is growing, and that record will not stand much longer.

JOHN MARTIN

Inside stories are big business today. We've put some of these insider books on the shelves here to tell a little story about the publishing business. There is an inside look at CBS News by a former president. Inside Elvis' family, by his widow. Inside the Pulitzer family scandal. An inside look at a political family by one of President Reagan's daughters. And then there are the real political inside books. Inside the Reagan White House. Inside the Reagan cabinet. A kind of "inside the inside," The Power Game in Washington, by a former New York Times correspondent. And then, perhaps the ultimate inside book, a look at inside the future by a former president. So the publishers obviously believe that the public wants to know a great deal about what's going on inside.

ED JOYCE, FORMER CBS NEWS PRESIDENT

(Good Morning America) As Gene Jankowski, the president of the broadcast group, said to me, "There are lots of network news presidents; there is only one Dan Rather". And old Joyce went down for the long count.

MARTIN

(VO) And into the hands of a publisher. One more insider cashing in on tidbits the public is believed to want to hear. So even though it may be the twilight of Ronald Reagan's presidency, it is high noon for some of the people who have worked for him and want to tell the world what he's really like. No fewer than five personal memoirs have already been published, and at least that many are on the way. We've learned a lot about the man in the White House. That the Reagan national security policy process is incoherent (Caveat). That during a discussion of civil rights, Reagan appointees told racist jokes

(The Thirteenth Man). That Ronald Reagan was a good - hearted man who had no grasp of his own economic policies (Triumph Politics). That Nancy Reagan is a loving wife who wins her way most of the time (Behind the Scenes). And, from the latest book, that the President is admirable but disengaged, so removed from facts and details that briefing him for a news conference, said Larry Speakes, "was like reinventing the wheel" (Speaking Out).

PRES REAGAN

(Yesterday) That's not true. I was around when the wheel was invented, and it was easier.

MARTIN

(VO) Last night, President Reagan got some of the last laughs about the flood of books.

PRES REAGAN

Mike Deavers, in his book, said that I had a short attention span. Well, I was going to reply to that, but what the hell, let's move on to something else.

MARTIN

(VO) But something else that Speakes wrote about troubled insiders and outsiders alike. He admitted that he invented presidential quotations and issued them in the President's name, without telling him until later. Ultimately, it cost him his job, and this week Larry Speakes returned to public Washington, signing autographs to promote his book and apologizing to his old boss and the reporters he misled.

LARRY SPEAKES, FORMER WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN

(April 19) I apologize, not for the truth in my book, nor the telling of it. The truth never requires apology. I do regret that I have overstepped the bounds of propriety in some instances, and it is for this that I apologize.

MARTIN

(VO) But one question is worth asking about these books. Are they worth the price and the time to read them? Arthur Schlesinger was a distinguished historian called to serve JOHN Kennedy as a special assistant. His memoir, A Thousand Days, was voluminous, scholarly and authoritative. But not the only kind worth publishing, he says.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, HISTORIAN

I think the whole phrase, "kiss and tell," implies that it's bad that these books be written at all. I think - on the contrary - that in a democracy the more the people know about the men and women who govern them, the better.

MICHAEL KINSLEY, THE NEW REPUBLIC

It's mostly pretty trivial stuff. And it's really the fault of the publishers, who have put a great premium on having little newsy tidbits that they can leak to the newspapers when the book comes out, so that people will go out and buy the book. I don't know why people buy these books. I suppose they just buy it in part because they think they'll read it, but then they never will, and in part just because everyone's talking about it. They're bought as objects. Souvenirs, almost.

MARTIN

(VO) But writer Mickey Herskowitz believes the insider books convey important information. He is a Houston author and sportswriter who has written books with Dan Rather, Leon Jaworski, Bette Davis, Gene Autry and, most recently, Michael Deaver.

MICKEY HERSKOWITZ, AUTHOR

These books are valuable, but you don't need to get defensive about trying to justify them. In many ways it's not unlike testimony in a courtroom, where you bring in as many voices as you can, and as many versions of events as you can, and then you let the public - the jury - weigh the testimony, the evidence, and decide who's credible.

MARTIN

(VO) One writer whose credibility helped bring down a president wrote his book 12 years ago, and thinks it takes a willingness to break away.

JOHN DEAN, FORMER WHITE HOUSE COUNSEL

I was really an outsider. So I think that there is, there's an easier break for people who leave and were not, didn't come in with the president, than say that intimate group - a Meese, or a Deaver - surprises me, that Deaver was as open as he was.

MARTIN

(VO) But neither Mike Deaver nor Larry Speakes will have the last word on all this. Under contract or expected are at least five more books on the Reagan presidency. A book by former Treasury secretary Donald Regan. One by former Defense secretary Caspar Weinberger. By Nancy Reagan herself. And perhaps even a book by one more insider, Oliver North.

PETER OSNOS, PUBLISHER

Every great center of some kind of culture, institutional and public culture, is going to have a lot of gossip, whether it's Hollywood,

whether it's Wall Street, or whether it's politics. And I'd be a monkey's uncle if Reagan himself doesn't write a book.

MARTIN

(VO) For Nightline, this is JOHN MARTIN in Washington.

HUME

Later, we'll talk with writer William Novak, who's written a number of books for other people who have had inside stories to tell. But first, when we come back, we'll be joined by two authors whose books have already set off major controversies, former White House spokesman Larry Speakes, and former CBS News president Ed Joyce.
(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

The book is Speaking Out: Inside the Reagan White House. And it puts its author, former White House spokesman Larry Speakes, into a front-page controversy. He's with us now in our Washington bureau. Ed Joyce's book is called Prime Times Bad Times: A Personal Drama of Network Television, and it may be creating still more drama back at CBS. Former CBS News president Joyce is with us in our New York studios. Larry, very early in your book - in fact, in the prospective section, which serves as a preface - you write, "As I would learn so often in the six years that followed, anything I said to the press was often broadcast instantly around the world". I can't help but ask you, in light of the controversy that followed your book, did you forget that?

LARRY SPEAKES, FORMER WHITE HOUSE SPOKESMAN

No, I didn't forget it, but certainly I was a bit surprised about the controversy that erupted over the quote that originated from me, and not from the President, in Geneva. That surprised me a whole lot.

HUME

Why?

MR SPEAKES

Well, you know, I don't want to make any accusations, but I hear a few people forgetting to speak up and say, "That thing's done quite often in Washington, that type of thing". So it didn't jump out at me at all.

HUME

Well, you say yourself, though, that you violated the bounds of propriety, and that's obviously not something that, the fact that you did that is not something you would have related while you were still on the job, presumably because you knew that it would have been picked up immediately.

MR SPEAKES

Well, when I began to write the book and review things, I looked back at that incident and I thought it was something that I should mention, something that I should bring forward. And I wanted to do that. There's been a lot of controversy, and I'm not quite sure whether the controversy is over doing it or whether it's telling about it.

HUME

Well, what do you think was wrong?

MR SPEAKES

What was wrong with it?

HUME

Yeah.

MR SPEAKES

Well, it's wrong, period, to make up quotes for a president, and in retrospect I wouldn't have done it - and I say so in the book.

HUME

Well, what kind of light do you think it put the President in?

MR SPEAKES

Well, obviously anybody knows that many things are written for a president. Some he has the opportunity to see, and others he doesn't. This is one of the things that we didn't have the opportunity to see, in light of the circumstances there in Geneva when we were extremely busy.

HUME

Larry, I must ask you this. You did not actually write your book, did you?

MR SPEAKES

Well, you know, I wrote the book in the fact that I dictated and responded to questions from a writer. The writer - it's quite common to have a co-author of a book - and I do, with Bob Pack, who's right there on the front page in just about as bold a type as I am. But many of the chapters, two of the chapters in specific - nobody's really read them - one about the President's cancer surgery and one about President Marcos and Reagan's efforts to ease him out there, I wrote generally altogether myself.

HUME

Well, the reason that I ask is I just wonder if you, as a former

writer, as a former newspaper writer and a newspaper editor, had been sitting at the typewriter yourself and telling that story that ultimately has caused so much controversy, and ultimately has cost you your job, I'm wondering whether or not you would have not seen that it would have done that, if it had been a hands - on operation like that.

MR SPEAKES

It was a hands - on operation. Every word in that book, it comes from me. Everything I saw, I edited, I rewrote, I changed. It's all from me. So I take full responsibility for everything in the book, and hopefully will take some credit for some things that are in the book.

HUME

Ed Joyce, I want to ask you about a quote from your book. You say, talking about the time when you were about to leave CBS News, and you say, "The last thing I want is for CBS News to be battered apart any more than it already has been". Clearly, the effect of your book is to portray Dan Rather as a power - hungry, somewhat difficult, and even possibly a bit of a crackpot, which obviously doesn't contribute to putting CBS News in a very favorable light. And I wonder how, in light of that statement, you found it possible to write the book?

ED JOYCE, FORMER CBS NEWS PRESIDENT

Well, let's see. Dan Rather has walked off the set and left seven minutes of dead air, said that Charles Glass claimed, the ABC correspondent claimed that he'd been kidnapped in Beirut, and had a shouting match with the vice president of the United States. So I think the question really should be directed at Dan. I don't think that I have further battered an institution that's been pretty badly battered by its anchorman.

HUME

Well, surely you must recognize that the net effect of your book, though, is to portray CBS News as having been put through a terrible wringer, and its central figure, its anchorman, as being a somewhat unstable character. That certainly qualifies as battering, wouldn't you say?

MR JOYCE

Well, you know, the reaction out of CBS has been rather hysterical in the past few days, which I find interesting. Here's an organization that boldly proclaims its right to cover anybody, cover anything, any place in the world - ask Gary Hart about that - and I write a book that is an open, honest account - no anonymous quotes, everything's right there, dates, times, places, conversations - and CBS begins acting like the Mafia, and I'm a renegade don who has somehow violated the code of Omerta. The next thing I expect to hear is that Joyce is gonna sleep with the fishes.

HUME

How's the book doing?

MR JOYCE

I don't know.

HUME

All right. We have to take a break just now. When we come back, we'll be joined by writer Bill Novak, who's helped people ranging from Lee Iacocca to Tip O'Neill to Sydney Biddle Barrows, the "Mayflower Madam," tell their stories to the public.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

William Novak's name appears on the books on which he's collaborated, which means the old - fashioned term, "ghostwriter," doesn't apply, even if the books are written in the first person. He is presently helping to edit the autobiography of Natan Sharansky, the former Soviet refusenik now living in Israel. Mr Novak joins us from our Boston bureau. I want to ask you first of all about the process that you go through when you're putting together one of these books for Lee Iacocca or Tip O'Neill, or whoever. How does it work? How much, if any, actual writing do any of them do?

WILLIAM NOVAK, WRITER

Well, first of all, I don't do it for them, but really very much with them. In most cases these people literally do no writing, but they do an awful lot of work. First of all, they obviously have lived the experiences they are discussing. The opinions are all theirs. Some of the extra research is material that I supply and they review very carefully. I go in there for a series of interviews, as many as I possibly can, interviews and discussions and conversations, until I have an enormous volume of their material.

HUME

In other words, you function very much the way a journalist would function if he were writing a book in the third person, under his own name only.

MR NOVAK

Well, with one interesting exception, and that is, anything I learn

about these people from other sources turns out to be of little or no value, because I have to help them represent themselves as they see themselves, not as others may see them.

HUME

It kind of occurs to me that when we see these books that say, by Lee Iacocca, with your name on it, it really should be by William Novak, with Lee Iacocca, just as you've said it here earlier.

MR NOVAK

Well I, no, I wouldn't say that. I disagree with that. You know, for years ghostwriters got too little credit, and now I think the pendulum has swung back perhaps too far in the other direction.

HUME

Well, now, when you're writing, you're doing it because that's what you do for a living.

MR NOVAK

That's right.

HUME

And that really is your motivation, you're a writer, and you're a professional, and that's what you do, right?

MR NOVAK

Well, I also enjoy it.

HUME

I'm sure you do, I don't mean to suggest otherwise. But I want to ask a question about motivation to our other guests. Larry Speakes, why did you write this book?

MR SPEAKES

Well, I wanted to offer something that probably provided some insight into the Reagan administration. I felt I'd had a unique vantage point for six years, something that not very many people have the opportunity to do, and I felt that I could offer some insight into the personalities of the Reagan administration, the decision - making process, how they interacted with each other, some of the friction, some of the positive points.

HUME

Well, why did you want to offer insights? I mean, did you want to offer insights because you thought they'd sell, or did you want to offer insights for some other reason?

MR SPEAKES

No, in a way you sort of feel an obligation. You've been given a rare privilege to serve in the White House and to see history being made from a unique vantage point. So you feel an obligation to write a book. I don't know whether the book's going to earn a nickel. But what I wanted to do was simply write something and offer something of a perspective on the Reagan administration.

HUME

Well, you say here in one place in the book, and let me - if you don't mind my quoting your words back to you -

MR SPEAKES

No.

HUME

- speaking of the President, "This is the father of these four children," you write, "but most of the time the children didn't call to see how he was, and he and Mrs Reagan didn't call them. It was very strange". This in reference to periods when the President was either ill or had been injured. What imaginable insight do we get into the Reagan administration from what, it really is a personal family detail of that kind, other than titillation?

MR SPEAKES

I think, though, you have to know the man, and his family relationships, to understand the man himself.

HUME

It is the kind of thing, though, isn't it, Larry, that you never could have or would have revealed when you were working for him?

MR SPEAKES

No, I certainly wouldn't have. But I think the occasion comes when you leave, and you want to comment on what happened, and tell about it, and you do, through that type of writing.

HUME

Ed Joyce, why did you decide to write this book?

MR JOYCE

I thought it was an important story, and a story - if I may say so - that was very poorly reported at the time.

HUME

One which you wrote yourself, I gather, as well.

MR JOYCE

Yes. Thank you for pointing that out. Two years of exquisite loneliness with the typewriter. I did write the book myself.

HUME

Not a word processor.

MR JOYCE

No. I barely learned to use an electric typewriter. That's my great accomplishment for the 20th century. But I thought that it was the story of the disintegration of a great company in a takeover frenzy, and it's not CBS alone, that this was something that's paralleled throughout American industry today, and it has enormous impact, I think, on a dispossessed generation. And on, I think, the breakup of old loyalties to companies and I think the inability of CEOs to adequately plan for the future. I also wanted to point out - and I think this is terribly important - that the new superstars are too rich, too famous, and too powerful. And that the public is paying a price because those salaries are continuing to escalate at a time that the resources of the news divisions - which are more important than the stars - is being diminished.

HUME

All right. Bill Novak, I'd like to ask you. You've worked with some of these powerful and famous people who have had their biographies or their memoirs published. Do these gentlemen's statements about their motivations ring true to you?

MR NOVAK

Well, I think it has to be pointed out, as someone did earlier in the show, that to a great extent this results from the interest of publishers in approaching people who they wouldn't have dreamed of approaching in previous generations and in past eras. There are many motivations. It's been said that history is written by the winners. But I think now we have a lot of so-called losers, that is, people who have lost - not real losers in life, but people who may have lost individual battles - now telling their story. Tip O'Neill, to some extent, lost the major battle with President Reagan, but it's very important that we also learn Tip O'Neill's story. Lee Iacocca lost one of his battles with Henry Ford. Now we have his side of the story, too. So I think there is a complex of reasons.

HUME

Now, there's this pejorative term that we've all heard, "kiss and tell" books, and it's bandied about in reference to the books that each of you have been involved in. I want to ask you in just a minute about what you think qualifies as a "kiss and tell" book, and what doesn't. And we'll get to that when we continue our discussion in just a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Continuing our discussion with Larry Speakes, Ed Joyce and William Novak. I want to say, first of all, gentlemen, that I once wrote a book - 14 years ago it was published - about my days as a reporter working for Jack Anderson. I think some of the people there who had worked with Jack thought that that was kind of a "kiss and tell" book, so I have some experience in this area. But I really do want to ask you, Ed, first of all, you have a wonderful anecdote in your book where Dan Rather, looking very tense, approaches a social setting where Tom Brokaw is present, and he seems a little bit off guard, and he walks up. And apparently not mindful of who he's addressing, shakes hands and gives you a big wet kiss on the cheek. Which makes you book, I suppose, literally a "kiss and tell" memoir. But do you think it qualifies under that heading?

MR JOYCE

Well, I think technically that's my only "kiss and tell" story. And I've often wondered if Brokaw left saying, "If that's what it takes to be number one, I don't want to do it". But no, I think the term "insider" book is a lot more accurate, and I think that's an accurate description of the book I wrote.

HUME

Well, Bill, let me ask you this. What qualifies as a "kiss and tell" book? The term seems to mean something slightly unethical, that you have acquired by virtue of your position some knowledge of someone's secrets, or the operations of government, or whatever, and you're running out, I guess, to cash in on it. What do you think fits into the category, and what doesn't?

MR NOVAK

Well, I'll tell you, until tonight's broadcast it's not a phrase I have heard very often. But I had the pleasure of working on a charming book called Mayflower Madam a few years ago, which quite literally, I guess, qualifies as "kiss and tell," being the story of a very high - class call girl agency. But I suppose you could say that anyone who -

HUME

That's more like "book and tell," isn't it?

MR NOVAK

- yeah, well, there was some kissing involved. I suppose you could say that any book that reveals confidential information or previously

confidential information would qualify. But the particular designation interests me less than the quality of the book, and I find that very many people who write these books often don't have enough to say to fill a book. And this troubles me, and that's why I try to be very cautious on the kind of books I take.

HUME

Well, Larry Speakes, you certainly had plenty to say to fill a book. Let me give you the last word here tonight with this question, quickly. If you had it to do over, would you write it and publish it?

MR SPEAKES

Oh yes, absolutely. I think it's important -

HUME

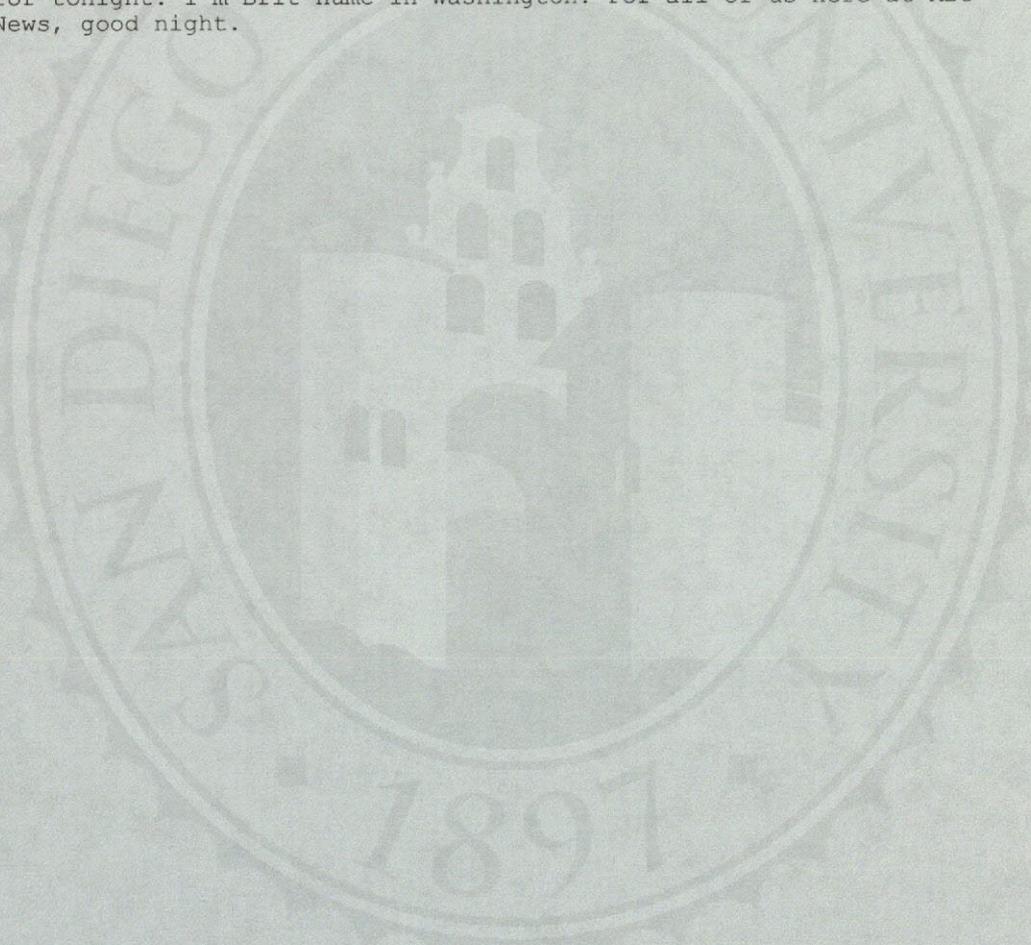
With one thing excerpted?

MR SPEAKES

- well, I don't even think I would excerpt that. I think it was, I set out to do an honest book, and that's what I came out with, and you can't shade the truth if you're going to do an honest book.

HUME

All right, Larry, thank you very much for being with us. Ed Joyce, thank you. And Bill Novak, thank you very much as well. Nightline will originate live from Israel all next week in what promises to be an unprecedented series of broadcasts. Ted Koppel will be bringing together Jews and Palestinians in the Holy Land, to discuss the issues confronting them today. Join Ted Koppel live from Israel at Nightline's regular time each night next week. And that's our report for tonight. I'm Brit Hume in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.



----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: FAA INVESTIGATES EASTERN / TEXAS AIR

Air Date: 1988-04-13

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: TED KOPPEL, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Content: TED KOPPEL

(VO) It is the nation's third - largest airline, carrying 42 million passengers a year. But today, the federal government raised a question that's been troubling everyone from Eastern Airline's pilots to its passengers: is Eastern safe to fly? (on camera) Good evening. I'm Ted Koppel, and this is Nightline. (VO) Our focus tonight: The federal government's two - pronged investigation of Eastern Airlines and its parent company, Texas Air. Our guests: Texas Air Vice President Clark Onstad, Charles Bryan, president of the Machinists' Union at Eastern, and the US secretary of transportation, James Burnley.

ANNOUNCER

This is ABC News Nightline. Reporting from Washington, Ted Koppel.
KOPPEL

Sometimes a cliché says it all. If you've ever wondered what is meant by the old chestnut "It never rains but it pours," consider what has happened recently to Eastern Airlines and its parent company, Texas Air. Eastern's gross revenue last year was \$4.4 billion dollars. Nevertheless, Eastern posted a net loss of almost \$182 million. This year, the deficit will be worse. The most recent Department of Transportation report card on Eastern Airlines showed Eastern last among all airlines in on - time performance. That report card, of course, was on all US airlines. Eastern had the second - worst record in passenger complaints. Continental Airlines had the worst. That also belongs to Texas Air. Texas Air, parenthetically, sustained record losses of \$466 million last year. Today, things got worse when the Federal Aviation Administration raised serious questions about Eastern's and Texas Air's ability and willingness to run an airline. **JOHN MARTIN** has compiled a background report which draws heavily on an investigative segment that appeared last Friday on the ABC newsmagazine, 20/20.

EASTERN PILOT

I certainly think that the margin of safety has decreased, there's no question about it.

EASTERN MECHANIC

We're flying more airplanes with more wrong with them. Right now they're operating the planes at close to the minimal.

CONTINENTAL MECHANIC

There are a lot of people within Continental Airlines that have very little experience. Basically, it is an on - the - job training program, and the public is the one that will pay for it eventually. The FAA is supposed to be the check and balance system. And we need them. And they are not anywhere to be found, for the most part.

JOHN MARTIN, ABC NEWS

(VO) Until today, that is. Federal regulators at the Department of Transportation finally stepped forward today to say they had begun a massive inspection of Eastern Airlines.

T ALLAN MCARTOR, FEDERAL AVIATION ADMINISTRATION

Starting this afternoon, and continuing through a 30 - day period, FAA inspectors will literally touch every one of Eastern's 267 planes to a special 100 percent ramp inspection program. Additionally, a five - member executive level FAA team will conduct an in - depth review of Eastern's ability to comply with FAA safety standards.

MARTIN

(VO) The airline faces a proposed fine of \$823,000 for a series of safety violations. One involved the use of the wrong kind of drill to repair an eight - inch crack on an airbus. Another involved operating a plane for 160 flights, even though it failed to properly service the aircraft's engines. For the moment, ABC News crews found no inspectors at major airports. The FAA insisted the work had begun, but could not say where, or how many planes it had examined today. More ominous, perhaps, for economic reasons, the Department of Transportation said it will conduct a full investigation of Eastern's parent company, the Texas Air Corporation.

JAMES BURNLEY, SECRETARY OF TRANSPORTATION

Today also I am announcing that the Department of Transportation is launching a preliminary investigation of Texas Air Corporation and its management.

MARTIN

(VO) Texas Air is an \$8.5 billion dollar conglomerate, with 600 airplanes and 20 percent of all the passengers who fly in America. It controls Eastern and Continental. It took over New York Air, People's Express and Frontier, among others. It is run by Frank Lorenzo, the aggressive young businessman whose tactics in cutting wages, benefits and jobs has earned him the hostility of labor unions and passengers.

FRANK LORENZO, CHAIRMAN, TEXAS AIR CORPORATION

(20/20, April 8) We built the company up slowly, and all of a sudden deregulation came along. We didn't like it, in fact, we fought deregulation initially because we knew what it would do to small companies. We knew what it would do to our people in the company. And building it and making the changes that the marketplace has required have not been easy, and it's not a popular message.

BRUCE HICKS, TEXAS AIR CORPORATION

The management of Texas Air Corporation has been managing airlines safely for the past 17 years, and there's no basis for the challenge to the management's ability, willingness and dedication to safely managing airlines.

MARTIN

(VO) But the Airline Pilots Association said it is concerned that the conglomerate might have cut corners to raise the profits of the parent company, and that an urgent investigation is needed.

CAPT HENRY DUFFY, AIRLINE PILOTS ASSOCIATION

We think that a single snapshot needs to be taken of the whole Texas Air operation in order to make sure that assets are not transferred back and forth to plug up holes in the Eastern operation, transferred from the Continental operation, and then after the inspection is over, move the assets back again.

MARTIN

(VO) If Texas Air will not spend the money to inspect properly at Eastern or Continental, goes this argument, the flying public could be endangered. So far there is no proof, but more than 700 pilots have left or given notice at Eastern in the last year and a half, an unprecedented loss due to concerns about safety, working conditions and wages. For almost all the two years since Texas Air took over Eastern, its management has suspected that its labor unions were responsible for a series of investigations and actions by government agencies, as well as television and newspaper reports of severe safety problems. Today, the airline repeated its suspicion.

MR HICKS

We hope that this investigation, which we believe is clearly a union - inspired issue, will be laid to rest by this investigation once and for all. Our management is open, our books are open, we certainly have been one of the most scrutinized companies in the country, and we welcome this opportunity to clear the decks once and for all.

1ST AIRLINES PASSENGER

It poses a lot of concerns, because I'm getting on an Eastern flight right now. I just want to make it to where I'm going.

2ND AIRLINES PASSENGER

I'm certainly glad the FAA is on their toes.

MARTIN

So the stage is set for still closer scrutiny of Texas Air. Airline analysts said today they have no doubt that Texas Air can survive financially under deregulation. What was once the giant - killer has now become the giant itself. But its very success in cutting costs has now led to the kind of severe safety suspicions once reserved only for the smallest of airlines. This is **JOHN MARTIN** in New York for Nightline.

KOPPEL

Later, we'll be joined in our discussion by transportation secretary James Burnley. But first, when we come back, we'll give the head of the union local representing Eastern machinists, Charles Bryan, a chance to raise his concerns about Eastern's safety procedures with Clark Onstad, the number two man in Eastern's parent company, Texas Air.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL

Charles Bryan, who joins us now in our Miami bureau, is president of District 100 of the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. The district has 11,000 members, many of whom work for Eastern Airlines and have expressed their concerns about Eastern's margins of safety. With us in our Washington bureau is Clark Onstad, senior vice president for Texas Air Corporation, which includes both Eastern and Continental Airlines among its subordinate

airlines. And let me begin, Mr Bryan, by asking you how you respond to what Mr Onstad's colleague from Texas Air said when he said that the investigations have been union inspired?

CHARLES BRYAN, LOCAL PRESIDENT, MACHINISTS UNION

Well, absolutely not. We have concern, we have a large number of our members who have been fired for questioning maintenance standards when they tried to enforce the FAR standards. The employees are very intimidated. There's a long list of real stories of people being fired and feeling intimidated. We have had a number of experiences where employees have been overruled by management. One of the fairly recent ones was the engine that blew up as it was eastbound over the city of Miami, and set a field on fire from the hot materials from the engine. The mechanic, shortly before that, had recommended that engine had major failures, and management overruled him and kept it flying.

KOPPEL

Now, before I go to Mr Onstad, let me come at it from the other point of view. As the management of Texas Air has pointed out, deregulation made competition with some of the new companies very, very difficult, and some of the older established companies like Eastern, which had union contracts that paid your machinists, for example, or pilots, or cabin personnel a lot more money than was being paid to some of these new companies that were established after deregulation, made competition extremely difficult. Therefore, they had to start cutting salaries in order to keep the airline afloat, and thereby encourage your enmity. And what they obviously are suggesting is that it is that enmity which is causing you to make these charges and raise the banner of safety rather than saying this is a union dispute, which is what it may be.

MR BRYAN

Well, it's truly not a labor - management dispute. If there was any dispute, it would have to do with securities and the purchase of Eastern. We're not here to talk about that tonight. That's the real outrage of Eastern. However, I would just submit to you that Eastern Airlines, the employees of Eastern Airlines, have contributed more than \$1 billion since deregulation to assist the company in reduced wages. They were near the bottom of the major carriers in the country for a number of years. I've been representing the employees there for about 20 years now. In fact, they constantly refer to Delta or American, how successful they are, and they are among the highest - paid employees in the industry, so clearly it's not a wage problem. It's a yield problem. They try to market their seats, which are not competitive in quality. They're failing in that effort. It's not a successful marketing policy. And those carriers which are producing a good quality product are succeeding, and still paying high wages.

KOPPEL

All right. Mr Onstad, before I come directly to you, let me just show our viewers part of a full - page ad - I hope you can read this thing - the headline says, "Why Eastern Airlines welcomes the investigation". Now, that may come under the heading of making the best of a bad deal or making a virtue of necessity, or it may actually be that Eastern welcomes the investigation. Why is it that Eastern would welcome an investigation that raises questions about the very willingness and ability of the airline to run?

CLARK ONSTAD, SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT, TEXAS AIR CORPORATION

Mr Koppel, if I may, first I'd like to respond to Mr Bryan's charge about the engine. It's a very good example. Eastern took that engine off of the L-1011, checked it out thoroughly, put it on a different airplane. It was not put on over the objection of one of Mr Bryan's people. The problem here is that we are paying a baggage handler at Eastern Airlines \$80,000 a year. That's the top W-2 baggage handler at Eastern. The average wage for a baggage handler at Eastern today, including fringe benefits, is \$47,000 a year. There are 103 of them who make over \$50,000 a year W-2. And Mr Bryan says that employees of Eastern have given a billion dollars to help save the company, that is true. But his members refused to participate when this company was on the brink of bankruptcy. And indeed, the bankruptcy papers were drawn last February, in 1986, they were ready to be filed, and Mr Bryan refused to give a pay cut.

KOPPEL

Now, before I permit this to get into some kind of a debate between the two of you over what really are management - labor issues, let me bring you back to the reason, after all, that we are here today, and that is this investigation that is being mounted by the FAA. The hands - on inspection of every one of those aircraft, what is the phrase they use, the "ramp inspection program," is that unprecedented or do you have a recollection of that ever having been imposed on any airline in the past 20 or 30 years?

MR ONSTAD

There have been inspections of a number of carriers over the past -

KOPPEL

Of every aircraft, hands - on, ramp inspection?

MR ONSTAD

- smaller carriers. But there have been other carriers that have been investigated. But I want to come back to the ad, which was the point I was getting to, Mr Koppel. The problem here is that the debate on Eastern Airlines has been conducted on bumper stickers, on placards, in the halls of Congress. We welcome Secretary Burnley's investigation because it gives us a forum to get to the facts. How safe is Eastern? What is the financial condition of Eastern? The secretary has done a very helpful thing. He said he will conduct this investigation in 30 days. This debate has been going on for two years. It's been going on even before we took over the company. That's why we think Secretary Burnley's attempt to get it resolved in 30 days is very useful.

KOPPEL

All right. Let's take a break, and when we come back, we'll turn to the federal government's investigation of Texas Air, as we talk with transportation secretary James Burnley.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL

Transportation Secretary James Burnley, who joins us now in our Washington bureau, replaced Elizabeth Dole in December after four years as deputy secretary in the department. Today, Mr Burnley announced an investigation of Texas Air Corporation and its management to determine if the company is, and this is a quote, "fit, willing and able to perform properly as spelled out in federal aviation law". Help me out a little bit with something we were talking about a moment ago. This business of a ramp inspection program. You heard Mr Onstad say that there have been similar such inspections of all aircraft on smaller companies. Do you happen to recollect how small those companies were, and could you tell us how sporadic or how often something like this, in fact, takes place?

JAMES BURNLEY, SECRETARY, DEPARTMENT OF TRANSPORTATION

Well, my friend Mr Onstad is a former chief counsel to the Federal Aviation Administration, and as he well knows, this is unprecedented, particularly among our major carriers.

KOPPEL

When you say it is unprecedented, would you give us some sense of what it is that has caused you, then, to set this precedent?

MR BURNLEY

Well, Ted, as your viewers will recall, a year ago the new owners at that time, Texas Air, of Eastern Airlines, settled \$9.5 million of FAA penalties which had been assessed before Texas Air took over, when Eastern was still an independent airline. And at that time they entered into an extensive agreement to improve in a pervasive way the safety and maintenance practices of Eastern Airlines. We have now found, when the FAA inspectors have been back in, we've still got some problems. I want to hasten to add that there have been dramatic improvements. Nonetheless, when the FAA administrator concludes - as he announced today in the press conference he and I had jointly - that we've got another almost \$1 million in violations, that does give us reason to take pause, and to make sure that this carrier continues to be safe. But I've got to say, it's very important to say - as I said today in the press conference - Eastern Airlines is safe. If it wasn't safe, it would have been grounded today. And I was asked a question today at the press conference, would I fly on Eastern Airlines, and the answer was yes, I have and I will, if it suits my schedule and I have to go somewhere. But we do have concerns, and we've decided that it's important over the next month to take a very close look at this operation.

KOPPEL

Well, you see, I would pose the question to you somewhat differently. Let's assume that you have to go somewhere but you have a choice among Eastern and - I don't care whether we say Delta, American, United, but a bunch of the other big ones - and they were all leaving at roughly the same time, would you be inclined to take Eastern first?

MR BURNLEY

It would depend entirely on what schedule was most convenient, if they were all leaving at roughly the same time -

KOPPEL

No, no, no, no, I'm not asking you what schedule is most convenient. You know what I'm driving at.

MR BURNLEY

Then it would probably come down to whether I could get a better seat on one versus the other. The answer to your question is, I would be as comfortable on Eastern as on any of the other major carriers, but

we've got -

KOPPEL

Well then the question, then the question, Mr Secretary, that I have to ask you, is why go through all this "Mickey Mouse" of an investigation? I mean, you are clearly putting Eastern and Texas Airline through a great deal of public humiliation. And for all that they take these optimistic - sounding ads saying, "Boy, are we glad you've got an investigation coming up so we can clear the air," if I were a shareholder in Eastern or Texas Air, I would not be thrilled, and in fact, the stock took a bit of a nose dive today as a direct consequence of this investigation. Why are you doing it if it's all that safe?

MR BURNLEY

It has been the case since aviation reached the jet era in this country that our major carriers have far exceeded the FAA minimum standards as an industry. That is still true today. And in fact, the record is even better since deregulation, and we've seen dramatic improvements in our fatality rates and accident rates during the period of deregulation. But we do see at Eastern continuing patterns that give us concern. So the question is not "Is it safe," it is safe. The question is, are those patterns sufficient reason for us to take a very close look? And we decided that the answer was yes.

KOPPEL

Well, again I have to come back and pick up on a couple of things that you told me today. One, you said that the pattern has continued, but you also said there that there have been significant improvements. And at the very beginning you told me that what you're doing with these ramp inspections, hands - on, every single aircraft, is - to use your word - unprecedented. Now, before you take an unprecedented action like this, that is likely to have significant negative repercussions on the standing of an airline, both economically and otherwise, you must have thought about it a great deal. What caused you to reach that final decision?

MR BURNLEY

Again, Ted, we had \$9.5 million in penalties settled a year ago by the new owners -

KOPPEL

Yeah, but you said, but you said there have been dramatic improvements since then.

MR BURNLEY

- that's correct. But nonetheless, we have continued to find evidence that the improvements have not gone as far as they should, and we want to be sure - when we see a pattern where they are not meeting fully the standards that we would like to see them meet - we'd like to get in there and look at them very intensively. Now, I think it's again very important for you to understand that the FAA has grounded airlines, the FAA would have grounded Eastern Airlines today had there been the slightest bit of hesitancy about their safety. The airline is, in fact, safe, but I don't think, in all candor, it's fair or even kosher of you to suggest it's "Mickey Mouse" for us to put people in on an intensive basis because we've got concerns that do not reach the point of grounding them. I think, on the other hand, that we do have a responsibility to the flying public when we have such concerns to address them, and to address them immediately. That's what we've done. But the day we think any airline in this country is unsafe, we'll ground them. There's an airline that is critical to the citizens of the state of Alaska that has been grounded for a couple of months now precisely because the FAA reached that conclusion.

KOPPEL

All right. We've got a 30 - day investigation ahead of us. I'm going to be interested in hearing what you have to say what happens, that is, at the end of that 30 days. We'll continue our discussion in just a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

KOPPEL

Continuing our conversation now, I'd like to turn first of all to Charles Bryan. Mr Bryan, in those 30 days of investigations, given some of the charges that you made earlier in this program - and we've only got a couple of minutes left, so if you could go kind of quickly - what do you think the FAA is going to find?

MR BRYAN

Well, I think certainly we have just had a report tonight, that I think it's aircraft 510 had a fire loop failure in Detroit about a week ago, and that aircraft, I've been told by one of my staff in Atlanta, was grounded there tonight by the FAA because they never did fix it. They've not been responsive to that sort of thing. But I would like to refer back to Mr Onstad's comments. He really rambled on about a lot of unrelated things about pay wages and so on.

KOPPEL

Please don't, please make it brief, if you would.

MR BRYAN

I will not get into that. But I'd just like to say that first of all, they could hire four brand new ramp service people for what he's saying they force people to work and pay overtime and holiday rates for, but that engine he talked about was not on a 1011, which is a three - engine aircraft, that blew up over Miami. It was a two - engine A300. So that's typical of Mr Onstad's awareness of that type of airplane it was, it's kind of typical of management's awareness of what's going on, apparently.

KOPPEL

Let me just pose to Mr Onstad the same question that I posed to you. At the end of these 30 days, clearly, you hope you're going to get a clean bill of health. If you don't, you realize financially it's going to be disastrous for your company, isn't it?

MR ONSTAD

Ted, I think we will get a clean bill of health. In fact, the FAA administrator put in a policy recently of strict enforcement on minimum equipment list, which we applaud. In fact, Eastern made that March 15 deadline of the FAA administrator, and in terms of path lighting, which you may have heard recently, installation of path lighting, to evacuation on board aircraft, Eastern made the deadline, it didn't ask for any extension of time as other carriers.

KOPPEL

Let me just jump in very quickly to Secretary Burnley, and again, only a few seconds left. What would it take at the end of those 30 days to say, "Eastern, you're grounded"?

MR BURNLEY

If the FAA decides that the airline's not safe to fly, we'll put them on the ground. It's just that simple.

KOPPEL

How many aircraft would have to fail the test?

MR BURNLEY

Well, we don't do it on an aircraft - by - aircraft basis, Ted, but the bottom line is, if we think they're below our minimum safety standards, they won't fly.

KOPPEL

All right. Gentlemen, I thank you very much for joining us on such short notice this evening. That's our report for tonight. I'm Ted Koppel in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.

----- Segment Number: 1 -----

Story Name: EASTERN'S HISTORY OF PROBLEMS

Air Date: 1988-04-13

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, NEW YORK, NY USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

This airline's problems did not develop overnight. As ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** reports, though Eastern has been flying for decades, it also has a history of problems.

JOHN MARTIN

(OLD FTG) Led by war hero and pilot, Captain Eddie Rickenbacker, in the 1950s Eastern was a proud profitable airlines, "The Wings of Man", it called itself. (OLD PHOTOS) It flew all over the east and to Florida. But after Rickenbacker died and by the time deregulation dawned in 1978, Eastern began struggling. (JETS) New competitors were free to discount fares and challenge Eastern on every route. Its customers began complaining about service, food, attitudes, everything and they still do.

MAN

If I had my choice of flights, I'd prefer a different airline.

JOHN MARTIN

At first Eastern's new chairman told passengers his flight crews cared about them. (COMMERCIAL) But two years ago on the brink of bankruptcy again, Eastern directors sold the line to Texas Air's Frank Lorenzo, a young aggressive businessman known for cutting costs and fighting unions.

FRANK LORENZO

Our mission today is to put together and continue the process of smoothing out what's been put together and to bring to the consumer what the consumer demands and create the airlines for the 1990s.

JOHN MARTIN

(JET TAKING OFF) If it survives, which analysts believe it can with eight and a half billion dollars in assets, that airline will be the exceptional child of deregulation. (AIRPORT INT)

TIMOTHY PETTEE

They did lose 450 million dollars last year, they're probably going to lose another three to four hundred million this year. But Texas Air is a company rich with assets, so that if they were to get into any, you know, long lasting difficulties they can simply start to sell some of these assets.

JOHN MARTIN

But with such huge losses, Lorenzo has been forced to cut costs everywhere he can. (VARIOUS UNIONS) He has pressured union to stop or give back some increases at Eastern, now internal records and disaffected crews suggest safety has been cut along with cost.

CHARLES BRYAN

I don't want to be an alarmist, but I think that we're just on the ragged edge right of having some enormous number of tragedies.

JOHN MARTIN

Last week in an exclusive interview with ABC's 20/20, chairman Lorenzo denied passengers are in danger.

FRANK LORENZO

I can tell you that in my 16 years in this business, safety has never taken second place.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) But that was the implication today of the FAA's investigation. So an airline conglomerate, that is the biggest in the free enterprise world, now faces questions not about its finances but about its fitness to serve its passengers safely. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, New York.

PETER JENNINGS

And one other note on the subject. The Airline Passengers Association called today's action against the airline a good thing, which it said was indicative of the increased effort by the FAA to look at safety as well as maintenance.

Document ID: WNT19880303

Library: NEWS-NY

Asset Type: Transcript

Air Date: 1988-03-03

----- Segment Number: 3 -----

Story Name: TRANS DEPT CALLED FOR DRUG TESTING FOR AIRLINE WORKERS

Air Date: 1988-03-03

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

In Washington this week, drugs have been firmly in the spotlight again. The Immigration Service said its agents would begin seizing the passports of Americans caught returning to the country with illegal drugs. And today the Transportation Department called for massive new drug testing of more than half a million airline workers. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

The Transportation Department wants to test virtually everyone involved in flying except the passengers. (AIRPORT SCENES) The rule would order tests for pilots, cabin crews, dispatcher, mechanics, even security guards watching over metal detectors at the entrances to gate areas.

JAMES BURNLEY

All it takes is one person on drugs in one of those sensitive airline jobs to endanger the lives of hundreds of innocent people.

JOHN MARTIN

Everyone applying for one of those jobs would be tested, all would face random testing as well as tests after an accident. The flight unions oppose only the random tests, but question the premise that travelers are in danger.

ROGER HALL / PILOT ASSOC.

But the Secretary has no evidence that there has ever been an accident caused in US scheduled air carrier industry due to drugs.

JOHN MARTIN

The right of government to make such tests is not clear. This week a federal judge in Washington ruled the Army could not test civilian workers. Last month an appeals court ruled railroad employee drug testing is an invasion of privacy unless the employee is suspected of using drugs when an accident takes place. (SU) The air transportation drug test won't go into effect for several months while the public tells the agency what it thinks about the idea. Many may favor them but judging from today's reaction this rule may become the latest in a series of government drug test under challenge as unconstitutional invasions of privacy. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 5 -----

Story Name: SERIES PART I: CANDIDATE AND HIS PUBLIC RECORD: ROBERTSON

Air Date: 1988-02-26

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

Eleven days and counting now until Super Tuesday. Unless you happen to live in Iowa or New Hampshire it's possible you may not yet have spent much time focusing on the individuals still running for President. We think it's a two part job, listening to what the candidates have to say about themselves and comparing that to the public record. Tonight we begin a series of reports and we focus first on the Republican Pat Robertson. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(CAMPAIGNING) This is the Pat Robertson he wants us to see, patriotic, courtly, considerate and very popular. (ROBERTSON) Pat Robertson is really two people, a former evangelist, though he doesn't like the term, and a businessman, which he prefers. Starting a television operation on 70 dollars, he built it into a 230 million dollar a year empire, a broadcasting network, Christian university and welfare operation, distributing food to the hungry. Lately the empire has faced tax audits and a decline in revenues. Over the years, Robertson has made some remarkable statements.

PAT ROBERTSON

(5/82) Individual Christians are the only ones really and Jewish people.

MAN

Obviously you are not saying that there are no other people qualified to be in government or whatever if they aren't Christians or Jews.

PAT ROBERTSON

Yeah, I'm saying that. I just said it.

JOHN MARTIN

And lately, taken it back just as he has claimed he is not a faith healer although this worn out 1981 videotape suggests otherwise.

PAT ROBERTSON

(VIDEO) You've never been able to run in seven years, would you mind doing that, let's see.

JOHN MARTIN

Robertson claimed he served in a Marine combat unit in Korea. (OLD PHOTOS) But former Marine Pete McCloskey has claimed Robertson used his father's influence to avoid the war zone. His father was a US Senator. Robertson sued for libel. The trial opens Super Tuesday but Robertson is agonizing over possibly settling the suit. Behind the public Robertson is a highly intelligent mind but remarkably undisciplined tongue. (VARIOUS FTG) Recently Robertson claimed the Russians had put nuclear missiles back into Cuba, but it was roundly denied. That his Christian Broadcast Network found the TWA hostages in Beirut, it didn't. That George Bush's campaign spread the word of Jimmy Swaggart's sins to smear Robertson. He had no proof.

KEVIN PHILLIPS

If it strikes me that he's going too far, he's beginning to sound like a little bit of wacko in some areas.

JOHN MARTIN

Wacko, Christian evangelist or conservative populist, Pat Robertson is a smart campaigner. Experts are impressed but believe his following is limited.

CLAIBOURNE DARDEN

Oh, yes, for months I've been telling the press, you're underrating Pat Robertson. Now it's time to say, you're overrating him. He has that very hard core support but very limited.

JOHN MARTIN

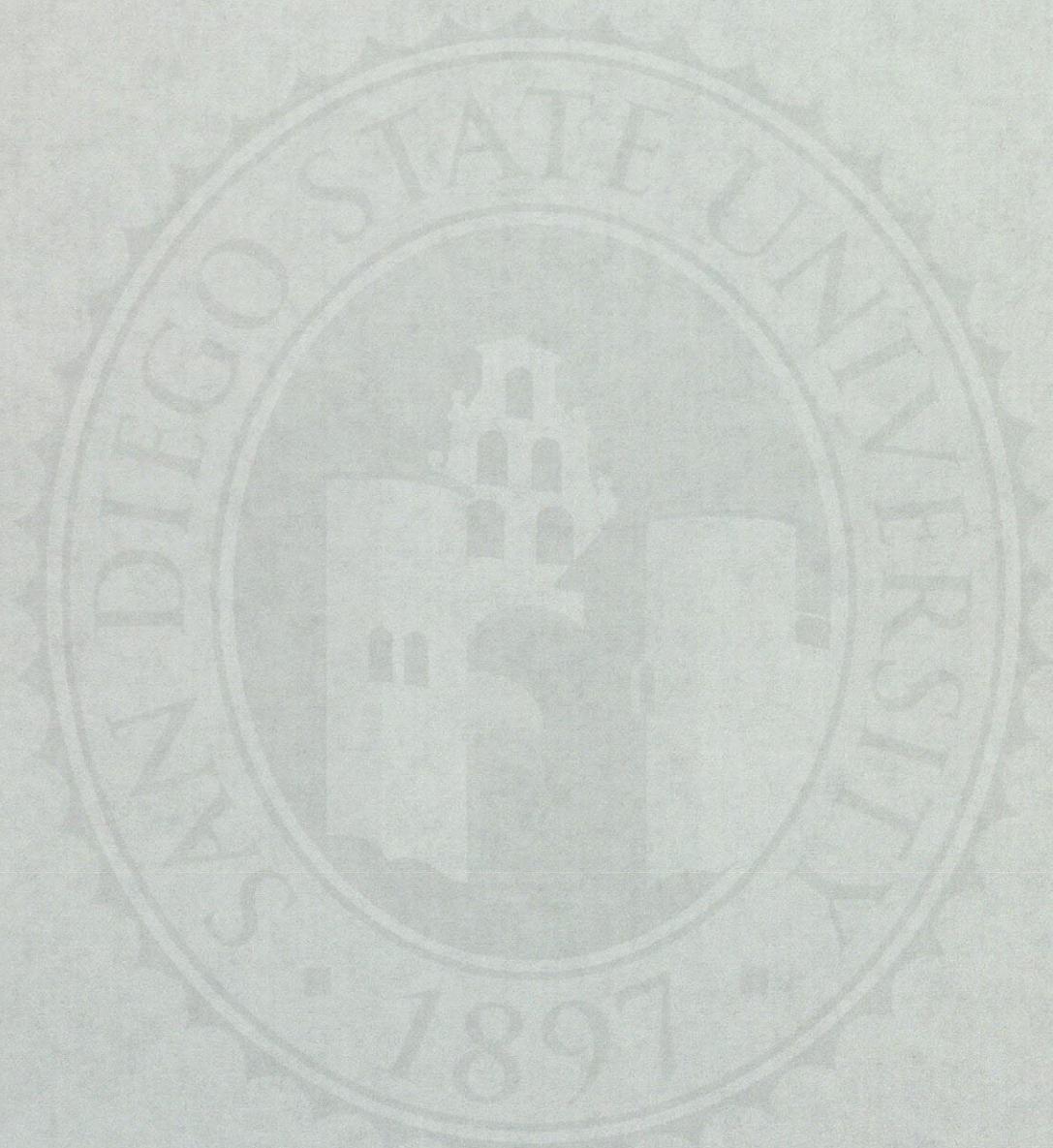
Many of Robertson's voters come from democratic families the Republicans need in November.

PAT ROBERTSON

Whenever there's a fresh new political voice and a new vision for the country, it will mean a new influx of people. And it also means that the old guard need to move aside and welcome these people with open arms.

JOHN MARTIN

(ROBERTSON) So once again, voters are facing a decision on an outsider, a charismatic television performer whose facts are sometimes fuzzy but whose heart seems in the right place, the far right. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.



----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: ETHICS IN GOVERNMENT

Air Date: 1988-02-11

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BRIT HUME, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: THIS IS AN UNCORRECTED COPY. NOT A FINAL VERSION.

BRIT HUME

(VO) Today, Lyn Nofziger was found guilty of illegal lobbying, the first person to be convicted under the Ethics in Government Law.

LYN NOFZIGER, FORMER WHITE HOUSE AIDE

It's a lousy law, it's a law that doesn't apply to the Congress of the United States, it doesn't apply to the judiciary, all men are not equal under that law, it doesn't apply to people below a certain salary level.

HUME

Good evening. I'm Brit Hume, and this is Nightline. (VO) If Lyn Nofziger had served in Congress, or even worked on Capitol Hill instead of in the White House, he would never have been charged. We'll look at the reason why tonight.

ANNOUNCER

This is ABC News Nightline. Substituting for Ted Koppel and reporting from Washington, Brit Hume.

HUME

During the 1950s, JOHN L. Lewis, the redoubtable head of the miners' union, sent a sardonic telegram to the newly formed AFL - CIO Committee on Ethical Practices. "Have you found any ethical practices?" inquired the telegram. The idea of such a watchdog committee may have amused Lewis then, but today ethical guardianship has grown into big business in Washington. There are agencies and departments all over the executive branch to look after such things, and if they are not sufficient, an independent counsel may be appointed to take the case. The Reagan administration has seen the appointment of a bumper crop of such prosecutors and their efforts have led to the cases against former presidential confidants Michael Deaver and Lyn Nofziger. These prosecutors and the laws under which they operate are much applauded on Capitol Hill. But members of Congress are in little danger from them, since they have written themselves out of the ethical statutes that govern the conduct of people like Lyn Nofziger. And as JOHN MARTIN reports, that fact was not lost on Nofziger today.

JOHN MARTIN

(VO) When it was over, and he stood convicted of illegally lobbying his old colleagues inside the White House, Lyn Nofziger complained about the unfairness of it.

LYN NOFZIGER, FORMER PRESIDENTIAL AIDE

It's a lousy law, it's a law that doesn't apply to the Congress of the United States, it doesn't apply to the judiciary, all men are not equal under that law.

MARTIN

(VO) Nevertheless, it is the law, and at 63, Lyn Nofziger, former newspaper correspondent from California, former political confidant of Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan, faces the possibility of \$30,000 in fines and up to six years in prison. His crime: illegal lobbying, writing this memo to White House counselor Ed Meese on April 8, 1982, barely three months after leaving the White House staff. The memo urged Meese to help the Wedtech Corporation get a \$32 million Army contract without competing against other companies. The Ethics Law says senior officials must not lobby their former associates inside the White House for at least a year after leaving. The jury found Nofziger also lobbied illegally for two other clients, an aircraft manufacturer and a maritime union.

MR NOFZIGER

I seem to have been found guilty of trying to get this administration to do what it promised to do, and I can tell you, we're going to appeal, and I think that we're going to win that appeal.

MARTIN

The Ethics Law was spawned by the conviction that people in high places may try to help themselves, or their friends, when they leave the public trust. The law is sometimes vague, and the code to enforce

it is voluminous. Lyn Nofziger is the only man ever convicted of violating it. Michael Deaver, another former White House aide, was convicted of lying about whether he violated it.

MICHAEL DEEVER, FORMER WHITE HOUSE AIDE

(20/20, February 5) It's very hard for lawyers and judges to interpret it, what the Congress wrote. And if you're going to have an Ethics in Government Law, then let's get everybody in. I mean, my God, you have congressmen up there now who announce they're going to resign at the end of this term, and that the job they've accepted will be - and it's in an industry that they have an oversight responsibility for the remaining part of their term.

FRED WERTHEIMER, PRESIDENT, COMMON CAUSE

This law is very clear as to who it applies to, and it has broad coverage for government officials, and if someone violates a criminal law, you cannot justify it by saying, well, gee, why didn't this law cover someone else? These laws can be strengthened. There is legislation pending in Congress right now that are designed to strengthen these laws.

MARTIN

(VO) For now, lawyers and analysts in the government Ethics Office examine financial disclosure statements and decide questions of apparent conflicts of interest, but only for the executive branch. Remarkably, the law does not cover the very people who wrote it.

MICHAEL WALDMAN, CONGRESS WATCH / PUBLIC CITIZEN

Congress justifies this exception 'cause it's Congress that writes the laws. The Ethics in Government Act was passed as the result of a big fight and a big compromise, and it probably would have been very difficult to get something stronger through Congress at the time, and it's hard to see something stronger getting through Congress right now.

MARTIN

(VO) As a result, when senators and representatives leave office, they can lobby their former colleagues right away. Members retain access to the floor to walk right up to friends still in office. They aren't visible to the public because House and Senate rules prevent cameras from sweeping the floor.

MR DEEVER

If "influence - peddling," if that's the term we all want to use, is a crime, there'd be an awful lot of people in this town in jail.

MR NOFZIGER

You know, it's kind of like running a stop sign.

MARTIN

But so far, nobody's gone to jail, and the likelihood is far from certain. Mr Nofziger is not expected to get a prison term, and Mr Deaver's conviction could easily be thrown out if the special prosecutor's law is ultimately held unconstitutional. So, for the moment, a system designed to prevent corruption in high places has snared two men who say that what's fair for them should be a crime for everybody else as well. This is **JOHN MARTIN** in Washington for Nightline.

HUME

When we return, we'll talk with two supporters of the Ethics in Government Act who would like to see Congress included in its provisions, Congressman Barney Frank of Massachusetts, and a man who's seen the issue from several sides, lobbyist and former Congressman James Coyne of Pennsylvania.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Joining us live now from our Washington bureau is Congressman Barney Frank of Massachusetts. Congressman Frank is chairman of the House Judiciary Subcommittee, with jurisdiction over the Ethics in Government Act. He has scheduled hearings this spring on revision and possible expansion of the law. And from our station WPVI in Philadelphia is James Coyne. Mr Coyne has seen the issue of ethics in government from three sides, as a former congressman from Pennsylvania; as a White House aide who worked directly under former Deputy Chief of Staff Michael Deaver; and currently as a lobbyist with the American Tort Reform Association. Congressman Frank, first of all, give us a little briefing on how widespread this practice of Congress excluding itself from the law it passes that apply to other people. How wide is that?

REP BARNEY FRANK, (D), HOUSE JUDICIARY COMMITTEE

It's very wide. It has a legitimate root, I think, but it's become an illegitimate practice. That is, it's being abused. It really stems from the efforts by Queen Elizabeth I to manipulate the Parliament in the 16th Century, when they were just starting out. And it drew up an English law that an important part of parliamentary democracy would be that you protected the legislative branch against the executive branch. Well, that probably made sense back then. It no longer does

make sense, but the theory grew up that for the legislature to be independent - that's, by the way, why we have parking privileges in Washington, DC and why we can libel people on the floor of the House, I mean, those are direct results of Elizabethan times - that is why -

HUME

Let me stop you. There is a constitutional provision that has to do with being held accountable in any other place for official acts. But it seems to me that, I mean, the bribery statutes clearly apply to members of Congress, and there are a host of others that do, and yet it seems a rather selective group, although along with you've got the civil service reform, the labor laws, occupational health and safety, the list goes on.

REP FRANK

Oh, sure. Yeah. Most of the regulatory, the theory has been that where you are giving discretionary regulatory authority to members of the executive branch, you should exempt Congress because otherwise you'd be under (unintelligible). I don't agree with that theory, but that's, you know, what people should understand, it's not just the Ethics in Government Act from which Congress is exempted. It's exempted from the NLRB, from OSHA. Until a couple of years ago, members of Congress weren't covered by the Social Security Law, and we correctly put ourselves under that law in 1983.

HUME

I should say, by the way, that in preparing for this broadcast the people who ask guests to appear tried and tried and tried to find someone who would come on the program and defend this, and we couldn't find anybody who would do it, but obviously, for many, many years members of Congress have been voting for laws which had these exclusions, so somebody must have been for it.

REP FRANK

I'm sure there were. I've been a sponsor for some time of a package of bills to change that, because I think, as I said, the original justification really doesn't apply today. We are sufficiently, I think, protected by institutional means today so that we ought to cover ourselves by these laws.

HUME

Mr Coyne, you've seen this issue from several sides, as a member and as a lobbyist, and also as a White House aide. Do you agree with Congressman Frank's description of how this came about, or are there other reasons at play here?

JAMES COYNE, LOBBYIST / FORMER CONGRESSMAN

Well, I've heard these legalistic descriptions in the past, and I think it's really more an example of hypocrisy in ethics than hypocrisy in politics, because in fact, that's what we're talking about here is power, who can exercise power in our system of government? Right here in Philadelphia, 200 years ago, our founding fathers knew that the three branches of government were going to be at each others' throats. But I don't think they foresaw that one branch of government would be rewriting the rules to give itself an advantage in the name of ethics over the other branches of government. Congress, of course, exempts itself from everything, and there are many different reasons for doing it. But most of it all, it's because Congress likes to consider itself a club of lawyers that can protect itself, and hold as much power in its own reins and try to reduce as much power that's in the hands of the president and the executive branch. And I think that's what's occurred in the past 10 years or so, more and more power being vested in Congress, to the point where Congress has become an imperial Congress, doing the very things that it criticized presidents in the past for doing. Obviously, there's a pendulum that moves back and forth, but I think most Americans concede today that Congress, after 35 years controlled by the same party, has become dominated by its own self - interest, and not willing to stand up to ethics.

REP FRANK

Brit, is that eligible for -

HUME

Of course.

REP FRANK

- how many mistakes can you find in that statement?

HUME

Go ahead.

REP FRANK

Well, in the first place, the Democrats have not controlled Congress for 35 years; the Republicans controlled the Senate, which is part of Congress, for six of the last seven, for instance. And the notion that this only happened in the last ten years is just wrong. I think it's wrong. I think we ought to be covered. I've sponsored legislation to cover us. But it's not a trend of the last 10 years. The fact is that that has been a congressional pattern over most of

our history. That doesn't make it right, but it's simply not a question of the last 10 years.

MR COYNE

I'd like to -

HUME

Well, you -

MR COYNE

- I think in fact in the last 10 years we've seen this tremendous growth of the power of Congress.

REP FRANK

That's right. Jim doesn't like the fact that Congress tries to involve itself in foreign policy. What you're now getting isn't related to the ethics act, it's the new conservative argument, which puzzles me, that says Congress shouldn't be involved in foreign policy, etc.

MR COYNE

No, no, you're getting away from the issue of ethics.

REP FRANK

I want to be covered under the ethics -

HUME

Hold it, gentlemen, let me get in here with a question. Congressman Frank, I gather you don't support what the Congress has done here and you'd like to change it, and you have a measure to do so. What are your chances on that?

REP FRANK

I think they're pretty good. The fact is that we all know we've got to change the ethics law. The law is a very badly drafted statute. They tried in 1978 and 1979 to be very careful, and they were so careful that they came up with a statute that's very difficult to enforce, and everybody agrees with that. That doesn't justify people violating it, and I think people who violated it should have been prosecuted, but we do know we've got to improve it. And I have talked to people, Democrats and Republicans, who are on the subcommittee that I'm on, and I have yet to find anyone who disagrees that the time has come for Congress to be covered under this Ethics in Government Act.

HUME

Well, we couldn't find anybody all day who'd disagree with that proposition, and yet, you know, this has been going on for many, many years. What is the secret to getting this passed? Is it a question of public attention, or what?

REP FRANK

I think it is. I mean, I haven't been here for many, many years, and I wasn't here when it was passed in '78. On the other hand, you may have done some good lobbying for me; I'd like your list of people who support this. I'll ask you for that off the air. I think what had happened was that the most powerful force in any legislative body isn't money, and it isn't votes. It's inertia. Legislators who'd rather not make tough decisions, then make them, because you make people mad when you make tough decisions. It's much better to walk in a parade. What's happened now is that the events of the last couple of years, the pattern of violations, frankly, by the Reagan administration, have brought this to public attention and we now understand that it's a statute that is effective, prosecutors say it, defendants say it, judges say it, as part of the effort to improve the statute, I think it's essential that we cover Congress.

HUME

Okay. We've got to take a break now, Congressman, thank you. When we return, we'll be joined in our discussion by Fred Barnes, a veteran political reporter who is skeptical of the value of the Ethics in Government Act.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Joining us live now in our Washington bureau is Fred Barnes, senior editor of The New Republic, a nationally circulated opinion weekly. Fred, from what Congressman Frank and Mr Coyne both say, ethics in government may be a growth industry, but there's going to be more of it. Is that a good thing?

FRED BARNES, THE NEW REPUBLIC

Well, what's happened is, you've had these post - Watergate ethics binge of laws by Congress, and they've been, most of them have been silly. The independent prosecutor law, which has now been declared unconstitutional by a US appeals court; you've had the campaign reform law, which has just made campaigning more difficult, it's created all these PACs, it's made people running for federal office spend more time raising money rather than less; and then you have this Ethics in Government Act, which I think substantiates the law of scandal propounded by my colleague at The New Republic, Mike Kinsley. And what he says, the scandal isn't what's illegal, the scandal is

what's legal. And by concentrating on these small technical legal violations, the Ethics in Government Law essentially legitimizes the really egregious kind of influence peddling that goes on, and that is the lobbying of Congress, but not by former congressmen, so I don't think Congressmen Franks' change in the law would mean much at all. There are some lobbyists in town, and they're effective in lobbying Congress and the other effective lobbying that goes on is the lobbying of congressmen, members of Congress, trying to lobby the administration to get contracts and so on for their own constituents.

HUME

Well, if these laws and regulations are not the key to improving ethical standards in Washington, then what is?

MR BARNES

Well, really, the only thing is social stigma. That's about all you could have that's going to do it, and unfortunately now, lobbyists are proud to call themselves lobbyists. It used to be something, you know, you remember the time, Brit, in Washington, when they called themselves "lawyers"?

HUME

Yeah, that's right.

MR BARNES

Now they proudly call themselves lobbyists. And brag about all the influence they have and the people they know and the contacts on the Hill and so on.

HUME

Well, isn't that a new element here? Mr Coyne, you served with Michael Deaver. Wasn't the way he set up his whole operation after he got out of the administration, the Time magazine story with him in the limousine and all that, wasn't that something far more brazen than anything we'd seen in Washington until that time?

MR COYNE

I don't think there's much doubt. Even Mr Deaver himself would probably agree with that. Of course, Mike Deaver was the keeper of the access key within the White House. He made sure who did and who didn't have access to anything the President did or saw. And of course, for him to find a law that prohibited himself from having the access that he so closely guarded was just probably something he couldn't really accept, and it was a difficult decision for him to face, going out -

HUME

You've been in the position of being someone who was on the inside of the administration and went out. How difficult and onerous did you find these regulations to be?

MR COYNE

They're not onerous at all. I think, of course, to separate yourself from your former employer for a year is probably something you wish you didn't have to do, because you have friends and you have relationships there, but it's certainly not an onerous thing to do. The irony for me was, though, that when I left the Congress, the next day I was perfectly legal to do just about anything, whereas -

HUME

Yeah, but you could go on the House floor at any time or -

MR COYNE

Anything. But -

HUME

- by the way, one question. Do House members, I know they have Senate floor privileges while they're serving, does that continue after you leave, do you have Senate floor privileges as well?

MR COYNE

You know, I honestly don't know. I haven't taken advantage of it if I do, but most members continue to maintain the contact with their own body, regardless of whether they are lobbyists or not. There's a strong personal bond that's made with a lot of former members. But you know, the amazing thing is, I could do anything as a former congressman, go to work in the White House for one day, and then all of a sudden you have this tremendous of law that comes down on you. But it's not burdensome, and I don't think most members of the White House view it that difficult to comply with.

HUME

We had a couple of pretty smart guys got snared. Now, if it's not difficult, what's the problem?

MR COYNE

Well, I think if anybody in the White House had been asked to predict who might have been snared, they might have predicted those two people. Lyn Nofziger really wasn't a member of the White House staff in the same sense that everybody else was. He was more of a consultant, a freelancer, an eccentric wild player in many respects, and I think he never saw himself really as a member of the White House staff the same way that most of the rest of us did. And of

course, as I've said about Mr Deaver, he had a very special role of maintaining access there, and for him to be denied that access was perhaps the unkindest cut of all.

HUME

Congressman Frank, what do you think of Fred Barnes' view that this really is not a necessary thing, that these laws and regulations simply end up leaving too many things legal and removing the stigma that used to attach to what was considered a kind of shady practice, that of lobbying.

REP FRANK

Well, I find it predictable, but not helpful, in this truth -

HUME

Why?

REP FRANK

- well, in the truth in government thing, now that people are calling themselves lobbyists, maybe Fred will call himself a scold, 'cause I think his interest is just to sort of make the points. In fact, what he said was internally contradictory. He said it was a scandal that some things were still legal, and when you asked, well, what should you do about it, he said, well, we should use social stigma. So he's not for making them illegal. The fact is, under our Constitution, a lot of what you and I and Fred will find objectionable will be protected. That'll be called lobbying. There is, in the First Amendment, the right of the citizens to petition. If they want to hire people to do it, it's very difficult to make some of that illegal. You get the good and the bad under a free speech thing. I think it does help to try to limit some of the abuses. And, with any criminal statute, with any regulatory statute, the fact that you're going to diminish some harm doesn't mean you're going to wipe it all out. But setting up and saying, well, if you only do some of the good, and you don't do the rest, therefore the statute is wrong, I don't think that makes sense. I think it does make sense to say to former members of Congress, "No. You should not, with a, on the next day or within the next year or two, go back and try to use the personal contacts you made to influence your colleagues". I will say one thing in defense of members, by the way, and people have referred to the floor privileges. There's a pretty firm informal rule against using floor privileges to lobby. Most of those who are registered lobbyists do not use the floor privileges, and I've never seen anybody do that. They do lobby elsewhere, and I think it's wrong and we ought to ban it. But they don't do it on the floor. But yeah, there will always be lobbying, because I don't know how you can ban it. But to allow people to go right back to their former colleagues, and invoke that kind of personal input, I think that's something that ought to be banned, and it'll still leave other things in the world that are wrong, but it'll be helpful.

HUME

Congressman, I want to give Fred Barnes a chance to respond to what you said, and I'll have to take a break now, but we'll continue our discussion in just a moment.

(COMMERCIAL BREAK)

HUME

Continuing our discussion now with Congressman Barney Frank of Massachusetts, lobbyist and former congressman James Coyne, and Fred Barnes of The New Republic. Fred, Congressman Frank suggested earlier that there had been a kind of a new high or a new low in ethical problems in this administration, and by one account I saw there's something like 100 present and former members of this administration who have in one way or another run afoul of various laws and ethical regulations. Is that, in your estimation, a result of their being so many regulations, or because of a particular sleaze factor in this administration?

MR BARNES

Well, I think both are true. I think there's been some indifference to what former officials ought to do, or officials in government ought to do. That's, that has been a problem. But responding to Congressman Frank, look, if he's willing to acknowledge that even with a strengthened ethics in government law that the whole problem of influence - peddling is going be barely scraped at all, well, that'd be fine. I suspect that if his law passes, Congress will congratulate itself and pretend that it's really attacked the problem.

REP FRANK

Oh, of course not, Fred.

MR BARNES

But the top, the top lobbyists in this town, in Washington, are not former members of Congress and they're not former members of the administration.

REP FRANK

Well, Fred, what should we do about it?

MR BARNES

They've been at this for a long time, and you can't do anything about it legally -

REP FRANK

I agree.

MR BARNES

- that's why I'm not for a law.

REP FRANK

But therefore, if we can't do anything about some of it, should we ignore the rest of it? That's what I find difficult in your argument.

MR COYNE

It seems to me Congress should worry first about keeping its own house in order. I mean, after Abscam -

REP FRANK

Well, I'm for that, and that's part of what I want to do, and I think we can do it.

MR COYNE

- and I think the safest bet there is in politics is that Congress is not going to do exactly what you say it should do.

REP FRANK

Well, Jim, I served with you for two years; I don't remember you offering that bill. I'm for it.

MR COYNE

I wasn't on the judiciary committee, because they wouldn't let me on the judiciary committee. They wouldn't -

REP FRANK

But I don't remember. Any member of Congress can file a bill.

HUME

One at a time, gentlemen. Please, one at a time. Congressman Frank, go ahead.

REP FRANK

Any member of Congress can file a bill. Jim was a member of Congress for two years, he never filed a bill. I think there ought to be a good, no, you could have filed a bill, you didn't have to be on the committee to file a bill. (crosstalk)

HUME

Congressman Frank, Congressman Frank, hold it just a moment. Mr Coyne, you want to respond to that?

MR COYNE

Well, I think it's important to understand that the club there is very closed. The Judiciary Committee that Mr Frank sits on is so closed that they hardly even allow other bills to be referred to them. They wouldn't let me sit on that committee, and I felt very strongly.

HUME

All right. We're -

REP FRANK

It was the Republicans who decide - (crosstalk)

HUME

All right, all right. Gentlemen, please, we're getting a little far afield here. Fred, I think I see you striving to get in a word here, and I'm going to let you have the last word. Please go ahead.

MR BARNES

Well, I wish that Congressman Frank, if he really wanted to cut down on the most egregious kind of lobbying, would get members of Congress to stop lobbying the administration to get contracts, and grants, and loans for their own constituents and supporters.

REP FRANK

Oh, I know the administration would love that. They'd love that. They'd love to have all the power.

HUME

All right. Gentlemen, gentlemen, I have to cut you off here. Time has caught up with us. Congressman Frank, thank you. Mr Coyne, thank you very much, and Fred Barnes, thanks to you as well. That is our report for tonight. I'm Brit Hume in Washington. For all of us here at ABC News, good night.

----- Segment Number: 11 -----

Story Name: SHEET METAL WORKERS WORKING ON SCULPTURE

Air Date: 1988-02-10

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

And finally this evening, celebrating work through art. While many of us take pride in the work we do, not too many would claim that our work amounts to art. But a group of American sheet metal workers has had the chance to apply its talents to a work of art and in doing so to find out something about themselves and the work they do. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(SCULPTURE) It looks like an intruder from another planet nesting inside a palace from another time.

DALE STAFFORD

I called it a thing from out of space, a couple of times.

FRANK ULRICH

Just never tackled nothing like this before and it's different.

JOHN MARTIN

What they have tackled is a sculpture celebrating the work they do. California architect Frank Gary designed two structures they could build inside the National Building Museum here in Washington.

DAVID CHASE

Gary produced something that was festive, celebratory, radical, attention grabbing and functional.

JOHN MARTIN

Functional to house exhibits of tools and ornaments, but also mysterious.

FRANK MARTINEZ

There are no measurements but by degrees and then we have to figure with a little trig where we're going to come out in terms of the length.

JOHN MARTIN

(LIBERTY) The same kind of savvy sheet metal workers have always needed building the Statue of Liberty, the Gateway Arch in St. Louis. (ARCH) Crafting this ornate lions head, this stream lined palm tree. Workers puzzling through plans making things fit. They call themselves tin knockers. Some have tongues of acid, some have hearts of gold.

LOUIS BOASSO

They needed volunteers and as soon as we heard about it we just got in our cars and came down.

JOHN MARTIN

It's as if Joseph Conrad knew them when he wrote, I don't like work, no man does but I like what is in work, the chance to find yourself.

CHARLIE PETERS

You'll see guys stand back on a job and look up and go, now that's a nice job.

JOHN MARTIN

After a month and a half they've assembled 1,000 sheets of steel, 18,000 pounds of metal studs, 30,000 pounds of copper.

CHARLIE PETERS

Sometimes I think that the architect said I'm going to design something that I know these SOBs can never put together. But I think we really fooled him on this one.

JOHN MARTIN

So they are putting it together and as Conrad wrote, finding themselves. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 3 -----

Story Name: PRIVATE GROUPS WANT CONTRA AID: ORTEGA HAPPY OVER NO VOTE

Air Date: 1988-02-04

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

As Sheillah Kast says there, the administration says it won't get involved in raising funds for the Contras, but as ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** tells us tonight, last night's vote has prompted a number of very familiar private groups to go to work.

SPEAKER JIM WRIGHT

(HOUSE FLOOR) The nays are 219. The resolution is not agreed to.

JOHN MARTIN

For Contra supporters, the vote was a call to arms. This morning conservatives urged rebels to raise money by selling war bonds in the United States. They were interrupted.

WOMAN

(INTERRUPTION) It's the Nicaraguan people that you're killing.

CONGRESSMAN RICK BOUCHER

Well, the solidarity, solidarity people are here. Good-bye, that's right. (MORE INTERRUPTIONS) These are the people who the FBI is legitimately investigating.

JOHN MARTIN

The unidentified demonstrators were removed. Around the country Contras and supporters pleaded for help.

BERNARD MONTOYA

The United States has a moral responsibility with the freedom fighters.

MAJOR GENERAL **JOHN SINGLAUB**

We are going to go ahead and raise money to provide humanitarian assistance. I personally will assist them in soliciting funds outside of this country.

JOHN MARTIN

(CHANNELL) The Contra plight has rejuvenated former fundraiser Spitz Channell. He plead guilty last year to violating tax exemption laws but has already raised new money according to two competing fundraisers. The Gulf and Caribbean foundation, here on Capitol Hill, used a former Channell associate to raise about 40,000 dollars for television ads. (COMMERCIAL)

DAN KUYKENDALL / G & C FOUNDATION

This issue has a life of its own because it's right.

JOHN MARTIN

Inside this country, Americans can legally donate to the Contra cause, but by its vote Congress has said once again, it doesn't want to spend tax money on the Contras even if their private supporters refuse to give up. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

PETER JENNINGS

In the Nicaraguan capital, Managua today, the vote against congressional aid for the Contras was on the front page of the Sandinista newspaper and got extensive television coverage. (ORTEGA) President Ortega said the vote was a moment of hope and a step toward peace. He said the US should call on the Contras to accept an immediate cease-fire. But he also accused President Reagan of planning to continue the war.

----- Segment Number: 9 -----

Story Name: ARMY BUILDUP OF EXPENSIVE EARTH MOVING MACHINES

Air Date: 1988-02-01

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

A report tonight on what is happening to some of your tax dollars. It will come as no surprise to hear that in the course of spending hundreds of millions of dollars on defense, a fair piece of change slips through the cracks. Tonight ABC's **JOHN MARTIN** on what the Army is doing with some very expensive equipment.

JOHN MARTIN

(JETS) It's been the biggest peace time buildup in American military history. Twenty-one billion dollars per nuclear missiles, nearly 70 billion dollars for new warships, half a billion dollars for Army scoopers, scrapers and graders. (GRAPHICS) Wait, half a billion for graders, scrapers, and scoopers? Well, moving dirt is important in the Army.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM RENO

They move earth and shape earth or soil, if you wish to use that term.

JOHN MARTIN

(MACHINES) So to complete that mission, here in West Germany since 1985 the Army has disposed of more than 800 heavy construction vehicles and purchased new ones, part of a worldwide upgrade of its graders, scoopers and scrapers. What happens to the old equipment. In Pentagon terms, it's excess and given to state and local governments at home and allies abroad. Portugal is getting 46 of the vehicles for 11,000 dollars. The cost of shipping. That's only 240 dollars apiece. But it costs up to 148,000 dollars a piece for the Army to buy replacements. General?

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM RENO

The average age of this equipment ranged from 15 to as high, by 1985, that's 33 years of age in the field. It was just simply old.

PETE PENFIELD

I found the condition of this one almost brand new. It runs like a brand new machine.

JOHN MARTIN

(SU) The town of Avon, Connecticut paid only 11,000 dollars for this used Army bucket loader. On the open market it would cost six times that much. A good deal?

ROLAND JACQUES

It's an excellent deal for the community.

JOHN MARTIN

But perhaps not such a good deal for the Army. (MINATURES) In battle zones, these new scrapers are used for an important mission. They dig ditches to help slow down enemy tanks. Bulldozers are used back here to help conceal American tanks. But these new scrapers are getting stuck in the antitank ditches. So the bulldozers have to be diverted and brought here to push them out, according to congressional investigators.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM RENO

(WITH MINATURES) The statement is inaccurate. The 621-B scraper is as effective in antitank ditching as is the old scraper that we had previously.

JOHN MARTIN

(DIGGING DITCH) But the field commanders don't agree at all. In fact, according to Army documents obtained by ABC News, they've recommended that the new scraper be replaced by the old scraper.

CONGRESSMAN GERRY SIKORSKI

It's so stupid, it's so absurd that it's almost humorous but it hurts when you laugh because it took half a billion dollars and wasted it.

JOHN MARTIN

But Army engineers have an ACE in the hole. It's called the ACE, the Armored Combat Earth mover. At 500,000 dollars each the army has ordered 566 ACEs.

MAJOR GENERAL WILLIAM RENO

It will dig the armor in, it will dig the artillery in. It also will dig antitank ditches. It also will remove rubble from cities.

CONGRESSMAN GERRY SIKORSKI

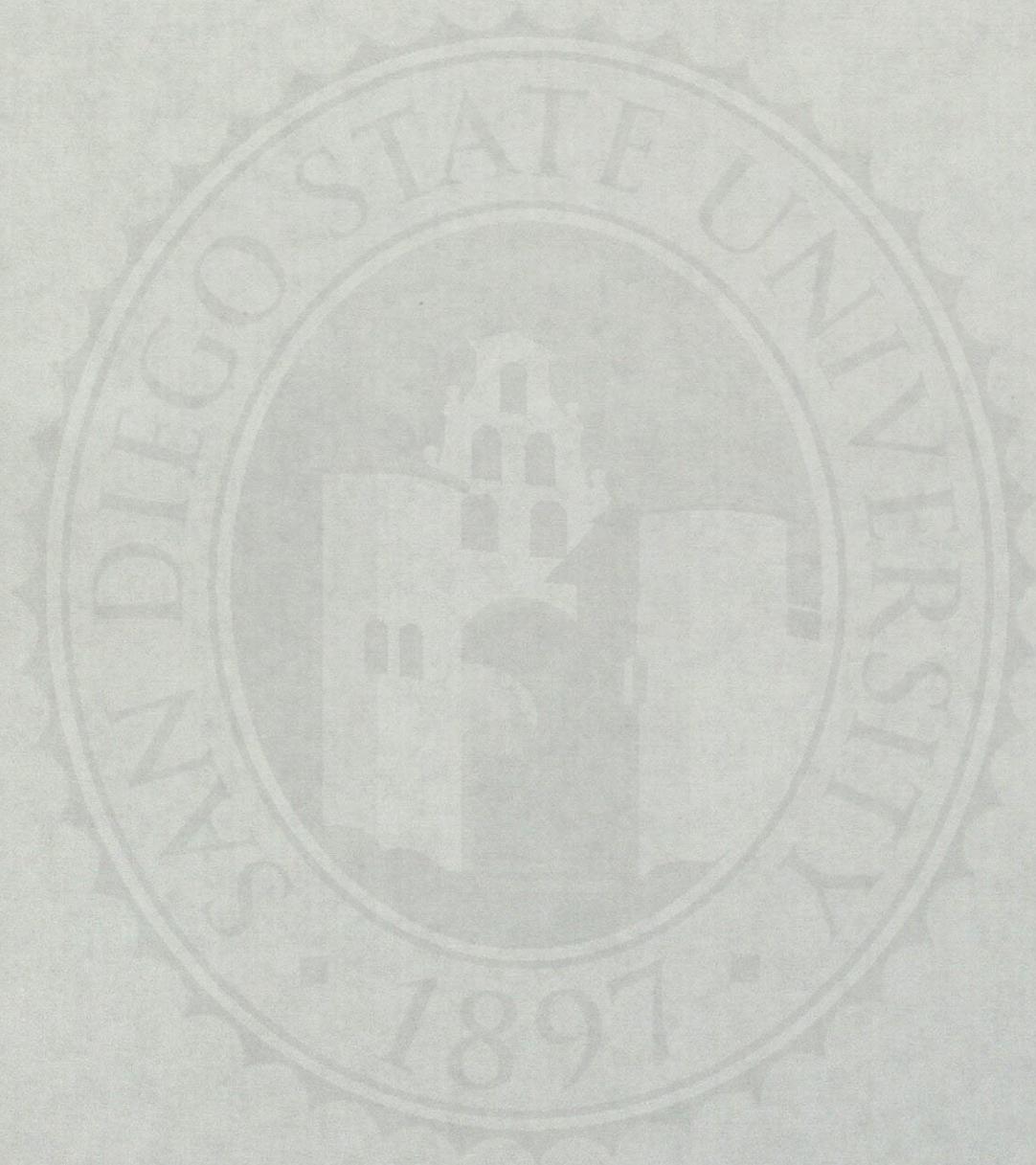
It's going to be the Swiss Army knife of the armed combat, the earth moving vehicles. It's like the Ronco, slice dice and makes thousands of julienne fries right before your eyes, kind of thing.

JOHN MARTIN

(ACE) But if the 326 million dollar ACE doesn't pan out, there have been problems with the transmission and it really can't carry much dirt, the Army has the ultimate earth mover in reserve. (EXPLOSION) That's it. TEX, the Tactical Explosive System. (DITCH) It sure does move dirt quickly at a fraction of the cost. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

PETER JENNINGS

One other note, the Army now says it will not get rid of anymore of its old earth moving equipment until the questions raised in this report are fully investigated.



Document ID: WK419880131

Library: NEWS-NY

Asset Type: Transcript

Air Date: 1988-01-31

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: REAGAN BACKS MEESE IN PIPELINE BRIBE SCANDAL, MEESE DENIES I T

Air Date: 1988-01-31

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: TOM JARRIEL, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: TOM JARRIEL

Attorney General Edwin Meese today received a vote of support from President Reagan after a special prosecutor revealed he's investigating the possibility that Meese violated the Corrupt Practices Act. The President has full confidence in Meese and there's no plans to ask for his resignation, according to the White House. The embattled Attorney General retains political support too during this controversy as **JOHN MARTIN** reports.

JOHN MARTIN

(MEESE) His young conservative hosts called Ed Meese the last conservative left in the White House today and applauded his speech nearly 30 times.

EDWIN MEESE

Too often the discussions of crime in our country have to do with abstractions or generalities too seldom do they talk about victims.

JOHN MARTIN

But Meese refused to talk about the possible crime of bribery raised by reports that one of his long time friends, attorney Rob Wallach, sent him a memo mentioning an attempt to bribe Israeli officials. (WALLACH) The money would have gone to the Israeli labor party in exchange for Israeli government guarantees that it would not bomb an oil pipeline, a Swiss investor wanted to build across Iraq to the port of Aqaba. (MAP)

MOSHE SHAHAL / ISRAELI ENERGY MINISTER

I don't know about the matter. But I know that the labor party would not and shall, will never do such a thing.

JOHN MARTIN

(RAPPAPORT'S VOICE) Today in Israel, state radio listeners heard the voice of the Swiss investor Bruce Rappaport denying in Hebrew that he offered bribes. Foreign Minister Shimon Peres has also denied accepting money. (SHULTZ) At the same time, Secretary of State Shultz said today he had removed himself from any dealings on the pipeline which needed US government insurance because it would have involved his former employer, the Bechtel Corporation. But Mr. Meese turned away from questions on why he didn't also remove himself from a deal involving a personal friend. Even so, the White House is leaving an investigation to the special prosecutor and Mr. Reagan is said to be fully behind Mr. Meese keeping his job.

JOHN MARTIN, ABC News, Washington.

Document ID: WK119880130
Library: NEWS-NY
Asset Type: Transcript
Air Date: 1988-01-30

----- Segment Number: 6 -----

Story Name: ISRAEL DENIES BRIBE INVOLVED IN PIPELINE PROJECT

Air Date: 1988-01-30

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: BARRY SERAFIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: BARRY SERAFIN

Israeli's government insisted today that former Prime Minister Shimon Peres did not receive and was not offered a bribe to prevent Israeli sabotage of a billion dollar Iraqi oil pipeline. Israel says reports that Attorney General Edwin Meese was aware of a bribery scheme that would benefit one of his long time associates are complete nonsense. But the special prosecutor investigating the matter says his probe into Meese's activities has become, quote, "very serious". The story from **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

The Attorney General stayed inside his house today, still not available to answer questions about a memo reportedly proposing to bribe Israeli officials on behalf of Meese's friend and personal lawyer Rob Wallach. (WALLACH) The bribe reportedly involved Swiss investor Bruce Rappaport, Wallach's client. Rappaport wanted to finance an oil pipeline in Iraq. The Los Angeles Times reported today that Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres agreed secretly in 1985 not to attack the pipeline. The line would have carried oil from Iraq to the Jordanian port of Aqaba, permitting Iraqi tankers to avoid Iranian gunboats and aircraft in the Persian Gulf. Peres's pledge reportedly came after months of US pressure some involving Meese to insure the pipeline would not be sabotaged or bombed. Peres was said to have agreed to use future US aid money for repair operations if Israeli planes ever did attack the pipeline. Former National Security Adviser Robert McFarlane reportedly favored the project, but former Reagan cabinet member William Clark apparently recommended against it and the matter was dropped. In Geneva, the investor, Rappaport, the head of Inter-maritime Bank, remained unavailable for comment. Rappaport is a major donor to Israeli causes. The alleged bribe reportedly involved donations to the Israeli labor party. At the Israeli Foreign Ministry today, a spokesman confirmed, Israel had discussed the pipeline with the United States, but said it had never agreed not to attack it. No money was discussed, said a spokesman, Ehud Gol, who confirmed that Wallach and Rappaport had met with Peres but only in public or social forums. It's not clear that Mr. Meese read or understood the memo. Still the special prosecutor late this week took the highly unusual step of discussing the case at the White House. A senior official there said today, there's been absolutely no talk of Mr. Meese resigning. But the suspicion is growing that the Attorney General of the United States faces serious legal questions in the days and weeks ahead. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

----- Segment Number: 0 (ALL) -----

Story Name: MEESE MAY HAVE KNOWN OF ATTEPT TO BRIBE AN ISRAELI OFFICIAL

Air Date: 1988-01-29

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

We begin tonight with new allegations against the Attorney General Edwin Meese. They surfaced today and they are essentially this. That Mr. Meese may have known of a plan to bribe a high ranking Israeli official and even though he was Attorney General did nothing about it. In Washington, here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

(JUSTICE BLDG) The Attorney General stayed out of sight here at the Justice Department today. Reporters wanted to discuss this morning's Los Angeles Times. (MEESE) It said Meese may have ignored information that associates of his personal lawyer and friend, Rob Wallach, had a plan to bribe Israeli officials. The information was contained in a memo from Wallach to Meese.

(GRAPHICS) It described efforts to get Israel to agree not to interfere with a billion dollar oil pipeline project. Wallach and his client proposed building one across the country of Iraq to the Jordanian port of Aqaba. A special prosecutor confirmed today he is looking into the case.

JAMES MCKAY

We had been investigating this matter for some time and are going to continue to investigate it and we hope to wrap it up at least within the next three or four weeks.

JOHN MARTIN

(GRAPHICS) Under US law it is illegal for Americans to bribe foreign officials. The Attorney General is empowered to prosecute anyone attempting a bribe. If Meese failed to act, he may have violated the law.

WILLIAM DOBORVIR

Mr. Meese would certainly have a duty to immediately advise the appropriate authorities of the Justice Department that he has information that a felony is or is possibly being committed.

JOHN MARTIN

Wallach was not available for comment. And in New York his lawyer refused comments on the charge but attacked the report.

GEORGE WALKER

And it is obvious an effort to besmirch as I indicated before his friend of 30 years or more the Attorney General Mr. Meese.

JOHN MARTIN

Meese's private attorney, Nathan Lewin, said his client had acted correctly and was not informed of any actual or potential violation of the law. (EMBASSY) The Israeli Embassy called the alleged bribery plan wild fantasy. (SU) The Attorney General has been a grand jury witness several times in recent months. This is part of prosecutor McKay's investigation of suspected bribes in another case. Meese's attorney, Wallach, has already been indicted in that case, so this memo raises new questions of whether Meese too will be indicted or exonerated after months of suspicion. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.

PETER JENNINGS

A White House spokesman said today that anything that comes before the independent council is a serious matter. Also the President has full confidence in Ed Meese.

----- Segment Number: 4 -----

Story Name: NORTH OPERATION TO SILENCE THOSE WHO THREATEN HIS CONTRA DEA L

Air Date: 1988-01-27

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content: PETER JENNINGS

We have an exclusive report tonight on the Contras and Colonel Oliver North. We all know that Colonel North was running a secret operation out of the White House to fund and arm the Nicaraguan Contras, ABC News has now discovered new evidence that North was involved in another secret operation, an operation to isolate and silence those who threaten to expose his Contra connections. Here's ABC's **JOHN MARTIN**.

JOHN MARTIN

In Oliver North's office safe, White House officials found a two page report that suggests he was spying on critics of his secret operations in Central America and trying to silence them. The report is dated July 17th, 1986. (DOCUMENT) It has never been publicly released by the White House or the Iran-Contra committee to which it was sent. The FBI says it has never seen it until now. It was written by Glenn Robinette a former CIA officer who worked for Richard Secord. It describes his investigation of Jack Terrell a former pro-Contra mercenary who had turned against the Contras and was accusing the White House of illegally aiding them. Robinette recommended a way to silence Terrell, having Secord arrange business deals with him.

GLENN ROBINETTE

It would be an opportunity to know where he was and what he was doing and would also enable General Secord, through me, to subtly suggest stop your talking and news media about these matters.

JOHN MARTIN

So it would be a way to shut him up?

GLENN ROBINETTE

Yes.

JOHN MARTIN

Robinette's reports warns that Terrell may possess enough information to be dangerous to our objectives. On Capitol Hill meanwhile, Terrell had been cooperating with Senator **JOHN** Kerry's staff. They were investigating North's network. Kerry says the memo may be evidence of a crime.

SENATOR JOHN KERRY

It was intended to deny him the ability to be an effective witness against them in whatever efforts might interfere with their goals and objectives.

JOHN MARTIN

(GRAPHICS) In another memo, North called Robinette a security officer for project Democracy. North and Secord's secret enterprise to supply the Contras. But Robinette insists he worked for Secord not North. You didn't call him on the phone to report back your information?

GLENN ROBINETTE

Never.

JOHN MARTIN

He wasn't your boss?

GLENN ROBINETTE

Never.

JOHN MARTIN

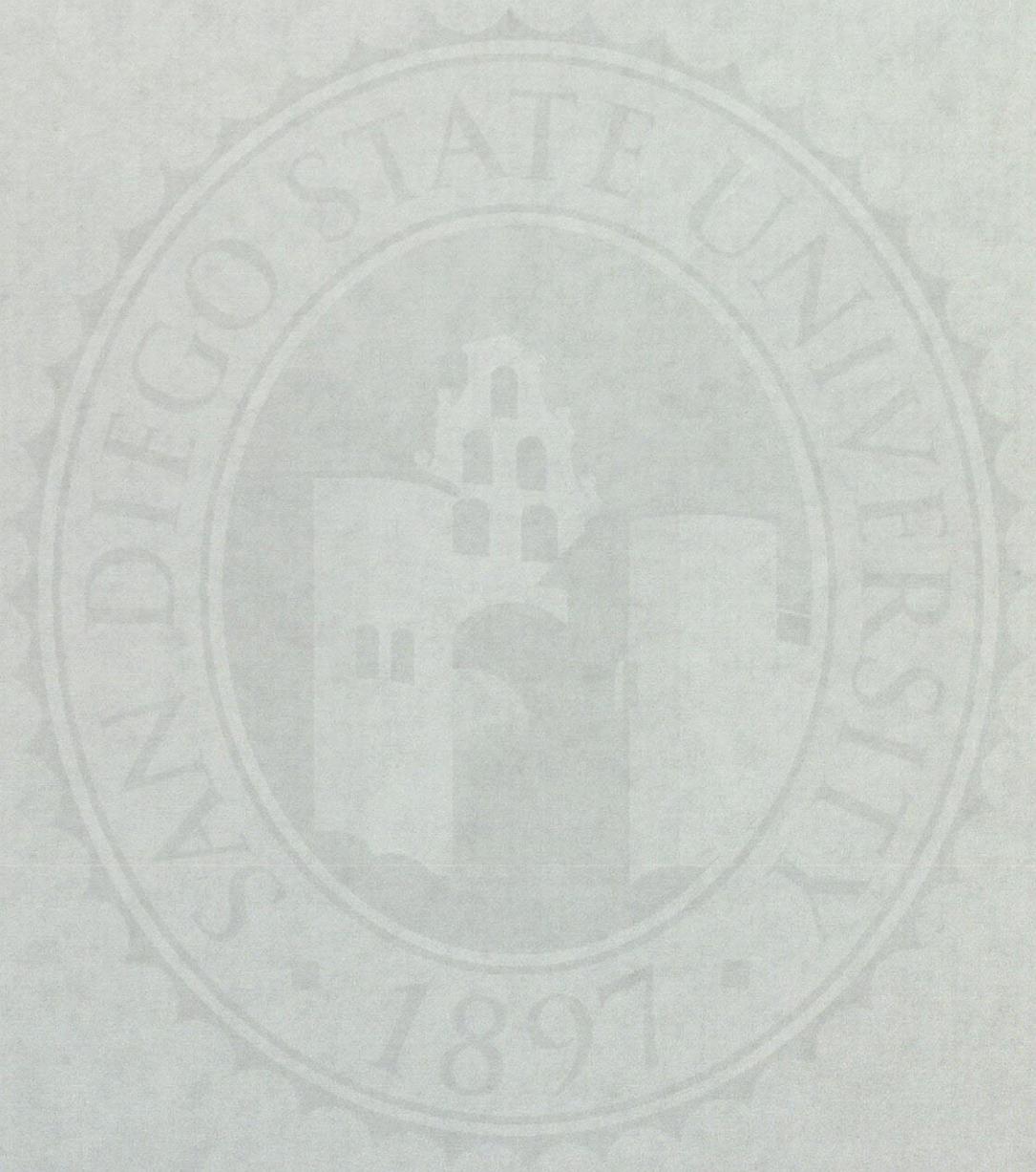
But North and Secord worked together and Robinette's report was found in North's safe. What do you make of this?

GLENN ROBINETTE

I don't know, very mysterious.

JOHN MARTIN

FBI assistant executive director Buck Revell said he suspected North was spying from inside the White House but was assured Robinette was working for Secord, a private citizen. (SU) If we'd had a document like this, said a senior FBI official, it would have caused additional concern. The special prosecutor is apparently looking at this document as possible evidence that Oliver North spied on his enemies and through Secord and Robinette tried to silenced them.



Document ID: WNT19880105

Library: NEWS-NY

Asset Type: Transcript

Air Date: 1988-01-05

----- Segment Number: 1 -----

Story Name: INVESTIGATION STARTED ON CAUSE OF TANK COLLAPSE AND OIL SPIL L

Air Date: 1988-01-05

Start Time: 00:00:00

End Time: 00:00:00

Run Time: 00:00:00

Anchor: PETER JENNINGS, NEW YORK, NY USA

Correspondent: JOHN MARTIN, WASHINGTON, DC USA

Content:

JOHN MARTIN

This is **JOHN MARTIN**. After three days there is still a mystery of what caused the oil tank to collapsed. Ashland Oil, which owns the tanks called it merely a failure today but didn't say why. (FISH) Another mystery is just how deadly this spill will be to fish and plant life. Today the company continued its cleanup. Trucks vacuumed oil from the water, small boats continues corralling the slick. The biggest problems, the oil is breaking into smaller and smaller globules escaping over dams and locks. (MAP) Down river East Liverpool, Ohio today shut off its water intake valves. An eight state monitoring commission predicts the oil will reach Wheeling, West Virginia in a day and a half, Cincinnati in 14 days and Louisville, Kentucky in 17 days. For now no one knows for certain if it will be destructive or benign when it reaches those cities. But experts believe there is little danger to the environment.

STEVE JARVELLA / EPA

It will have a minimal impact. In the long term, that is really something that we're going to have to study and evaluate.

JOHN MARTIN

The spill is relatively small in size, a million gallons and light grade oil compared to some ocean accidents. (OLD FTG) One tanker spilled 68 million gallons off France ten years. (SU) Even so, a million gallons will still hurt. Tonight the governor of Pennsylvania ordered an investigated and the EPA here says it is looking into whether Ashland violated the law requiring containment systems big enough to prevent a spill from reaching the environment. **JOHN MARTIN**, ABC News, Washington.