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FOIA MARKER

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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:

OA/ID Number: 90672
Folder ID Number: 90672-005

Folder Title:
Thursday, April 23, 1992 [3]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Letter	John M. Walker, Jr. to President Bush, Re: Request for note to friend; redaction. (1 pp.)	04/07/92	(b)(7)(c)	
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Washington, D.C.; redaction. (1 pp.)	04/23/92	(b)(7)(c)	
03. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Washington, D.C.; redactions. (1 pp.)	04/23/92	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, April 23, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML15892
OA/ID Number: 90672-005
Date Closed: 8/16/2024
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee
Processed by:
Processed by:



THE PRESIDENT

4-23-92

daily

Dear Glenn,

Judge John Waller brought me up to date, and I just wanted to check in and wish you well. I was glad to see you those two years ago; and now I want

to say hang in there, keep on giving us all that pride we feel when we see your wonderful, strong courageous spirit.

Good luck —

P.S. Here's how I look 2 years later

By Phil

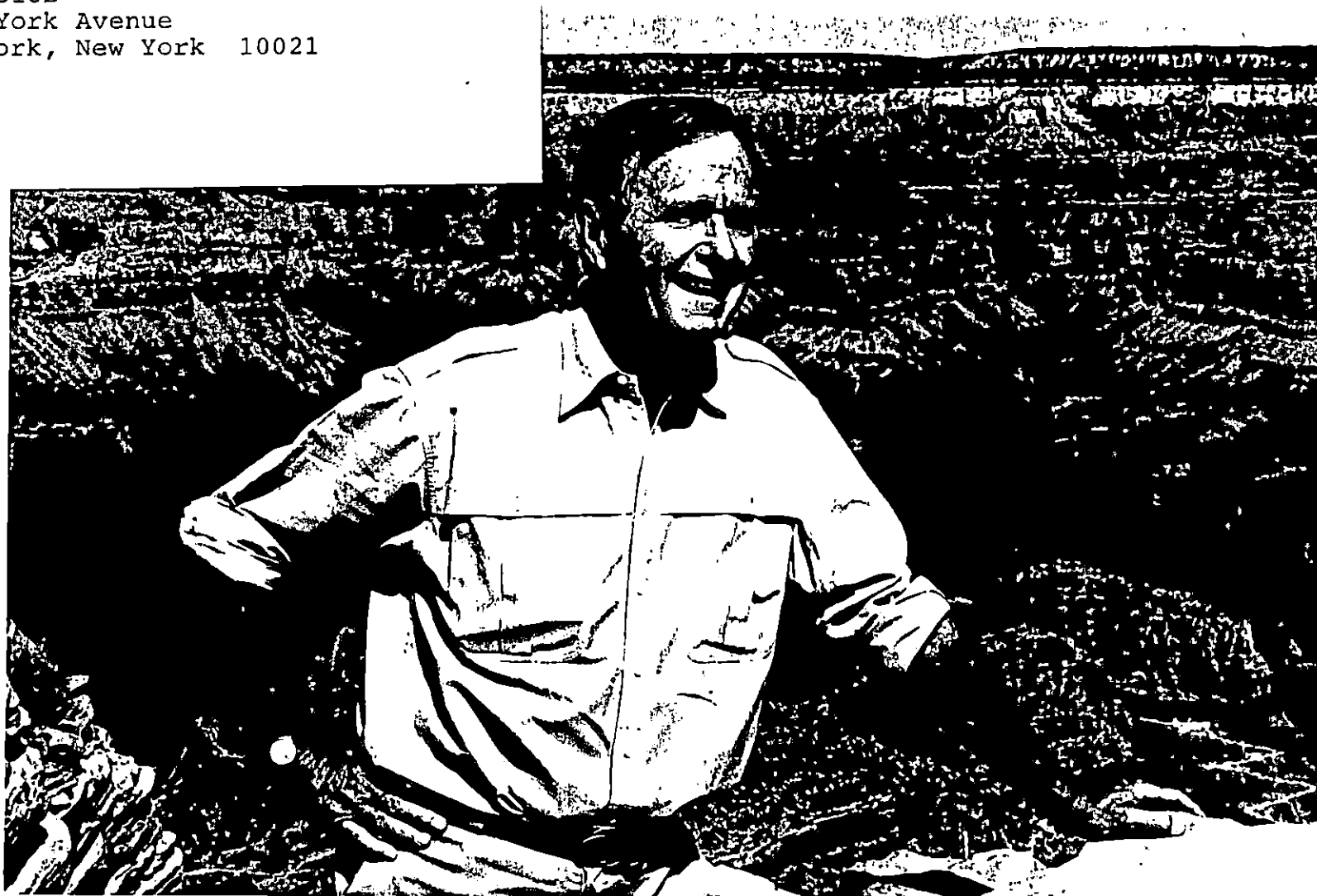
CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(2 copies)

Blind cc:
Judge Walker
(FYI)

Mr. Glenn Siegel
c/o Memorial Sloan-Kettering
Cancer Center
Room 518B
1275 York Avenue
New York, New York 10021

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Glenn Siegel
c/o Memorial Sloan-Kettering
Cancer Center
Room 518B
1275 York Avenue
New York, New York 10021



To my friend Glenn Siegel -
With warmest Best Wishes From One Who Admires
You so much - *Ron Bush* (signed
April 25-92)

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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01. Letter	John M. Walker, Jr. to President Bush, Re: Request for note to friend; redaction. (1 pp.)	04/07/92	(b)(7)(c)	

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Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
(b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
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(b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
(b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
(b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS

UNITED STATES COURTHOUSE

FOLLY SQUARE

NEW YORK, NY 10007

CHAMBERS OF

JOHN M. WALKER, JR.

CIRCUIT JUDGE

April 7, 1992

The Honorable and Mrs. George W. Bush
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President and Bar:

Two years ago you both were wonderful to meet with
Glenn Siegel, then 16 years old, who was battling cancer.
He was accompanied by his parents, Barbara and (b)(7)(C).

(b)(7)(C)

✓ The visit to the
White House meant everything to Glenn.

Glenn is now at a critical point in his treatment
at Memorial Hospital where he has gotten a bone marrow
transplant and will be hospitalized for the next two
months or so. The procedure is intensely painful and
itself is life-threatening, but could lead to his
conquering the illness.

✓ Glenn is a young man with tremendous courage and
will to live. He has also chosen to be an example to
others by sharing his experience in a series in the
Asbury Park Press (Sunday edition), Asbury Park, New
Jersey. I am enclosing the latest article in the
series.

If it would not be too much trouble, do you think
you could send him a note? It might help him in his
struggle against cancer in which the patient's
determination to live is so critical. I know it would
mean a great deal to Glenn to hear from you.

Warmest regards,



John M. Walker, Jr.

JMW:klb
enc.

SUNDAY

YOUR
COMPLETE
NEWSPAPER

ASBURY PARK PRESS

**BANKS
REBUILD**
Evaluation of
area banks
shows most
improving
financially,
but not all.
BUSINESS/B1

MARCH 29, 1992

SINCE 1879

A WISH TO TELL

'They said, 'Remember the sickest you've ever been? This will be 100,000 times worse. Remember the worst day of your life? This will be worse than the worst day of your life.'

Glenn Siegel

CANCER PATIENT, COMMENTING BEFORE BONE-MARROW TRANSPLANT



NOAH K. MURIN

Cancer patient Glenn Siegel in hospital bed at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, Manhattan. Nurse Lisa Truini checks his intravenous lines.

Cutting through pain to the marrow

By STEVE GIEGERICH
PRESS STAFF WRITER

Glenn Siegel has bone cancer, and he wants to help others understand. This is another in a series of occasional stories on Glenn's treatment and fulfilling his wish to tell.

GLENN SIEGEL didn't flinch when the doctors told him he was about to get as sick as he'd ever been. He remained steady when they said the pain would be unbearable. His parents cringed when the medical experts related that what was to follow could kill him. Glenn didn't waver.

They put a piece of paper in front of him, and he acknowledged he understood all that had been said by signing it. Just over a week later, he was moved from the fifth floor of

Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center in Manhattan.

When he arrived on the 19th floor, a nurse turned to Glenn's parents, Marv and Barbara Siegel. You might

want to give him a hug, she said, because it could be a long time before he gets another one. Glenn was violently ill; he couldn't stop vomiting. His parents hugged him anyway.

Ten days ago, the doctors showed up outside his room and used large syringes to remove a frozen substance from a sterilized plastic

Please see Marrow, page A15

A WISH TO TELL

Marrow

From page A1

The fluid was immediately injected into the catheter implanted in Glenn's abdomen.

He could feel it coursing through his body. The garlicky smell and taste made him nauseous. Glenn didn't care. Not about the nausea or the smell or the dire warnings by the doctors.

For Glenn Siegel, only one thing mattered at 2 o'clock on the afternoon of March 19: At last the time had come for him to grab the brass ring.

"No one can really explain how, in just six weeks, Glenn's bone-marrow transplant went from remote possibility to reality.

The doctors credit science and modern medical technology. A year of massive chemotherapy, coupled with surgery and radiation, had finally taken hold.

That could be part of it. The other ingredients may not be quite so easy to explain. Start with a positive attitude, sheer determination and stubbornness. Glenn Siegel doesn't know how to give up.

Then there's the impact of prayers and support for an 18-year-old who chose to publicly share the ordeal of battling a rare form of bone cancer known as Ewing's sarcoma. The cards and letters now number nearly a thousand. Often they are delivered by the box load. "You can't know how much it means to him," said Marv Siegel.

Finally, there is this: No one rolls his eyes at the word "miracle."

Just two months ago, lying in a fifth-

floor room in the pediatric ward at Sloan-Kettering, Glenn Siegel needed one. The focus then was not on a transplant, but on simply getting through the pain. It had started last November, just after he'd returned from receiving an innovative form of radiation therapy in California, and continued unabated into the new year. A tumor had to be surgically removed from one lung; the mysterious "spots" in his shoulder and chest indicated more problems could lie ahead.

Then, gradually, there was improvement. Glenn, who knows his body's every nuance, sensed it first. "I felt I might be getting ready and asked the doctors to check." Marv Siegel hedged. He wanted to believe a transplant was imminent but, after four years of dealing with the disease, he knew how quickly cancer can turn hope into despair.

Still, there was no denying that Glenn was regaining his appetite and, not coincidentally, his strength. In late February, the doctors told Glenn what he already knew: "I was ready."

Because each patient in the Marrow Transplant Unit on Sloan-Kettering's 19th floor requires such specialized care, only seven rooms are available. The Siegels, buoyed by the doctors' decision to go ahead with the transplant, felt their joy turn to apprehension when told that Glenn might not get a room till summer. The hope-despair lesson again. Three days later, the hospital called back. There had been a cancellation; a room was available immediately.

Glenn began preparing for his transplant two years ago, when the cancer that struck before his freshman year of high school went into remission. Anticipating a possible relapse, Glenn harvested his own bone marrow. It was a prescient decision — one that spared him the agonizing process of later having to find a suitable donor.

Before proceeding with the transplant, the doctors sat down with their patient and his parents.

"They said, 'Remember the sickest you've ever been? This will be 100,000 times worse. Remember the worst day of your life? This will be worse than the worst day of your life,'" Glenn said.

I can't really say I'm glad to be here. But I am glad I made it to this point.

Glenn Siegel
CANCER
PATIENT

The doctors then steered the conversation into a discussion of pain. Then death. "It was a little scary" for Glenn and even more so for his parents. Barbara Siegel's heart was in her throat. The doctors pushed the consent forms toward Glenn. He signed them and went home to Freehold Township for the weekend.

It will be a long time before he goes home again. Eight weeks, 10 weeks. Maybe longer. However, when he finally gets home, Glenn has no plans of returning to Sloan-Kettering. Except on an outpatient basis that will only confirm his continued good health.

After his weekend at home, Glenn returned to the fifth-floor pediatric ward of Sloan-Kettering on March 10. Step number one of the transplant process was full-body radiation — four times a day, for four consecutive days, standing perfectly still, upright in a radiation chamber with only a small bicycle seat for support. By the second day of radiation, the nausea set in and wouldn't go away.

On Friday the 13th, the doctors moved him to the 19th floor and the Marrow Transplant Unit. It's a place described by its head nurse, Karen Smith, as being "for people with a will to live; the people who do what they have to in order to keep living."

A place, then, for Glenn Siegel. Placed in a sterile room, Glenn underwent the final pre-transplant procedure — three days of chemotherapy. Not just any chemo, but the most toxic dose science has developed.

That first night on the 19th floor was tough for everyone. When their son first got sick, Marv and Barbara Siegel had promised Glenn that he would never spend a night alone in a hospital. For four years they kept that promise. On March 13, the promise was broken. Visiting hours in the Mar-

row Transplant Unit are noon to 8 p.m. No exceptions. Not even for promises.

"It was very difficult saying good-bye," said Barbara Siegel.

The reason for the unit's strict enforcement of the rule has to do with the importance of maintaining a sterile environment for bone-marrow transplant patients.

That's because the patient is defenseless. The full-body radiation kills some of the body's cells, cancerous and otherwise; the ultra-toxic chemotherapy (Melphalen) takes care of the rest. Good cells are wiped out with the bad. The radiation and chemotherapy can't differentiate between cancer cells and the immune-producing cells of bone marrow, as well as blood platelets and red and white blood cells.

When all the patient's "active cells" have been obliterated, the "clean" bone marrow is injected into his system. Slowly, the uninfected bone marrow begins producing cancer-free platelets and red and white blood cells. Because a patient is so vulnerable to infection while the marrow slowly replenishes itself, a sterile living environment is imperative.

Glenn is well aware of what happens should something go wrong with any one of the procedure's three major components — radiation, chemotherapy and transplant. The prognosis, he said, is very simple: "You die."

Which is why he really hasn't given much thought to the fact that from now until at least Memorial Day he'll be living in a germ-free cubicle, where the only amenities are a television, VCR, Nintendo game and a "panoramic" view of the East River and, beyond it, Queens.

So far, Glenn hasn't felt well enough to take advantage of the benefits that come with Room 5 of the transplant unit. The doctors hadn't sugarcoated a thing. "It's everything they said it would be," Glenn acknowledged.

The pain is often unbearable. But not as bad as that he experienced earlier this year when it racked his entire body. "We didn't know what that pain was. This time we know what causes it," Glenn said.

"It makes it a little easier when you know," Barbara Siegel added.

The worst of the post-transplant pain comes from the mouth sores that are always a byproduct of chemotherapy. In this case, the mouth sores have been just as advertised. "The worst ever," said Glenn, echoing his physicians.

Every aspect of Glenn's life is dictated by the mouth sores. Last week, blood from the sores in his throat seeped into his stomach, which instinctively regurgitated it. Communication is nearly impossible because the sores garble his speech.

The simplest acts are traumatic. A regularly scheduled dose of liquid Tylenol was held in the mouth for an eternity. When, finally, he swallowed it, the act transformed Glenn's face into a mask of agony. Fortunately, there's not much to ingest. Glenn's last solid meal was two weeks ago, the next one could be in another two weeks.

This is what Glenn Siegel has looked forward to since his remission ended a year ago. Reminded of that, he glanced through the double-paned windows toward the Queens skyline, primarily comprised of three smokestacks.

"I can't really say I'm glad to be here," he said. "But I am glad I made it to this point. I thought eventually I'd get here. That's why I wanted to get through everything, the pain and everything else."

A calendar is mounted on the far glass wall of Glenn's room. On it, an X marks each day during what Glenn truly believes will be his final stay at Sloan-Kettering. At this point, nobody is willing to hazard how many X's will be on that calendar before Glenn departs. It's still too early to even think about; there is still much for his bone marrow to accomplish.

In the transplant unit, boredom is a good sign. It means nothing horrendous is happening with the patient. Glenn Siegel is 100,000 times sicker than he's ever been before. There's nothing horrendous about that; it's just what the doctor ordered.

In fact, Glenn thinks that if he weren't so sick and miserable, he'd be pretty bored up there on the 19th floor. The Queens skyline notwithstanding.

How to lend a hand

For those who wish to help the family of Glenn Siegel, two organizations have established funds in his name:

The Rainbow Foundation

P.O. Box 545

New Monmouth 07748

(The organization will forward cards and letters of encouragement to Glenn, and is also taking donations.)

For donations only:

The Emmanuel Cancer Foundation

1150 Raritan Road

Suite 101

Cranford 07016

(Checks should specify that the money is for Glenn Siegel.)

Asbury Park Press graphic

Only well-scrubbed get in germ-free chamber

By STEVE GIEGERICH
PRESS STAFF WRITER

NEW YORK — These days, Barbara Siegel has two choices when she wants to visit her son. She can stand outside his room and shout through the doorway. Or she can cross the threshold after spending 20 minutes dressing for the occasion.

Only someone like the late Howard Hughes, who developed an intense aversion to germs, could probably find anything utopian about Glenn Siegel's

home for the next 10 weeks.

When it comes to sterile environments, the Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center's Marrow Transplant Unit, which opened in 1978, is about as clean as it gets.

Home for Glenn is a cubicle on the 19th floor. To the east lies the borough of Queens; the west and south walls are glass panes. Along the north wall, parallel to his bed, is a sophisticated filtration system that circulates a steady flow of purified air.

The system allows the air in the room to flow out so that germs from visitors standing in the doorway do not reach the patient.

Crossing the threshold is another story.

Before entering Glenn's room, visitors have to follow a 19-point scrub-down checklist identical to that followed by operating room personnel. The hands are scrubbed 20 times on each side, as are the wrists and the lower arms. The fingertips get 15

scrubs each. Then a tiny, shovel-like device is used to dig out any dirt that might be under the fingernails.

Barbara Siegel figures it will be a long time before she gets a manicure.

Once the scrub down is completed, the visitor dons a surgical gown, cap and mask. Two pairs of rubber gloves are then pulled over the hands. Surgical "booties," used to cover a visitor's shoes, are worn even in the Marrow Transplant Unit's common areas.

Once in the room, Glenn's parents, doctors and nurses cannot turn their backs on him or breathe in a direction away from the Laminar Air Flow system. A third glove or a special cloth must be used if, for some reason, there is a need to touch the patient. Visitors, with the exception of the doctors and nurses, are discouraged from doing so and are asked to remain seated in a chair across the room.

Before they were brought to his room, all of Glenn's clothes were put into one sterile bag, then another, and then placed inside a sterile, plastic container. Then that container was placed in a sterilization chamber to kill any germs.

Each patient has a nurse assigned 24 hours a day. The nurses are notable not only for their efficiency, but also for the upbeat attitude and cheerfulness they bring to what can often be a dreary and deadly serious environment.

"We try to personalize it as much as we can," said Karen Smith, the head nurse in the Marrow Transplant Unit.

But the fact remains, the 19th floor of Sloan-Kettering is not a place anyone could particularly enjoy.

Unless they happen to be Howard Hughes.

Blood platelet donors sought

PRESS STAFF REPORT

PREPARATION for a bone-marrow transplant — full-body radiation followed by toxic chemotherapy wipes out the body's immune system and leaves the patient with an initial need for blood.

Specifically, Glenn Siegel needs platelets, that part of the blood that helps clotting. Without the platelet transfusions, Glenn could bleed internally.

Blood donated for extraction of platelets has to be given at Memorial Sloan-Kettering Cancer Center, New York's Upper East Side. The hospital is on York Avenue, one block east of First Avenue, at 68th Street.

Anyone interested in donating platelets is asked to call (212) 639-7644 for further information and appointments.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Mary-

dy

Glenn Siegel
C/o Memorial Sloan-Kettering
Cancer Center

1275 York Ave.

Rm 518B

NY NY 10021



April 23, 1992

RZ:

Please call Judge John Walker just to be sure Gelnnsiegel is still alive and to see where best to mail the attached.

thanks.

gb .

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Thursday, April 23, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
✓Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Sherrie Rollins	West Wing
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)



First lady defends her children in Seattle visit

By Eric M. Stahl
The News Tribune

First lady Barbara Bush made a whirlwind visit to Seattle Tuesday afternoon, discussing children — her own and the nation's — during a stop at a center for abused kids.

At a branch of Childhaven in south Seattle, Bush reacted angrily when asked about a story in Monday's New York Times stating in part that business dealings by the Bush children could embarrass the president in his re-election bid.

"Absolutely the most outrageous, slanderous piece I ever saw," she said.

Bush added that while she and her husband expect scrutiny of their personal life and business dealings, "to falsify stories about our children is absolutely outrageous and I don't like it one bit."

"We have the most decent, honest children in the whole world," she said.

The story suggested past allegations of wrongdoing by their son Neil Bush —

reprimanded by federal regulators for his role in a failed savings and loan — and by other family members could reignite as campaign issues later this year.

Earlier in the day, Bush stumped for her husband at a \$1,000-a-plate fundraiser at Seattle's Westin Hotel.

She then visited Childhaven, a day-care center for about 75 abused and neglected children between the ages of 1 month and 5 years. The program provides supervision for the youngsters and helps their parents find counseling or treatment for substance abuse.

Bush praised the center, saying it works because "the whole goal of this program is to get the family back together."

Across the street from Childhaven, two registered nurses from Seattle, Margie White and Terry Morrison, protested Bush's visit. They carried signs claiming the Bush administration's support of con-

Please see Bush, B3

Bush

Continued from B1

tinued sanctions against Iraq has made that country unable to provide safe drinking water for its citizens.

"We think she should care about Iraqi children, too," White said.

The visit also seemed ironic to at least one of the state's advocates for children, Peter Berliner of the Children's Alliance.

He argued the Bush administration has done little to help alleviate the conditions that often lead to child abuse — the lack of affordable housing and day care, declining family incomes and dwindling federal funds for social programs.

"We've been looking for some new initiatives during this campaign season from President Bush, but we have yet to see any of substance," Berliner said in a phone interview Tuesday.

Bush defended her husband's record on such domestic issues — and echoed his explanation for why many of his proposals are thwarted.

"We've got a good education bill and we've got a good medical bill,

but the Democrat-controlled Congress is not acting on it, for very obvious reasons," she said.

"That's the answer to it. It's very frustrating, believe me, when you get elected and then the Congress won't act."

She said the president has increased funding for the Head Start program for pre-schoolers by 127 percent since taking office.

Bush also said adults need to set a better example for children, and she praised a group of single parents with kids in the Childhaven program for seeking help for themselves and their families.

Prior to meeting with reporters, Bush spent several minutes in a playroom with nine infants and toddlers enrolled at Childhaven.

The youngsters gave the first lady less scrutiny than did the press — though perhaps no more deference. One child tugged eagerly at Bush's trademark pearls, while Bush graciously accepted a ball of turquoise Play-Doh from another.

Bush attended a dinner in Portland Tuesday night and was scheduled to appear in Salt Lake City today before returning to Washington, D.C.



Peter Haley/The News Tribune

Barbara Bush chats with children at a south Seattle branch of Childhaven, a day-care center for abused and neglected children.

Barbara Bush shows she's the real thing

Seattle Times
4/15/92



Betty Udson / Seattle Times

"He knows they're real!" exclaims first lady Barbara Bush, as Daniel grabs her faux-pearl necklace during her tour of the Eli Creekmore Memorial Branch of Childhaven, just south of White Center.

First lady has common touch

Seattle-area visit demonstrates warm style, care for children

by Maria Williams
Times staff reporter



Barbara Bush always makes a point of telling reporters she's "a lady, not a leader." And it just goes without saying that a lady does not engage in politics.

Even if she is stumping for her husband, the president of the United States.

So it was in Seattle yesterday, where the first lady was hostess-to-those-with-the-most-ess at a \$1,000-a-plate Bush/Quayle '92 luncheon fund-raiser.

"Oh, I told people George is by far the most able and decent man they could elect president, but mostly I talked about the children and Millie," Barbara Bush said during an interview following the noon event, which was closed to the media. "You know, I'm very excited about Millie's book coming out in German."

Millie is the Bushes' springer spaniel. And her book, "Millie's Book: As dictated to Barbara Bush," is selling far better than her master's domestic agenda.

Which is one reason Barbara Bush is critical to her husband's political future.

George Bush has been on the public scene longer than any of the five Democratic presidential candidates or the rabble-rousing Republican running against him. But he is losing his appeal. Once considered by a

majority of voters to be an elite, but one who understood the everyman, Bush increasingly is thought of as out of touch.

On the defensive, his staged efforts to look like a regular guy — buying sweat socks at J.C. Penney in Maryland or hoisting a beer frosty one in a Texas saloon — wind looking to many to be forced and silly.

Barbara Bush, on the other hand, convincing throughout even the most carefully choreographed media appearances — talent she demonstrated yesterday during visit to Childhaven, a local nonprofit organization for abused and neglected children.

Arriving at the Eli Creekmore branch Childhaven wearing a conservative gray a

Please see **FIRST LADY** on B 2

1012

Barbara Bush's sincerity warms husband's image

FIRST LADY

continued from B 1

pink suit and her signature triple-strand faux pearl necklace, Barbara Bush nevertheless seemed remarkably like the day-care workers and parents in blue jeans and sweats. Or at least like grandma come to visit.

"Uh, oh! Uh, oh! Who do we have?" she asked, just managing to avoid a collision with a careening 1-year-old as she entered a playroom.

"And my, what a nice, big dog," she said, reaching to pet a shaggy black beast flopped in the middle of the floor. "Does this dog have a name?"

The dog had, in fact, just been given a new name in honor of the day's very important visitor.

"Eleanor Roosevelt Kennedy Bush? Are her politics changing?" joked the first lady. "Not that it matters, of course. Does it, Ellie?"

Had the room not been packed with Secret Service agents, press handlers, reporters and photographers, it would have been easy to forget Bush resides at 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.

"Yum, yum, yum. I can make pancakes," she said, mashing bright blue Play-Doh between her palms. "Watch me take a bite. Oh no, don't you take a bite! This is make-believe."

More often than not, such scenes are entirely make-believe. But Barbara Bush is sincere, her affection for the children and her concern for their

welfare a matter of instinct instead of political expediency.

"Don't you have anyone helping you raise your children?" she later asked a young, single mother. "You don't have a husband? You don't have any family?"

"Oh, but that's hard. That's very hard to bring children alone. But don't you get discouraged. Our children are first priority."

She speaks first as a mother, then a grandmother, and lastly as the wife of the president, pointing the similarities between herself and the least fortunate parent — the feelings of having held children, struggling with troubled children, or losing a child.

"I really felt like she understood," said Angela McNeil, a 30-year-old single mother being stepped at Childhaven. "What she said, it made me feel like I had to keep trying."

Barbara Bush's soft words of encouragement are a striking interpoint to the president's tests that families matter. She presents herself as an involved, concerned, humanitarian seeking to build that kinder, gentler nation her husband promised, all the while ensuring the public that she exercises no real political power although she admits to having its ear.

"I came here because this program is what I believe in, not because I thought it might win votes," she said. "The whole thing is to get families back together. To be there for all the children who need help."

"And that is what my husband's administration wants to

29/2

Seattle P-1 4/15/92

First lady decries new personal scrutiny

Angry Barbara Bush defends family on quick visit to Seattle

By Joel Connelly
P-I National Correspondent

First lady Barbara Bush, on a political fund-raising mission of \$1,000-a-plate events in Seattle and Portland, yesterday defended her husband and decried what she called "outrageous, slanderous" reports about her sons' business dealings.

"To falsify stories about our children is outrageous. I don't like it one bit," she told interviewers.

"We have the most decent children in the world," added the first lady, a mother of four sons and a daughter.

She was angry about a story in Monday's New York Times. The newspaper reported that the Bush family may face the kind of personal scrutiny that has confronted Democratic front-runner Gov. Bill



Clinton and his wife, Hillary.

The story noted a Bush son, Neil Bush, was reprimanded by federal regulators over his role as a

director in Colorado's failed Silverado Savings and Loan, and that another son, John Ellis Bush, and associates did not repay a loan used to buy a Miami office building. The federal government had to repay more than \$4 million.

She spoke to about 150 Republican faithful at a Bush-Quayle campaign luncheon at the Westin Hotel, and later toured Childhaven's Eli Creekmore memorial care center for abused and neglected children.

The first lady, dubbed "America's Grandmother" for her popularity and work with children, seemed upset at the fire being

See **FIRST LADY**, Page A5



PAUL JOSEPH BROWN/P-I

Barbara Bush pays a visit to the Eli Creekmore branch of Childhaven but one of the young charges at the care center seems wary of her visitor.

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First lady: News media need to look on nation's brighter side, she says

From Page 1

directed at the White House.

"I don't like to be in Washington (D.C.) very much with all that ugly criticism," she said.

The first lady was reminded that her approval ratings stand at 75 percent compared with only about 40 percent of Americans who approve of her husband's performance. "Why not?" she shot back. "What decisions do I make that offend anybody?"

Barbara Bush described her role in the White House as "being supportive" of the president. Asked what she told GOP contributors about her husband, she added: "I told them he was by far the most able, decent and competent candidate in the race."

She contended that "things are getting pretty good" as the country pulls out of recession. And she criticized the media for putting a gloomy spin on the news. "If I woke up and felt like some of the columnists every day, I wouldn't get up," she said.

Asked how she reconciles her support for children's services with her husband's recent approval of a Wisconsin welfare program — President Bush granted a waiver that allows the state to cut benefits to mothers who have additional children while on welfare — she responded:

"Let them try something new. We certainly are not doing well with what we have right now. . . . If anyone here in this room thinks the present system is a success, raise your hand."

Bush blamed the Democrat-controlled Congress for not acting on her husband's welfare reform proposals. She also steered around questions about denial of federal aid to family planning centers that offer abortion counseling.

"We're very interested in family planning, but not abortion," she said.

The first lady demonstrated at Childhaven why she excels at meetings with children and troubled adults, events at which her husband appears awkward and is prone to make goofy and embarrassing remarks.

She approached a little girl named Ashley, who was playing behind a slide. The tot ignored her and climbed up the back of the slide. Bush took no offense, and was obviously charmed at the little girl's energy.

"Oh! Oh! Look at this bravery," said the first lady. "Look at her go. Look at her go!"

Bush met with four adults who are part of a program to improve the home environment of children who spend their days at Childhaven.

"Do you have a husband?" the first lady asked Alice Humphrey, a mother of four boys.

"I'm separated," replied Humphrey.

"That's hard," responded Bush.

The first lady asked if the parents were receiving any help

from former partners in raising their children. They shook their heads.

Bush spent less than 10 minutes with the parents. "I hate to leave," she said. "We're just getting started."

The first lady's events at Childhaven were largely for media consumption. The \$1,000 luncheon at the Westin Hotel was, by contrast, held behind closed doors.

A \$1,000 dinner last night in Portland, and a fund-raiser today in Salt Lake City, are similarly closed to news coverage.

Her visit follows a pattern of recent Northwest appearances. While presidents of yesteryear undertook such non-political duties as inspecting Grand Coulee Dam or dedicating the Hanford N-reactor, President Bush, Barbara Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle come almost exclusively to raise money.

The president appeared at a recent event that put \$750,000 in the coffers of Oregon's GOP Sen. Bob Packwood. He spoke at a 1990 Portland breakfast for gubernatorial hopeful Dave Frohnmayer.

Quayle squeezed in a fund-raising reception last December during a Portland trip during which he received an award from the Congressional Medal of Honor Society. Barbara Bush spoke at a 1990 luncheon for Republican Rep. John Miller.

But Childhaven was delighted to get the first lady's attention. The organization recently received a federal Head Start grant for a parent-child program.

"Mrs. Bush being here calls the whole world's attention to what we do," said Erica Christenson, program director at the Eli Creekmore center.

Alice Humphrey was impressed by her brief encounter with the first lady. "I felt relaxed around her," Humphrey said. "She seemed like a real fun person."

The luncheon at the Westin Hotel earlier in the day attracted such GOP money men as timber executive George Weyerhaeuser and PACCAR Chairman Charles Pigott.

"I've looked to Republican presidents since Herbert Hoover," said Lucille Lefever of Klickitat County. She said Hoover, who was defeated by Democrat Franklin D. Roosevelt in 1932 when the country was in the throes of the Depression, would have been able to solve the economic problems of his time had he been re-elected.

But at least some guests were mainly attracted by the first lady.

"Children and their welfare are very much part of her personal interest," said Wally Toner, a political consultant usually associated with Democrats such as ex-City Councilman Sam Smith. Toner is immediate past president of the Childhaven board.

■ P-I Reporter Steve Goldsmith contributed to this report.

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...R1 THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992 B9

PROFESSIONAL FOOTBALL

Bushes Give Redskins Presidential Treatment

By Richard Justice
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Washington Redskins celebrated one of the traditions of a championship season yesterday when President and Mrs. Bush hosted the traditional Rose Garden ceremony. But the hometown team got the hometown treatment that included not only the usual speeches and exchange of gifts, but also a barbecue and a three-hour evening that included Bush and various Redskins in contests of horseshoes, putting and free-throw shooting.

Bush saluted the Redskins as "the flagship franchise of the NFL since 1937" and had special words for Super Bowl MVP Mark Rypien, wide receiver Art Monk, Coach Joe Gibbs and General Manager Charley Casserly for their work in football and the community.

"America loves the Redskins and we're proud to have you here," Bush said.

The Redskins presented Bush with a jersey and autographed ball and kidded him for his statements before the Redskins-Houston Oilers game that he was rooting for the Oilers.

"It's not the blue and white of the Oilers, but it's close," Rypien said in handing the jersey to Bush.

Bush responded: "I could have gone all night without being reminded of that."

Defensive end Charles Mann handed the autographed ball to Bush and said: "We signed this after the Houston game."

Gibbs thanked Bush for the kind words and added with a smile: "In the president's defense, I think he came over to the Redskins' side. The reason we were inside so long before coming out is that Barbara was trying to get the hog nose off his face. I think he has come over."

The Bushes mingled with players and team officials for more than an hour, then organized a horseshoe tournament that ended with him and an aide defeating Redskins Don Warren and assistant coach Don Breaux. Punter Kelly Goodburn won the free-throw shooting contest and running back Earnest Byner took the putting competition, and all received presidential gifts.

Casserly and his staff interrupted their draft preparations to spend the evening at the White House. But they'll be back in their film rooms this morning preparing for Sunday's draft.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

The Washington Times

SPORTS

THURSDAY

Value in backup Humphries slips as Redskins seek a deal

By Dave Fav
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Washington Redskins enter Sunday's NFL draft with 12 selections, two in the first round and one in every other but the fifth. They would like to fill that void before the fifth round arrives late Sunday or early Monday morning.

The logical way to do it: Trade fallen-out-of-favor quarterback Stan Humphries to a club in need. The chances of doing it? Slim, and getting slimmer.

An unscientific survey of NFL teams that appear to need an experienced backup quarterback resulted in a surprising lack of interest in Humphries, a Redskin since he was taken in the sixth round of the 1988 draft out of Northeast Louisiana.

There are reports the Redskins wanted as high as a second-round pick for him but would settle for a third. There was one report that San Diego had offered a fifth-round choice some time ago, but that offer has been withdrawn.

"I don't think we've talked with

the Redskins in months, at least not about Humphries," a Chargers spokesman said. "When the offer was made we were short in numbers. Now we have four guys in camp.

"Besides, we've just finished our minicamp for quarterbacks, and he's missed all that. To bring him in now would mean cutting into the time other guys would get just so we could take a good look at him. I'm not sure [general manager Bobby Beathard] would want to do that now."

That could be nothing more than smoke screen because this is, after

all, the Week of the Big Lie. Nob is willing to honestly say w/ player they want in the draft or w their most acute need is for fea: tipping off teams.

"The only people I've talked to week is the media," said one gen-manager.

Humphries was untested until third game of the 1990 season, w a knee injury to starter Mark Ry suddenly thrust him into the s light. It was an opportunity to v

see DRAFT, page D6



Lending the Prez a hand

Redskins cornerback Darrell Green throws a chair into a tree on the South Lawn of the White House to try to dislodge a football belonging to President Bush's 7-year-old grandson, Sammy LeBlond. The ball got stuck in the tree during a barbecue for the Super Bowl champs there yesterday. Story, D6.

Photo by Cathaleen Curtiss/
The Washington Times

10/2

Redskins, Bushes dodge raindrops

By Dave Fay
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

They came, ate, drank, pitched horseshoes, putted golf balls, shot baskets, posed for pictures — but mostly they dodged raindrops and had a lot of fun.

George and Barbara Bush, of 1600 Pennsylvania Ave. NW, Washington, hosted a barbecue on the South Lawn of the White House last night for the Super Bowl champion Washington Redskins. They could do nothing, however, about the rain that dampened clothing but did nothing to dampen spirits.

Redskins owner Jack Kent Cooke was not present, but he was one of very few members of the Redskins' official family who was absent. Every player who could make it, the entire front office, medical, training and equipment staffs attended.

"This was nothing like the last time we were here," said one, referring to the 1988 Super Bowl championship. Ronald Reagan hosted the team right after the welcome home parade, but that was in February and there was little chance for a barbecue.

In his Rose Garden remarks, President Bush made no reference to his comments early last season hyping his hometown team, the Houston Oilers, as the best in the NFL. The Redskins later beat Houston 16-13 in overtime and went on to finish 17-2 en route to the Super Bowl.

"Welcome to the White House at last," Bush said of the belated ceremony, noting that how the Redskins do "is a barometer of how Washington feels on a Monday morning." He added, "We're proud to have you here."

Mark Rypien, the Super Bowl MVP quarterback, presented the Bushes with Redskins jerseys and semi-apologized "because they're not the blue and white of the Oilers."

Defensive end Charles Mann presented them with an autographed ball, insisting it was the game ball the de-

feated Oilers had given to the Redskins. It was not.

The First Family and the Redskins repaired to the South Lawn for the barbecue and games, but both soon were interrupted by a massive downpour. Aides rushed about urging guests to make for the White House.

"Go on, get in there," said Mrs. Bush, approaching one small group which seemed hesitant to enter the First Residence.

"We're used to this — we practice in it all the time," came the polite reply.

"That's nice," the First Lady said, "but the girls don't. Now grab a plate, fill it and go inside."

Down by the horseshoe pits, the president and several others had taken refuge under a tree to escape the rain, perhaps forgetting Boy Scout training about trees and storms. A single bolt of lightning flashed and several bolted for the White House, but not the president.

"I never felt so safe in my life," said WTTG-Ch. 5 sports anchor Steve Buckhantz, who was standing beside the president under the tree. "I figured I was never going to get it with him standing there. We had a nice little conversation, somebody brought over an umbrella and he gave it to two ladies who were standing there."

"We kept talking and standing there until an aide walked up and said, 'Mr. President, your wife wants to see you inside.' He moved then," Buckhantz said.

The showers continued off and on, food and drink were served off and on, games were played off and on. Meanwhile, the First Pooches — Katie, the golden retriever, and Ranger, the son of highly successful author Millie — romped in the rain, snapping up any scrap that had been left behind.

"It's definitely better than the 5 O'Clock Club," said offensive tackle Joe Jacoby.

Thu 23-Apr-92 0:28 EDT

BUSH WAITS OUT RAINSTORM UNDER TREE

WASHINGTON, Reuter - President Bush attempted to wait out a rainstorm under a tree on the White House back lawn Wednesday night even though a guest thought he saw a flash of lightning, a witness said.

Bush was playing host to the Washington Redskins, winner of this year's professional football Super Bowl, with a barbecue and was joining in a game of horseshoes when a spring storm erupted.

The president moved underneath a tree to escape the rain. He was joined by Redskins player Charles Mann, Fox Television sports anchor Steve Buckhantz, two women guests and four Secret Service agents.

Buckhantz, in a report on his evening sportscast and in a subsequent telephone interview with Reuters, said that as the rain fell and everyone was getting wet a flash erupted and that Mann thought it was lightning.

He said Mann told the others, "I'm getting out of here," and got out from under the tree.

But Buckhantz said he never heard thunder and for that reason thought it might have been a camera flash.

He said, "I turned around to see what the president was doing," and since Bush wasn't leaving, he decided to stay as well.

After five minutes a maintenance worker came out with an umbrella and Bush and his guests stood under it for about five more minutes. During that time Buckhantz said Bush joked that "we called the tower at National Airport and they said that after 6 p.m. there's a zero chance of rain."

Then a Secret Service agent appeared and said to Bush, "Mrs. Bush thinks you should come inside now," and the president went inside the White House with his guests, Buckhantz said.

He said it could have been that the Secret Service knew there was no lightning with the storm.

But he said what went through his mind was, "You're standing next to the most important man in the world and you're hoping lightning doesn't strike this tree."

HOUSTON

Lifestyle & Entertainment



Maxine Mesinger
Big City Beat

Bush expected for golf tourney

HAVE tongue, will tattle: You can expect a formal announcement any deadline that President George Bush will be here to play in golfing buddy Doug Sanders' annual Kingwood Celebrity Classic May 15-16 at Deerwood Country Club; Bush played in the tourney last year. Chances are good the president will attend one of the Classic's charity dinners during the event. And here's a whisper that may never be a general release: A separate trip to the links could very easily occur during Bush's visit; the players would be Bush, Sanders, Arnold Palmer and Clint Eastwood. Clint is no stranger to Doug's annual tourney — he's been here four or five times. As you may know, Bush has invited Doug and wife Scotty to his and Barbara's Kennebunkport abode in Maine so the fellas could play golf; he also has invited Doug to the White House to play. They were playing golf together long before Bush became president. . . . This town's bachelors have gone bananas in trying to outdo each other when proposing marriage. The latest is attorney Gary Lewis' proposal to attorney Joani Gaylor. When Joani went to pick up her new Lexus, Gary went with her. Earlier he had plotted with the dealership to hide the engagement ring in the car, saying the dealers were giving a piece of jewelry with every new car. She found the ring, Gary proposed, and they'll wed later this year. P.S. Don't misread this item — the jewelry-with-the-car gag was just that, a gag for the occasion. . . .

Howell Properties has just listed Mayor Bob and wife Elyse Lanier's huge home on River Oaks Boulevard. The gardens alone are worth a fortune. The Laniers have been talking for more than a year of selling the house and moving to the Huntingdon, the poshest condominium high-rise in town. . . . Jill Adels and Carrabba's Woodway general manager, Marty Reichenenthal, became engaged on a recent trip to Las Vegas to celebrate the 60th birthday of her dad, Dr. Morton Adels. Also in the Vegas group were Jill's sisters and their husbands, Dawn and Barry Fein and Nancy and Dave Langner; sister Allison Adels and her fiancé, Peter Badger; and Morton's parents, Sadie and Leslie Adels. They headquartered at Caesars Palace. With so much family on hand, it made for a great celebration for Jill and Marty's engagement as well as the doc's birthday. . . . Private investigator Tim Wilson and wife Kathy Turner, Channel 39's weathercaster, and Channel 13 news director Tom Doerr and wife Bonnie took a night off last week to try out Cafe Elegante, a new restaurant on Wilcrest. They gave it four thumbs up. . . . You can see Ivana Trump this morning on *Good Morning Houston* at 9 on Channel 13. . . .

Security was tighter than tight Monday night when Bob and Georgette Mosbacher hosted a reception for Barbara Bush in their River Oaks abode. That's a necessity and not at all unusual when important White House residents are around. But guests, who had to have name tags with their pictures on them, were amused when each was invited to have a picture made with the first lady. Their identity tags were pasted on their backs till the shutter clicked, then moved right back in front. Actually, the reception was a fund-raiser for President Bush's re-election, and folks who attended had to plunk down \$1,000 each. What price glory? . . . You can't teach an old dog new tricks, as they say, and that could apply to publicist Hal Foster, who now pedals around River Oaks in the late afternoons. Hal tried to find a plain old bicycle with brakes on the pedal, not the steering bar, and none of the five-speed stuff. Upon telling his tale of woe to Dr. Dan and Kate McNamara, they gave him an old bike they'd had in the garage for years. Believe it or not, when Hal took it to a bicycle shop for repairs, the owner offered to buy it for a tidy sum; it's a classic now. . . .

Woman's Day magazine is giving everyone in the United States a chance to name Murphy Brown's baby boy, which as you probably know will be "born" on the series' last segment of the season, May 18. In its May 12 issue, the magazine gives a new 900 number, (900) 89-MURPHY; callers, who must pay \$1.50 for the call, have until June 15 to register their names. The production staff will pick the one most called in. Woman's Day will donate proceeds from the 900 calls to the March of Dimes and the Pediatric AIDS Foundation. . . .

BUSH-COVENANT April 3, 1992 (630 words) With photo.

BARBARA BUSH PRAISES COVENANT HOUSE RESPONSE TO 'TREMENDOUS NEED'

By Tracy Early

Catholic News Service

NEW YORK (CNS) -- First lady Barbara Bush praised Covenant House as "a very good program answering a tremendous need" after visiting its Times Square Crisis Center April 2.

She and President Bush had visited the center in June 1989, while Father Bruce Ritter still headed Covenant House. Later that year, charges of sexual and financial abuse surfaced that led to the departure of Father Ritter.

When a reporter asked Mrs. Bush if she had come back as a way of expressing renewal of her support, she said her support had never been withdrawn.

Sister Mary Rose McGeady, a member of the Daughters of Charity who became Covenant House president in September 1990, took Mrs. Bush to talk with six young mothers, ages 18 to 23, arranged in a semicircle with their children, ranging in age from 3 months to almost 5 years.

The young women seemed relatively confident talking to the president's wife as she asked each in turn about their activities, what Covenant House was doing for them and their hopes for the future.

Mrs. Bush told the young women, who were talking about their hopes for jobs, that employers found it difficult to hire people without education.

Through the Mother and Child Program, as well as other programs, Covenant House assists young people in completing high school, getting a high school equivalency degree or undertaking vocational training.

"Do any of you ladies have a man in your life," the first lady asked. When she got an affirmative response or two, she said that it was important for men to be responsible and help with the children.

Some of the young women had suggestions about ways the government could alleviate problems in areas such as unemployment, public assistance and health care. And Mrs. Bush told one of them, "I'll talk to George about that."

Later Mrs. Bush had a private meeting with senior staff and board members. Sister McGeady told Catholic News Service that she talked there with Mrs. Bush about the growing numbers of young people needing the kind of services Covenant House provided.

She said she did not ask the first lady to "lobby" the president, but expressed appreciation for assistance Covenant House had received from some federal programs and talked about the need for government and the private sector to work together.

"She herself has a real heart for what we're doing," Sister McGeady said.

After the private session, Mrs. Bush became the first recipient of a new award created by Covenant House -- the Dove Award for Family Values.

Sister McGeady said the dove carried three symbolic meanings: the Holy Spirit, the covenant of commitment to meet the needs of young people; and the somewhat uncertain manner of young people trying out their own wings. Doves, she said, do not fly very well, and the young people coming to Covenant House likewise have difficulty making their way in life.

Nancy Dickerson Whitehead, one of several new members added to the Covenant House board in the reorganization after Father Ritter's departure, told CNS that she had been a friend of Mrs. Bush for many years, and wrote her in January to invite her for the visit.

"She answered by return mail, and said she'd love to," Ms. Whitehead said.

The first lady's visit, she said, gave an "imprimatur" that would be helpful to Covenant House.

In the 1980s, contributions to Covenant House grew rapidly, and in the fiscal year ending in June 1990, public contributions reached \$88.7 million.

For the year ending in June 1991, however, public contributions fell to \$66.9 million. Meanwhile, several programs had been eliminated, and staffing reduced. "But I think we've bottomed out," Ms. Whitehead said.

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Thu 23-Apr-92 0:49 EDT
Perot Edging Closer To Campaign
By TOM RAUM
Associated Press Writer

DALLAS (AP) Ross Perot says voters should expect an unconventional and "very active" campaign if he runs for president as an independent, which the Texas billionaire says he may do even if he fails to get on all 50 state ballots.

"Common sense would prevail" if a massive petition drive comes up a state or two short, even though he earlier vowed to not run unless his name won a spot on every ballot, Perot said in an interview Wednesday with The Associated Press.

Sounding increasingly like a candidate, Perot said he would actively seek support from minorities, steer clear of negative television advertising, and avoid the "show business, mud wrestling (and) tricks" that he said tainted other presidential campaigns.

In a wide-ranging, 1 1/2-hour interview at the office where he oversees his multibillion-dollar computer-service and real estate holdings, Perot said:

His wife, Margot, would not play an active role in such a campaign nor in his administration if he were elected. "She X wouldn't want to," he said. Hillary Clinton and Barbara Bush both have actively campaigned for their husbands.

He hasn't decided whether to request Secret Service protection if he becomes a candidate. "Off the top of my head, I wouldn't want it. I don't like to be surrounded by people."

If he became president, he would spend much of his time away from Washington "dealing with real people." The White House is "a better office than a place to live."

Even though his plans for reducing the \$400 billion annual deficit may be flawed, as some economists suggest, they still offer a better starting point than President Bush's proposals. "I think I could pull more numbers out of my head in two minutes than he could get with (budget director Richard) Darman and 10 people strapped to him."

Perot's comments came as he edged closer to a full-fledged independent candidacy.

Perot, who has already put \$400,000 of his own money into preliminaries, including underwriting an 800-number telephone bank, has begun to beef up a prospective campaign staff. He has leased additional office space through January big enough to house a national campaign staff.

But the Dallas electronics-industry magnate insisted he still has not made a final decision. "I am not a candidate. Volunteers are still circulating petitions to see if I will be a candidate," he said.

Still, he said he owes it to his volunteers to run "a first-class, well-run campaign" if he jumps into the fray. "I'd be very active," he said.

Perot said he has modified an earlier vow that he wouldn't run unless he could get on the ballot in all 50 states after reports that some top Republicans in New York were considering a drive to keep him off the ballot there.

1 of 2

New York law makes it difficult for a third-party candidate to get on the ballot, particularly if there is organized political opposition.

"I'd probably go ahead and run" even without New York, Perot said, although he conceded it would present "an interesting problem" given the state's large number of electoral votes.

Perot also said if "a tiny little state fell through the cracks" it wouldn't derail his effort.

Asked if Margot, his wife of 36 years, would campaign with him, Perot said, "No." Nor would she maintain a high profile at the White House if he were elected. "This won't be a show-business White House," he said.

"Would Margot have ideas? Yes. Would she be interested in what's going on? Yes. But she would be very sensitive to the fact that she was not elected by the American people. Do you follow me?"

Perot said women and minorities would be in his Cabinet.

Discussing his decision to resign this week from two Dallas clubs that exclude blacks and Jews, Perot said his membership there had not been an important aspect of his life. "I am not active in those places. ... I don't think about it."

He said he didn't believe exclusionary clubs belong in the 1990s. Why didn't he stay in the clubs and try to change them from within? "I don't have months to dedicate to that. It's not a worthwhile use of my time."

He said he has long hired minorities in his businesses and given large sums of money to minority causes.

Would he make a special effort to reach out to minorities? "I have all my life. And I suggest that's the relevant question. The phoniest guy in the world would start now."

On his wealth, estimated at between \$2.5 billion and \$3.5 billion, Perot said he never really "had any interest in money. ... It's kind of interesting to wind up with all this stuff."

WORTH REPEATING . . .

Young children need a mother's love

Several researchers have discovered that children who enter day care during the first year of life are more likely to show anxious-avoidant attachments to their mothers. And, after a thorough survey of the research literature on day care, a panel from The National Academy of Sciences has recommended that we, as a nation, find some way to make it possible for one parent to be home full-time with a new baby during its first year of life. But you have to wonder: If day care is harmful during the first year of life, how does it suddenly become benign once the baby turns one?

The late British psychologist John Bowlby, developer of the highly influential school of "attachment" theory, held that there are "striking similarities between the way a child . . . responds to a separation experience and the way an adult responds to bereavement." In short: being separated from his mother for a significant period of time is, to a baby, what death of a loved one is to an adult!

Psychoanalyst Rene Spitz's classic, and deeply saddening, studies of small babies separated from their parents supported Bowlby's contentions. Spitz's babies, placed in clean and well-maintained institutions where all their nutritional needs were met, failed to thrive. Many babies withdrew completely, refusing to take part in life or their surroundings. Maternal deprivation came to be seen as a very damaging form of abuse.

This was long before day care became an issue, but you can see the connection: Many very young children are now being left in institutional settings for large portions of their day. While The National Academy of Sciences has concluded that institutional day care does not constitute "maternal deprivation," nonetheless it is doubtful that most children in large centers are being treated with motherly attention and care for much of their day.

Psychology professor Nancy McWilliams, Ph.D., of Rutgers University, comments: "The upsetting thing to me is that in very institutionalized day care, no one is loving up a child personally."

— Catherine Johnson in *New Woman* magazine, February 1992

Sunrise, Sunset On White House Book

Despite a May 15 publication date, the designers of historian William Seale's new book, "The White House: The History of an American Idea" (AIA Press, \$55), decided six weeks ago to turn day into night. Last January, when the author's work was promoted at the American Institute of Architects' exhibit inaugurating the White House bicentennial, the book jacket pictured a long view of the mansion's southern facade surrounded by oceans of green lawn and cloudy blue sky.

But production editor Janet Rumbarger and graphic designer Marilyn Worseldine decided the cover looked too much like a guidebook. "Seale's book is richer and more complicated," said Worseldine. "We wanted a photo with a mood-evoking quality, something imaginative or mysterious."

So, with the author's approval, they searched for a different image. Unfortunately, part of the White House is still engulfed in scaffolding while it undergoes restoration. So they selected a view of part of the north portico at dusk taken in the late 1970s by William Weems.

"The evening view symbolizes the sun setting on the first 200 years of the White House. The portico reads architecture, architecture, architecture, not lawn and cloudy sky," said Worseldine. There was also a technical advantage: The designers felt that the book cover's white type showed up better against a dark background.

Seale, who was in Japan and could not be reached for comment, has written an architectural history of the house designed by Irish-born James

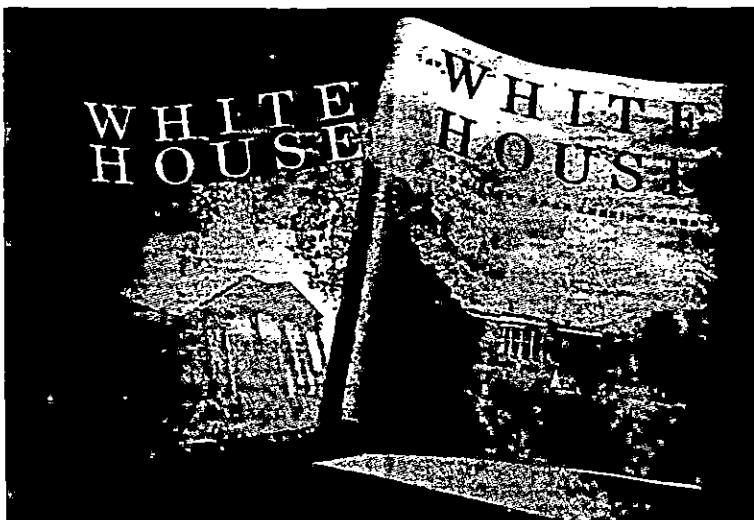


PHOTO BY KIM ARRINGTON

◆ Designers of William Seale's new book on the White House chose a cover "with a mood-evoking quality," left, over one with a guidebook view.

Hoban. Two centuries after it was built, following burning by the British and gutting during the Truman administration, nothing original remains except the outer walls, which had amassed 42 coats of paint before they were stripped recently.

Seale re-creates long-vanished interiors with the help of 350 photographs, some of which have never been published, that document the contributions of master architects such as Benjamin Latrobe and Charles McKim and artist-designer Louis Comfort Tiffany.

The book's subtitle, "The History of an American Idea," refers to the author's premise that the White House, while continuing to be the home of the president, is always in a state of change, social and political as well as architectural.

—Nancy L. Ross

Kids' Fashion Cuts

For more than 70 years, cuts and scrapes were protected by small tan strips, introduced as Band-Aids in 1920 by Johnson & Johnson and soon imitated by

other companies. Now small bandages are making a fashion statement thanks to the addition of color and design.

"Excellent! Tubular! Rad! Awesome!" screams the wild-style print across Johnson & Johnson's glow-in-the-dark bandage, the company's latest offering in designer wear.

Neon fabric strips by Curad—in bright orange, lime and pink—are hitting the shelves this month. Company spokeswoman Catherine Kiel says they are meant to coordinate with kids' fashions, rollerblades and skateboards. Two-thirds of the users of household bandages are youth, she says. Some lines have even been sized for little fingers.

In May, Tsumura International will introduce Batman adhesive strips under its Kid Care trademark. The DC Comics hero will appear in time for the June premiere of the movie "Batman Returns." His release follows on the heels of Barbie bandages, which the company brought out in February.

Kiel says the "bandage wars," as the industry calls the intensifying competition for market share, began two years ago when Johnson & Johnson introduced Sesame Street characters on adhesive strips. Curad countered with Ronald McDonald, and other manufacturers followed suit.

All this means plenty of bright choices for small consumers, and continued warfare among manufacturers.

—Jene Stonesifer

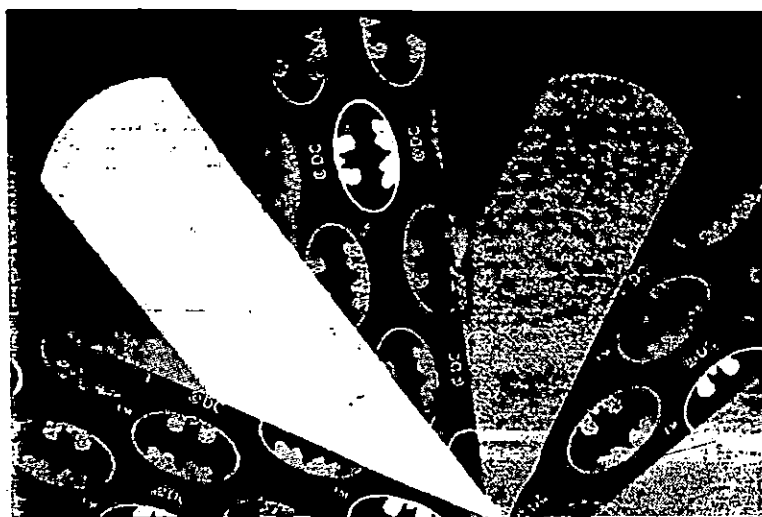


PHOTO BY KIM ARRINGTON

◆ Neon and Batman adhesive strips will soon join the bandage wars.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 23, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO THE FORUM OF THE AMERICAS

Sheraton-Washington Hotel
Washington, D.C.

8:00 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated. And, David, thank you, sir. And thank you for your really vital work in rallying the private sector and congressional support for the North American Free Trade Agreement, for the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. And let me say to his many friends here that his personal involvement -- David's personal involvement has been a major factor in the success we've enjoyed so far with both of these significant initiatives.

And I also want to pay my respects to another old friend, Ambassador George Landau of the Americas Society, and Antonio Del Valle of the Business Council of Latin America, and Tom d'Aquino of the Business Council on National Issues. And I am grateful for all your leadership.

I understand also -- and I can't see too well out here with these bright lights -- that somewhere out there sits an old friend, a former colleague at the United Nations who went on to greater heights than being an ambassador there, an old friend, Javier de Cuellar is with us. And I am just delighted that he could be here. And I just wish I could see him. Javier. There he is. (Applause.)

And may I particularly welcome all of our guests from south of the Rio Grande, leaders from both the public and the private sectors. I see several ambassadors here and many others that are in the government sector, but so many from the private sector. And we salute you for your leadership. And let me just say this: public or private from the United States, we are glad to be your partners.

And I can't think, really, of a more important moment than now to convene again this Forum on the Americas. Over the last three years, we've seen our world literally transformed: The Berlin Wall torn down and Germany peacefully unified; the people of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union liberated from communism; and South Africa's historic vote to reject apartheid. And we've seen Arab neighbors negotiating for the first time face to face with Israel; and a worldwide coalition under the banner of the United Nations stand up and turn back Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. And there's been a profound change with meaning for every man, woman and child on the face of the Earth. And we have drastically -- and this is one I take great pleasure in having been a small part of -- we have drastically reduced the threat of nuclear war.

And just today, the United States took steps to facilitate trade in high technology goods, an initiative made possible by the changed strategic environment and the peaceful rebirth of freedom in the formerly communist lands. We relaxed trade restrictions on exports that served us well during the Cold War era, but are no longer necessary in our new world. And our

actions today will eliminate requirements for thousands of export licenses, including many that affected computers, one of our strongest export earners. Trade covered today by today's deregulation amounts to about \$2.5 billion.

Here in our own hemisphere, the Americas have launched an era of far-reaching and hopeful change. We've made history, all of us. We're well on our way to creating something mankind has never seen: a hemisphere wholly free and democratic, with prosperity flowing from open trade.

From Mexico City to Buenos Aires, that vision is becoming a reality. For the first time in many years, more private capital is flowing into the Americas for new investments than is flowing out. In country after country, the hyperinflation that literally devastated the region's economies, particularly its poor, has been halted. In nearly every nation, real growth has returned. A growing number of nations are taking advantage of the Brady Plan, an important initiative of our administration designed to reduce the debt burden of our neighbors and set the stage for the renewal of growth.

Barriers to trade and investment are coming down. Go to the financial centers of the world and you'll get the same message: One of the most exciting regions for investment is Latin America.

Alongside this economic revolution, we have witnessed and played a vital role to shape a political revolution just as powerful. Two years after we initiated Operation Just Cause, Panama has replaced the repression of the Noriega era with freedom and democracy. In El Salvador, after 12 years of civil war, our consistent efforts have brought peace. In Nicaragua, we succeeded in our goal of restoring peace and democracy through free elections. And throughout Central America, civilian presidents hold office, and the principle of consent of the governed is now firmly established. And in South America, Chile and Paraguay have rejoined the community of democracies.

This peaceful revolution throughout the Americas did not happen by accident. It is the work of a new generation of courageous and committed democratic leaders with whom we have worked closely in pursuit of common goals -- those leaders supported by this dynamic private sector that is so beautifully represented here tonight. The new spirit was demonstrated in June of last year, when the OAS General Assembly passed a resolution designed to strengthen the international response to threats to democracy.

Consolidating this revolution will not be easy; we understand that. Millions of people in our hemisphere are still mired in poverty and political alienation. Recent events in Haiti, Venezuela and Peru remind us that democracy is still fragile and faces continued dangers. In all our nations, powerful special interests cling to old ideas and privileges, promote protectionism. They resist expanded trade.

For the diehards -- for Castro's totalitarian regime, for those in the hemisphere who would turn the clock back to military dictatorship, for the stubborn holdouts for economic isolation -- I want to make one point clear: Hundreds of millions of Latin Americans share a faith in human freedom and opportunity. And I stand with them. And as long as I am President of this great country, the United States will devote its energies to the true and lasting liberation of the people of the Western Hemisphere. (Applause.)

Sharing the democratic spirit makes a difference on every issue we care about. Democracy's rebirth led Argentina and Brazil to join hands to halt the spread of nuclear arms. Democracy energized Brazil to slow deforestation of the Amazon rain forest. Democracy gave Argentina the will to stop the Condor Ballistic Missile program financed by Libya and Iraq. Colombia's democracy is leading the fight against the drug trade and working to restore its economic vitality. The restored democracy in Panama has passed tough new laws to combat money laundering, and it's working to renew its importance as an East-West trade corridor.

And make no mistake: political and economic freedom are linked; they are inseparable. And just as people have a God-given right to choose who will govern them, they also must be free to make their own economic choices. And when we lift barriers to economic freedom within and among our countries, we unleash powerful forces of growth and creativity.

Before I leave office I want manufacturers in Cleveland to enjoy virtually the same access to markets in Monterrey as they now have in Minneapolis. And with new technologies, creators of services in Denver may be able to tap markets in Santiago as readily as those in Chicago. And I'll work to assure that government protection and excessive regulation don't stand in their way. To do this, we'll have to overcome the stunted vision of some special interests. And I am determined that we can and will do exactly that.

I've made it a top priority to conclude a free trade agreement designed to remove all tariffs on trade between the United States, Canada and Mexico. This agreement will build on our historic free trade agreement with Canada. The success of the agreement with Canada demonstrates how free trade can benefit all concerned.

We cannot achieve this breakthrough by equivocating between the status quo protectionists and the movement for freedom and change. Some suggest that we can hide in a cocoon of protection and pretend still to benefit from the fresh air of competition. Well, if there's ever an audience that understands this, you and I know that is simply wrong-headed. Our economic future must not depend on those who pay lip service to free trade, but full service to powerful special interests. We cannot have it both ways. (Applause.)

In our own war for independence those who took this kind of stand were known as the "summer soldiers." And they wanted the glory of the revolution without showing the gumption to stand for freedom even in tough times. Our stand is clear -- my stand is clear: Open trade is vital to this country, to the United States, and every bit as vital as domestic reforms to renew our system of education, health care, government and administration of justice.

A free trade area comprising the United States, Mexico and Canada would be the largest market in the entire world -- 360 million consumers in a \$6 trillion -- \$6 trillion economy. Mexico -- and I salute its President, it's business people here tonight -- Mexico is among the fastest growing national markets for U.S. exports today. And over the last three years alone, American merchandise exports to Mexico have increased by two-thirds -- two-thirds. Our exports of autos, auto parts, telecommunications equipment to Mexico have doubled. And while members of this audience may be aware of this, I doubt it is

widely known in the United States that two-thirds of all imports into Mexico come from the United States.

It's not just the border states that profit from this growth. During my presidency, 45 of our 50 states have increased their exports to Mexico. Our top 10 exporters to Mexico today include Michigan, Illinois, New York, Louisiana, Pennsylvania, Florida and Ohio -- as well as Texas, California and Arizona, those border states.

Trade with Mexico already supports hundreds of thousands of U.S. jobs. And just as an example: Thousands of good jobs in Warren, Ohio and Rochester, New York depend on sister plants in Mexico to keep their products competitive. A North American Free Trade Agreement would create thousands more. It would create competitive efficiencies and economies of scale that will help American companies compete in world markets.

Free trade with Canada and Mexico will make all of us winners in economic endeavor -- but our relationship goes well beyond trade. We share borders that span the continent. We're linked by centuries-old ties of family and culture. I share a warm friendship with Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, whom I consult frequently. I count President Carlos Salinas also as a dear friend. And he and I have been promoting the "spirit of Houston" ever since our summit meeting just after both of us were elected in 1988. And both President Salinas and Prime Minister Mulroney are bold and imaginative leaders; and I am committed to working with them to forge enduring friendship among our countries, based on open trade, cooperation and mutual respect.

Now, you may have heard some suggest that politics will dictate delaying the North American Free Trade Agreement until after the election. Well, let me say this: These voices are not speaking for me. The time of opportunity is now. And I have instructed our negotiators to accelerate their work. And I believe we can conclude a sound, sensible deal before the election -- and I want to sign a good agreement as soon as it is ready. (Applause.) And there will be no delay because of American politics. (Applause.)

Now, to other friends here let me say this: The North American Free Trade Agreement is only a beginning. Our Enterprise for the Americas Initiative already has made noteworthy progress to open markets, expand investment flows, reduce official debt, and strengthen the environment throughout the hemisphere.

The Enterprise for the Americas Initiative reflects a revolution in thinking. Through this initiative, the United States is not seeking to impose our ideas on our neighbors. Rather, our program is designed to empower them to succeed with free market economic reforms they've chosen on their own -- ideas developed in Latin America for Latin Americans.

The courageous Latin American leaders who are reforming their economies and breaking down barriers to trade and investment need our support. And they are the true liberators of our era. True success will mean opening up statist systems formerly rigged to protect wealthy elites and closed to working people and the poor. Free market reforms will banish burdensome regulations that now prevent the urban poor from starting new businesses or campesinos from gaining access to credit and title to their land.

Economic reform must also include honest government. Corruption is the enemy of both growth and democracy. New investment will flow only where the rule of law is secure, the courts are fair, and bidding processes are open to all.

To support reformers -- to realize the hopeful new vision in Latin America -- the United States Congress must meet its responsibility. I asked Congress to take long overdue action, to invest \$310 million in this fiscal year under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. With this, we could write off more than \$1 billion in the hemisphere's official debts and generate millions of dollars to preserve the environment. But regrettably, Congress has refused to approve any funds for this purpose. Congress apparently doesn't believe in return on investment, but I do. And our truckers and railroad people do. And our auto and electronics makers do. As do our environmental engineers and many, many more.

I have helped persuade our allies in Europe and Japan to contribute nearly two-thirds of a \$1.5 billion fund to help Latin American reformers. This fund, administered by the Inter-American Development Bank, would help people privatize old state enterprises at the grass roots -- with job retraining and small business loans. But Congress has refused to vote a penny for the U.S. share.

I will keep on fighting for these vital programs of the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative until Congress demonstrates the vision and fortitude to provide the support they deserve. (Applause.) And if we can invest in the transformation of Eastern Europe and the old Soviet Union -- and we must do so -- then we can and must invest in the efforts of our closest neighbors on their peaceful road to true liberation and prosperity.

The United States' economic destiny is linked to Latin America's. No army of protectionists can change that. When Latin America suffered its debt crisis of the early '80s -- 1980s -- we suffered through a corresponding drop in trade. We did. If you don't believe me, ask Caterpillar workers from Illinois, or employees from Cessna in Kansas. Ask them if they suffered when our best customers in Latin America were in crisis.

With the rise of democracy and economic reform, U.S. exports to Latin America have surged by nearly one-third in just two years -- from \$49 billion in 1989 to \$63 billion in 1991. This is a much faster rate of growth than for our exports to Asia or Europe. It points to the fact that a stable, prosperous Latin America is a natural market for United States goods and services. Strengthening our neighbors' economies will result in more exports and more good jobs for people in the United States.

When any of us speak with our friends outside the Western Hemisphere, we need to assure them as clearly as possible there is nothing exclusionary in our vision of open trade and economic integration in our hemisphere. Our aim is simply to lower barriers to economic freedom within and among the nations of the Western Hemisphere, not -- I repeat, not -- to create any barriers between ourselves and the nations of Africa, Europe and Asia. All of our aims are consistent with the global policies of GATT.

And I would just like to commend the superb leadership of Arthur Dunkel, GATT's Director General, who spoke to you earlier today. And I want to assure you I urgently want to open up global markets through success with the Uruguay Round. We all

have a stake, a big stake, in a successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of the GATT. (Applause.)

And if the equivocators and the protectionists and the pleaders for special interests want to debate this, bring them on. I will take the case for increased trade to the people in every corner of the United States of America. And I will make this abundantly clear: Free trade means more exports, more investment, more choices, more jobs for Americans. (Applause.) Our great country is the number one exporter in the world -- over \$422 billion last year. Imagine that, \$422 billion. And we intend to pursue trade policies to keep that growth up now and in the future. And we will knock down barriers wherever we find them -- to open markets, for instance, for our computer software, movies, books and pharmaceuticals. We will fight hard against protectionism both at home and abroad.

And five centuries ago, a man of courage and vision set sail from Europe searching for new trade routes and opportunities. And he defied the timid counsel of those who said the Earth was flat. Christopher Columbus's voyage to the Americas transformed human history. Columbus was an entrepreneur, and the risk he took 500 years ago continues to pay off abundantly today.

And today, we still have to combat the flat-Earth mentality -- the mind-set that urges us to barricade our borders against competition, to shut off the free exchange of food and machinery and skills and ideas.

But the future does not belong to the status quo. It is the legacy of people like yourselves -- people with far-sighted vision and then a spirit of enterprise. The future awaiting the Americas is a time of rediscovery. A time for empowering the poor through new investment, trade and growth. A time for cultural renewal. Our efforts -- and the efforts of millions of citizens of the Americas -- can achieve new gains for honest, democratic, limited government. And together, we can usher in a new order of peace, a new time of prosperity, both animated by personal freedom.

Thank you all very much for what you are doing to strengthen free trade in this hemisphere. And let me say again how grateful I am to David and the other leaders of this wonderful organization for vitalizing and getting that public sector involved in all of these decisions. It is an absolutely essential ingredient if we are going to succeed. And, of course, it is mutually beneficial.

Now, I heard you were having broccoli for dinner, so I'm out of here. Many, many thanks. And may God bless all of you. (Applause.)

END

8:30 P.M. EDT



R2

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Thursday, April 23, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:45 am (30 min)	<u>Domestic Briefing</u> (Yeutter)	Oval Office (TAB A)
10:15 am (30 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
10:45 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
11:15 am (15 min)	<u>Ceremony to honor Academic Decathlon Champions</u> (Rollins)	Rose Garden (TAB B)
11:30 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:45 am (10 min)	<u>Signing Ceremony for US/Japan Paper Agreement</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately)	Roosevelt Room
12:00 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:15 pm (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Campaign Officials</u> (Skinner)	Roosevelt Room (TAB C)

UNP 04/22/92
6:00 pm



2:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
2:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting on US/Ukrainian Relations</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately)	Oval Office
3:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
3:30 pm (5 min)	B <u>Presentation of the White House Stamp</u> (McBride)	Rose Garden (TAB D)
3:35 pm (55 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
4:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
5:30 pm (45 min)	B <u>Reception in observance of the 60th Anniversary of the Folger Shakespeare Library</u> (Firestone)	State Floor (TAB E)
7:35 pm	<u>The President departs for the Sheraton Washington Hotel to Address Council of Americas Dinner</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately & TAB F)	South Lawn
8:40 pm	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn

UNP 04/22/92
6:00 pm

R2

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 22, 1992

DOMESTIC POLICY BRIEFING

DATE: Thursday, April 23, 1992
LOCATION: Oval Office
TIME: 9:45 a.m.

FROM: Clayton Yeutter 

I. PURPOSE

Dr. Gail Wilensky, who leads our interagency task force on welfare reform, will do this presentation as a follow-up to our recent announcement on the Wisconsin waiver. That announcement generated more attention than anyone expected, and was welcomed with enthusiasm by conservatives everywhere.

II. BACKGROUND

Dr. Wilensky will provide general background on some of the other waiver proposals that are expected in the future, including a major one from California.

She will also cover what her task force is doing on reform issues separate from the waivers.

It now looks as if this could be a very good issue for you over the next seven months.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Sam Skinner
Richard Darman
Gail Wilensky
Clayton Yeutter

IV. PRESS PLAN

Closed.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Participants enter. Discussion takes place.
Participants depart.

VI. REMARKS

None required.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1992

CEREMONY FOR THE WINNERS OF UNITED STATES ACADEMIC DECATHLON

DATE: April 23, 1992
TIME: 11:15 a.m.
LOCATION: The Rose Garden

THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS

FROM: CECE KREMER
LEIGH ANN METZGER

I. PURPOSE

To honor the winners of the United States Academic Decathlon.

To highlight your commitment to academic excellence and your AMERICA 2000 education strategy.

II. BACKGROUND

The United States Academic Decathlon is a national academic team competition. The students participate in ten events including: subject area examinations on mathematics, science, fine arts, economics, language and literature, and social science; one impromptu and one prepared public speech; an interview with a panel of three judges; a written essay; and the "super quiz," a five question team competition.

Each team consists of nine students and one or two coaches. Each team must be composed of at least two people with grade point averages in the A, B, and C ranges so as to allow participation by students of all levels of achievement. Nationwide, over 30,000 students and 3,500 high schools participated in the competition this year.

The 1992 first, second, and third place teams are:

1st place - J. Frank Dobie High School,
Houston, Texas

2nd place - Mountain View High School,
Mesa, Arizona

3rd place - Whitney Young Magnet High School
Chicago, Illinois

In addition to the teams listed above, the audience will include other students who participated in the competition from Wisconsin, New Jersey, Alabama, Ohio, Nebraska, and California; the Academic Decathlon Board of Directors; and representatives from the Decathlon's corporate sponsors.

Secretary Alexander will not be attending this event. You will enter the Rose Garden accompanied by Deputy Secretary of Education David Kearns and will be greeted at the podium by a student from each of the three winning teams. Following your remarks, the student from the first place team, Daniel Ramirez of Houston, Texas, will present you with a plaque to thank you for your commitment to the Decathlon.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Deputy Secretary of Education David Kearns
Daniel Ramirez, J. Frank Dobie High School
Christine Roorda, Mountain View High School
Gregory Rudnick, Whitney Young Magnet High School
160 Academic Decathlon guests
Sherrie Rollins, Assistant to the President for
Public Liaison and Intergovernmental Affairs
Jane Barnett Leonard, Associate Director,
Office of Public Liaison

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open press

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- You enter the Rose Garden accompanied by Deputy Secretary Kearns.
- You deliver remarks.
- Daniel Ramirez of J. Frank Dobie High School presents you with a plaque.
- You depart the Rose Garden.

VI. REMARKS REQUIRED

Remarks to be provided by speechwriters.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1992

MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT

DATE: April 23, 1992
LOCATION: Roosevelt Room
TIME: 1:30 p.m.
FROM: SAMUEL K. SKINNER *SK*

- I. PURPOSE
To discuss status of campaign activities.
- II. PARTICIPANTS
Chief of Staff
Deputy Chief of Staff
Charlie Black
Rich Bond
Dick Darman
Marlin Fitzwater
Ede Holiday
Ron Kaufman
Jim Lake
Fred Malek
Mary Matalin
Patty Presock
Fred Steeper
Bob Teeter
Clayton Yeutter
- III. PRESS PLAN
White House Photographer only

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1992

WHITE HOUSE COMMEMORATIVE STAMP PRESENTATION

DATE: Thursday, April 23, 1992
TIME: 3:30 p.m.
LOCATION: Rose Garden
FROM: Timothy  McBride

I. PURPOSE

You and Mrs. Bush will participate in the presentation of a commemorative stamp in honor of the 200th anniversary of the White House.

II. BACKGROUND

The cornerstone of the White House was set in place on October 13, 1792. The Postal Service will recognize this event by issuing a commemorative stamp.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President and Mrs. Bush
Michael S. Coughlin, Acting Postmaster General
Edward E. Horgan, Jr., Associate Postmaster General
Kenneth J. Hunter, Associate Postmaster General
Commission George Haley, Chairman, Postal Rate Commission
Jack Ruther, stamp designer, Bureau of Engraving and Printing
200 guests, including supporters of and participants in
200th anniversary programs and activities.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- The President and Mrs. Bush arrive in the Rose Garden.
- Acting Postmaster General Michael S. Coughlin states reasons for issuing the stamp and presents it to the President.
- The President responds with remarks concerning the 200th anniversary.
- The President and Mrs. Bush depart the Rose Garden.

VI. REMARKS

Brief remarks provided by the Speechwriters.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

April 22, 1992

RECEPTION IN RECOGNITION OF THE 60TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE
FOLGER SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY

Thursday, April 23, 1992

5:30 p.m.

STATE FLOOR

DARK SUIT OR BLACK TIE/COCKTAIL DRESS

FROM: LAURIE FIRESTONE 

I. PURPOSE

To recognize the 60th Anniversary of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

II. BACKGROUND

As 1992 celebrates the Folger's "Diamond Jubilee," the Folger Library requested a White House reception before their dinner. The President and Mrs. Bush are the Honorary Patrons of this anniversary dinner.

The dinner will benefit the Library in the funding of its programs, particularly the humanities education division. The program for elementary and secondary school students was established in the early 1980's and now involves more than 2,000 students a year. The students are given the opportunity to study Shakespeare through their participation in planning Festival performances.

III. PARTICIPANTS (300)

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Her Royal Highness Princess Alexandra
and Sir Angus Ogilvy

Mrs. Archibald B. Roosevelt, Jr.
Chairman, 1992 Diamond Jubilee Dinner

Trustees, Board Members, Major Donors and Contributors to
the Library

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

See attached scenario

VI. REMARKS

Talking points to be provided by Speechwriters in the morning

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS:

RECEPTION
IN RECOGNITION OF THE 60TH
ANNIVERSARY OF THE FOLGER
SHAKESPEARE LIBRARY
Thursday, April 23, 1992

TIME:

5:00 p.m. - 6:30 p.m.

LOCATION:

State Floor
(Music: Marine Orchestra
Grand Foyer)

ENTRANCE:

East Visitors Entrance

DRESS:

Dark Suit or Black Tie/Cocktail
Dress

NUMBER OF GUESTS:

300

FROM:

Laurie Firestone

27.

5:00 p.m.

Guests arrive and are directed to
State Floor.

Refreshments are served in State
Dining Room.

5:30 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH arrive East Room to
join Dr. Werner Gundersheimer, Director of the
Folger Library, and HRH Princess Alexander and Sir
Angus Ogilvy on dais.

ANNOUNCEMENT

THE PRESIDENT makes brief remarks, followed by
brief remarks by the director of the Library.

After remarks, **THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH** proceed
to Cross Hall to greet guests in receiving line.

6:15 p.m.

THE PRESIDENT and MRS. BUSH depart enroute
Residence.

6:30 p.m.

Guests depart enroute East
Entrance.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

EVENT: VIP Receiving Line

DATE: Thursday, April 23, 1992

TIME: 7:50 pm - 8:00 pm

LOCATION: Delaware Room, Sheraton Washington Hotel

ATTENDEES: 35

PRESS: Closed

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Sheraton Washington Hotel and is met by: Mr. and Mrs. Peter Potrykus, Owners Representative, Sheraton Washington Hotel and Mr. John McKennen, Managing Director, Sheraton Washington Hotel. Following Greetings, THE PRESIDENT proceeds to eighth floor via elevator. THE PRESIDENT arrives eighth floor and is met by: Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman, Americas Society. Following the Greeting, THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, proceeds to Delaware Room. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, arrives Delaware Room and begins participation in VIP Receiving Line. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, concludes participation in Receiving Line, departs Delaware Room and proceeds to Main Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

EVENT: Address Council of Americas Dinner
DATE: Thursday, April 23, 1992
TIME: 8:05 pm - 8:25 pm
LOCATION: Main Ballroom, Sheraton Washington Hotel
ATTENDEES: 500
PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman, Americas Society, arrives Main Ballroom Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly. (NOTE: Dais Guests are announced onto Stage prior to THE PRESIDENT.) THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, is announced onto Stage to Honors played by The Air Force Band and is Seated (Enter Stage Right). THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Rockefeller. THE PRESIDENT Remarks. (NOTE: A Teleprompter will be used.) THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Stage and proceeds to Holding Room (Exit Stage Right). THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Sheraton Washington Hotel en route White House.

The backdrop is the 32 flags of the Western Hemisphere with a banner reading "Forum of the Americas." The Press Platform is located straight-on at 65 feet.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Washington, D.C.; redaction. (1 pp.)	04/23/92	(b)(7)(c)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, April 23, 1992 [3]

Date Closed:	8/16/2024	OA/ID Number:	90672-005
FOIA/SYS Case #:	2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:	
Re-review Case #:		Appeal Disposition:	
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
 P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
 P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
 P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
 P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
 P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

(b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
 (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
 (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
 (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
 (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
 (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
 (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

EVENTS:

VIP Receiving Line
Address Council of Americas Dinner

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACT:

Office of Presidential Advance
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Suzanne Faulk - 202/456-7565

ADVANCE:

Dave Anderson	- LEAD
Steve Ross	- PRESS
(b)(7)(c)	- USSS
Michael Carroll	- WHCA
Mike Gould	- MIL. AIDE

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/mid 70's

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Washington, D.C.; redactions. (1 pp.)	04/23/92	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Thursday, April 23, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 8/16/2024	OA/ID Number: 90672-005
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

WASHINGTON, D.C.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

7:35 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs White House en route Sheraton Washington Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

7:45 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Sheraton Washington Hotel and proceeds to eighth floor.

Met by:

Mr. and Mrs. Peter Potrykus (Janice)
Owners Representative, Sheraton Washington Hotel

Mr. John McKennen
Managing Director, Sheraton Washington Hotel

7:48 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives eighth floor and proceeds to Delaware Room.

Met by:

Mr. David Rockefeller
Chairman, Americas Society

EVENT: VIP RECEIVING LINE

CLOSED PRESS

7:50 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, arrives Delaware Room and begins participation in VIP Receiving Line.

8:00 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, concludes participation in Receiving Line, departs Delaware Room and proceeds to Main Ballroom Off - Stage Announcement Area.

8:02 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

NOTE: Dais Guests are announced onto Stage prior to THE PRESIDENT.

EVENT: ADDRESS COUNCIL OF AMERICAS DINNER

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

REMARKS

TELEPROMPTER

8:05 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Mr. Rockefeller, is announced onto Stage and proceeds to Seat.

8:07 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Mr. Rockefeller.

8:10 pm THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

8:25 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Stage and proceeds to Holding Room.

8:27 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

8:29 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

8:30 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Sheraton Washington Hotel en route White House.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

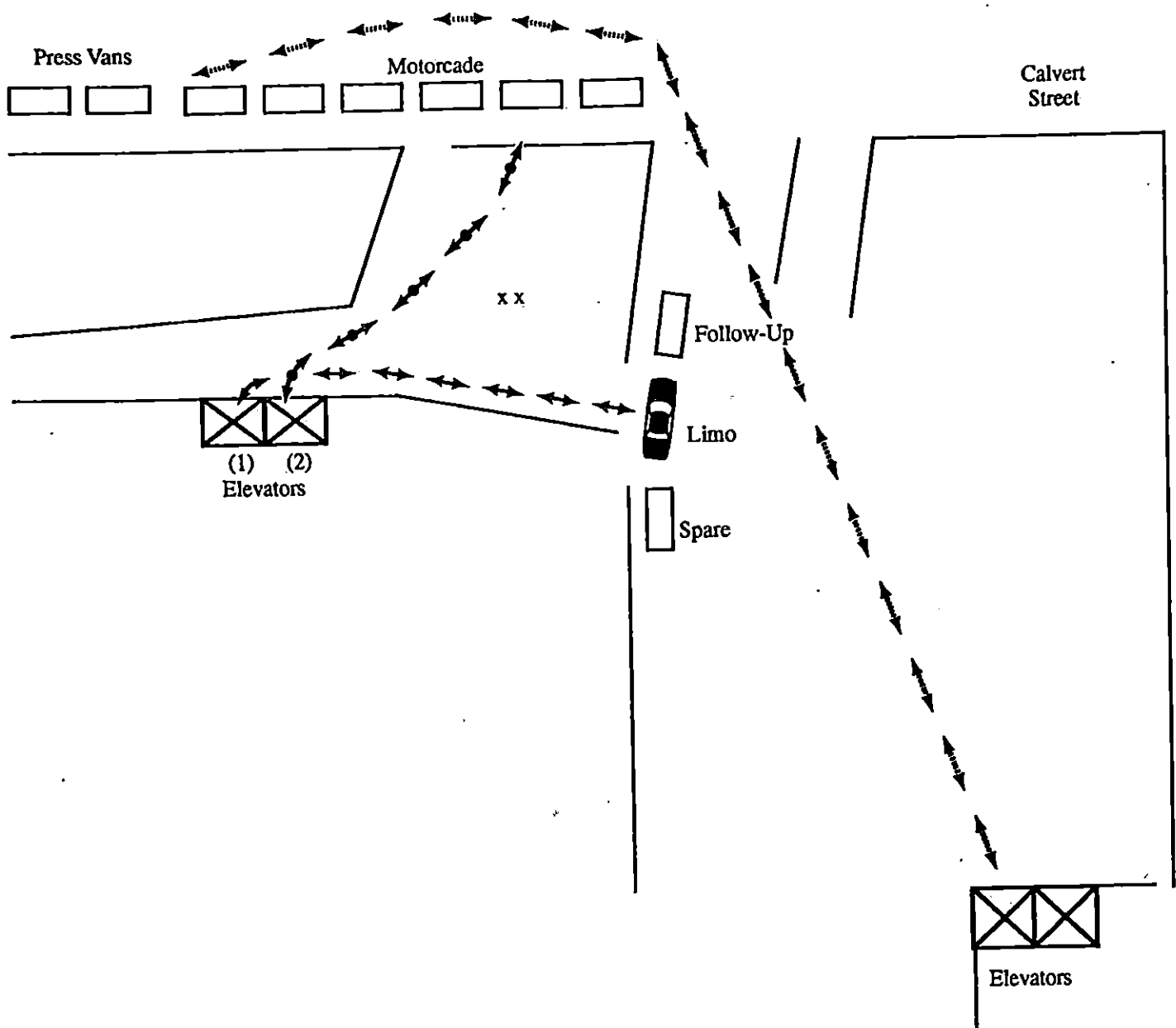
Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

8:40 pm

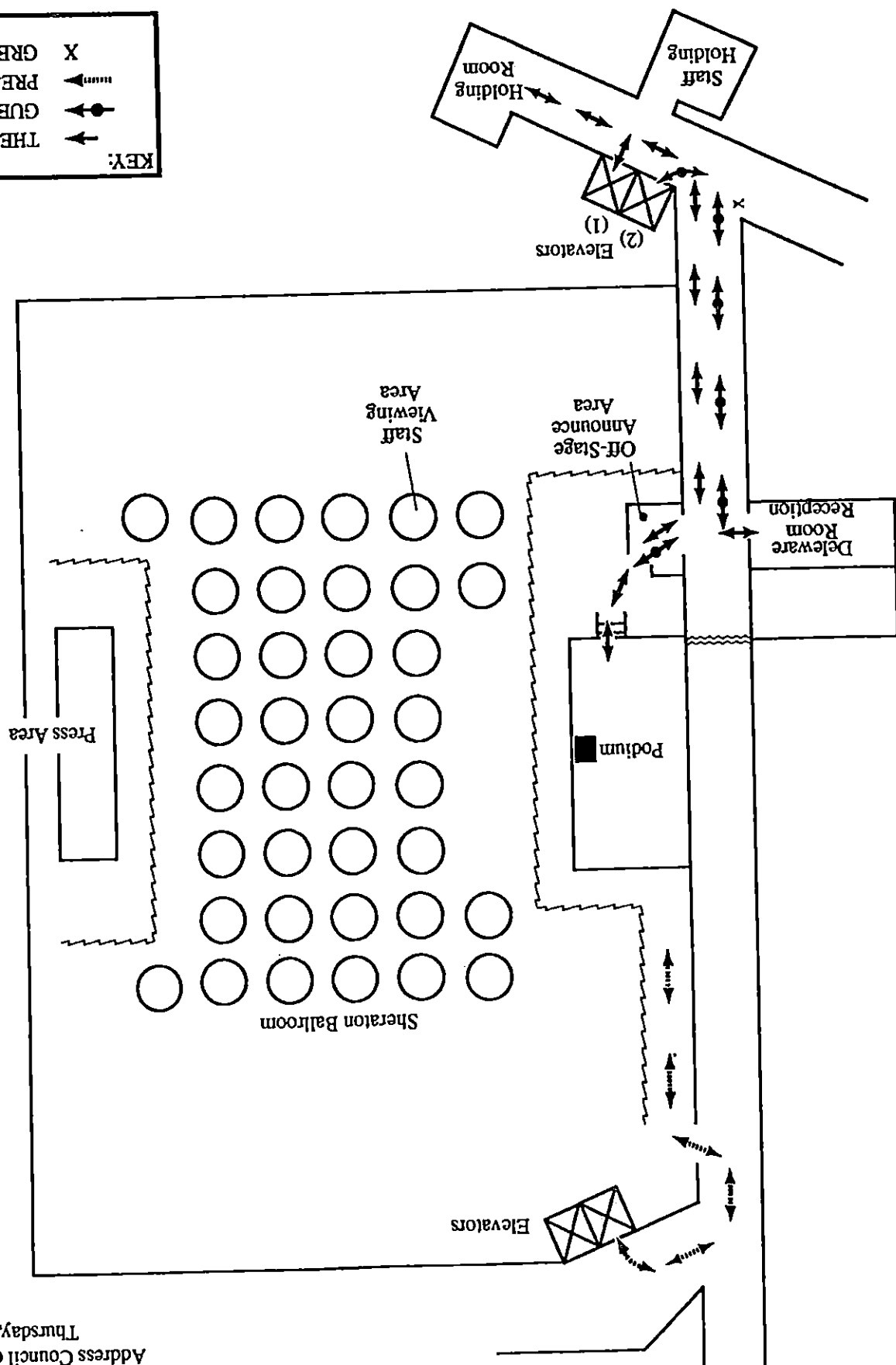
THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.

TAB A
 WASHINGTON, D.C.
 Sheraton Washington Hotel
 Address Council of the Americas
 Arrival/Departure Diagram
 Thursday, April 23, 1992

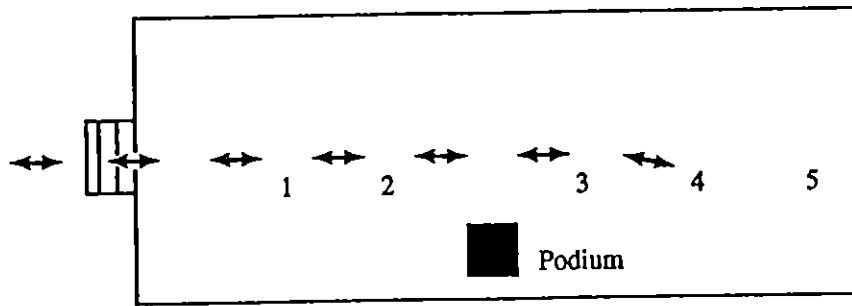


KEY:	
→	THE PRESIDENT
●→	GUESTS / STAFF
—→	PRESS POOL
x	GREETERS

TAB B
 WASHINGTON, D.C.
 Sheraton Washington Hotel
 Sheraton Ballroom
 Address Council of the Americas
 Thursday, April 23, 1992



TAB C
WASHINGTON, D.C.
Sheraton Washington Hotel
Sheraton Ballroom
Address Council of the Americas
Dais Diagram
Thursday, April 23, 1992



1. Mr. Thomas P. d'Aquino, President
and Chief Executive Officer, Business Council on National Issues
2. Mr. Antonio Del Valle, President, Consejo Empresario de America Latina
3. Mr. George W. Landau, President, Americas Society Council of the Americas
4. THE PRESIDENT
5. Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman, Americas Society/Council of the Americas

KEY:

→ THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 24, 1992

4/23 daily

CS
✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: W. HENSON MOORE
DEPUTY CHIEF OF STAFF

W. Henson Moore

In reference to your memorandum to Sam of April 23rd concerning the domestic oil industry, I wanted to report back to you actions that you have been taking which will help alleviate the situation.

First, your letter to the Hill this week on the Energy Bill included a paragraph on AMT reform which has been very well received by the independents. Second, you are scheduled to do a video to the IPAA convention on May 6th which will give you a chance to express your concerns personally which will help even further. Lastly, I have contacted Admiral Watkins and he has agreed to do an op ed piece as soon as possible on the Administration's record on natural gas, which should also be well received.

4.1

April 23, 1992

Sam:

I continue to worry about the demise of the domestic oil industry.

We are getting clobbered there.

Maybe Henson and Jim Watkins can convene a meeting of the independents, get Mosbacher involved, come up with a concerted program on oil and especially on natural gas.

I am convinced that Clinton will gimmick up some program to capitalize on the industry's discontent.

Site

gave orig to Sam

FROM THE PRESIDENT

From the desk of
George Bush

R 2 daily #33

1 file

2 traveled to me by

Trudy John Walker 5-12-92

3 No reply

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

82 Sherwood Drive
Freehold, New Jersey 07728
May 3, 1992

Dear President Bush,

I was very excited to have received the note and photograph that you sent to me during my last hospital stay.

I know how busy you are, and it means more to me than you can know, to think that you took the time to write those words of encouragement.

My parents have always taught me that it is best to turn a bad situation around, and take whatever positive things you can from it. For this reason, I decided to use my illness to make people aware of what it means for a teenager to have cancer. Thanks to a wonderful series of articles in a major New Jersey newspaper, I have been able to educate the public, and have heard from other teenagers with cancer that my words have helped ease their way.

Sometimes though, I wonder whether my battle is worth all the pain. That was a question I was thinking about when your letter arrived. You helped me answer that question, because if the President of the United States thinks that my life is worthwhile, who am I to argue?

Mr. President, I have admired you greatly, not because we met, but because I know that you are a man who has great compassion, and only wants to do what is right for people. You should be very proud of yourself for that.

If I can be of help in any way, during your campaign for re-election, please don't hesitate to call on me. (By the way, I'll be voting for the first time). If you pass through New Jersey and have time to say hello, that would be great, too. (And you're always welcome for dinner).

Thanks again for thinking of me, and please tell
Mrs..Bush that I said hello.

Your friend,

Glenn Siegel
Glenn Siegel

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

daily
CC: (all)
Marlin Fitzwater
Rose Zamaria
(2 copies)
NO OTHER DISTR
PLEASE. CLOSE
HOLD.

Mr. Ken Hamblin
KUVU Radio
2246 Federal Boulevard
Denver, Colorado 80211



THE PRESIDENT

a personal letter please

4-23-92

Dear Ken,

*Someone sent me the column
at 4-18-92 -*

*I will continue to try to
merit your trust. Tough and
ugly times these; but the*

*economy is looking up
and some of my severest
critics in the arena have
or are in the process of ~~the~~ self
destructing.*

Sincerely,

R. Bush

Handwritten signature/initials

A Democrat gears up for the big switch

SOME WEEKS AGO on my radio show, I announced my intention to vote for President Bush in November. Since then I have been approached by people asking, "How can you do such a thing?" OK, since you asked, this is what brought it about.

November 1960 was the first time I voted. Like other young Americans, I declared my allegiance to the Democrats and invested my political faith in the senator from the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, John Fitzgerald Kennedy.

As the eldest son of a West Indian immigrant woman from Barbados, I was full of pride on that election day — especially since I had worked as a volunteer helping black sharecroppers register to vote in Greensboro, N.C.

I made a vow back then never to forfeit my hard-won right of access to the ballot box. But, like a lot of other Americans, I realize I have been wasting my vote on compromise candidates.

It's been 32 years since that first election, and I've come a long way from John Kennedy's Camelot to this decade's incredible murder rate and the decline of our great cities.

Over the years, I think I have let myself be swayed by a narrow political concept that guarantees a free economic ride. It was sold to me by the liberals in the Democratic Party.

As you read this, liberal Democrats still refuse to admit that LBJ's Great Society and the War on Poverty have failed. And that old-style politicians like Bill and Hillary Clinton are the wrong Democrats for the '90s. I think the Democratic Na-



**KEN
HAMBLIN**

scourge of gangs and murder among ghetto boys all to conservative bigotry.

When I ask fellow Democrats whether we might be contributing to some of those problems with our own liberal policies, they quickly respond, "How can you forget the S&L scandal, the looting of Wall Street and the deficit willed to us by Reagan?" Well, I haven't forgotten any of that baggage dogging the Republicans.

But I also haven't been willing to forgive the deliberateness with which the DNC dismissed Paul Tsongas for reminding us that America needs its corporations if we hope to remain vital — that those corporations create jobs, and that it isn't a good idea to try to tax them out of existence.

The DNC is wallowing in Republican scandal from the past and is missing the fact that General Motors has posted record losses for 1991. Those deficits have forced the closing of 21 of GM's 125 assembly plants in the United States and Canada.

That's an economic fact that has put

tional Committee and the Clintons are representative of a political attitude that attributes the decline of the American worker, crime and murder in our schools, teenage pregnancy, AIDS, TB, the failed education system, welfare abuse, the

70,000 factory workers and 9,000 office workers out on the street, and one that will affect 15,000 production workers in 1993. I am sorry, but the Clintons haven't convinced me they know how to fix those kinds of problems.

I have a sense that the Democrats are willing to say anything if it will put them back in the White House in November, but I don't buy into the Democratic concept of the utopian society.

Gov. Dick Lamm said it best. "We (America) have enough money to fund a good society, but not a perfect society." I think those are forthright, powerful words.

From my perspective of the Democratic Jackass, Paul Tsongas was the only man on the ticket who had a handle on our economic woes. He understood that "the business of America is business" and I think it took guts for him (especially as a Democrat) to say that.

But the DNC didn't have much use for a candidate like that. They didn't believe that message would sell in the ghettos and union halls. No matter how difficult it may have been for old-line Democrats to admit it, though, a thriving corporate climate is a prerequisite for American jobs.

The United States was never intended to be a welfare state, and the Republicans — even when they are robbing us blind — still do produce the jobs.

So this year, I don't intend to be among the 72 percent of Americans who refuse to make a political decision in the November election. I'll be voting for President George Bush this year.

Ken Hamblin's radio talk show airs on KUVU-FM 99.3 from 9 a.m. to 10 a.m. weekdays.

KEN HAMBLIN
KUVU - Radio
2246 Federal Blvd.
Denver, CO 80211
(303) 480-9272 (o)







Domestic Briefing





W.S. Tapan
Paper Agreement



*Academic Decathlon
Champions*



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 23, 1992

Dear Mr. Anderson:

Thank you for your thoughtful letter and for your recommendations on economic growth incentives.

In my State of the Union Address, I proposed a series of measures designed to spur investment, enhance competitiveness, and create jobs. While my growth package did not include your suggestion for deductibility of interest on automobile loans, it did include an Investment Tax Allowance that would have a similar effect to your suggested investment tax credit.

Although the Congress has yet to present me with acceptable economic growth legislation, I remain committed to working with the Congress to develop a plan that is balanced, fiscally responsible, and that will put us on the path to sustained economic growth.

Thanks for your long-standing support, and best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. Franklin R. Anderson
President
Custom Molders, Inc.
Post Office Box 15279
Durham, North Carolina 27704-0279





April 23, 1992

Dear Trude,

The interview in INSIGHT
came out very well, I
thought.

Everyone around here felt
it was a very positive
piece and I send along my
Thanks.

Best Wishes,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. Bush", is written below the typed text "Best Wishes,".

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Trude Feldman
2020 "F" Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Jan Burmeister

DATE: April 23, 1992

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

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THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

★ ★ ★ EASTERN EDITION

Tokyo: Dare We Ask for Whom The Crash Tolls?

By ROBERT L. BARTLEY

Even the dullest foreign exchange trader knows what to do when a finance minister or central banker declares, "We will never devalue the yen." You short the yen; devaluation ahead.

This homily leapt to mind last week, as Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan and SEC Chairman Richard Breeden solemnly testified that America has nothing to fear from financial collapse in Japan. Yet Tokyo stocks are off more than 50% from their peak two years ago. Tokyo land has no market and Japanese banks are staggering under the new Basel standards on capital backing. In a global, interdependent economy, shouldn't everyone care? Mr. Greenspan declared, "In my judgment, the impact on the United States from Japanese stock price changes to date is likely to be limited." Students of the yen's crash recognize the key words, "to date."

Once upon a time an emerging financial giant had a big crash in its stock market. It didn't understand its importance in the world, wasn't used to worrying about the international economy and lost its strongest financial leader to an untimely death. Actually, its share prices recovered nicely over six months. But it panicked, and tried to pull out of the world, sending international trade into a downward spiral. So the puncturing of a "bubble" in New York in October 1929, with the 1928 death of Fed Chairman Benjamin Strong and the 1930 Smoot-Hawley tariff, is seen as the start of the world-wide Great Depression.

Admittedly, the comparison is melodramatic. Japan is by no means as large a player in the world today as the U.S. was in 1929. Nor is the world economy as beleaguered and vulnerable as it was in the 1920s, or for that matter, the 1970s. And Mr. Breeden's statistics on the small percentage of American stocks and bonds held by the Japanese are comforting, if accurate.

Currently, after the drop, Tokyo stocks sell for some 30 times earnings, compared to 27 on the New York Stock Exchange. At their 1989 peak they reached a multiple of 70, reflecting, Mr. Breeden said, "a bubble caused by excess speculation, asset inflation and other causes that were, relatively speaking, unique to Japan." He cited the strength of Japanese corporations, and suggested the fall in Japanese stocks should be about over: "There is no basis for assuming that values in Japan would begin to show a decline below comparable world valuation levels."

The Japanese crash probably will work out just that smoothly, on the not-trivial proviso that no one panics. To all appearances, Japanese business leaders remain composed; many of their corporations have recently completed large capital investment programs and are confident of being competitive with U.S. and European counterparts without further financing.

Still, anyone looking for financial worries certainly will find plenty of promising material. In negotiating the Basel standards, the big Japanese banks got to count as capital 45% of their paper gains on their large security holdings; this has boomeranged, and they now face the prospect of retiring loans to get within shouting distance of Basel. Somewhere in the financial system, no one seems quite sure where, there are big losses on financial critters called *tokkin* and fund trusts. With land prices plummeting, real estate empires could stage spectacular bankruptcies. The famed Japanese *keiretsu* may start to look a bit like private versions of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., or the Federal Home Loan Bank Board.

The guiding philosophy here, though, is to be suspicious of either "bubbles" or "panics" as explanation for market phenomena. Mass psychosis may sometimes happen, but more usually there is, for better or worse, a cause. Japanese prices would not have soared so spectacularly, for example, if Japanese investors had more outlets abroad. This was blocked in no small part by American public-policy hysteria over the Japanese trade surplus — for by definition a lower trade surplus will mean lower foreign investment, and more savings pent up in home markets. Or Japanese policy could have promoted more consumption and less saving. By the same token, Americans should now be worrying

about the "fairness" and more about incentives to replace savings and investment that will no longer flow from Japan.

Too, the Tokyo "bubble" did not burst, it was deliberately "punctured" by government policy. Regulators clamped down on real estate lending, just as in New England. Moreover, Bank of Japan governor Yasushi Mieno clearly intended to burst the bubble and wring out speculative froth. As Bear Stearns's Global Spectator reports, yen-denominated gold prices have been wrung down 25% since 1989, while money-aggregate growth plunged from a 12% rate to 2%.

In particular, the Bank of Japan has insisted on running a foreign-exchange policy of keeping the yen overvalued with respect to the rate at which it could be exchanged into dollars with no change in purchasing power. This measure would suggest a rate of 160, by a conservative estimate of PPP, compared to recent prices around 135. The Bank of Japan has recently created more yen, but would seem to have room to do more if asset prices threaten to plunge further. The world generally may have room for a bit more money creation at the moment, with the dollar price of gold soft below \$350.

The worrisome thing is that, despite the lessons Americans should have learned in 1929, they're almost as unaccustomed as the Japanese to thinking in global terms. On April 9, a slight easing by the Federal Reserve stanching what seemed to be the first American repercussions from the Japanese markets; asked about the relationship, Chairman Greenspan told the senators no, he eased only for domestic reasons. I for one would have been more reassured if he'd said yes, we're keeping our eyes on Japan.

Mr. Bartley is editor of the Journal.

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

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★ ★ ★

EASTERN EDITION

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

On the Abortion Barricades

By MELANIE KIRKPATRICK
BUFFALO — Come Easter even the most ardent winter enthusiasts in this winter-loving city are ready for spring. But this past holiday weekend many here were praying for snow in the futile hope that a blizzard might blow away the long-planned anti-abortion protests by Operation Rescue, the radical right-to-life group. If the Almighty can't resolve the troublesome moral question of abortion, Buffalonians seemed to be saying. He might at least oblige with a little bad weather.

But Monday, Day One of Operation Rescue's "Spring of Life" offensive, dawned sunny and mild, and though the heavens have sent some rain since then, demonstrators on both sides of the issue are going strong. At clinics in and around the city, hundreds of abortion-rights advocates continue to guard the doors and escort patients in and out. Across the street from the sites, hundreds of anti-abortion activists stand, sit or kneel in vigil. In between stands a long blue line of police. Yesterday about 150 "rescuers" charged police barriers and went limp as police arrested them and carried them off to jail.

Things to Come

Events in Buffalo may well be a portent of things to come if the Supreme Court overturns *Roe v. Wade*, its 1973 decision recognizing abortion as a constitutional right. Operation Rescue staged a similar protest last summer in Wichita, Kan., where more than 2,600 people were arrested in a six-week siege. And yesterday, as the demonstrations in Buffalo intensified, protesters on both sides gathered in Washington, D.C., outside the Supreme Court, which was hearing arguments on a restrictive Pennsylvania abortion statute.

The protesters are motivated in part by frustration that the law of the land allows them little say on the most contentious issue in America today. The Supreme Court's *Roe* edict took abortion out of the hands of elected representatives, so it's little surprise that there are no demonstrators on Capitol Hill or at the New York state capitol in Albany. Messy as the fallout would be, the overturning of *Roe* would take the political battle over abortion back to where it properly belongs — to state and local governments. If voters could influence public policy and get a fair hearing on the issue of abortion, they might then stop breaking the law to get their message across.

But judging from the crowds on both sides of the streets, it's hard to say that anyone except extremists is getting a hearing. Both sets of demonstrators have attracted many people outside the mainstream of the debate — Operation Rescue for the pro-lifers and, on the pro-choice side, Buffalo United for Choice, an umbrella group of eight organizations including the National Organization for Women, ACT-UP and the Fund for the Feminist Majority. The Catholic Church has distanced itself from Operation Rescue and the city's main pro-choice group, the Pro-Choice Network, has declined to join Buffalo United for Choice.

Operation Rescue's Buffalo offensive contains three elements: Operation First Amendment, which includes picketing and preaching outside clinics and "sidewalk counseling" of patients; Operation John the Baptist, which pickets the offices, homes and preferred restaurants of six area doctors who perform abortions; and Operation Rescue, in which protesters risk arrest by blockading clinic doors.

Karen Swallow Prior, a local spokeswoman for Operation Rescue, says Buffalo was chosen because of its strong pro-life community (about half of the population of Erie County is Catholic) and because 50% of North Americans live within a day's drive of the city. It couldn't have hurt too that Mayor James Griffin has welcomed Operation Rescue to the city. Mr. Griffin, a Democrat who has also run on Republican, Conservative, Right-to-Life and inde-

pendent tickets, keeps a banner on his office wall that reads "Abortion Kills Children." Even so, he has warned Operation Rescue to stay within the law.

Within the ranks of Operation Rescue it is not easy to find many who say they are prepared to break the law. Typical of those who show up at the clinics is Anne Dill, a retired nurse who has been fighting abortion since the early '60s. "That's not my thing," she says of civil disobedience. "Mine is to be a witness." She says she'll support Operation Rescue with her prayers and her presence.

Marian Darr, a quiet 75-year-old, nods agreement as she fingers the beads on her rosary. Near the ladies stands an elderly man in a "Think Jesus" sweatshirt. He's yelling about the Bible to the crowd across the street. "I'm a modern-day Moses," he answers when asked for his name. "I have no name — at least not until this is over." Down the block a pensive middle-aged woman named Glory Ann Dobiesz says, "If the Lord calls me I will" rescue.

Outside St. John Maron Church, Operation Rescue's headquarters, Gary Warner

The Buffalo protestors are motivated in part by frustration that the law of the land allows them little say on the most contentious issue in America today.

says he hasn't made up his mind about rescuing. However, "I believe that if I stand back and do nothing I'm as bad as a murderer," he adds. Mr. Warner has taken two weeks off from his job as a truck driver to participate in the Spring of Life.

Also in the church parking lot is George Bowers, a 69-year-old from Upper Darby, Pa. He says "I haven't made a firm decision." He says he's here to photograph the event. The next day Mr. Bowers, dressed in a three-piece suit, stalks the crowd at one clinic, camera round his neck. At one point, he forgets Operation Rescue's no-shouting rule and yells "You have a choice: Stop screwing around." The back entrance to the clinic where Mr. Bowers is demonstrating is right across from the offices of the infelicitously named M.J. Grass Screw Machine Products Co.

All ages are represented in the Operation Rescue crowds, and at least half the demonstrators are male, including a few sporting ponytails or earrings. There are a number of children in the crowds too. A stern young blonde has her 10- and 14-year-old nephews in tow. "They may be young, but they know the difference between right and wrong," she snaps. On another day, on another corner, a choir of a dozen children sings "Babies, you are all more beautiful than diamonds."

On the pro-choice side, clinic "defense" is being directed by the Fund for the Feminist Majority, founded by former NOW president Eleanor Smeal. The Feminist Majority's basic tactic is to race Operation Rescue's demonstrators to the clinics in the morning ("We have spies" in Operation Rescue, says a spokeswoman) and crowd the sidewalks in front of the doors so that Operation Rescue demonstrators can't get through. "We do not think we can depend on law enforcement alone," says Ms. Smeal.

Ms. Smeal can't resist the opportunity to push an agenda other than abortion rights, however, and at a Monday press conference she took shots at President Bush and the Supreme Court. Nor is politics absent from the pro-choice barricades. Two Democratic Senate candidates showed up at Buffalo's largest abortion clinic early

Monday. New York City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman took a camera-ready position on the defenders' front line, and State Attorney General Robert Abrams posed for the lensmen as he inspected police.

On the barricades, the pro-choice defenders seem less well-disciplined than their Operation Rescue counterparts. As site leader Sharon Fauley announces to the troops that the police have formed a "no-man's land" through which patients and escorts may pass, a gray-haired lady calls out, "You mean no person's land." She's sporting a shirt that reads: "If men could get pregnant, abortion would be a sacrament."

The defenders have an even harder time controlling aggressive protesters from outside their ranks. One thorn in their side is Refuse and Resist, a group whose mission, according to its founding statement, is to resist "Reaganites, racists, misogynists, televangelists, would-be Rambos, war planners and America-firsters." Its national secretary sports a button that reads "Mao More Than Ever." Then there's the National Women's Rights Organizing Coalition. Its spokeswoman, Zoe Smith, wearing a button that says "Get Your Rosaries Off My Ovaries," says NWROC promotes "scare tactics and vulgarity" and maintains that "there shouldn't be freedom of speech for groups that are planning and executing violent acts toward women."

Also on the pro-choice lines is "Dr." of parapsychology Chester Williams. His press release doesn't mention abortion, but assures us that "Life is as real as Mother Nature and Father Time." Then there is Maury Brown of the International Socialist Organization. "I want to talk to people and attract them to our organization." Nearby, two men hold up a banner from the Marxist-Leninist Party. It's not possible to talk to three young women in black wearing hand-lettered signs that say "We Are the Silent Majority" because they have taped their mouths shut.

Republican Grannies

The mainstream Pro-Choice Network, which has about 6,000 members, keeps a friendly distance from the defenders. One member says the defenders don't know what to make of "us Republican grannies from the suburbs." A network spokeswoman says it prefers to work to change legislation and public opinion and let the police defend the clinics. Its patient escorts, clad in blue aprons, stand on nearby corners ready to guide women into the clinics.

In a Good Friday service at the New Covenant Tabernacle here, Operation Rescue founder Randall Terry said that the nation would "witness a definitive separation of good and evil" in Buffalo. For most Americans, however, abortion is not that simple. Polls consistently show that while a majority of Americans support a woman's right to choose an abortion in the early weeks of pregnancy, a majority also believe that at some point during the pregnancy the state acquires the right to intervene to protect the unborn child.

Abortion has been called the nation's second civil war. If so, it's useful to recall some words from Lincoln's first inaugural address, written shortly before the nation plunged into the misery of that war. Lincoln called upon "the better angels of our nature." In Buffalo this week, alas, the better angels are sorely absent.

Ms. Kirkpatrick is assistant editor of the Journal's editorial page.

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THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

★ ★ ★ EASTERN EDITION

Welfare Spending Declined as a Result Of 1988 Reform Law, New Study Finds

By Timothy Nault

Staff Reporter of The Wall Street Journal
WASHINGTON — The first study of how the 1988 welfare-reform law is working shows positive signs in California, where welfare spending decreased and recipients' earnings increased.

The report, to be released today by the nonprofit Manpower Demonstration Research Corp., evaluates the 1988 Family Support Act, the most ambitious federal effort during the last decade to move welfare recipients into jobs.

Although the actual dollar savings in welfare spending were modest, many welfare experts said it was encouraging to see favorable results so soon. In addition, the findings showed welfare recipients responded quickly to state and federal efforts to ease them into jobs through education and job training.

The study, focused on California's Greater Avenues for Independence program, which was created in 1985 and became one of several state models for the national welfare bill. After the bill's enactment, the program was incorporated into a welfare-to-work program created by the federal law.

Findings on Earnings

In the six California counties studied, single-parent participants in the program saw their earnings increase after one year by an annual average of \$271, or 17% more than the earnings of single-parent welfare recipients in a control group that didn't participate in the program. At the same time, welfare payments to single-parent program participants averaged \$5,948 annually, or 5% less than payments to the control group, which averaged \$6,226.

In addition, the study found that program participants let the welfare rolls at a slightly higher rate than welfare recipients who didn't participate in the program. The overwhelming majority of both groups, however, remained on welfare at the end of the study period.

Because the report didn't compare welfare savings to the cost of administering the program, it shed no light on whether welfare reforms save money for states and the federal government. But an earlier cost-benefit analysis by Manpower of a federally funded demonstration project in San Diego that resembled the program in the new study found a savings of \$3 for every \$1 spent.

Some Are Optimistic

Welfare experts said the findings were reason for at least modest optimism about prospects of reforming the welfare system. "I'm surprised that a state just beginning a program of this kind was able to achieve as much as California was in the first year or so," said Gary Burdick, an economist with the Brookings Institution.

But Mickey Kaus, author of "The End of Equality," a critique of social welfare policy to be published this summer by Basic Books, expressed concern that allowing program recipients to mix welfare and

work might make single parenthood more desirable. "While these results are positive," he said, "there's no indication that over the long term they will result in the assimilation of the welfare-based underclass."

The study appeared to provide fuel for efforts in California and elsewhere to shift welfare reform's emphasis away from education and toward employment and job training. The effects of the program appeared to be greatest in Riverside County, which has imposed work requirements more stringently than the other counties studied.

"Counties who emphasize employment opportunity consistent with the administration's proposed changes to GAIN [as the Greater Avenues for Independence program is known] are most successful," Russell Gould, secretary of California's health and welfare agency, said in a statement, alluding to a legislative change proposed by Republican Gov. Pete Wilson.

But the report said it is "too soon to tell" whether education would prove less effective than employment over the long term in getting recipients off welfare.

The report tracked welfare recipients who entered the program between March 1988 and June 1990 and followed their progress for one year. The study was funded by the California Department of Social Services and the federal government.

How I Learned to Love the New World Order

Counterpoint

By Joseph R. Biden Jr.

ly or even militarily wise? Bristling with weapons, we would continue our economic decline, while rising industrial and financial giants in Europe and Asia viewed our military pretensions with indifference or contempt.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney outdid even the Journal, dipping deep into the well of Cold War argumentation to accuse Pax Americana critics of thinking "America's world presence is somehow immoral and dangerous."

Why doesn't the Journal stop the name-calling, get its schools sorted out, and court an honest debate over America's proper role in the new world order?

Pat Buchanan's "America First" preaches martyrdom: We've been suckered into fighting "other" people's battles and defending "other" people's interests. With our dismal economy, this siren song holds some appeal.

But most Americans, myself included, reject 1930s-style isolationism. They expect

to see the strong hand of American leadership in world affairs, and they know that economic retreat would yield nothing other than a lower standard of living. They understand further that many security threats — the spread of high-tech weapons, environmental degradation, overpopulation, narcotics trafficking, migration — require global solutions.

What about America as globocop? First, our 21st-century strategy has to be a shade more clever than Mao's axiom that power comes from the barrel of a gun. Power also emanates from a solid bank balance, the ability to dominate and penetrate markets, and the economic leverage to wield diplomatic clout.

Second, the plan is passive where it needs to be aggressive. The Journal endorses a global security system in which we destroy rogue-state threats as they arise. Fine, but let's prevent such problems early rather than curing them late. Having contained Soviet communism until it dissolved, we need a new strategy of "containment" — based, like NATO, on collective action, but directed against weapons proliferation.

The reality is that we can slow proliferation to a snail's pace if we stop irresponsible technology transfers. Fortunately, nearly all suppliers are finally showing restraint. The maverick is China, which persists in hawking sensitive weapons and technology to the likes of Syria, Iran, Libya, Algeria and Pakistan — even while pledging otherwise.

The Senate has tried to force China's leaders to choose between Third World arms sales (1991 profits of \$500 million) and open trade with the U.S. (a \$12.5 billion annual Chinese surplus). Even though we have convincing intelligence that China's leaders fear the use of this leverage, the president inexplicably refuses to challenge Beijing.

Weapons containment can't be foolproof; and against a nuclear-armed North Korea, I would support pre-emptive military action if necessary. But let's do our best — using supplier restraint and sanctions against outlaw sellers and buyers — to avoid having to round up the posse. Why not an anti-proliferation "czar" in the cabinet to give this objective the prominence it urgently needs?

Third, Pax Americana is a direct slap at two of our closest allies — Japan and Germany — and a repudiation of one of our

Rather than denigrating collective security, we should regularize the kind of multilateral response we assembled for the Gulf War. Why not breathe life into the U.N. Charter?

great postwar triumphs. For years, American leaders argued that building democracy in Europe and Asia would guarantee stability because democracies don't start wars. Now the Pentagon says we must keep our military large enough to persuade Japan and Germany "not to aspire to a greater role [even] to protect their legitimate interests."

How has our success suddenly become a threat? It hasn't, but the Pentagon plan could become a self-fulfilling prophecy. By insulting Tokyo and Berlin, and arrogating to ourselves military stewardship of the world, we may spark the revival no one wants.

Secretary Cheney says he wants the allies to share the burden on defense matters. But Pax Americana puts us on the wrong end of a paradox: Hegemony means

that even our allies can force ever greater U.S. defense spending the more they try to share the burden.

Fourth, collective security doesn't rule out unilateral action. The Journal says I'm among those who want "Americans . . . to trust their security to a global committee." But no one advocates that we repeal the "inherent" right of self-defense enshrined in Article 51 of the United Nations Charter.

Secretary Cheney says his plan wouldn't undermine support for the U.N. Who would know better than the U.N.'s usually understated secretary general? If implemented, says Boutros-Ghali, the Pentagon's strategy would spell "the end of the U.N."

Rather than denigrating collective security, we should regularize the kind of multilateral response we assembled for the Gulf War. Why not breathe life into the U.N. Charter? It envisages a permanent commitment of forces, for use by the Security Council. That means a presumption of collective action — but with a U.S. veto.

Rather than defending military extravagance, the Bush administration should be reallocating Pentagon funds to meet more urgent security needs: sustaining democracy in the former Soviet empire; supporting U.N. peacekeepers in Yugoslavia, Cambodia and El Salvador; and rebuilding a weakened and debt-burdened America.

If Pentagon strategists and their knee-jerk supporters could broaden their horizons, they would see how our superpower status is best assured. We must get lean militarily, revitalize American economic strength, and exercise a diplomatic leadership that puts new muscle into institutions of collective security.

Sen. Biden is chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's European Affairs Subcommittee.

Bush Aides Fail to Resolve Rift Over Clean Air Rules

By WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
WASHINGTON — Even Earth Day couldn't bring the warring factions in the Bush administration together over an important Clean Air Act regulation.

At a White House meeting yesterday, top administration officials again failed to resolve their differences over rules requiring businesses with pollution permits to seek regulatory approval when they change operations in ways that could increase emissions. The Environmental Protection Agency contends that, by law, environmental groups and others must have an opportunity to challenge such changes. The White House Competitive Enterprise Council, headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, disagrees, but hasn't produced a formal legal opinion to refute the EPA's claim.

Ultimately, President Bush may have to settle the dispute.

The internal battling has delayed the rules long past Nov. 15, when they were required to be issued. This seemingly technical controversy has become the defining issue in the struggle for control of the administration's environmental policy. It's also a measure of the success of the regulatory moratorium, which is scheduled to end Tuesday, but is likely to be extended.

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EASTERN EDITION

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

The Boll Weevils Return

Amid what conventional measures would call a healthy political career, Colorado Senator Tim Wirth has decided to retire at the age of 52. Senator Kent Conrad of North Dakota, though only 44 years old, has also announced he is leaving. In the House, 50 Members are leaving voluntarily. Congress is heading for its biggest turnover since World War II.

Members are fleeing Congress for a variety of reasons, but the biggest is that the place isn't working. Many Members feel they have become a cog in a machine spinning out of control.

Members have also paid a price for the arrogance and pettiness shown by the Senate's Keating Five, the abusers of the House Bank and the now-widespread knowledge that Congress exerts itself from many of the laws it imposes on everyone else. The public's approval rating for Congress has sunk to only 17%.

Much of the gridlock gripping Congress can be traced to the divided government in place since 1981. A Republican White House and a Democratic House of Representatives have found little to agree on. There was, however, one notable exception to all this paralysis and malaise. It occurred during the first years of Ronald Reagan's presidency. Then, 30 to 40 moderate Democrats provided the needed votes for tax and budget reforms.

This was the alliance of Republicans and Democratic Boll Weevils, which gave conservatives and growth-minded moderates a working majority in the early 1980s. But then House Republicans suffered a 26-seat loss in 1982 due to recession and gerrymandering. That effectively ended the coalition's majority.

But after Michael Dukakis again proved the electoral unpopularity of liberalism in 1988, the Boll Weevils started to emerge from hibernation. Now, more than one out of five House Democrats belongs to the Conservative Democratic Forum, a loosely organized body headed by Rep. Charles Stenholm of Texas. In 1990, the CDF provided the votes to pass amendments in favor of capital punishment and against flag-burning. Last year, 65 House Democrats broke with their leadership and approved shifting \$151 million in HUD money to Jack Kemp's program to help public-housing tenants buy their own units.

This year, moderate House Democrats have actually defeated their leadership on key budget and tax votes. On March 31, 76 of the 268 House Democrats rejected a bill that would have knocked down the 1990 budget

agreement's "fire walls," which separated domestic and defense spending. Liberal Democrats wanted to ransack the Pentagon to stuff more money into domestic programs.

Only a week before, House Democratic leaders had suffered another embarrassing defeat when their attempt to override President Bush's veto of their tax bill failed even to muster a majority. That vote was only the second time since 1918 that a party in control of the House had failed so miserably to overturn a veto by a President of the opposite party.

There are also signs that the Senate's liberal majority is now more precarious. Eight Senate Democrats voted to retain the budget "fire walls," and the Democratic tax bill barely won a majority in the Senate.

Moderate House Democrats are now planning bolder challenges to the leadership. In 1989, nearly one out of four House Democrats voted for a capital-gains tax cut and some Democrats think they can force a modified cut through Congress early next year.

Should Republicans make significant gains in the House this fall, groups such as the Conservative Democratic Forum could be in the driver's seat again after a decade on the sidelines. Rep. Vic Fazio, Chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, concedes that his party could lose between 10 and 40 House seats this November, given fairer redistricting in some states and the outrage over congressional scandals.

Morale in Congress is now dismally low, but the body has a chance to repair its sagging image. It looks as if some of the rancid patronage system that has ruled the House will be swept away. The Senate may well have 15 new Members next year, the House more than 100. They will no doubt feel they have a mandate to change the old ways of doing business. The old way has been typified by the House Democratic Caucus and both the Senate and House leadership. They reflect a dog-in-the-manger liberalism that hasn't been able to muster either internal votes or external public support for its own agenda, but uses its entrenched power to block any alternative forward movement. But the tectonic plates of American politics may be shifting. Should President Bush be re-elected, he may find that the voters in November also decided to replace divided government with a bipartisan moderate-to-conservative congressional majority.

Gadhafi's Clipped Wings

Libya's Moammar Gadhafi just drove to Egypt for a meeting with President Mubarak because a U.N. embargo has grounded air traffic in and out of his country. It is a fitting comedown for the man whose government is suffering the embargo for being implicated in the midair bombing of U.S. and French airliners, resulting in 441 deaths. Meanwhile the Libyans are expelling Western diplomats from their country, and Gadhafi's friend, Hafez Assad of Syria, is trying to break the air embargo. Saddam Hussein's Iraq, of course, also supports the Libyan autocrat.

Still, Gadhafi can take solace: How much can sanctions hurt if you already are sitting on the wreckage of your own making across 23 years of misrule?

Libya is one of the few countries with the distinction of having had a negative growth rate for the years 1969 to 1989, according to World Bank statistics. And of that select group, its slippage has been among the fastest, with an annual decline of 3%.

When Gadhafi overthrew King Idris in 1969, Libya was on its way to becoming one of the richest countries per capita in the world because of its oil wealth and small population. But his muddled combination of communism and Islamic fundamentalism soon put a stop to all that. The Soviet Union, spotting yet another anti-Western patsy, moved in to relieve him of his money by selling him vast quantities of military hardware.

He also managed to squander a great deal of money funding international terrorism — which is what has him in trouble with the U.N. — and trying to destabilize other African nations by financing insurgencies. He wasn't very good at that either, but good enough to earn himself a punishing air raid administered by Ronald Reagan in April 1986.

Just to make sure that no money

was left unsquandered, the Libyan dictator launched the "Great Man-Made River Project" (GMMRP), which was to bring water from the southern desert to populated coastal areas. Most people would think of all the water that is on Libya's front doorstep and proven technologies for removing salt from it. But not Gadhafi, who has so far spent some \$5 billion on his GMMRP with no tangible results. Some neighborhoods in Tripoli have no running water and indeed, according to Washington Post reporter Caryle Murphy, a new eye hospital has been without water since it was built two years ago.

Gadhafi's "free" hospitals are dirty deathtraps and his "free" schools marvelous laboratories for solidifying ignorance. Because of his old-fashioned ideas about women, female illiteracy is 50%. That's not one of the highest among Islamic republics but high when you consider the country's potential for modernization 25 years ago. A police-state apparatus is in place to deal with anyone who complains about "The Leader's" crazy regime.

The U.N. sanctions were applied because of Gadhafi's refusal to surrender two men suspected of planting the bomb that destroyed Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, in 1988, killing 270 people. They take an "eye-for-an-eye" approach initially, putting an embargo on airline flights and arms shipments to Libya, on the grounds that the 1988 bombing used arms to destroy an airliner. But since Gadhafi already has weapons and because no one much wants to go to Libya anymore, this is not a fantastic burden.

When the U.N. wants to get serious, it will embargo Libya's oil, which accounts for nearly all of its income. Until then, Gadhafi will probably just sit on his dunghill and shout imprecations at the West.

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THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

Narrow Ruling Could Be Issued In Abortion Case

O'Connor, Kennedy Hint
Court May Back Curbs
Without Reversing Roe

By PAUL M. BARRETT

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Two conservative justices indicated resistance to the notion that the Supreme Court must overrule Roe vs. Wade if the court upholds all or most of a restrictive Pennsylvania abortion law.

During hour-long oral arguments over the Pennsylvania law, Justices Anthony Kennedy and Sandra O'Connor asked questions that implied an inclination toward deciding the case more narrowly than either side in the abortion debate would prefer.

At a minimum, the high court is likely to chip away further at the already fragile constitutional protection for abortion, which was first recognized by the court in its 1973 decision in Roe. The Bush administration and anti-abortion groups have urged the court to overturn the precedent.

Outcome Still Unclear

But yesterday's arguments, as is typical, left ambiguous how the court would ultimately resolve the Pennsylvania case. A decision is expected by early July.

Kathryn Kolbert, attorney for challengers to the Pennsylvania law, argued first, contending that anything short of a reaffirmation of the principles in Roe would destroy constitutional protection for abortion and result in "forced pregnancies" and dangerous "back-alley" abortions.

Ms. Kolbert adopted the confrontational strategy that the abortion-rights movement has been using both in litigation and in political debate. She essentially said that if the justices plan to limit abortion rights further, they ought to overturn Roe outright and thereby eliminate confusion in this area of law. Abortion-rights proponents, acknowledging that they are going to lose the Pennsylvania case, hope to use the defeat to rally opposition to President Bush and other anti-abortion candidates campaigning for the November elections.

Incremental Approach

But both Justices Kennedy and O'Connor interrupted Ms. Kolbert to say the Pennsylvania case could be decided on more narrow grounds. For example, the justices could overturn decisions from the 1980s that struck down abortion restrictions similar to Pennsylvania's, without overruling Roe itself. Some lawyers have predicted that this type of incremental approach might appeal to Justices Kennedy and O'Connor, who could prevent the court from issuing a more sweeping majority opinion.

Ms. Kolbert didn't waver from her argument that without a reaffirmation of the heightened standard of constitutional protection established in Roe, states will have wide latitude to restrict, and possibly ban, abortion.

The Pennsylvania law requires, among other things, that doctors give women seeking abortions information designed to discourage them and that women then wait 24 hours before the procedure is performed. A federal appeals court in Philadelphia upheld most of the law, but struck down a provision requiring married women in most circumstances to tell their husbands they plan to get abortions. The appellate court said that recent Supreme Court decisions had eroded so many of the principles supporting Roe that the 1973 case could no longer be considered the law of the land.

Five members of the high court — Chief Justice William Rehnquist and Justices Byron White, Antonin Scalia, Kennedy and O'Connor — have attacked Roe. But only Justice Scalia has said in a court opinion that the precedent should be overruled.

Justice Harry Blackmun, who wrote the majority opinion in Roe, and Justice John Stevens are the only members known to support the 1973 decision.

Thomas Didn't Speak

President Bush's two appointees — Justices David Souter and Clarence Thomas — haven't addressed the issue on the court, and neither disclosed his position yesterday. Justice Souter participated in ques-

Aspin Is Expected To Back Bush Bid For Five More B-2s

By ANDY PASZTOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Leaders of the House Armed Services Committee, trying to minimize defense industry layoffs in an election year, are expected to support President Bush's bid to complete five more B-2 Stealth bombers.

Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D., Wis.) and his staff are ready to recommend giving conditional approval to buying all 20 B-2s requested by the White House, according to one senior House Democratic aide. Congress previously has authorized purchase of 15 of the bat-shaped planes, and there is strong sentiment in the Senate for completing five additional aircraft. But until now, leaders of the House panel have balked at supporting the administration's request for 20 operational B-2s.

The additional five B-2s could cost as much as \$5 billion. But Rep. Aspin is likely to link his support for them to a requirement that the Air Force and prime contractor Northrop Corp. delay final assembly of the last batch of B-2s until the plane's radar-evading capabilities are proven.

Buying additional B-2s would help save thousands of jobs — for the next two or three years at least — at the main B-2 plant in Southern California and other states where subcontractors are working on the program. B-2 proponents also contend that the government would have to pay the contractor billions of extra dollars in termination costs if the construction line is shut down too rapidly. According to the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, Northrop has purchased some parts for as many as 27 B-2s.

The fate of the B-2 is likely to prompt a stiff fight on the House floor again this year, partly because cost estimates for the planes previously approved by lawmakers have climbed more than \$2 billion in the past few months alone. Critics of the program also argue that testing is way behind schedule, the Air Force hasn't developed a detailed plan to make the B-2 as radar-evading as promised, and that it will cost at least \$1 billion to make the bomber capable of using laser-guided or other high-precision missiles and bombs.

tioning of lawyers for Pennsylvania and the Bush administration: Justice Thomas was the only member of the court who didn't speak during the oral arguments.

The administration's attorney, Solicitor General Kenneth Starr, refused in the face of skeptical questioning from Justice Stevens to concede that overruling Roe would necessarily mean that states could then prohibit abortion altogether. Asked if the administration was asserting that a fetus should be considered a "person" — a view urged by anti-abortion groups and rejected in Roe — Mr. Starr said, "We do not have a position on that" issue. The high court, Mr. Starr added, "need not address" that question in the Pennsylvania case.

Challenges to broad abortion bans in Louisiana, Utah and the U.S. territory of Guam are pending in the lower courts and are expected to reach the Supreme Court this fall or next year.

U.S. and EC Fail To Resolve Snag In GATT Talks

By BOB DAVIS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — President Bush and leaders of the European Community discussed new proposals to break the impasse on world trade talks, but failed to reach a breakthrough.

The two sides set a new deadline, the end of June, to resolve the agricultural deadlock that has stalled a new accord under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The deadline falls shortly before a scheduled meeting of the Group of Seven major industrial nations in Munich. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl wants to use the G-7 meeting as a showcase for German reunification and to discuss relations with nations of the former Soviet bloc.

The U.S. hopes that as the G-7 meeting approaches, Mr. Kohl will press France and other EC hard-liners to back down on agriculture, so the issue can be resolved.

But European Community President Jacques Delors said both sides must make concessions to resolve the dispute. And GATT officials say privately that a draft agreement proposed last December by GATT director Arthur Dunkel purposely favored the U.S. to win its support. The officials had expected the U.S. to offer some concessions by now to get the talks moving.

The U.S. maintains that the Dunkel proposal already would require the U.S. to make concessions, and the E.C. must make steep cuts in subsidies. European agricultural subsidies are far higher than those in the U.S.

Despite the lack of concrete progress yesterday, President Bush insisted the U.S. is "committed to achieving an early agreement" in the stalled Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, which began in 1986. Though some administration officials are urging him to pronounce the talks a failure, Mr. Bush said he and the European leaders "agreed to continue this process."

Meanwhile, the International Monetary Fund said the U.S. and Canada will continue to experience a "hesitant recovery" for the rest of this year. It said corporate and household spending in the two countries will be restrained. In its annual world economic outlook, the fund anticipated slower growth in Western Europe as well, but foresaw growth in the developing countries surging an average 6% a year in 1992 and 1993.

Michael Mussa, the IMF's chief economist, said Japan's economic slowdown could be seen as a healthy correction following overly rapid expansion in earlier years. However, he urged a close watch on the Japanese economy to prevent it from contracting further.

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Clintonomics

Democrat Frontrunner Backs Industrial Policy With a Populist Twist

He Thinks Small, Favoring Tax Breaks and Banks That Serve Little Guys

Making Firms Train Workers

By ALAN MURRAY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Drawing on a Democratic brain trust, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton has assembled a set of economic proposals that, if implemented, would significantly alter the relationship between the federal government and business.

Mr. Clinton's plan, largely ignored in the frenzied primary campaign, includes some ideas that have been discussed for more than a decade under the rubric of "industrial policy." But he adds a populist twist. While many industrial-policy enthusiasts favor a tripartite arrangement among big business, big labor and big government, his proposals often turn against the big in favor of the small.

For example: Industrial-policy advocates such as New York financier Felix

This is the first of two articles on Bill Clinton's economic policies.

Rohatyn have long favored creation of a giant federal development bank to fund Chrysler-like bailouts. But Mr. Clinton talks instead of "microenterprise" banks such as Shorebank Corp. in Chicago and Southern Development Bancorp. in Arkansas. Those privately owned lenders, which were set up with some government help, make small loans to people of modest means who otherwise wouldn't find credit.

Similarly, economic-policy thinkers in both parties have long supported tax incentives to encourage productive investment. But Mr. Clinton restricts his version of a capital-gains tax cut and an investment tax credit to smaller firms. Clinton aides say both the corner dry cleaner and the high-tech entrepreneur would be eligible.

In Arkansas, Mr. Clinton has had generally good relations with big companies, but on the national campaign trail, he often has only harsh words for them. "I want the jet-setters and the featherbedders of corporate America to know," he said last year, "that if you sell your companies and your workers and your country down the river, you'll get called on the carpet."

And although quick to say that the "private sector creates jobs, not the public sector," he is equally quick to say the private sector shouldn't be left to its own devices. "What we've got to do is not only shape markets for social justice but also for real economics," he says.

Under one of his proposals to "shape" the free market, he would require all but the smallest companies to devote as much as 1.5% of their payrolls to training workers. Although many large companies already spend that much on training, the Clinton proposal would force them to spread it among all workers. Currently, most focus on managers and professionals.

Mr. Clinton also would limit tax deductions to companies paying "excessive" executive salaries. He hasn't specified an exact cutoff but has suggested it would be salaries exceeding \$1 million.

And while President Bush has abandoned his call for banks to lower credit-card interest rates, Mr. Clinton is still pressing for such reductions. He wants the federal government to pressure banks to cap their rates.

All these proposals have a populist flavor that reflects Mr. Clinton's personal campaign strategy. But they are based on the work of a cadre of Democratic policy experts who have been seeking an effective political spokesman for a decade and have now flocked to the Clinton camp. Among them are Harvard Prof. Robert Reich, one of Mr. Clinton's Rhodes-scholar classmates and an adviser to Michael Dukakis in the

Progressive Policy Institute, a Washington think tank affiliated with the moderate Democratic Leadership Council; Ira Magaziner, a Rhode Island business consultant; and David Osborne, an author and adviser to several governors.

Linking these men is a belief that government must transcend both the Democratic and Republican orthodoxies — must "reinvent government," as Mr. Osborne puts it. They reject the Republican laissez-faire view of economic management as well as traditional Democratic policies that slight the importance of private markets.

"In the 1980s, we've had two alternate visions of the relationship between government and the economy," says Mr. Shapiro, another veteran of the Dukakis campaign and perhaps Mr. Clinton's closest economic adviser. Liberal Democrats, he says, frequently looked to the government to solve problems they blamed on the market, while conservative Republicans looked to the market to solve all problems.

"Clinton has developed a view that goes beyond that debate," Mr. Shapiro says. "He says it's clear that the market is only perfect as a theoretical construct, not in practice. But it's also clear it's the only source of wealth in the country." The

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result: proposals designed not to supplant the market but to make it work better.

The goal of this government-business partnership is not just to create jobs — the traditional aim of economic policies from both parties — but rather to create good jobs. By emphasizing measures to improve worker skills or increase investment in technology, the Clinton advisers hope to raise the output — the productivity — of the average worker. Higher productivity, they argue, would in turn lead to higher wages and higher living standards.

But can the government really help? Conservative critics argue that government efforts to tamper with the marketplace inevitably create more problems than they solve. Even Gov. Clinton's own attempts to carry out such ideas in Arkansas have produced very few results.

Low-Wage Jobs

The state's manufacturing employment has expanded during his tenure as governor. But numbers from the Bureau of Labor Statistics suggest that most of the job growth came in the low-wage food-processing industry. As a result, hourly manufacturing wages, adjusted for inflation, fell about 6% between 1981 and 1991.

Clinton defenders contend such statistics prove little. "Any governor can have only a very marginal impact on industrial and economic development," says Charles Venus, a Little Rock economist. "The federal government has enormous powers the states don't have. The potential for industrial policy is much greater at the federal level than at the state or local level."

Mr. Clinton's advisers say their proposal for government-mandated training is needed to correct a problem in the labor markets. Employers hesitate to train workers for fear the workers will later quit and go to work for a competitor that doesn't pay for training. That "free rider" problem would be eliminated, the advisers say, by requiring all companies to train workers.

"That's an ideal example" of the Clinton approach, Mr. Shapiro says. Liberals have traditionally called for government-financed training programs, he says, while conservatives have left it to private business. The Clinton proposal would leave training in the hands of companies but give them a push in the right direction.

In addition, Mr. Clinton has talked about measures to encourage development of apprenticeship programs for youths who don't go to college. Under the plan, local businesses would join forces with local schools to design a curriculum that includes practical experience. The proposal is designed to help high-school graduates whose prospective wages have declined steadily in the past decade.

"We can only be a high-wage, high-growth country if we are a high-skills country," he said last week at the University of Pennsylvania's Wharton School.

Pushing Research

Mr. Clinton also envisions a government that would help businesses invest in technology. "Clinton foresees a heroic expansion of the government's commitment to support basic research in the development of nonmilitary technology," Mr. Shapiro says. The governor proposes to transfer funds now spent on defense research to a new civilian research agency that would sponsor joint projects with companies on cutting-edge technological research. Rather than have the government pick "winners" and "losers," Mr. Magaziner says, the idea would be to "let the companies decide where the money is spent."

In his Wharton speech, Mr. Clinton said, "Every dollar we take out of military R&D in the post-Cold-War era should go to R&D for commercial technologies, until civilian R&D can match and eventually surpass our Cold-War military R&D commitment."

The twin emphasis on training and technology underscores the areas where Mr. Clinton's idea men think the private market most needs government direction.

"Companies can be competitive by pursuing low wages, or they can be competitive by pursuing high productivity," Mr. Magaziner explains. "The company itself may be indifferent. But the government has an interest in trying to incentivize companies to follow the high-productivity path."

In addition, Mr. Magaziner has been pushing the Clinton campaign to adopt a huge program to help convert defense industries to civilian purposes. His proposal is to take savings from defense cuts and use the money to modernize the nation's "infrastructure" — including such things as mass transit, solid-waste disposal, energy generation and high-tech communications. In awarding contracts, the government would give special consideration to bidders promising to use defense-industry workers and facilities to do the job.

Bullet Trains

Mr. Clinton began to lay out such a program in his speech last week. He talked about possibly using some defense savings to help build bullet trains in five major corridors that would serve half a million passengers a day at speeds up to 300 miles an hour. And he suggested that the government could help build a "door-to-door" fiber-optics system by the year 2015 to link every home, every laboratory, every classroom

and even business in America. To help finance this new investment, he said he would "consider creating a federal self-financing, public-private corporation to support viable infrastructure projects."

For small defense contractors, the Arkansas governor would also have the Small Business Administration provide loans to help them convert to civilian products.

Perhaps the most distinctive part of Mr. Clinton's plans is his proposal to help smaller businesses through development of "microenterprise" banks. According to Lewis Solomon, a law professor at George Washington University, the idea for such banks originated in Bangladesh but has spread to this country. His analysis, prepared for the Progressive Policy Institute, suggests that the banks "seem to be working. People are starting businesses, and paying back at a very enviable rate." By organizing borrowers into self-reinforcing groups, the banks have avoided the high default rates that traditional bankers predicted. The banks' goal is as much social as economic: Mr. Osborne calls them "the most successful anti-poverty effort in the last 25 years."

Mr. Clinton and his advisers argue that a new approach to economic management isn't just desirable, it's essential. "For the last 11 years, we've had no national economic leadership, no national economic vision and no national economic strategy," Mr. Clinton has said repeatedly. "We can't go on the way we're going."

And Prof. Reich says many businessmen are warming up to the Clinton approach. "Ten years ago, when I was uttering the words 'industrial policy,' it brought forth the intense wrath of American business. One could not utter it without ducking," he says. "But now, American business is beginning to come around."

But Mr. Venus, the Little Rock economist — and a Republican who rejects Prof. Reich's industrial-policy proposals — says a Clinton presidency might, in the end, bring less change than such proposals suggest. "My view of Bill Clinton is that he's a very pragmatic type of individual," he says. "I honestly don't believe you will see anything wild. He's been around long enough to know you have to work out compromises."

Bush Nominates California Aide As Comptroller

Gilleran, State's Bank Chief, Would Succeed Clarke, Who Wasn't Confirmed

By KENNETH H. BAYN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has selected James Gilleran, the California superintendent of banks, to become comptroller of the currency.

If confirmed by the Senate, Mr. Gilleran, who gets high marks from California bankers, would succeed Robert Clarke. Mr. Clarke resigned in February after the Senate Banking Committee, voting on party lines, refused to endorse his nomination for a second five-year term.

The comptroller's office regulates 3,900 nationally chartered banks, including Citibank, Bank of America and most of the country's largest banks.

Banking and regulatory sources say that the White House personnel office has sent Mr. Gilleran's name to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for a security clearance. Mr. Gilleran couldn't be reached for comment yesterday. But several months ago, when his name first surfaced as one of the candidates for the job, he made it clear he would accept the post.

The combination of the banking crisis and the bruising treatment Mr. Clarke suffered have made the comptroller's job hard to fill. Senate Democrats blamed Mr. Clarke for not acting quickly enough to head off problems that contributed to the failure of the Bank of New England, while many bankers and business leaders complained that the comptroller's regulation was too tight and contributed to the credit crunch.

"These days the OCC is probably the lowest it's ever been," Mr. Gilleran said in an interview two months ago. He also said the agency "will have to expand" to meet the regulatory demands of a new banking law enacted last year. "Who could turn down a job like that?"

As the chief supervisor of 271 state-chartered banks in California, Mr. Gilleran has had to deal with the deterioration of the real estate market and the threat it poses to financial institutions in such a development-oriented state.

Larry Kurniel, the executive director of the California Bankers Association, said Mr. Gilleran began to focus on the problem as soon as he took office in February 1990. Mr. Gilleran started forcing banks to address potential real estate problems "two years ago, with cautionary notes to banks and in-depth reviews of their real estate portfolios," Mr. Kurniel said. "Some banks started doing some reserving [setting aside funds against potential losses] early on" to protect against possible losses, he said.

Mr. Kurniel said that Mr. Gilleran has worked hard to head off a credit crunch in California by encouraging banks to continue meeting reasonable demands for credit while trying to clean up problem loans. President Bush and other administration officials have complained that heavy-handed federal bank regulation has made banks afraid to lend.

Asked about Mr. Gilleran's regulatory record, Fred Martin, a senior vice president of the Bank of America, said: "You haven't seen a lot of bank failures in California, have you?"

Mr. Gilleran was well known in California banking circles before he became superintendent of banks. From 1958 to 1987 he was with the accounting firm of Peat Marwick & Main, and for most of that time he ran the firm's banking industry group in California. Mr. Gilleran also has strong Republican credentials: an associate said he chaired the 1988 Bush-Quayle campaign in the San Francisco Bay area.

As comptroller, Mr. Gilleran's primary job would be to phase in scores of new regulations required by last year's banking law, which gives regulators vast new powers to shut down or force the sale of weak banks before they become insolvent.



Bill Clinton

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WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

EASTERN EDITION

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992



Pundits Say Perot Factor, Weaknesses of Clinton And Bush, Voters' Ire All Spell Unpredictability

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON—If Ross Perot wants to be president, he ought to begin making some presidential moves right now.

That is the consensus of The Wall Street Journal's panel of political experts, who think he ought to declare his intention to run soon, and even pick his vice presidential running mate. The best bet, if he'd take it: Paul Tsongas.

CAMPAIGN
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Three of the four political pundits suggest that, given the stunning personal weaknesses of President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, Mr. Perot could emerge as one of the strongest third-party candidates in U.S. history.

"It could be a very serious challenge," says GOP strategist John Sears. "He's different, the year is different and the voters are of a mind to do something, and he's the natural heir to all of that."

Democratic consultant Greg Schneiders suggests that "if he can strike the right balance, he could do better than anyone since Teddy Roosevelt" in 1912. Mr. Roosevelt, running as the Bull Moose candidate, captured 27% of the vote, denying a second term to Republican William Howard Taft and delivering the election to Democrat Woodrow Wilson.

'All That Money'

Mr. Perot "has three things going for him," says maverick GOP theoretician Kevin Phillips. "The fact that record numbers of Americans think the country is going in the wrong direction, that the two other candidates have such incredible weaknesses, and that Perot has all that money to spend."

Only Democratic strategist Alan Baron is skeptical. "I'd expect that by October he [Mr. Perot] would be down to the single digits in the national polls," says Mr. Baron. "He really doesn't know a lot about these issues."

All the members of the panel agree that this is shaping up as one of the most intriguing national elections—and surely one of the most unpredictable—in many years. Mr. Bush, the panelists say, has little room to maneuver. His chances rise and fall on the state of the economy. If business conditions improve significantly, and the voters sense the movement, he obviously benefits. "As the economy gets better, there's less intense desire for change," says Mr. Schneiders. "Bush turns out to be the one candidate representing stability."

Nixon's Defense

For Mr. Clinton—whom the panelists all presume will be the Democratic nominee—the challenge is to quickly put behind him discussions of his character, and start talking about Mr. Bush's policy weak-

Pundits Assess the Candidates

"If (Perot) does things very well, he could win the election."

REPUBLICAN STRATEGIST
JOHN SEARS



"(Bush) is not a pretty sight when he starts to panic."

DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST
GREG SCHNEIDERS



"I'd expect that by October (Perot) would be down in the single digits."

DEMOCRATIC STRATEGIST
ALAN BARON



"Successful politicians always have enemies... (but Clinton) hasn't made his enemies take shape."

REPUBLICAN THEORETICIAN
KEVIN PHILLIPS

nesses and his own ideas for getting the country moving.

The panelists agree that it would be a serious mistake for Mr. Clinton to stake out time on national television to deliver something akin to Richard Nixon's defense of his "honesty and integrity" in the famous "Checkers" speech in 1952.

"Change the subject," says Mr. Baron. "Make this a debate about what Bush has done as president."

"Stop trying to be everybody's friend," says Mr. Sears.

"Successful politicians always have enemies, and people know who they are," says Mr. Phillips. "He hasn't made his enemies take shape."

Mr. Sears says Mr. Clinton "needs to start talking substance, and keep at it for a long time, until he can ask Bush what he thinks should be done." He also needs "to go out there and bludgeon Bush." The president "is not a pretty sight when he starts to panic," says Mr. Schneiders.

Mr. Clinton needs to be seen as competent, the panelists agree. "Both Nixon and Johnson did all right as long as people thought they were competent," Mr. Sears notes. Mr. Baron wonders, partly in jest, if Mr. Clinton wouldn't be seen "as less slick if he just lied totally."

Wealth and Power

Mr. Phillips says Mr. Clinton should talk about "what went wrong with Bush," building on Mr. Sears' point that the president has "zero credibility" with the American people on domestic issues. Then, he should encourage "legally, of course, an independent-expenditure advertising campaign attacking Mr. Bush for 'favoring the wealthy and people in power,' and pointing to the role of members of Mr. Bush's

own family and leaders in his own campaign in their pursuit of wealth and power.

The panelists believe Mr. Clinton, like Mr. Perot, could help himself by making a wise choice for his running mate. At the top of their list: Sen. Bill Bradley of New Jersey.

Mr. Schneiders remains pessimistic. "If there was not another revelation [about Mr. Clinton's personal life], he might be

able to repair the worst of the damage... So the best he can do is hope there are no more revelations and begin spelling out what he would do about the economy."

Among all the candidates, only Mr. Perot comes really close to being master of his own destiny. "But," says Mr. Schneiders, "he has to pass certain tests as a presidential candidate, and we don't know if he can."

Two Scenarios

The panelists, with an unaccustomed uncertainty, see two possibilities. In the first, Mr. Perot fails to measure up as a convincing presidential candidate. Like John Anderson and George Wallace before him, his support begins to drift away, and he winds up with only a small core of support. "Wallace went back to Peckerwood Central and Anderson was left with the Volvo crowd," notes Mr. Phillips. Mr. Baron is convinced this is what will happen to Mr. Perot.

In this scenario, the panelists agree that Mr. Perot would take more votes from Mr. Bush than from Mr. Clinton.

But there's the second scenario. What if he does demonstrate political skills, backed up by all those personal millions to spend?

"If he does things very well," says Mr. Sears, "he could win the election." Mr. Schneiders agrees. Mr. Sears sees a scenario in which national polls this fall show Mr. Perot running second to Mr. Bush. "If you've got the second man," he says, "you've got a damn good chance to win."

Mr. Phillips thinks the only way Mr. Perot could actually win requires what he calls "a third-stage downturn in the economy combined with another round of exposures about Bill Clinton."

A really successful Perot candidacy—one in which he breaks through a 30% level of support, uncharted territory for a third-party candidate—would take more votes from Mr. Clinton than from Mr. Bush, the panelists agree.

The panelists, intrigued by the political possibilities in a Perot candidacy, are quick to offer advice. Picking Mr. Tsongas as his running mate is a starter. "I'd give it a whirl," says Mr. Sears. Mr. Schneiders concedes it's a good idea, but he doubts Mr. Tsongas would entertain it.

The panelists wouldn't stop there. They

say Mr. Perot could also begin naming members of his cabinet in the next few weeks. "This is a guy who's had wide experience in circles where most third-party candidates have had no credibility," says Mr. Sears. "He could turn to people who have been frozen out. Maybe Henry Kissinger."

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EASTERN EDITION

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

WHITE OAK, MARYLAND

One Newspaper Finds Way to Lure Readers: Publish in Spanish

Miami Herald's 'El Nuevo' Surges Along With Rise Of Hispanics in Florida

Required Reading in Havana

By JOSE DE CORDOBA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

At an embassy party in Havana, six top Cuban officials cornered Andres Oppenheimer, a Miami Herald reporter who is writing a book on Cuba.

Expecting a grilling about his work or, perhaps, U.S. policy toward Cuba, Mr. Oppenheimer braced himself. But what the Cubans wanted to talk about were the growing troubles of a Cuban-born politician in Florida who has since been convicted of extortion. The Cubans had read of his problems in El Nuevo Herald, the Miami Herald's Spanish-language sister paper. El Nuevo Herald, it turns out, is popular reading among Cuba's elite.

Such is the reach of the fast-growing El Nuevo Herald. Published daily by Knight-Ridder Inc., the paper is attracting a mass readership in south Florida's burgeoning Hispanic community, and a tiny but devoted following in Cuba, about 200 miles away. There, the paper serves as a kind of underground press — must reading for apparatchiks and dissidents alike.

Since its launch less than five years ago, El Nuevo, as the paper is known, has brought good news to its publisher. The paper was born out of an extensive revamping and expansion of the Miami Herald's previous Spanish-language insert, called El Herald. The new paper's circulation has



grown to about 100,000 copies, from 71,000 for its predecessor. El Nuevo's editorial staff has quadrupled to about 50, advertising revenue has soared 500%, and the paper runs about 40 pages a day, up from eight for its predecessor. For the last three years, it has been named the best Spanish-language newspaper in the U.S. by the National Association of Hispanic Publications. And last year, 12 months ahead of schedule, El Nuevo turned profitable, executives say.

The success of El Nuevo is "critically important" to the health of the Miami Herald, says Arden Dickey, circulation director for both newspapers. In a city that each year becomes more Hispanic, the English-language Herald is hard pressed to lift its 425,000 daily circulation. Thus, El Nuevo is important in stabilizing the Herald's daily household penetration in its Dade County base. That key indicator is 39% today, down from 76% in 1960, when Cubans started migrating to the Miami area in large numbers. El Nuevo's goal is to get 137,000 subscribers by 1996.

Five Cents a Copy

At first, El Nuevo was delivered free to Miami Herald subscribers who wanted it. Then last year, partly to test the market for an independent El Nuevo, the Herald began charging five cents a day for delivering El Nuevo with the Herald.

Some Herald executives believe El Nuevo's link to the Herald is stunting the young paper's growth. But since 55% of El Nuevo's readers don't read the Herald, other executives fear that if El Nuevo were sold separately, the Herald's circulation — and the rates it can charge advertisers — would plunge. For now, the U.S. recession has tabled debate at Knight-Ridder about making El Nuevo independent.

A measure of El Nuevo's importance to the Herald is that last year, El Nuevo was authorized 12 new newsroom positions while the Herald's news staff was frozen and people in other departments were laid off. And a few months ago, El Nuevo launched a weekly entertainment section, partly to pre-empt a bilingual weekly published by its nearby rival, the Ft. Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel, owned by Tribune Co. of Chicago. El Nuevo already competes in Miami with another Spanish-language paper, El Diario de las Americas. Its circulation of about 67,000 has been flat for the last three years.

A Tale of Two Cities

El Nuevo readers get a newspaper that emphasizes Hispanic, Cuban and Latin American news. On any given day, a comparison of El Nuevo and the Herald speaks volumes about Miami's two worlds.

One day earlier this year, El Nuevo led with a story about the death of a noted Oscar-winning Spanish-Cuban exile cinematographer. Other major page one stories covered the firing of a top Cuban official and the revival of private banking in Nicaragua. President Bush's visit to Hialeah was covered under a headline that said Mr. Bush hoped to visit a free Cuba as president. The lead story in the sports pages splashed the upset losses of two top-ranked soccer teams in a major South American tournament.

That same day, the Herald led with a local banking story that El Nuevo played at the bottom of its front page. A headline over the Herald's story on the President's Hialeah visit didn't mention his Cuba re-

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marks. A small box referred readers to the obituary section for a piece on the exiled cinematographer. There were also stories on migrating mosquitoes, and the Internal Revenue Service's efforts to collect taxes on college scholarships. In sports, there was no soccer news at all.

While page three in the Herald typically runs full-page ads, in El Nuevo it is devoted to Latin American news. El Nuevo also carries a weekly column of immigration advice, a daily telenovela, which is a steamy romance serial, and a weekly social section crammed with banquet photos of such groups as the Latin Builder's Association and the Latin Chamber of Commerce. El Nuevo doesn't run editorials but offers lively opinion columns that, while generally conservative, have included pieces by Cuban officials.

"Inside Cuba," a five-times-a-week feature by Pablo Alfonso, a former political prisoner now in Miami, often breaks news unreported by Cuba's official press. His stories, such as one last year about an anti-police protest in a small town, are often followed up by other U.S. and European news organizations.

Cuba may be El Nuevo's biggest growth market. Herald publisher David Lawrence Jr. says a dozen top executives have met about 10 times in the last few months to discuss plans for the day when Fidel Castro leaves power. Plan A: Airlift thousands of copies of El Nuevo to Havana. Other plans call for opening a bureau and, eventually, publishing an edition in Cuba.

Of course, that's all highly speculative now, even with the mutual obsession between Miami and Havana. Mr. Castro has no organized opposition and may stay in power for years. And even if things change, how many people in impoverished Cuba could afford to buy a newspaper? And with no private businesses, who would advertise?

Still, if change comes to Cuba, publishing a newspaper there could be a natural for El Nuevo. "Why not?" asks managing editor Carlos Verdecia. "We have an edge over everybody else who can do it in Spanish... the resources, the experience, the structure, the staff."

El Nuevo already plays a key role in the close if dysfunctional relationship between Miami and Havana. Linked by culture and family ties, but split by politics and history, the two cities are, in many ways, mirror images of each other.

El Nuevo, for instance, is unwelcome in some quarters of both cities. In Havana, the broadsheet is officially viewed as the reactionary voice of the exile opposition. El Nuevo reporters, with one exception, have been barred from making reporting trips there (though Miami Herald reporters are allowed). Once, an El Nuevo reporter flew to Havana with United Nations press credentials to cover a conference on the role of the Cuban press. But Cuban authorities put him on the next plane out.

In Miami, El Nuevo gets some harsh treatment, too, but from the political right. In January, Jorge Mas Canosa, head of the powerful, conservative Cuban American National Foundation, a Miami and Washington lobbying group, denounced El Nuevo and the Miami Herald as tools of Fidel Castro and refused to speak to their reporters. Mr. Mas Canosa, in fiery addresses on Spanish-language radio, called on El Nuevo's publisher, Roberto Suarez, and Mr. Verdecia to resign. He said the paper should be renamed El Nuevo Granma, after Cuba's official organ.

But few exile leaders have joined Mr. Mas Canosa in his crusade against the papers, and Mr. Lawrence says only 55 subscribers have canceled. Advertising hasn't suffered, either. "If the cash-box rings, then advertisers continue to advertise," says Mr. Suarez.

That appears to be the case. Lombardo Perez, a director of Mr. Mas Canosa's group who is also an auto dealer, says he will keep buying ads in both papers even though he abhors their coverage of Cuba. El Nuevo, he says, reaches younger Hispanics who are more apt to buy cars.

In his latest dispute with both newspapers, Mr. Mas Canosa has sought to draw support from Cuban exiles who have long harbored grievances with the Herald. In the past, exiles' resentment has stemmed from what many considered the Herald's patronizing and dismissive treatment of the exile community. Until the Herald decided to bid for Cuban readers, many felt the exile community was often covered as an amusing sideshow. And the Herald's editorials irk many of the ardently anti-Communist Cuban Americans, who see them as too liberal.

In the early 1980s, as Miami grew increasingly Hispanic, the Herald tried to follow its English-speaking readers as they moved northward. But it failed to break out of its base, and by 1987 decided to refocus on Dade County. Its Hispanic population had grown by 232% between 1970 and 1990; it's now about 49% Hispanic.

To go after these readers, the Herald increased its coverage of Cuban and Hispanic issues, and launched the redesigned El Nuevo Herald. Many of the Herald's traditional readers accused the paper of "pandering" to Cubans.

Now, many of the Herald's Cuban-exile critics say that, while the paper still has far to go, its coverage of the Cuban exile community is much improved. But both papers are criticized for, among other things, running stories in one paper but not the other, or with different headlines that give the same story a different spin.

El Nuevo is also struggling to serve the tens of thousands of Nicaraguans, Colombians and other Latin Americans who have moved to south Florida in the last decade and make up a large minority group within the Hispanic community. El Nuevo has boosted its non-Cuban Latin coverage, but not enough, says Carlos Ulvert, a former Nicaraguan Contra official who now sells insurance in Miami. "Nicaraguans, who number 100,000 [here], don't get anything" from the paper, he says.

El Nuevo may be most appreciated in Cuba. Members of the island's many small human-rights groups get the paper at the U.S. mission, which buys 50 copies a day. "They're flown in on the 25-minute charter flights from Miami," David Moya, a young dissident who recently arrived in Miami, says he and his colleagues would cut stories

from El Nuevo, paste them on cardboard and circulate them in the city. "Two weeks later, you could still read the stories," says Mr. Moya. In 1991, his makeshift library of well-thumbed Nuevos was confiscated in a police raid.

In Havana, Cuban officials get El Nuevos through a local company that buys about 60 copies a day from a Miami distributor. Embassies, academic institutions and the Catholic church also buy the paper. And a center that studies the Cuban exile community puts out a daily news bulletin for top government officials that is largely composed of items taken from El Nuevo. Cubans also get news from El Nuevo over the U.S. government-run Radio Marti, which broadcasts to the island. Each day, announcers read stories from El Nuevo, boosting the paper's name recognition.

An indication of the paper's reach came in 1986 when it received in the mail from Cuba an entry form for a promotional contest that El Nuevo was running to build circulation. First prize: A house in Miami.

Jorge Davila Miguel, an El Nuevo writer who worked as a reporter in Cuba before moving to Miami in 1982, was allowed back to the island to attend a conference last year. There, he says, he ran into his former boss and told him that it was unfortunate that Cuba's best newspaper is published in Miami.

"He agreed," says Mr. Davila.

At Home, Foley Defends Himself, and Wins

By TIMOTHY EGAN
Special to The New York Times

WALLA WALLA, Wash., April 22 — During the wheat fields and farm towns of his home district, Speaker Thomas S. Foley was giving his most passionate defense yet of Congress when he inadvertently brought his audience to fits of laughter.

"We have eliminated the House bank," he told a Rotary Club lunch in the Snake River town of Clarkston. "We have raised the gym fees. Members now have to pay to get their cars washed. And, we are stopping the practice of issuing drugs to members."

The audience of farmers, small-business owners and housewives erupted in laughter. Mr. Foley smiled and looked up: "That is, pharmaceutical drugs."

It is a rule of politics that voters respect their own representatives even while vilifying Congress as a whole; that is doubly true when their representative is the Speaker. But this year, with polls showing that nearly 4 out of 5 Americans disapprove of the job performance of Congress, even Mr. Foley, the icon of Spokane who has represented Eastern Washington since 1964, is somewhat defensive with the locals.

A Second Constituency

He faces modest opposition here and seems able to ease the doubts of voters. But his other constituency, the Democratic members of the House, may not be so easy to keep in his camp. Their views of his leadership abilities will rest in part on how well they do in similar meetings throughout the nation during this spring break.

There is little of the extreme Congress-bashing in this part of the state that there is west of the Cascade Mountains, where some radio talk-show hosts in Seattle refer to the Speaker as "Aristocrat Foley."

In the Palouse wheat country, where billboards advertise bib overalls guaranteed never to rip, Mr. Foley wore his blue pinstripe suit, complete with trademark tie pin, and ripped into his critics. He rejected as "utter nonsense" President Bush's characterization of a "Congress of perks, PAC's and privilege."

Without biting into a Walla Walla sweet onion or posing with a pony, he has managed this week to win his audiences over.

"We pay \$60,000 a year for your limousine driver," a college student said to Mr. Foley at a town meeting here last night. "Couldn't we at least make a start on the deficit by eliminating that?"

Mr. Foley shot back: "First of all, it's not \$60,000 and he's not a limousine driver. He's a security officer. You want to get rid of the deficit? Take everybody in the Federal Government and fire them."

The audience applauded, and Mr. Foley continued, "That wouldn't cut into half of it."

He surprised some in the audience by predicting that an amendment to the Constitution that would require a balanced Federal budget might well



Not even Speaker Thomas S. Foley is immune to constituents' grumblings over the goings-on in Congress, but he is still winning over his audiences in Eastern Washington. Mr. Foley has rejected as

"utter nonsense" President Bush's characterization of a "Congress of perks, PAC's and privilege." He met residents of his Fifth District on Wednesday at a town meeting in Colfax.

Jeff Green for The New York Times

Buoyed by respect, the Speaker takes on his critics.

pass the Congress this summer and be sent to the states for ratification. Democrats, who view the amendment as the only way to force Republicans to raise taxes of higher income people, are starting to line up behind such a measure, he said.

After several town meetings, in which he was peppered with questions about the scandals in Congress, Mr. Foley was given standing ovations. Even the nature of the questions told much about the respect that voters have for him. None of the questions touched on the two overdrafts that Mr. Foley wrote on his account at the House bank or on his wife, Heather, a Congressional aide who has been questioned by investigators looking into a scandal at the House post office.

It's one thing to make fun of Congress the big bloated institution, but when Mr. Foley comes to Walla Walla or Dayton or Colfax or Clarkston, he is anything but an abstraction.

"No matter what he says, those people in Congress do live a different life than all the rest of us," said Doug Day, who owns a small auto parts store in Clarkston. "But I'm just tickled to death that our district has the Speaker of the House. And we all know him, no matter what people are saying elsewhere about him."

So, even if there are 100 new mem-

bers in Congress next year, as Mr. Foley has predicted, in all likelihood there will not be a new one from the Fifth District of Washington, a generally conservative area between the Cascades and the Idaho border.

The Republican Party has been running radio advertisements against Mr. Foley here. And after being encouraged by Senator Slade Gorton, Republican of Washington, State Representative Duane Sommers of Spokane has begun a campaign for Mr. Foley's seat by accusing the Speaker of "betrayal of the public's trust."

Recent polls show Mr. Foley has a wide lead and a huge reservoir of respect and approval here. Still, sensing the low esteem in which Congress is held, Mr. Foley is not taking anything for granted. Through a series of 17-hour days, he barnstormed through the sparsely populated hills of the Palouse and the Walla Walla Valley.

Unlike last fall, when Mr. Foley made an 11th-hour tour through the state that was credited with helping to defeat a ballot initiative to limit state and Federal office terms, he seems to be more in tune with the disaffection and anger of voters.

"I'm not going to defend what went on at the House bank, because we've closed it," he said in Clarkston. "During this session, Congress had undergone more changes than any legislative body in history. It is a reform Congress."

A Gilded Life?

At a town meeting in Colfax, and later in Walla Walla, he said, "Come back and spend a day with us. You'll see that Congress is not a class apart. It's not a gilded or charmed life we lead."

Mr. Foley said the trouble with the House bank, in which nearly two-thirds of House members wrote overdrafts on their checking accounts, stemmed largely from sloppy management.

"We did not get elected to spend our time worrying about how the electrical or paint shop is going to run," he said.

Mr. Foley is hoping that his colleagues in Congress, as well as the voters, see it his way. In the last two months, there have been growing doubts among some House Democrats about Mr. Foley's leadership.

At a Clarkston center for the elderly, where Mr. Foley made a rare reference to bringing home the bacon — he took credit for \$175,000 in Federal money that was used to expand the center — his audience was adoring.

"That trouble with the bank — I've had the same trouble myself," said Art Dailey, who is 77 years old.

Mildred White, another retiree, said, "There was no taxpayer money used in the bank, so why all the fuss?"

At the end of every appearance this week, Mr. Foley drew loud applause with his closing anecdote.

"When I first went to Congress," he said, "I was awed everytime I looked up at the Capitol dome, which is 9 million pounds of cast iron. Speaker McCormick said to me, 'If the time ever comes when you look up at that dome and are not honored, quit.'"

"Quit!" Mr. Foley exclaimed. "I'm 63 years old, and I'm not ready to quit. I still sense the honor."

For an Eighth Time, Manson Loses in His Bid for Parole

CORCORAN, Calif., April 21 (AP) — Charles Manson, mastermind of one of the nation's most infamous mass murders, was denied parole on Tuesday for the eighth time.

During a two-hour hearing before the State Board of Prison Terms, Mr. Manson was at turns cooperative and confrontational.

The New York Times

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Our people in Arkansas are tired of the politics of blame." GOV. BILL CLINTON



In a speech timed to coincide with the annual observance of Earth Day, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, told an audience of students and faculty

members at Drexel University in Philadelphia that President Bush had been "reactive, rudderless and expedient" in addressing environmental concerns.

Democrats

A Wary Party Chief Cancels Speech

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — The Democratic Party Chairman, Ronald H. Brown, set off another round of party infighting today when he abruptly canceled an appearance before a group of major fund-raisers, fearing they would voice doubts about Gov. Bill Clinton.

Mr. Brown was scheduled as the principal speaker at a meeting here on Thursday of Impac, a group of more than 60 Democratic fund-raisers from around the country. But in a letter to Impac's chairman, Nathan Landow, he asserted that he "read with alarm" a copy of the invitation announcing the meeting.

"The program in the letter suggests the meeting will be about reopening old wounds," Mr. Brown wrote, "continuing divisive anti-party bickering and, unbelievably, an attempt to debate the primary process."

Mr. Landow, who is also chairman of the Maryland Democratic Party, immediately canceled the daylong meeting. "I don't know what the chairman is afraid of with Impac members," he said in an interview today. "I wonder how many groups or constituencies he can write off in this so-called unification by exclusion."

Asks for Open Discussion

In his April 7 letter announcing the meeting, Mr. Landow wrote: "Many members are concerned, to say the least, about our party's prospects for winning in November and feel the need

Ron Brown tries to avoid an internal debate about Clinton.

to discuss openly how we got to where we are, and what options we have for the immediate future and for changing the process."

Mr. Landow, who endorsed former Senator Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts days before he withdrew from the Presidential race, is now uncommitted. He said that had Mr. Brown attended the meeting, he would have faced tough questions about Mr. Clinton, the Arkansas Governor who is the likely Democratic Presidential nominee.

'Real Hangup' with Caddell

While Mr. Landow has said there is nothing inappropriate about discussing prospects for throwing open the convention to a candidate other than Mr. Clinton, he insisted that his ultimate interest was not to be divisive but to bring about party unity.

He asserted that Mr. Brown was caving in to pressure from the Clinton campaign, and that the chairman did not want to speak on the same program as Patrick H. Caddell, an outspoken strategist who has advised Mr. Clinton's only remaining opponent, Edmund G. Brown Jr., and is also support-

ive of Rosa Perot, who is considering an independent Presidential bid.

"Apparently he's got a real hangup about being in a debate with Pat; he's intimidated about it," Mr. Landow said, noting that Mr. Caddell was not scheduled to appear at the same time as Mr. Brown.

Ginny Terzano, a spokeswoman for the Democratic National Committee, insisted that "there is no muscling going on by the Clinton operation" for Mr. Brown not to attend. As for appearing on a program with Mr. Caddell, she said, "Ron has concerns about doing a panel with someone trying to promote a non-Democratic Party candidate. He would lose a lot of credibility if in fact he did."

The flap over the Impac meeting is the latest setback for Mr. Brown's efforts to move beyond the primaries and focus his party on the general election. In recent weeks, Mr. Brown has sought to diffuse efforts by Edmund G. Brown Jr. to attack Mr. Clinton.

The relationship between Mr. Brown and Mr. Landow has been strained since early in Mr. Brown's tenure, when Mr. Landow was openly critical of the party's efforts to raise money.

But Mr. Landow said it was a mistake for Mr. Brown not to address the group, which includes some Clinton supporters. "They're all serious, committed Democrats who have been heavily involved in fund-raising efforts with the party for many years," Mr. Landow said. "It certainly would be worth an hour to reach out a little bit and put his personal agenda on the back burner."

QUAYLE AND E.P.A. SPLIT ON EMISSIONS

Bush May Be Asked to Decide on Permits for Polluters

By ROBERT D. HERSHEY Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — Vice President Quayle and other senior Administration officials remained deadlocked today with the Environmental Protection Agency over a bitterly contested E.P.A. proposal that the public be notified when companies with pollution permits seek to raise permissible emissions.

As a result of the stalemate, President Bush may be presented with each side's arguments within the next few days and be asked to make the decision himself. At stake are not only what the White House says is billions of dollars in potential costs to thousands of American companies but the political consequences of having to rule against the interests of either the business or environmental communities.

"There's a continued disagreement on the issue of public review in the permits process," an Administration official said after a White House meeting today attended by the principal parties to the monthlong dispute. The session included William K. Reilly, the E.P.A. Administrator, and Mr. Quayle, point man for the Administration's aggressive deregulatory program and head of its Council on Competitiveness.

David Cohen, a spokesman for the environmental agency, said he could not discuss today's session, which replaced one that had been scheduled for April 3 but was postponed after wrangling about the terms of the debate. A spokesman for Mr. Quayle's office, citing an "unusual situation," also declined to comment.

Citing Clean Air Act

In carrying out amendments to the Clean Air Act, the agency contends that the process by which companies seek relaxation of their pollution limits should be open and should include requirements for public notice and comment. Officials say the agency regards itself bound to this view, which was enunciated by a former general counsel.

Administration officials said that the Justice Department had been asked whether it concurs but that so far it had declined to do so, at least in writing.

Environmentalists say that without the chance to contest applications at an early stage, their ability to prevent a rise in pollution levels would be severely eroded.

The Government is already more than five months late in presenting its regulations, which under the law were due on Nov. 15, 1991.

It is not clear whether the Council on Competitiveness also discussed in today's meeting what measures might be taken to continue the Bush Administration's 90-day regulatory moratorium that is scheduled to end next Tuesday.

Mr. Quayle has previously said that he is seeking some way to "institutionalize" the moratorium, which includes a review of existing regulations as well as a deferral of new ones not affecting health and safety.

Duke and Brown Together, Briefly

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — It looked like just another late night US Air connection between Pittsburgh and Washington. Then David Duke, the former Ku Klux Klan leader and failed candidate for the Republican Presidential nomination, got on board. Then former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr., Democratic Presidential candidate, walked down the aisle.

They met. They talked. The other passengers, already glassy-eyed as befits the 9:50 out of Pittsburgh on a rainy Tuesday night, looked like involuntary extras in an episode of "The Twilight Zone." As Jacques Barzagli, Mr. Brown's semi-mystical adviser, put it, "It was a moment."

Mr. Duke, on his way to Washington to withdraw from the race, took the initiative, rising from his

seat and introducing himself as Mr. Brown got on board. "Hi, I'm David Duke," he said. "I was in the race myself for a while." Mr. Brown acknowledged him briefly, then took his seat, far in the back of the aircraft.

Once the plane was airborne, Mr. Duke walked back to pursue the conversation, crouching in the aisle next to Mr. Brown and chattering away for most of the flight. The former Louisiana State Representative said later he talked about the flat tax, a proposal that both he and Mr. Brown support. Mr. Barzagli, who was sitting near the two, said: "Jerry didn't say boo. He was sitting with a look of green on his face."

Upon landing, the other passengers filed out, muttering that no one would believe them.

Judge Allows Lawsuit Against Representative

WASHINGTON, April 22 (AP) — A Federal district judge has refused to throw out a Government lawsuit against Representative Charles Rose, saying the Constitution does not exempt members of Congress from civil penalties for ethics violations.

The judge, Thomas Penfield Jackson, issued his decision on Tuesday, rejecting an argument by Mr. Rose, Democrat of North Carolina, that he was protected from the suit because the Constitution bars one branch of Government — in this case, the executive — from infringing on the powers of another, the legislative.

The civil suit, filed by the Justice Department three years ago, asks that Mr. Rose be fined \$30,000 for failing to report a number of personal loans on his financial disclosure statements from 1980 to 1986.

Environment

Clinton Links Ecology Plans With Jobs

By GWENIFILL
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, April 22 — Acknowledging his shortcomings on environmental matters as Governor of Arkansas, Bill Clinton said today that states like his have suffered at the hands of Republican administrations that promoted "short-term tradeoffs between jobs and the environment."

In a speech timed to coincide with the annual observance of Earth Day, the Democratic Presidential candidate told an audience at Drexel University here that President Bush had been "reactive, rudderless and expedient" in addressing environmental concerns.

But Mr. Clinton's own record on environmental matters was quickly and sharply criticized by top aides to Mr. Bush and by the Arkansas's only remaining major rival in the Democratic race, former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California.

Mr. Clinton said that as President he would raise automobile fuel efficiency standards to 45 miles a gallon, buy vehicles powered by natural gas for the Federal fleet and redirect spending away from nuclear power and toward renewable resources.

'Short-Term Tradeoffs'

"I've spent the last decade, and then some, as Governor of a poor state, fighting to keep jobs and make up for lost time," Mr. Clinton said. "I know how much our people are hurting after the longest recession and slowest economic growth in the last 50 years."

"In the 80's, frankly, I also faced the old short-term tradeoffs between jobs and the environment, tradeoffs that were made tougher by Federal cutbacks in aid to clean up the environment and the lack of clear national policies in areas which allowed states to be played off against one another in jobs versus the environment conflicts."

he said. "And in that context, I've made the choice, from time to time, for jobs because my state was a poor one without either enough jobs or enough Federal help to clean up the environment."

Mr. Clinton accused the Bush Administration of promoting the notion that economic growth and environmental protection cannot coexist. He said the White House Competitiveness Council, which is headed by Vice President Dan Quayle, "lets major polluters in through the back door at the White House to kill environmental regulations they don't like."

It is a charge that Mr. Clinton is familiar with. He has been criticized by some environmentalists in Arkansas for appointing industry representa-

An Earth Day appeal to end pollution.

tives from major agricultural polluters like the state's chicken industry to sit on watchdog boards and to comply with state regulations only voluntarily.

David Gardiner, the legislative director of the Sierra Club, an environmental group, praised Mr. Clinton's proposals today in a statement distributed by Clinton campaign officials before the Governor delivered his speech.

In an interview later, Mr. Gardiner said the Sierra Club was aware of the problems some Arkansas environmentalists have had with Mr. Clinton.

"I don't think we're completely happy with Governor Clinton's record in Arkansas, but we have more substantial concerns with President Bush's record," he said.

The White House responded swiftly and angrily to Mr. Clinton's remarks. Marlin Fitzwater, the President's press secretary, said: "He does know pollution. He's got it, he's caused it, he's nurtured it and he's done nothing to clean it up."

Mr. Fitzwater cited a national study that showed Arkansas rated last in environmental protection and enforcement. The study, the 1991-1992 Green Index, was put out by the Institute for Southern Studies, a nonprofit research group based in Durham, N.C.

Michael Deland, chairman of the President's Council on Environmental Quality, said Mr. Clinton's "slippery attempt on Earth Day today to gloss over that deplorable record gives new meaning to the word 'oil slick.'"

The White House attack marked the first time that the Bush camp has taken Mr. Clinton on directly, and the ferocity and swiftness of the response was a clear hint that the Bush campaign intends to use environmental issues against the Governor if he is the Democratic nominee.

Mr. Brown, who came to Washington to deliver his Earth Day speech, was unapologetically critical of Mr. Clinton's environmental record. "For the Democratic Party to even think about putting Clinton at the top of the ticket is to invite an environmental backlash of no small dimension," Mr. Brown told a crowd on the Washington Mall.

The former California Governor said Mr. Clinton has "one of the worst environmental records in the country." Mr. Brown cited his own commitment to energy conservation and environmental protection and asserted it was time for "Congress and the Democratic Party" to step up to the challenge.

Some Bush campaign strategists have begun speculating that Mr. Clinton's environmental record can be held against him by showcasing sites like the polluted White River region in northwestern Arkansas, where waste from millions of animal farms has tainted miles of streams.

Mr. Clinton, who served as Governor from 1978 to 1980 and again from 1982 until now, did not appoint a study group to address the problem until 1990.

The Governor challenged Mr. Bush to join him at the White River so he could show him what the problems were there. "If you really want to clean up the problem, I'll make a deal with you," Mr. Clinton said he would tell the President. "We'll outline the Federal and the state responsibility and we'll get results in cleaning up one of the most wonderful rivers in this country. Our people in Arkansas are tired of the politics of blame."

Recalling Mr. Bush's successful effort to turn the environmental debate against Michael S. Dukakis, the Democratic nominee in 1988, Mr. Clinton asserted: "I will not let this become the Boston Harbor. So, Mr. President, if you want to place the blame, you're going to have to shoulder some of it, too."

National Standards Urged

Mr. Clinton said that national standards must be put into effect to deal with pollution like the agricultural runoff that has created so much of his state's environmental problems. "That is the next big challenge in clean water," he said.

The Governor said Mr. Bush was "singlehandedly blocking" global efforts to address environmental concerns by hesitating over whether to attend the international conference on the environment, to be held in Rio de Janeiro in June.

Mr. Clinton called for "a new covenant for environmental progress" that would include debt-for-nature swaps, in which poorer nations would be allowed to satisfy debt by setting aside land for preservation. He also urged American participation in United Nations programs aimed at curbing global population growth.

Mr. Clinton also said that he would develop "revenue-neutral" incentives to encourage conservation and tax automobiles that are less fuel-efficient. And he said he would encourage further development of solar energy alternatives and pass a national bottle bill that would place a refundable fee on recyclable bottles, cans and other containers.

He did not say how much the measures he has proposed would cost taxpayers or the Federal Government.

THE AD CAMPAIGN

Clinton: The Candidate's Biography

Script: "It's a story as old as the American dream, and it begins in a small town called Hope. His father died just before he was born and his mother and her family struggled to give him better opportunities, to teach him that with hard work, faith and a good education, anything was possible."

"Bill Clinton. He worked his way through Georgetown, a Rhodes scholarship, Yale Law School. Then went home to Arkansas, not to chase dollars, but to try to make a difference for others."

"Education reform, job creation, welfare reform. Changing people's lives for the better. That's the work of his life. That's why he's running for President."

Producers: Great American Media Inc., Washington.

On the screen: Footage of Hope, Ark., then black-and-white photos of Mr. Clinton's father, mother and grandfather; of a young Mr. Clinton with John F. Kennedy; of Mr. Clinton's yearbook picture.

Color photos of Mr. Clinton being sworn in as Governor, talking with construction workers, getting a hug from an elderly woman.



Accuracy: The information about Mr. Clinton's family background and academic career is accurate, though embellished with a bit of inspirational language.

Although questions have been raised about some of Mr. Clinton's financial dealings, few would accuse him of pursuing politics for pecuniary reasons: his salary is one of the lowest of any Governor in the country.

Scorecards: The ad is similar to commercials Mr. Clinton ran at the start of his campaign in New Hampshire, and marks an effort to reintroduce voters to some of the more sympathetic elements of his background: his difficult childhood and impressive academic achievements.

It is a rare politician who is fortunate enough to be born in a town called Hope. Still, it is unclear how moved voters will be by Mr. Clinton's biography, which is essentially that of a career politician.

ELIZABETH KOLBERT

Data on Iraq Nuclear Warnings Released by U.S.

By WILLIAM J. BROAD

Dismissing charges that it silenced an official who warned in 1989 that Iraq had embarked on a major effort to build a nuclear bomb, the Energy Department yesterday took the unusual step of declassifying and publicly releasing important documents in the dispute.

The agency said the documents showed that it had acted in a conscientious manner.

"It was handled responsibly — not in the same way the author of the memo wanted — but in a responsible way," Joseph C. Karpinski, press secretary

for the Energy Department, said in an interview. "Those kinds of disagreements go on all the time."

The declassification came in response to a two-year investigation by Representative John D. Dingell, the Michigan Democrat who heads the House Committee on Energy and Commerce and its investigative subcommittee. In a closed hearing, he has charged the department with ignoring the warning and missing an opportunity to block Baghdad's nuclear ambitions some two years before the West went to war against Iraq. The New York Times published an article on Monday about the warning.

Yesterday officials in Mr. Dingell's office voiced surprise at the declassification of the documents, saying that the uncensored version shows even more clearly that the agency blundered.

An aide, who spoke on the condition of anonymity, said the panel would investigate how the documents came to be declassified.

Mr. Dingell's subcommittee was given the secret documents on the condition that only heavily censored versions could be released to the public or printed in the hearing record, which is to be made public shortly. Any release of secret information in the documents,

the subcommittee was told, would seriously damage national security.

The formerly secret memos released yesterday include the original warning, which was issued in April 1989 by A. Bryan Siebert Jr., an Energy Department official with the agency's main responsibility for export control. He had discovered that Iraq had embarked on a buying binge of parts used in nuclear industries, including fuel-making equipment and weapon triggers. He undertook an urgent effort to inform the Energy Secretary and the National Security Council of the purchases and to propose that Western export controls be quietly tightened.

"Recent evidence indicates that Iraq has a major effort under way to produce nuclear weapons," Mr. Siebert says in one of the newly declassified parts of his proposed memo to the

Energy Secretary. Another section says the pattern of purchases suggested the Iraqis had "detailed knowledge of design" for building gas centrifuges, which are key to enriching uranium for a bomb's explosive core.

Mr. Siebert's warnings were dismissed in 1989 as alarmist by superiors, mainly on the advice of Robert J. Walsh, an intelligence official. Mr. Siebert's proposed memo never reached the Energy Secretary.

In Mr. Walsh's newly declassified memo of nonconcurrence, he says that a nuclear weapons program in Iraq "has not been identified" and that recently purchased items, while in theory having nuclear uses, "also have peaceful applications." Iraq's level of uranium enrichment technology, he added, "is unknown but believed to be, at best, in an early stage of development."

Baghdad Limits U.N. Efforts To Provide Relief for Iraqis

GENEVA, April 22 (AP) — Iraq has imposed new restrictions on the movement of United Nations vehicles providing food and medicine to stricken Iraqi citizens and has stepped up harassment of relief workers, the United Nations said today.

President Saddam Hussein's Government told the head of the United Nations humanitarian team in Baghdad last week that the Iraqi Foreign Ministry must approve any use of United Nations trucks 48 hours in advance, the organization said in a statement.

Iraq cited "potential misuse of the vehicles to sabotage the economy," the United Nations statement said.

Personal Health

Tsongas Says He'd Give Full Medical Disclosure if a Candidate

By LAWRENCE K. ALTMAN

Paul E. Tsongas, who received an experimental bone marrow transplant for lymphoma in 1988 and additional radiation treatment after suffering a relapse in 1987, said yesterday that he would make his medical records available for an independent medical review if he becomes a Presidential or Vice-Presidential candidate in the future.

If questions or concerns remain after such a review, Mr. Tsongas said he would ask his doctors to arrange for tests by independent cancer experts. The former Senator from Massachusetts outlined the plan in a letter to Dr. George P. Canellos, the head of oncology at the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute in Boston, where he received treatment for lymphoma, a cancer of the immune system.

Such tests would be performed at a cancer center that was not affiliated with Dana-Farber, a Harvard teaching hospital, Mr. Tsongas said.

Mr. Tsongas, who has suspended his campaign for the Democratic Presidential nomination, said in an interview that he did not expect to be offered the Vice-Presidential spot this year. He said he had no intention of running for office in Massachusetts and that the only two elected offices he might seek would be the Presidency or Vice Presidency.

Responding to Article

Mr. Tsongas wrote the letter in response to an article in The New York Times on Wednesday that said his doctors now acknowledge that he suffered a recurrence of lymphoma in a single lymph node in his left armpit about eight months after his bone marrow transplant.

Yesterday, Gina Vild, a spokeswoman for Dana-Farber, said that doctors detected the lymph node about four months after the transplant and watched it until a biopsy was done. The pathologist's report, dated July 15, 1987, said the node was "non-Hodgkin's

lymphoma, nodular and diffuse, poorly differentiated lymphocytic type, or small cleaved follicular center cell type."

Dana-Farber issued a news release yesterday saying that the facts about Mr. Tsongas's case were "previously on the record." But previous reports did not say the lymph node was a lymphoma, only that there were suspicious or potentially cancerous cells.

Mr. Tsongas said that since he was no longer a candidate for President this year, there was no need for him to release additional information.

In allowing future independent examination of his medical records, and possibly himself, Mr. Tsongas said he recognized the need for full disclosure to assure the public about his health.

Mr. Tsongas said the issue of informing the public about his health "has become a lot more complicated than it seemed to any one of us."

He also said that his request may set a precedent that could make some doctors "uncomfortable." But he added, "There will be no other way to lay this matter to rest."

Duke Ends Bid For White House

WASHINGTON, April 22 (AP)

— After a series of poor showings in the primaries, David Duke today ended his Republican Presidential campaign and said he would not run for the White House as an independent this fall.

"I have not been successful in this race for President," said the former Ku Klux Klan leader and onetime Nazi sympathizer. "My role in this Presidential election is over."

Less than five months ago, Mr. Duke announced his candidacy at a packed news conference here. Today the news conference marking his departure was sparsely attended.

Mr. Duke, a former Louisiana state legislator, said he had no plans to run for any office but did not rule out a future race for Congress or another elective post.

His immediate task, he said, will be to erase \$40,000 in debt. He said he would do so by lecturing, publishing a newsletter, running a computer business and writing a book "about a very controversial life, and that's mine."



Michael Grecco for The New York Times
David Duke announcing that he was ending his campaign.

Pennsylvania Poll Shows Clinton Is in Lead

PITTSBURGH, April 22 (AP) — A Pennsylvania Poll published on Tuesday showed Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas comfortably ahead of his two principal challengers on the ballot in next Tuesday's Democratic primary.

Mr. Clinton was the choice of 45 percent of enrolled Democrats. Former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California had 18 percent and former Sen. Paul E. Tsongas of Massachusetts, who suspended his campaign last month but remains on the ballot, had 15 percent. Twenty-two percent were un-

decided. But 65 percent of the Democrats said they wished they had another candidate to choose, according to the survey by The Pittsburgh Post-Gazette and television station WTAE.

Among Republicans, President Bush led with 67 percent to 9 percent for Patrick J. Buchanan.

The survey, taken April 15-18, included a random sample of 445 Democrats and 442 Republicans. The margin of sampling error was plus or minus five percentage points.

Trying to Corral a Tough-Talking Perot on Issues

By WALTER GOODMAN

Since Ross Perot notified Larry King in February that if his admirers could get him on the ballot in all 50 states he would run for President, the electorate has been able to watch the candidate presumptive on many channels. Those appearances have constituted his entire campaign so far. What is it about him that seems to appeal to an audience of millions? What is it that accounts, as Mr. Perot puts it, for "all these everyday folks that make the world go round writing me in longhand?"

To begin with the image on the tube, Mr. Perot rides up as the richest and toughest outsider that side of the Pecos. In a year crowded with ambitious men professing to be the authentic lone stranger, outsidership has been somewhat devalued. But where Edmund G. Brown Jr. will take no more than \$100 per contributor, the newcomer drops the ante to \$5 and says he does not even cash those checks. In this anything-you-can-do-I-can-do-cheaper competition, a billionaire can outpistol anybody. And unlike career pols like George Bush or Bill Clinton, a fellow who has made it in the real world can present himself as someone who does not need to be President, psychologically illogical though that may be.

As Mr. King gently roiled on his CNN program, Mr. Perot is no showboat. He is not built to Texas proportions, and his reedy voice cannot reverberate across the canyons; he looks more like Porter Hall than Gary Cooper. Morley Safer said he resembled a shoe salesman. The product he is selling remains fuzzy, but the can-do, will-do sales pitch on television is as sturdily American as the Norman Rockwell original on his office wall that he interpreted for "60 Minutes."

Impressing the Viewers

Viewers have also had plenty of opportunity to see action scenes from the movie about the rescue of two of his employees in Iran. Unfortunately, Burt Lancaster played not Mr. Perot, but the colonel he hired to lead the raid; nevertheless, the boss can still oppose the Persian Gulf war without worrying about being written off as a weak-stomached wimp. You do not make billions without some notches on your guns.

Although his present targets — "these guys with their alligator shoes and their briefcases running up and down the halls getting their special deal cut" — have been much riddled this year, viewers seem impressed with Mr. Perot's marksmanship. "When Ross Perot says he'll do something, he'll do it!" a believer told the "Today Show."

What precisely would he do outside of cutting the military budget and cleansing the temples of Government of fraud, waste and alligator shoes is much less sharply defined than his figures of speech: "When you see a snake, you kill it; you don't form a committee." On "Good Morning America," Joan Lunden inquired what he had in mind for health and education. He answered that he would call on the people to start acting like owners of their country. End of interview. Is he speaking truth to power or commercials to the powerless?

Either way, you cannot saddle him with the pretension, common to candidates in the throes, that he has an instant solution to every problem, or



Ross Perot, right, appearing last week as a guest on the "Larry King Live" television show on CNN.

Perot's product is fuzzy but a lot of people are buying the sales pitch.

to any problem. Mr. Perot's visit to "This Week With David Brinkley" was a stand-off: He expressed annoyance with the questions; George Will evinced exasperation with the non-answers.

Last week Mr. Perot disclosed to Larry King that he considers the Middle East, the environment and gun control serious matters and would get together the brightest and the best to deal with them. At least one interviewer seems to have given up. On Tuesday's visit to "CBS This Morning," Mr. Perot was not asked a single question about his policies.

Not One to 'Burp' or 'Diaper'

Still, on at least one dangerous issue, he has been as up front as any honest lawman. He told Katie Couric on the "Today" show that he would cut Social Security and Medicare for "people who don't need it." That category could use some refining, but it is a daring promise of the sort that helped Paul F. Tsongas lose Florida.

Like Mr. Tsongas and other departed Democrats, Mr. Perot says at every appearance that he wants Government to support business intelligently, the way America's international competitors do. But he puts the case more pungently than the rest: "I don't mean subsidize business. I don't mean burp them and diaper them. But I mean let's stop breaking their legs first thing every morning."

The muscular imagery gives this non-campaigner that special something. It is catching. One supporter on a news program called him "tough as pig iron." Mr. Perot lays on emblems of his manliness in good-old-boy lingo: "If we have a losing football team, we know what to do — get a

new coach, get a new quarterback." He compares the economy to a fighter on the ropes and dismisses quick fixes as "novocain in the knee shots." (Sometimes the shootist misfires, as when he described his supporters as locusts moving across a wheat field. On the other hand, likening the national debt to the crazy aunt that nobody in the family talks about gets across his point.)

Making Do With Tough Talk

What sort of show is this? The stranger lopes into a town that needs help, but even with his endless supply of silver bullets he knows better than to try to clean up the place single handed. And although he has learned to direct his lines smack at the camera, he cannot fill the screen like Big John and send the baddies scurrying with a shout. Yes, "60 Minutes" caught or placed him in the saddle, but he still does not come across like a man on horseback.

So he makes do with tough talk on talk shows and with being just plain folks. This made-in-America billionaire trashes General Motors but, as noted on "60 Minutes," he drives a 1984 Oldsmobile. There he is, the man who can afford pheasant, digging into a slab of beef at his favorite barbecue joint.

He promises all interviewers that his first act as President would be to

create an electronic town hall where every week or so "the owners of the country, the people," would have all sides of an issue served up to them and be able to tell Congress which slice they prefer. Barbecue politics.

In this season of mistrust of Washington, nurtured but not created by television, Ross Perot is riding the distaste for politics of any sort, not excepting representative government. Polls suggest that the welcoming response is less an expression of faith in them personally than a measure of the suspicion and disgust that insiders have earned.

This is television, and as the performance states, the performer could easily fade into the sunset of last season's miniseries. In one of his less felicitous images, Mr. Perot asked his supporters to promise that "if we got lucky and climbed the cliff, you wouldn't climb out of the ring the day after election." Well, everyday folks that make the world go round may decide that climbing along with Ross Perot way up there amid those high winds of strong-man populism sounds a little unsettling.

More national news, pages B10 and B11.

Independent

Perot Hires a Veteran Journalist To Act as His Press Spokesman

By STEVEN A. HOLMES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — In a move that will further speculation that he intends to run for President, Ross Perot has hired a veteran journalist to act as his press spokesman.

Aides to Mr. Perot said he had hired James Squires, the former editor of The Chicago Tribune and The Orlando Sentinel Star. Thomas W. Luce 3d, a Dallas lawyer and a long-time Perot aide who heads the petition drive for the Texas billionaire, said the volume of requests for interviews and personal appearances had grown too large and that a veteran journalist was needed to help sort things out.

Requests for interviews are now

Mr. Squires said that he would assume his new position around May 1 but that he began fielding calls from reporters more than a week ago. He left The Chicago Tribune on Jan. 1, 1990, having served as the newspaper's editor since July 1981. Before that he was the editor of The Sentinel Star, a newspaper also owned by the Tribune Company. Mr. Squires has covered Presidential campaigns from 1968 to 1976.

Asked whether his appointment could be read as another sign that Mr. Perot had decided to toss his hat into the Presidential ring, Mr. Squires replied: "There will never come a day when I will tell you what you should be reading into something; a spin doctor I'm not."

As the drive to place Mr. Perot's name on the ballots in all 50 states takes on more of the trappings of a full-fledged Presidential campaign, Mr. Perot, a Dallas computer software magnate, also said this week that he had quit two private clubs that have no black members. He said his resignation stemmed from concerns expressed by volunteers in his petition drive.

The candidate-like actions by Mr. Perot also come at a time when two public opinion polls show him beating both President Bush and Mr. Clinton in two states, although the margin over Mr. Bush is statistically insignificant. A survey of 647 registered voters in New Mexico conducted April 16 through April 19 for an Albuquerque television station showed Mr. Perot favored by 31 percent of the voters, Mr. Bush by 29 percent and Mr. Clinton by 25 percent. Fifteen percent were undecided. The poll had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus four percentage points.

Earlier this week a poll suggested that Mr. Perot led the President and Mr. Clinton in Texas, a state considered crucial for Mr. Bush.

A noncandidate gains trappings of a campaign.

made to Mr. Luce and Sharon Holman, an employee of Mr. Perot's son. "We had a backlog of about 1,500 media requests," Mr. Luce said. "That's way too many for Sharon Holman and I to handle."

Mr. Squires, who is teaching a course on the press and politics at Middle Tennessee State University, said that his duties as press secretary would consist mainly of setting up interviews with Mr. Perot but that he would be willing to provide advice on framing Mr. Perot's message if asked.

'Whatever They Ask Me'

"I'm going to do whatever they ask me, or whatever they want me to do," he said in a telephone interview from Cambridge, Mass., where he was attending a meeting of the board of the Neiman Foundation at Harvard University.

Court Gets Stark Arguments on Abortion



Almost 200 anti-abortion protesters were arrested yesterday in Amherst, N.Y., as they marched on a clinic, hoping to close it down. Police officers used a sling to carry one of the demonstrators. Page B9.

Both Sides Stress Broad Effect of Any Ruling

By LINDA GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — If there is a middle ground on abortion, it was not much in evidence in the arguments presented to the Supreme Court today in a Pennsylvania case that could determine the future of the constitutional right to abortion.

Broad statements of philosophy and policy marked the hourlong session, which at times appeared to have as much to do with the political world beyond the Court as with the process of constitutional decision-making within it.

In contrast to the narrowly tailored legal arguments usually heard at the Court, Kathryn Kolbert, a lawyer for the American Civil Liberties Union, offered an all-or-nothing analysis of why the Justices should strike down a Pennsylvania law that restricts abortion but does not prohibit it. Her approach appeared to frustrate several Justices who seemed to be looking for a way to uphold the law without necessarily eliminating the right to abortion.

Emphasizing the Stakes

Ms. Kolbert said that upholding any of the law's restrictions, which include a 24-hour waiting period and a requirement that married women notify their husbands of a planned abortion, would be the equivalent of overruling *Roe v. Wade*, the Court's 1973 decision that declared abortion to be a "fundamental" constitutional right.

With the likelihood remote that the Justices will heed such a request to reaffirm *Roe v. Wade*, the strategy of the abortion-rights lawyers has been to underscore the stakes for an election-year audience beyond the Court. A Federal appeals court in Philadelphia struck down the husband-notification provision last fall. But the abortion-rights side found that ruling unsatisfactory because the appellate judges, at the same time, found that abortion was no longer a fundamental right and could be the subject of a new degree of state regulation.

"Never before has the Court bestowed and taken back a fundamental right that has been part of the settled rights and expectations of literally millions of Americans for nearly two decades," Ms. Kolbert said.

A 'Compelling' Interest

For its part, the Bush Administration adhered to the broad anti-abortion argument it first presented to the Court three years ago in the Webster case, which upheld a Missouri law prohibiting abortions in public hospitals. Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr, appearing with Pennsylvania's Attorney General, Ernest D. Preate Jr., in support of the state's law, said *Roe v. Wade* was not entitled to respect as precedent and should be overruled. [Excerpts, page B10.]

Referring at one point to a fetus as a "potential citizen," Mr. Starr said that the Government had a "compelling in-

Continued on Page B11, Column 1

Chronicle

■ Baker will be honored as chimpanzees' protector ■ Celebrating 500 years of peace ■ No competition on Johnny Carson's last night.

With all the weighty international matters on his mind, one would hardly expect Secretary of State JAMES BAKER to be concerned with chimpanzees. But tonight he will be honored for his assistance to JANE GOODALL in her work protecting chimpanzees in Africa.

Mr. Baker and EDWARD P. BASS of the Texas oil family will receive the first Jane Goodall Institute International Conservation awards at a dinner at the National Geographic Society in Washington.

MARY G. SMITH, the institute's president, said yesterday, "About two years ago, Secretary Baker invited Jane to lunch and told her he was interested in chimpanzees and asked if he could help."

Mr. Baker persuaded officials in several East African countries to be more vigilant about enforcing laws banning poaching, Ms. Smith said.

Mr. Bass has provided the institute with rent-free headquarters in Tucson and has contributed money for a protective zone around the Gombe National Park in Tanzania, the site of Dr. Goodall's 32-year study of chimpanzees.

At just about the same time that King Ferdinand and Queen Isabella were dispatching Christopher Columbus on his famous voyage, they were also expelling Jews from Spain. Some of the refugees found their way to the Ottoman Empire, where they were well received.

On Monday, TURGUT OZAL, the President of Turkey, will join more than 500 guests at the Plaza to commemorate the arrival of those Sephardic Jews in Turkey, and to call attention to the peaceful existence of the Jews in Turkey since that time. About 20,000 Jews now live in Turkey.

"It is very important that the world know that there have been 500 years of peaceful coexistence in Turkey be-

tween the Jews and Moslems," said AHMET ERTEGUN, co-chairman and co-chief executive officer of Atlantic Records. He and his wife, MICA ERTEGUN, are heading the commemoration. "Over the last 500 years, the Sephardic Jewish community has contributed to art, culture and society," he said. "Most of the Turkish court physicians and many of its most distinguished diplomats were Jewish."

During the evening, which will benefit the the Quincentennial Foundation U.S.A., a Turkish-American group that fosters understanding between Jews and Muslims, HENRY KISSINGER will present an award to President Ozal. ELIE WIESEL will present an award to EDMOND SAFRA, the international banker.

What do you do if you're up against JOHNNY CARSON on the last night of the "Tonight" show?

ARSENIO WALKER intends to stay home watching his competition's farewell on May 22 rather than go on the air. In fact, he plans to telecast reruns for the whole week.

"He has said that as a producer and a Carson fan, this is the only way to have his cake and eat it, too," said Dana Freedman, Mr. Hall's spokeswoman. "It's a show of respect."

On cable television, the Comedy Central channel will go one better by going completely dark that night from 11:30 P.M. to 12:30 A.M., when its "Night After Night With Allan Havey" is normally broadcast.

"We're going to put up a crawl that says something like, 'Allan Havey has left the set to watch Johnny's last show, and we encourage you to do the same,'" said Tony Fox, a spokesman for the 24-hour comedy channel.

And what might the ratings for these shows have been in light of Carson's Swan-song appearance?

Minutes

NADINE BROZAN

High Court Hears Argument On Right to Limit Abortion

Continued From Page A1

terest in protecting fetal life throughout pregnancy. In *Roe v. Wade*, the Court held that the state's interest in fetal life became "compelling" only at the point of viability, roughly the last three months of pregnancy, when a fetus could survive outside the uterus.

The Solicitor General got into one tense discussion with Justice John Paul Stevens, one of the Court's remaining supporters of full constitutional protection for abortion.

Justice Stevens asked Mr. Starr if the Federal Government had a view on whether a fetus was a "person" within the meaning of the 14th Amendment, a position the Court rejected in *Roe v. Wade* and has not considered since. The question is important because the 14th Amendment prohibits the states from depriving "any person" of life, liberty or property; if a fetus were a "person" in this sense, prohibitions on abortion would be not only permissible but constitutionally required.

The question appeared to be one that the Solicitor General neither welcomed

Underscoring the stakes for an election-year audience.

nor expected. "We do not have a position on that question," he said several times, calling the issue "extraordinarily difficult and sensitive."

Pressing the Issue

But Justice Stevens was not ready to let the issue drop. Noting the Administration's criticism of *Roe v. Wade* for finding a right to abortion that is not explicitly mentioned in the Constitution, Justice Stevens asked Mr. Starr for the constitutional basis of his argument that the Government's interest in fetal life was compelling throughout pregnancy.

"You argue very vigorously there's no textual basis supporting your opponent's position," Justice Stevens said. "What is the textual basis for your position that there's a compelling interest in something that is not a person within the meaning of the 14th Amendment?"

After some fencing with Justice Stevens, the Solicitor General conceded that the Constitution said nothing directly on the subject of the state's interest in fetal life. "I think it's in the nature of our system," he said finally.

The courtroom was filled beyond its usual capacity today, with Court officials taking the unusual step of pulling back the red velvet curtains at the rear of the chamber to accommodate sev-

eral dozen extra seats for the public. In another unusual gesture, the Court permitted people who began lining up on its rain-soaked plaza last night to come in out of the rain and spend the night in the basement.

Although the argument proved to be lively, it did not begin that way. Ms. Kolbert, representing Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania and a group of abortion clinics that challenged the law, spoke without interruption for seven minutes, an unusually long time for a lawyer to receive no questions from the bench.

As Ms. Kolbert spoke fervently about the history of *Roe v. Wade* and the threat that "women might again be forced to the back alleys for their medical care," the prolonged silence from the Justices was almost eerie. Most cast their eyes downward, appearing to examine stacks of papers in front of them.

At one end of the bench, Justice David H. Souter stared intently at Ms. Kolbert. At the opposite end, Justice Clarence Thomas leaned back in his chair. As it turned out, Mr. Thomas, the newest Justice, was the only one not to ask a question.

Finally, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor interrupted, asking Ms. Kolbert whether she planned to discuss any of the specific provisions in the law. Ms. Kolbert replied that she did, but she adhered to her plan of keeping the Court's attention focused on the constitutional standard to use in evaluating restrictions on abortion.

Appeal to Precedence

The Court's declaration in *Roe v. Wade* that the right to abortion was "fundamental" meant that the Court applied a standard known as "strict scrutiny" to evaluate any state restrictions. Under this standard, restrictions on the exercise of a fundamental right are invalid unless they serve a "compelling" state interest.

Six years ago, in a case that Ms. Kolbert argued and won, the Court applied strict scrutiny to overturn a Pennsylvania abortion law very similar to the one it is now considering. For that reason, Ms. Kolbert said today, the Court could not now uphold the current version of the statute without identifying a new standard of review.

"The standard that this Court applies will establish the outcome in this case," she said. "To adopt a lesser standard, to abandon strict scrutiny for a less protective standard, would be the same as overruling *Roe*."

Justice Anthony M. Kennedy took issue with the assertion, saying, "Well, if you are going to argue that *Roe* can survive only in its most rigid formulation, that is an election year you can make as counsel. I am suggesting to you that that is not the only logical possibility in this case."

In the Webster decision three years ago, Justice Kennedy joined Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justice Byron R. White in advocating a "rational basis" standard for abortion.

This is the lowest level of constitutional protection, under which restrictions are upheld as long as they serve a "legitimate" state interest.

Of the other members of the Court at that time, Justice Antonin Scalia voted to remove all constitutional protection from the right to abortion. Justice O'Connor applied a standard permitting abortion restrictions that do not impose an "undue burden" on the right to abortion.

Only Justice Stevens and three others, Justices Harry A. Blackmun, William J. Brennan Jr. and Thurgood Marshall, voted to continue applying strict scrutiny analysis. Justices Brennan and Marshall have since retired. Their successors, Justices Souter and Thomas, have not yet voted in an abortion case.

Back and Forth With Souter

Solicitor General Starr today urged the Court to adopt a rational basis test for abortion. Justice White asked him: "And under that standard, you would think all of the provisions that are at issue here should be sustained?"

"Exactly," he replied. "And so would complete prohibition, wouldn't it?" Justice Souter asked.

The Solicitor General replied that a "complete prohibition that had no exception for the life of the mother" would "raise very serious questions." Justice Souter persisted. "Subject to that exception, it would justify complete prohibition?" he asked.

Mr. Starr replied, "I think it best not to answer these in the abstract."

Important Case From Guam

The question of a criminal prohibition against abortion will soon reach the Court, although presumably after the Justices have issued their decision in the current case.

Last week, a Federal appeals court struck down a law adopted by the Territory of Guam, which makes abortion a crime unless it is done to save a woman's life or prevent a "grave danger" to her health, as certified by two doctors. The appeals court said it was bound by *Roe v. Wade* to apply strict scrutiny in assessing the Guam law. If the Supreme Court changes the standard of review in the Pennsylvania case, the Justices will presumably order the appeals court to reconsider its decision in the Guam case in light of the new standard.

In the Pennsylvania case, Planned

A debate over what standard to apply in judging a restrictive law.

Parthenon v. Casey, No. 91-744, the United States Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit applied Justice O'Connor's "undue burden" analysis to assess the Pennsylvania law. It upheld provisions requiring women to wait 24 hours for an abortion after receiving specific "informed consent" information from doctors designed to encourage the woman to change her mind. The appeals court struck down a provision requiring married women to notify their husbands of their intention to get an abortion.

Notification of Husband

Justice O'Connor today expressed concern about the notification provision, which Mr. Preate did not seem to succeed in allaying. When the Attorney General said his state's rationale for

the provision was "protecting the life of the unborn child," Justice O'Connor said: "Well, then, why not require notice to all fathers? It's a curious sort of a provision, isn't it?"

Justice O'Connor asked whether the state could require a woman "to notify anyone with whom she had intercourse" that she was using a method of birth control that acted as an "abortifacient." Intrauterine devices work in this way by preventing a fertilized egg from implanting in the uterine wall.

"Could the state do that?" Justice O'Connor said. "I mean, it would be the same state interest, I suppose."

Mr. Preate conceded, with evident reluctance, that under his analysis the state "could legitimately require that kind of notification to all people."

He said he recognized that women in abusive marriages would be "cruelly burdened" by having to tell their husbands of their abortion plans. But, he said, "they're not burdened by the statute, but by the circumstance, the tragic circumstance of their lives."

Under the Pennsylvania law, a woman faces up to a year in jail if she certifies falsely that she has notified her husband of her planned abortion.



An abortion-rights advocate taking a picture of an anti-abortion demonstrator in front of the Supreme Court building yesterday in Washington.

Meeting On Trade A Failure

Bush and Europeans
Resolve No Issues

By KEITH BRADSHER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — President Bush and European Community leaders failed today to resolve their differences in global talks on reducing trade barriers, making it much less likely that an overall deal can be concluded this year.

Even last-minute efforts to find a face-saving compromise on a minor issue were unsuccessful, leaving the leaders here able only to pledge yet again their political commitment to continued negotiations and an eventual compromise. Previous meetings between the President and various foreign heads of state have produced similar declarations, as have the last two annual economic summit meetings of the leaders of the Group of Seven major industrial nations.

Countries that conduct nine-tenths of the world's trade have been engaged for five years in talks to broaden the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a 103-nation pact setting rules for trade, mostly in manufactured goods.

Freer Trade Is the Goal

The goal of the talks is to lower worldwide tariffs on manufactures, to limit countries' ability to restrict imports unilaterally and to apply free-trade rules to agriculture and services like investment banking and accounting. But progress in all areas has nearly stopped because the United States has been insisting unsuccessfully that the European Community severely prune its sprawling system of farm subsidies.

The continued stalemate in the GATT talks is forcing American policy makers to pay increased attention to the proposed addition of Mexico to the current free-trade area with Canada.

But those talks are also moving slowly, and trade frictions with Canada are growing. They were worsened today with a Canadian Government decision that American carpets were being dumped at unfairly low prices. [Page D5.]

American proponents of broadening the GATT talks say that a successful deal would allow American farmers and businesses to sell more abroad, creating jobs and wealth in the United States. The Bush Administration contends that its proposals, if accepted by other nations, would leave the average American family of four better off by \$17,000 after 10 years.

But critics say that the United States' ability to restrict imports that

Washington Trade Negotiations Fail

Continued From First Business Page

hurt domestic industries would be hampered and that under a new pact American laws to protect public health and the environment might be weakened.

Summit Meeting In July

Jacques Delors, the president of the European Community's executive commission, and Carla A. Hills, the United States trade representative, said they now hoped a breakthrough on agriculture might come before the next economic summit meeting, scheduled for July in Munich. But they cautioned that no deadline had been set.

"All parties would like it to occur, but nothing happens but disappointment if it does not occur," Mrs. Hills said.

Today's session was the latest biennial summit meeting of European and American leaders, and its theme

Bush and the
Europeans remain
at an impasse over
freer trade.

was the GATT talks, although troubles in Yugoslavia, the former Soviet republics and Angola were also discussed. Officials said today that they had scheduled no further trade meetings. Mrs. Hills said the most likely next step would be a meeting by mid-level officials on technical issues, followed by a meeting between her and senior European officials.

Up to five months of negotiations with other countries are expected to be needed even if the United States and the community can settle their dispute, making it virtually certain that no overall deal will be struck before the November elections.

Four Troublesome Issues

The failure today may signal troubled trade relations between the United States and Western Europe, as four simmering issues come to a boil:

1. American steel producers are filing anti-subsidy trade cases with the Commerce Department against their European rivals. An international attempt to limit government subsidies collapsed last month in Geneva.

2. A draft trans-Atlantic pact to limit commercial aircraft subsidies is unraveling.

3. The United States may receive international permission next week to

retaliate against European soybean industry subsidies.

4. The Administration has set aside money to step up its farm export subsidies in competition with Europe's.

President Bush told reporters on the South Lawn of the White House that some "new ideas" had been presented today, without providing any details. But Mr. Delors, who was with the President on the lawn, said later at a newsconference that the proposals on both sides were "modest."

Mrs. Hills said later that the two sides had simply reviewed ways to combine existing offers.

In private, senior Administration officials were caustic about the European proposals. "Their proposals were so modest, they were feeble, so they weren't even worth discussing," one top official said.

Wide Difference on Subsidies

The official said that the European Community had asked that its tonnage of subsidized exports be reduced by only 18 percent in the coming years, in contrast to the 24 percent proposed by Arthur Dunkel, the director general of the GATT. The United States, which originally sought a 100 percent reduction, then a 90 percent cut, and then a one-third cut, is not going to settle for 18 percent, the senior American official said.

Thomas Niles, the Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian affairs, blamed the European Community for the failure of the talks. He said the community lacked a unified bargaining position on agriculture and was locked in its own internal debate over how to change



President Bush met yesterday with Jacques Delors, left, president of the European Community's executive commission, and Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva of Portugal to discuss stalemated global trade talks.

its farm subsidy programs to meet budgetary pressures.

Prime Minister Anibal Cavaco Silva of Portugal, whose country currently holds the presidency of the European Community, denied that. "At this very moment, I think the community on the main issues is not divided," he said.

Complaint With U.S. on Services

The European Community has been pushing for the last two months to link agriculture to services, and

then blame the United States for seeking broad exemptions from free-trade rules for its telecommunications, banking, maritime and aviation industries. But European officials were circumspect today about blaming the United States. They even said that services were not discussed in today's meetings.

Administration officials insisted that the November elections were not blocking the United States from considering possible compromises, and European officials have not accused

their American counterparts of playing politics with the negotiations.

But while President Bush says he remains personally committed to the negotiations and has made many telephone calls to foreign heads of state in the last six months to push them along, Republican strategists have told Mrs. Hills repeatedly that a poor deal could antagonize large blocs of voters in key states. The steel industry in Pennsylvania, for example, has lost money and jobs because of imports.

Maker Is Accused of Faulty Tests On Parts for Missiles and Aircraft

By RICHARD W. STEVENSON
Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, April 22 — The Justice Department has accused a leading maker of military electronics of systematically falsifying tests on one of the most basic components of sophisticated weapons and spacecraft, according to a lawsuit unsealed here today by a Federal judge.

The civil suit asserts that the company, Teledyne Inc., routinely certified to the Government between 1983 and 1990 that the electrical components had passed rigorous tests of their reliability when in fact they were often failing or when the test results were skewed by faulty test equipment.

Teledyne's failure to test the components properly defrauded the Government of as much as \$250 million, the suit maintains.

A Much-Used Component

The parts, known as electromagnetic relays, are among the most common components of missiles, airplanes, rockets and most other hardware that are controlled by advanced electronics. Teledyne's relays, which it produces by the hundreds of thousands each year, have been used in the space shuttle, the Patriot anti-missile system, the cruise missile and dozens of other programs.

Teledyne, a military contracting and industrial products company based in Los Angeles, had previously disclosed

that it was the subject of an investigation into testing irregularities. Lawyers involved in the case said a criminal investigation by the Justice Department, with help from the Air Force, the Navy, the Army and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, was continuing. They said the United States Attorney's office in Los Angeles was likely to make a decision on seeking a criminal indictment of Teledyne in a

Continued on Page D10, Column 5

At Highest Level, A Trade Stalemate

President Bush and European Community leaders failed yesterday to resolve their differences on reducing trade barriers. Both sides said they now hoped a breakthrough on the main sticking point, Europe's farm-subsidy system, might come before the July economic summit in Munich. But they cautioned that no deadline had been set.

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U.S. Military Contractor Is Sued Over Test Data

Continued From Page A1

few months.

A spokesman for Teledyne declined to comment today. The company last year sent bulletins to buyers of the components saying it was modifying its testing procedures in response to the investigation, according to documents submitted in the civil case. Teledyne was suspended by the Pentagon from shipping the components twice during 1990 and 1991 while the changes in the testing procedures were made, but has since been allowed to resume shipments to the Government and other users.

In one bulletin, Teledyne said that it had no evidence that the testing problems "affected the performance or reliability of its relays."

A spokesman for the Pentagon's Defense Electronics Supply Center said the testing problems were not known to have led to any dramatic weapons system failures, like a plane crash. But he said the investigation determined that "the procedures used by Teledyne would have allowed defective parts out of the Teledyne plant that would not have been allowed out of the plant had proper testing procedures been employed."

He said defective parts presumably found their way into use and may still be in use. But he said it had proven impossible to track the performance of all the relays because there were so many. Teledyne's shipments sometimes amounted to several hundred thousand of them a month to the Government and other weapons makers and subcontractors. The accusations against Teledyne

were brought to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in June 1990 by Emil Stache, a former manager of quality engineering and reliability at the Teledyne Relays subsidiary, and by Almon Muehlaussen, who is still employed at Teledyne Relays as its test lab manager.

Mr. Stache was dismissed by Teledyne in March 1990. Mr. Stache said he was dismissed after repeatedly objecting within the company to the testing procedures. He has filed a wrongful termination suit against Teledyne, which the company is contesting.

Several months after going to the F.B.I., Mr. Stache and Mr. Muehlaussen filed suit against Teledyne under the Federal False Claims Act, which allows whistle-blowers to share in any settlement or any financial recovery won by the Justice Department in cases of fraud against the

Teledyne is accused of defrauding the Government.

Government. False Claims Act suits remain under seal while the Justice Department investigates and decides whether to take over prosecution of the case. In the Teledyne case, the Justice Department has now taken over the prosecution.

Government Paid Premium

The suit said that Teledyne sold untested versions of the relays to corporate customers for about \$6 each. But the Government pays a premium of about \$20 a relay in return for Teledyne subjecting the relays to exacting tests intended to insure against failure in a weapon or a spacecraft, the suit said.

John Phillips, a partner in Hall & Phillips, a Los Angeles law firm representing Mr. Stache and Mr. Muehlaussen, said the claim appeared to be the largest yet against a company made under a False Claims Act suit. If found in court to have defrauded the Government, Teledyne could be liable for damages of three times the amount of the fraud.

Teledyne was one of a number of companies that pleaded guilty to criminal charges three years ago after the Justice Department's sweeping investigation into Pentagon procurement fraud.

Government contracts accounted for about a third of Teledyne's sales of \$3.2 billion last year. Teledyne was run during the period covered in the lawsuit by Henry E. Singleton, its founder, who remained chairman until last year, and George A. Roberts, who was chief executive from 1986 until last year. Neither Mr. Singleton nor Mr. Roberts was named in the suit.

Mr. Stache and Mr. Muehlaussen said in interviews that the Pentagon and other buyers of the parts had notified the company many times that the components had not operated properly in weapons, rockets and other sophisticated hardware.

In one instance, Mr. Stache said, the Air Force notified the company that the component, an electromagnetic relay, had failed to perform properly in a cruise missile. A spokeswoman for the Air Force's Aeronautical Systems Command declined to comment, citing the continuing investigation. Other Air Force officials said the Teledyne Relays were commonly used in the cruise missile.

Launching Was Delayed

In another case, Mr. Stache and Mr. Muehlaussen said, the launching of a civilian European Ariane rocket was delayed in 1989 because of the failure of a relay made by Teledyne. A spokeswoman for Arianespace, the European space consortium, said a launching had been delayed in September 1989 because of a faulty relay, but she said she could not immediately confirm that the relay had been manufactured by Teledyne.

Although details of the accusations have not previously been made public, Teledyne disclosed in its annual report last year that Federal agents raided its Teledyne Relays plant in Hawthorne, Calif., on Oct. 2, 1990, and seized documents related to the production of the relays. News of the raid was reported in a number of publications.

The company also disclosed in the annual report that several of its employees had been subpoenaed to appear before a Federal grand jury investigating the case.

Measuring Reliability

The accusations in the civil suit center on a process known as life testing. Under its contract with the Government, Teledyne was required to submit a certain number of the relays, which are switches that cycle on and off continuously, to tests that measure long-term reliability.

The tests measured how many times the relay would switch on and off without a failure. The suit said that Mr. Stache had seen repeated failures that were never reported to the Government, as Teledyne's contract required, or that were ascribed to problems with the test equipment. Even when the problems were attributed to the test equipment, the failures were not reported to the Government as required, the suit said.

A Law Meant to Shift People On Welfare to Jobs Pays Off

By JASON DEPARLE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, April 22 — Four years after Congress passed major legislation aimed at moving welfare recipients into jobs, the first study of its effect shows it has raised the earnings of people on welfare and reduced the amount they receive in public aid.

The results of the study, which focused on six California counties, is being greeted as big news in the small world of welfare experts, with many saying the gains were larger than expected for a new program and a harbinger of more substantial successes.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, the New York Democrat who helped design the 1988 welfare law, which required recipients to join a work, education or training program, called the

report "very positive." He said he was especially heartened by the report because the program it evaluated is "still in what's basically a start-up mode."

But with election-year attacks on the welfare system rising, the report is certain to touch off a debate about whether the law will ever produce results that are large enough to bring significant reductions to welfare rolls, which are now at record highs.

"You're going to get small, positive benefits, but they won't be big enough to solve the problem," said Christopher Jencks, a sociologist at Northwestern University, reflecting the view of many who have studied welfare-to-work programs. "If you want to cut the caseload 50 percent," he said, "you're going to have to do something much more dramatic."

A report last month by researchers at the State University of New York at Albany sounded a gloomier note by questioning the commitment of officials in many states to the program. That study, unlike the one from California, did not look at the experiences of welfare recipients.

Part of California's success may stem from its long history of running

Continued on Page D25, Column 1

Federal Program to Put Welfare Recipients to Work Is Paying Off

Continued From Page A1

welfare-to-work experiments, one not shared in many states that are now struggling to get programs under way.

The California report comes as many officials from President Bush on down are making extravagant promises about putting welfare mothers to work but are offering proposals that typically amount to little more than tinkering.

Earnings Increase 17%

The study, which will be made public on Thursday, comes from the Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation, a nonprofit research group based in Manhattan.

In examining the experiences of single parents, the study found that a year after being referred to the California

program they had earned 17 percent more than a control group of those who had not joined the program. And those in the program had received 5 percent less in welfare payments.

Despite the gains, the overall earnings of the people remained low, with those referred to the program earning an average of \$1,902, or \$271 more than those who had not joined. The researchers said the state of the local economy did not seem to dictate the program's success.

A year after being referred to the program 73.4 percent of the single parents were still on welfare. That contrasts with a figure of 76.4 percent of the single parents in the control group.

Gail R. Wilensky, a domestic policy aide in the White House with responsibility for welfare, said the California program's accomplishment is "important, it's significant, it's moving us in

the right direction, but it hasn't answered the question of how to break down welfare dependency for the whole population."

Among the study's most intriguing findings is that one county, Riverside, had much greater success than the other five — Alameda, Butte, Los Angeles, San Diego and Tulare. The earnings of single parents in Riverside County rose 65 percent and their welfare payments dropped 12 percent.

But the lessons of its greater success remain unclear. It might stem from Riverside's decision to push its welfare clients into the job market quickly even if their initial pay was low. Other counties put a heavier stress on educating clients, a strategy that seeks better jobs but runs the risk that clients may get discouraged and quit. By investing in education, other counties may show more impressive results later.

Riverside's success might also stem

Use of Breast-Saving Surgery Varies Widely

BOSTON, April 22 (AP) — A woman's chance of escaping breast cancer without having her entire breast removed is seven times as high in some parts of the country as in others, researchers have found in comparing 1986 data.

Two studies being published in the Thursday issue of The New England Journal of Medicine found striking regional differences in the rate at which breast-sparing lumpectomies were used rather than traditional mastectomies to treat breast cancer.

The studies were based on data gathered in 1986, when agreement was beginning to emerge among cancer specialists that the limited surgery was just as good for women who had small, early stage tumors.

Neither report in the New England Journal of Medicine could explain why medical practices varied so much from region to region, and no one knows whether they still differ.

Questions on Innovations

Dr. Ann Butler Nattinger, the chief author of one study, said the work raises questions about how word of new advances in medicine spreads and how innovations are adopted by doctors.

"There is little use in knowing exactly what to do if it doesn't get done,"

said Dr. Nattinger, a researcher at the Medical College of Wisconsin.

She and colleagues reviewed the Medicare records of 36,992 women 65 to 79 years old around the country who were treated for early breast cancer. In the other study, Dr. Diana C. Farrow and colleagues from the University of New Mexico studied the treatment of early cancer in 18,897 women of all ages in nine areas of the country.

In 1985, a landmark study was published showing that lumpectomies and mastectomies were equally effective for early cancer. But many doctors who routinely performed mastectomies were skeptical and continued to recommend the more extensive operation to prevent recurrence of cancer. Many patients also wanted mastectomies because the operation gave them a greater feeling of safety.

Neither research team could explain why doctors adopted the new method so much faster in some places than in others.

"We have identified strong regional variation," said Dr. Jonathan M. Samet, who participated in the New Mexico study. "Now we need to understand what factors influence individual doctors and patients as they make these decisions."

Similar findings were reported in January by Dr. David Winchester of the American College of Surgeons in a study in the journal *Ca*, published by the American Cancer Society.

In the latest reports, doctors reviewed these findings about variations in treatment:

• Twenty-one percent of Medicare patients had breast-conserving surgery in Massachusetts, while 3.5 percent did in Kentucky.

• For Medicare patients, the conservative surgery was most widely used in the Middle Atlantic and New England states; it was least common in the South and Plains states.

• Medicare patients were also more likely to have lumpectomies if they were treated in large hospitals, urban hospitals or hospitals affiliated with medical schools.

• Older women were less likely than younger patients to receive radiation therapy after lumpectomies, even though the therapy is recommended to prevent the cancer from recurring.

In an accompanying editorial, Dr. Patricia A. Ganz noted that breast-sparing surgery was most often used in states with laws requiring doctors to give patients with breast cancer information about treatment choices.

from the fact that it was quicker than other counties to reduce the grants of welfare recipients who refused to join the program.

The 1988 welfare law, called the Family Support Act, requires every state to run a work, education or training program for people on welfare, and provides up to \$1 billion a year in Federal matching funds. By 1995, states will have to enroll one of every five people on welfare in such a program.

Researchers enthusiastic about the California results say they show that what had previously been small programs can now expand to large, diverse areas without losing their impact.

"Even in the first year, you have significant increases in earnings and decreases in welfare," said Judith M. Gueron, the research corporation's president.

California's program, called GAIN, for Greater Avenues for Independence, began several years before the Federal legislation made it compulsory. About half the 33,000 people in the study started the program before 1989, when it was modified slightly to meet the new Federal standards.

Strikingly Different Results

The report on the California study, written by James Riccio and Daniel Friedlander, found strikingly different results among the six counties.

The earnings of single parents on welfare rose by 18 percent in Alameda, 16 percent in San Diego and 15 percent in Butte. But they dropped 1 percent in Los Angeles County, which accounts for about a third of the state's welfare caseload, and 8 percent in Tulare County, compared to a control group.

While overall earnings remained low, some experts emphasized that only about 63 percent of those counted as participants actually joined the program. Others were evaluated but excused because of problems with health, transportation or child care.

The 5 percent overall reduction in welfare payments comes from several sources. Some people in the program got jobs that paid enough to let them leave welfare altogether. Others, in increasing their earnings, qualified for smaller welfare payments.

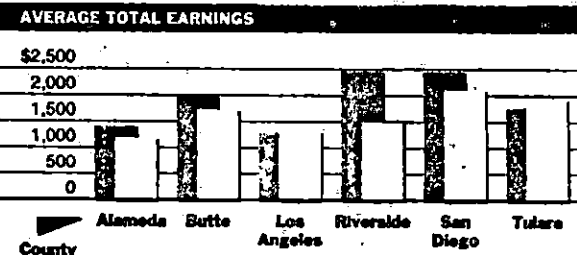
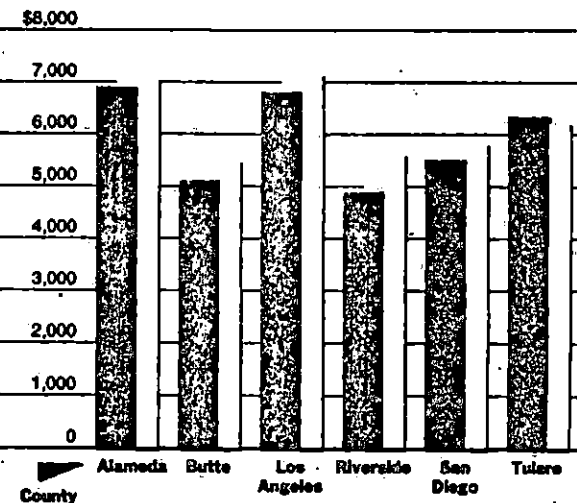
In a telephone interview this week Lawrence Townsend Jr., the director of Riverside County's welfare program,

Putting Jobs Programs to Work

Average payments to single parents receiving Aid to Families With Dependent Children and their average total earnings, in the first year of work, education or training programs in six California counties.

Enrolled in programs Not enrolled in programs

AVERAGE PAYMENTS RECEIVED



Source: Manpower Demonstration Research Corporation

said he thought there were two reasons for the county's success. The first, he said, was its decision to move people quickly into jobs. The second, he said, is enthusiasm — a factor that may determine much of the program's national fate. "You have to put a high priority on this," he said. "You have to select your best staff."

Abroad at Home
ANTHONY LEWIS

Life and Death

U.S. enthusiasm for executions.

BOSTON
All the countries of the Western world save one have stopped executing criminals. Why is the United States the exception? Why are most Americans enthusiastic supporters of capital punishment?

The questions, longstanding ones, are raised again by the execution of Robert Alton Harris in California. At 6:10 Tuesday morning, after a night of judicial orders and counter-orders, cyanide filled the San Quentin gas chamber. At 6:21 Mr. Harris was pronounced dead.

The answer must lie, at least in part, in public revulsion at the level of crime in this country, especially violent crime. Murder is almost a commonplace event in the life of some American cities. In 1988 there were 8.4 homicides per 100,000 Americans. In Germany the figure was 4.2, in Britain 2.0, in Japan 1.2.

Statistics cannot fully convey the horror of murder as an American phenomenon. Killing in the course of crime is bad enough. But we have something else now: casual killing, killing for kicks, drive-by murders.

That Americans are outraged by such things is not surprising and not wrong. Decent people want to do something to stop the killing in their communities.

The trouble is that capital punishment has no measurable restraining effect on murder. There is simply no showing that it is a deterrent. States that execute people do not have lower murder rates than states without capital punishment.

There is something more primitive in the American demand for execu-

tions. It is a demand for vengeance whether or not it actually reduces the level of deadly violence. A young man demonstrating outside the San Quentin prison wore a T-shirt saying "Gas Killer Harris" and carried a sign quoting the Old Testament: "Thou shalt give life for life, eye for eye."

Again, those feelings are understandable. But the insistence on vengeance — the public pressure for executions — is worse than irrelevant to our problem of deadly violence.

For the state to kill provides an example of official violence. Details of Robert Harris's last moments in the gas chamber can only desensitize us further. Executions worsen, not alleviate, our underlying problem: the culture of violence in America.

Why should we be surprised at random killing when television gives us dozens, hundreds, of murders a day? Why when foul language and calls for violence are the common coin of youth culture?

The First Amendment allows us to speak in extreme ways, and that is a wise freedom. But it does not follow that broadcast stations and music companies and popular publishers have an obligation to degrade the public taste and glorify violence.

Capital punishment is a distraction — a red herring — from the need to give some meaning to young lives

apart from hate and violence. It is a distraction, too, from the need to do something about the guns that do most of the killing.

Last, and not least, capital punishment can lead to irrevocable mistakes. Just last month in California two men who had served 17 years of life sentences for murder were set free after prosecutors told a court that they had been framed.

"My hope is that you can spend the remainder of your lives not consumed by bitterness," the judge said. If they had been sentenced to death, they would have had no remainder to enjoy.

Robert Harris had competent lawyers during his 13-year effort to avoid the gas chamber. But most of the 169 people executed since the Supreme Court in 1976 allowed capital punishment to resume died because they were poor and were given lawyers without the experience or resources to defend them adequately.

There is also a political reason for our death penalty surge. Other countries treat the issue as a nonpartisan one; in Britain the House of Commons votes on it without party positions. Here, conservatives made it a partisan law-and-order issue. Now almost no political leader resists the trend. Bill Clinton went home to Arkansas in January to be there when a brain-damaged man was executed.

There are about 2,600 people on death row in this country now, and the Supreme Court is trying to hasten the execution process. So we can expect more and more executions — until perhaps, some day, reason overtakes primitive emotion. □

Of perks, politics and public service

Surely, by now, we have all had our fill of media reports about the House Bank scandal, low-cost haircuts, presidential perks, and who knows what-all is to come.

Okay, some public officials have created a mess and perhaps voters have the right to ask: How can they run the country if they can't run their own organizations?

It's a fair question. However, the fact is that the abuses have now been recognized and something is being done about them. In fact, the House of Representatives recently voted to employ a manager. Good news. Good move. Good-bye to further rhetoric—we hope.

It's time for the Congress to get back on track and perhaps time for the voters to ask themselves: Are we missing the main point in this sometimes sad, occasionally comical, media event? Are we spending too much time gnashing our teeth and ferreting out "wrongdoers" on a side issue that is only diverting both sides from the real battles facing the nation today? In our fervor to redress what some perceive as grievous wrongs, are we harassing good people out of public service?

Placing blame is not going to reduce the federal deficit. Slinging mud is not going to solve the nation's health care crisis. Killing some perks is not going to find the funds for improving education across the country.

The problem here is not one of which perks are improper. Such side issues only divert Congress from the task at hand. The real concern is how to get Congress away from these petty issues and back on track. How can we get Congress to concentrate more on long-term economic, energy, health and education issues rather than taking the

political pulse of the hometown activists before every major vote? Why do so many bills in Congress have to be considered by a plethora of committees and subcommittees? Are there too many committees and subcommittees? How can we reduce them and, thus, the bloated staffs of some in Congress?

A sign of the times and our legislators' inability to focus on the real issues of the day is the recent announcement by Senator Warren Rudman of New Hampshire that he would not run for reelection. The reason: frustration over paralysis in government, and particularly the stalemate over curbing budget deficits.

Why are we losing good people like this? Because playing politics and covering posteriors in Washington has become more consuming than the original intent for which the Congress was established: mainly, "To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper...."

In a way, the fact that they don't—or can't—is our fault, too. We should be demanding performance on the major issues of the day. Instead, we are allowing ourselves to be consumed with diversions that, in the end, don't really affect the nation's long-term welfare.

It's time to call an end to it. The Administration and Congress on both sides of the aisle need to get back to work on the really important concerns of the day. And we, the electorate, need to give them the proper tools to attract the right people to get the job done. That doesn't necessarily mean a gaggle of staff members. But if it takes a \$5 haircut to find someone who can shave the deficit, what's the problem?

Mobil®

The New York Times

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Subway Schedule Cuts Will Alienate Riders

To the Editor:

Can no one save the New York City Transit Authority from itself? In June, the T.A. intends to chop as much as 25 percent off many rush hour subway schedules. The message riders receive from this policy is: If you have to wait this long for a train in rush hours, don't even think of taking the subway in off-peak hours.

If the Transit Authority had deliberately embarked on a policy to discourage ridership, it couldn't have picked a better scenario: force people to wait longer, ride on overcrowded trains, provide erratic service and ask people to pay more for it.

The small amount realized from this endeavor (\$2.9 million) is not worth the grief the Transit Authority will encounter from these cutbacks, and these savings may not even be realized because of lost riders.

Whatever happened to the rider comes first? ANDREW ALBERT
Chairman, New York City Transit Authority Advisory Council
New York, April 18, 1992

The Times welcomes letters from readers. Letters must include the writer's name, address and telephone number. We regret that we cannot acknowledge or return unpublished letters. Those selected for publication may be shortened for space reasons.

Federal Prisons Offer Education Opportunities

To the Editor:

The picture of Federal prisons as places to warehouse people convicted of crimes, as passed on by Marie Molloy in "For Rehabilitation" (letter, March 20) from the Rev. Carl Kabat, one of the Plowshares Eight, is inaccurate. She fails to refer to the value the Federal Bureau of Prisons places on inmate education.

The bureau provides a full range of education opportunities to inmates, including mandatory literacy to the high school level, mandatory English as a second language to the eighth grade, occupational training from introductory through apprenticeship certification, postsecondary classes, adult continuing education courses, library services and training for positive use of leisure time. Release readiness direction is also provided

from arrival to release to help each inmate take advantage of the opportunities available during incarceration. Inmate tutors are trained and used throughout the Federal prison system and help to provide individualized assistance to many prisoners.

Inmates who do not meet mandatory program standards are required to attend class. All other inmates may attend classes at times consistent with their work assignments. These work assignments provide on-the-job training and workplace readiness skills.

In addition to education department programs and services, other departments offer similar opportunities for self-improvement and development. Medical and psychological services are also provided.

Inmates may in addition choose to belong to such support groups as Alcoholics Anonymous. They are also encouraged to form inmate organizations such as Toastmasters, Jaycees, Hispanic Club and N.A.A.C.P., which are inmate led with a staff sponsor.

As you can see, the opportunities are numerous for any inmate who takes the initiative to use them. The Federal Bureau of Prisons is viewed by many as the agency that sets the professional standard for corrections both in the United States and worldwide.

SYLVIA G. MCCOLLUM
Education Administrator
Federal Bureau of Prisons
Washington, April 9, 1992



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Czechoslovakia's Political Knot

By Milos Forman

During four decades of Communism, intelligent individuals in Czechoslovakia could not use their gifts profitably unless they joined the Communist Party or collaborated with it. Thus, today perhaps 90 percent of the civil servants who can run their democratic society have skeletons in their closets.

Although not proud of their past, they are on the defensive because suddenly so many victims of the old Communist regime want to hold them responsible for its atrocities.

To protect their confused consciences, they claim that they had to do "it" to feed their families, and that if they had not done "it" somebody else would have, and that things would then have been much worse because they, at least in their consciences, did not hurt anybody.

Deep in their hearts and minds, they say, they never identified with the cruelty, corruption and abuse of power. Many say they conscientiously tried to separate themselves from the regime by correcting excesses, some paying a heavy price for their pains. I have no reason to disbelieve these people.

The problem is that these hundreds of thousands of local and national officials, bureaucrats, managers and apparatchiks now form a kind of very

powerful political organization, the Skeletons in the Closet Party.

This party isn't based on ideology or economic philosophy, and doesn't have leaders, headquarters or slogans. Officially it doesn't exist. Yet everybody feels its presence. It is a brotherhood of those who refuse to accept responsibility for the past and admit guilt.

Many people who were badly persecuted under the Communists now turn to prosecutors only to find out that once again justice is being perverted because the prosecutors are good friends and colleagues of the former persecutors.

Most privatized enterprises are

**Where
persecutors
feel picked on.**

still in the hands of the managers who ran them under the Communists. Some may be capable, even honest, but because none is "clean" they are susceptible to enormous pressures and blackmail tactics to gratify the ambitions of old friends.

A law barring any former senior Communist or secret police officials from holding high posts in government and in state-run industry for five years is widely ignored. Many National Assembly members collabo-

rated with the secret police, but they don't feel shame or repentance. Their heads are high and they fight eloquently, often successfully, for legislation that favors members of the Skeletons in the Closet Party.

President Vaclav Havel can either publicly hit out at these people or, acting on what I believe is his conviction, try to convince his nervous countrymen that collective revenge would bring only short-term relief, for revenge breeds revenge. If Czechoslovaks want to break the vicious circle they must risk giving the ex-Communists in the civil service and in industry the benefit of the doubt and a chance to reform and readjust.

Whatever President Havel decides, nothing is more important than the National Assembly elections on June 5 and 6. The Assembly enacts laws, and society is renewed where the laws are made. No former Communist country can replace its vast army of former civil servants and industrial managers overnight, but the nation can change 300 legislators overnight.

The almost impossible challenge is to discover how deeply the Skeletons in the Closet Party has penetrated the 43 of more than 100 parties fielding candidates. Still, the Czechs and Slovaks must overcome the inertia born of letting others make their decisions, and must make an extra effort to oust the Assembly incumbents who belong to this hidden party.

If they don't, this time they won't be able to blame anyone but themselves for the society that will be fashioned in coming years. □

Milos Forman is a film director. His latest movie is "Valmont."

The New York Times

America Lurches to the Left

Who would win a three-way race for President among George Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot? Regardless of the vote totals in November, the correct answer is Lefthanders International, based in Topeka, Kan. Its delighted members have discovered that all three candidates or near-candidates are left-handed.

That is true for 10 percent of the adult public, including the writer of this left-handed political analysis, and for them the striking coincidence may be the most heartening development since Leonardo painted "Mona Lisa" and Michelangelo carved "David," left-handedly of course.

Southpaws are reminded daily that they belong to an unthinkingly abused minority. The most blatant bias is mechanical: tools, appliances, automobiles, even stairs and dueling swords are usually designed by and for arrogant right-handers. More insidious is the linguistic tilt to the right — as in "adroit" and "maladroit," from the French meaning "to the right," or "sinister," from the Italian term for left.

Because right-handedness is deemed normal, left-handed children were often seen as freaks, needing forcible correction. According to Lefthanders International, Ronald Reagan was among

the millions who were born southpaws but who switched sides — anticipating his similar rightward transit in politics. If parents and teachers are less ferociously intolerant nowadays, that's partly because left-handers are believed to excel in some sports, notably baseball.

Hence the indignation among left-handers over a recent book, "The Left-Hander Syndrome," by Stanley Coren. He's so righteous that some wonder if he isn't a self-hating portsider (he claims to be right-handed). The author insists that although athletes like Babe Ruth batted left they were really right-eyed, and that southpaw superiority in baseball is a myth. Direr still, he cites data suggesting that left-handers have a shorter life expectancy by an average of nine years.

The statistics are in dispute but even if true, they don't prove the inferiority of left-handers or their bumbling inability to avoid accidents, as Dr. Coren seems to believe. Instead, they show the need to make life for southpaws safer and fairer.

Millions of American lefties are tired of being repeatedly denied a Presidential choice (until Mr. Bush, it is said that Gerald Ford, Harry Truman and James Garfield were the only left-handers). This year, they can't lose.

Sins of the Father

It's a poignant predicament. Catherine Abate, New York City's new Correction Commissioner, suddenly finds her career clouded by allegations that her father was linked to organized crime.

The natural instinct is to be sympathetic. No fair-minded person would visit the sins of a father unfairly on a daughter, least of all one with an unblemished 20-year career as attorney and public servant. Gov. Mario Cuomo, understandably sensitive to crude stereotyping of Italian-Americans, attacks the charges as hearsay.

But it carries sympathy too far to dismiss the allegations as gossip and to insist that they are not relevant. The issue here, apart from the real or imagined sins of the father, is the candor of the daughter, and how that bears on her fitness for a high law enforcement position.

The information about Ms. Abate's father came from New Jersey law enforcement officials talking on the record. They say 89-year-old Joseph Abate was, until 1989, a captain of the Lucchese crime family. The accusations, whether ultimately prov-

able or not, provide reasonable grounds for public inquiry.

Mayor David Dinkins, who also named Ms. Abate to her previous job as Probation Commissioner, was — is — entitled to know more, if only to satisfy himself that she was being open and honorable before her appointment. A conscientious appointee, if she knew about such charges, would feel a duty to volunteer the information.

Did Ms. Abate know about her father's reputation and fail to disclose it? So far, she has called the charges "ridiculous" and said she never heard them before this week. Perhaps so, but they were hardly secret. In 1989, for instance, James Zazzali, former Attorney General of New Jersey, told a Senate committee of Mr. Abate's mob ties. Could Ms. Abate, a prominent law enforcement official, have missed all such references?

These questions may be harsh and lamentable but they are fair, and relevant. Mayor Dinkins, and the public, have reason to ask whether Catherine Abate has committed a serious sin of omission.

What if Bosnia Had Oil?

When Saddam Hussein sent his divisions plunging into helpless little Kuwait, President Bush proclaimed an inviolable principle: Aggression would not stand. Hah, cynics said, the issue is not principle but oil. If Kuwait were not rich in oil, the West would have not rushed half a million soldiers to the Persian Gulf.

Was the President following a double standard? The world now looks to the aggression, every bit as cruel and unprovoked, by Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic against Bosnia and Herzegovina. That newborn state has no oil — and no defenses. Will the U.S. and Europe stand up for principle as strongly as they did for petroleum?

Bosnia is just the place for the Administration to show it means what Secretary of State Baker says about collective engagement to secure peace. Yet the State Department does no more than mumble, as if innocent Bosnians were equally to blame. How much more Serbian terror is required to get the Administration to talk and act sternly, to turn Serbia into a pariah until it lets go of Bosnia?

Mr. Milosevic bears chief blame for the bloodletting. Bosnia preferred to remain in a loosely confederal Yugoslavia. But when he whipped up Serbian nationalism, driving out other republics, Bosnia was forced to flee a Serb-dominated rump state. Now, ignoring the latest U.S. entreaty, he seems determined to dismember Bosnia. Serb irregulars and the Serb-led Yugoslav Army are step-

ping up their barrages against Bosnia's defenseless towns. They have seized two-thirds of Bosnia and driven tens of thousands from their homes.

There are several concrete ways for the United States to take the lead now:

□ Deny recognition to Serbia as Yugoslavia's legal heir; break relations with the Yugoslav shell; expel the Milosevic gang from international organizations like the United Nations.

□ Work to increase U.N. peacekeeping forces in Sarajevo and disperse them through Bosnia.

□ Tighten, and enforce, the economic blockade on landlocked Serbia. Without oil, weapons, ammunition and spare parts, Serbia's war machine will eventually grind down.

To be effective, these diplomatic and economic pressures require full cooperation from Europe. Much as it did in the Persian Gulf war, Washington can mobilize a unified Europe. No one has a greater stake in territorial integrity than the rest of Europe, East and West. Europeans cannot — dare not — tolerate Mr. Milosevic's dangerous attempt to change Bosnia's borders by force.

Stepping up the pressure may at a minimum rouse Serbs opposed to aggressive Milosevic nationalism. Many have fled or gone into hiding rather than march with a marauding Yugoslav Army. If the rest truly care about protecting kinsmen in Bosnia and elsewhere, they will press their Government to stop the terror and get out of Bosnia. If Americans believe in the principle that aggression is intolerable, they will stand up for it, oil or no oil.

Doctors as Spin Doctors

Just a few months ago Paul Tsongas, who made personal honesty a touchstone of his unsuccessful Presidential campaign, realized that he had to allay public concern over whether he had truly won his bout with cancer. So he told his doctors to lay his case out candidly for reporters.

Dr. Tak Takvorian, his physician at the Dana-Farber Cancer Institute in Boston, diligently explained to this newspaper, among others, how Mr. Tsongas had been treated with a bone marrow transplant in August 1986 and had since remained free of cancer for more than 5½ years.

It now turns out that Mr. Tsongas had a "localized relapse" of lymphoma some eight months or more after the marrow transplant. One of his doctors says he failed to mention the event to reporters because he forgot it. Dr. Takvorian says he considered it too minor to mention.

Even if true, those explanations don't wash. The relapse is clearly germane to any judgment about the durability of Mr. Tsongas' cure. Dr. Takvorian believes a localized relapse, confined to a

single lymph node with no spread of cancer throughout the body, is an insignificant indication of whether the patient will survive for many years.

But some experts believe that such a relapse may suggest that the bone marrow transplant did not produce a complete cure. Surely any candid discussion of Mr. Tsongas' health would at least mention the relapse and explain its unimportance. His doctors did a disservice by keeping mum.

What does this episode tell us about the former candidate, whose candor and sincerity were among his greatest attractions? Probably not much. There is no evidence that Mr. Tsongas tried to hide anything. Indeed, he told his doctors to discuss his case fully, and he himself mentioned the 1987 lymph node treatment to some journalists.

Mr. Tsongas has now asked his doctors, should he again become a candidate, to open his records to independent experts for evaluation. If questions remain, he will get tested at another cancer center. That's a reasonable way to allay doubts raised by his doctors' failure to make full disclosure.

When Welfare Tries Fingerprints

To the Editor:

As New York State prepares a pilot program mandating fingerprinting of welfare applicants and recipients in Onondaga and Rockland counties, we should look closer at the fingerprinting experience in Los Angeles (news article, April 6) and its likely ramifications in New York.

Any reduction in welfare fraud to be achieved by fingerprinting is realized by limiting the access of needy people to the welfare system. From our experience with hundreds of community groups around New York State, we know that recent immigrants, Holocaust survivors, older people, political asylum seekers, psychiatric patients and those frequently most in need of government assistance are frightened by fingerprinting — frightened enough to forgo needed medical, food and housing assistance if fingerprinting is required.

Los Angeles County claims that it has saved \$5.4 million from its experiment fingerprinting welfare applicants and recipients. This figure was arrived at by including as a cost saving more than 3,000 people who refused to be fingerprinted and were cut off from receiving rent, food and medical assistance. The computer system Los Angeles uses for the fingerprinting system costs nearly \$2 million a year. Only nine people have been uncovered as "welfare cheats." Consequently, the fingerprinting system costs the County of Los Angeles more than \$222,000 for every case of welfare fraud discovered.

Applicants and recipients of public assistance in New York State's pilot fingerprinting project have a significant basis for concern about the confidentiality of their prints. Inappropriate disclosure of AIDS virus status and other information regarded as confidential is not uncommon in crowded and hectic welfare centers. Whether by mistake or breach, confidential information about welfare applicants and recipients is too frequently disclosed in welfare centers around the state.

When Social Security numbers were first instituted, their sole purpose was a narrow one — the opening of a Social Security account. Today,

Social Security numbers are used on college identification cards, bank accounts, loan applications and public-assistance applications. Information collected by Government bureaucracies tends to proliferate. Fingerprinting information is unlikely to be kept confidential for very long.

Fingerprinting reflects the intrusiveness of the governmental "Big Brother" into the lives of low-income people for the questionable social goal of scaring people away from Government assistance. Fingerprinting public assistance recipients is a quasi criminalization of low-income people that no government would institute toward middle-class people. How would we collectively react if Los Angeles or New York proposed to fingerprint all Social Security or income tax filers? The rate of fraud and abuse in these systems equals or surpasses welfare fraud.

Being poor is not a crime. If we are serious about trying to save money in the welfare system, then we should



look to programs that create jobs and to programs that redirect eligible welfare recipients toward veterans benefits, disability, unemployment and more appropriate benefit programs. Fingerprinting is not the answer.

JEFFREY PLAUT
Coordinator, City-Wide
Welfare Advocacy Network
Bronx, April 9, 1992

The Silence That Kills

To the Editor:

Re "U.S. Erases Section on Sex From Child-Rearing Book" (news article, April 11): It appears others in President Bush's Administration are embracing his code of "Silence Is the Best Policy," begun with his decision to limit discussion of abortion in federally financed clinics and continuing with canceled surveys on sexual attitudes and behavior.

Explaining the decision to delete a chapter on contraception and adolescent sexuality from the Special Federal Employees Edition of "Taking Care of Your Child," Curt Smith of the Office of Personnel Management said: "I felt silence would be best. I felt silence would have the best chance of avoiding controversy." He suggested Roman Catholics might be offended.

The Administration's policy of silence on AIDS is a death sentence for thousands of people — men, women and, yes, teen-agers. Mr. Smith is suggesting that if you don't talk about it, it will go away. Has he heard about Arthur Ashe and Magic Johnson? Has he read about the prominent young leaders of the gay community who have died in recent weeks? Has he read about the alarming increase in all sexually transmitted diseases, not just AIDS, among teen-agers?

For Mr. Smith to state that any governmental agency is withholding information that could save lives because it is afraid of offending any one religious group is to destroy the fabric of our society. Our Government works for all people, and separation of church and state is the cornerstone of our democracy. If, indeed, we would offend a particular religious group by discussing the means by which teen-agers can avoid AIDS and other diseases, it seems to me that is a small price to pay to save the life of just one of our children.

AIDS is not going to disappear, nor will syphilis, gonorrhea or teen-age pregnancy, just by ignoring them. It is time for the American people to speak out against this Administration's policy of silence — in November, at the polls. GAIL C. WEISGRAU
New York, April 13, 1992

Don't Forget What South Africa Inflicted on Winnie Mandela

To the Editor:

I am disturbed beyond measure by "Winnie Mandela's Rise and Fall" (Op-Ed, April 14). Emma Gilbey's assault on Mrs. Mandela, and by the disparaging and mean-spirited illustration that depicts her wearing snakes on her head (no doubt venomous), brass knuckles, a spiked bracelet and other symbols associated with coldheartedness, extremism, militancy, violence and death.

It is regrettable that Nelson and Winnie Mandela are separating. For ordinary married black South African couples, strong bonds might be a consequence of the country's abject system of apartheid. However, Nelson and Winnie Mandela are not an ordinary couple.

As Ms. Gilbey mentions, when Mr. Mandela was imprisoned in 1962, his wife was left to raise alone two daughters and to struggle with an unkind country that was repulsed by such a black woman's strength, resolve and audacity to attempt the dissolution of white hegemony.

The price she paid for championing the rights of her people, for her activism and a fair South Africa, was torture, humiliation, estrangement from her children and exile. Certainly, an enormously high price for any human being, man or woman, to have to pay for freedom and justice.

Surely, I do not condone Mrs. Mandela's reputed abuse of alcohol, infidelity or complicity in a crime. But, unlike Ms. Gilbey, I feel compassion for her. (Rev.) CALVIN O. BUTTS 3D
Pastor, Abyssinian Baptist Church
New York, April 16, 1992

Isolation and Support

To the Editor:

Emma Gilbey's suggestion that the African National Congress has declared "open season on Winnie Mandela" and that "there is little room for compassion" in the new South Africa (Op-Ed April 14), shows either ignorance or mischievousness.

For years, the relationship between Winnie Mandela, the mass democratic movement and the A.N.C. has been extremely complicated. Her recent actions generated wide controversy, especially among those who admired her courage and commitment as an independent woman. It was compassion for the suffering inflicted on her by the apartheid regime that delayed our decision to isolate her politically. It was compassion that dictated that this isolation should not involve withdrawal of personal support.

At this critical time in our history Winnie and Nelson Mandela and all South Africa need the sympathetic understanding of the world's news media, rather than cheap and simplistic criticism. JACKLYN COCK
Princeton, N.J., April 15, 1992
The writer is a member of the African National Congress Commission for the Emancipation of Women.

Nefarious Policy

To the Editor:

Such articles as "De Klerk Is Given Red-Carpet Welcome in Nigeria" (front page, April 10), on the welcome F. W. de Klerk has received throughout black Africa and the black Afri-

can nations that are establishing diplomatic and trade relations with South Africa, bear testimony to the embarrassing myopia of New York City's anti-South African stand.

While black African nations, including states that directly about South Africa, join in efforts to benefit from trade with Pretoria and help establish an atmosphere to assure white South Africans that their post-apartheid nation will enjoy peace and prosperity with its neighbors, David N. Dinkins, Ruth Messinger and others treat South Africa as if the dramatic changes of the last few years had never occurred.

At best this is insulting, and at worst it contributes to a hostile atmosphere that can only add fuel to the arguments of the South African extremist right wing.

Those who have suffered most from the economic boycott of South Africa are the most vulnerable among its black populations. Thus, except for an inexplicable fear that the few remaining white supremacists can stem and reverse the tide, one is hard pressed to imagine what good can come from anyone's wishing further to cripple or stigmatize the South African economy.

A decade ago, when longshoremen protested Communist oppression of trade unionism by refusing to unload East Bloc ships, you decried "foreign policy being made on the docks." Why do you not now condemn the equally nefarious making of foreign policy by New York City's Mayor and City Council? EDWARD S. HOCHMAN
Paterson, N.J., April 11, 1992

A Way Out for Republicans on Abortion

By Ann E. W. Stone

IN the last few weeks, George Bush's prospects for re-election have brightened. The economy shows early signs of improvement. Bill Clinton's negative ratings have grown as questions about his character become lodged in the voters' minds. The scrutiny that will eventually reduce Ross Perot's candidacy to more realistic proportions has just begun.

But before Mr. Bush thinks the worst is behind him, he should consider one dark cloud on the horizon: the issue of abortion. If the Supreme Court overturns or eviscerates *Roe v. Wade* in the coming months, his re-election chances may suffer a heavy blow.

Yesterday the Court heard arguments on a Pennsylvania law that



Frances Jettner

Court's conservative majority is unlikely to gut *Roe v. Wade* in an election year. But unless it actually reaffirms *Roe*, the message will be clear: the pro-choice rallies and the negative publicity of Operation Rescue's protests in Buffalo and elsewhere will turn up the political heat. This was the case in 1989 after the Court's Webster decision limited abortion rights.

After Webster, abortion became a central issue in the only two states with gubernatorial races that year, New Jersey and Virginia. The result: thousands of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents voted against anti-abortion Republicans and elected pro-choice Democrats.

In 1990, after the Court ruled in the Rust decision that doctors in federally financed clinics could not discuss abortion with their patients, Republicans took a beating again; more than 90 percent of Republican incumbents who lost were anti-choice. The G.O.P. lost gubernatorial races in Texas and Florida, where abortion was a big issue, while pro-choice Republicans

won governors' races in Massachusetts and California.

Opinion polls show that women, young people and independents are clearly pro-choice. This bloc supported Ronald Reagan and Mr. Bush in the 80's, in spite of the candidates' anti-abortion positions. These voters believed Mr. Reagan when he promised less government interference in their lives.

It is a grave miscalculation to argue that the "pro-life" position is a winner for Republicans. Many of these voters backed Mr. Bush before the Webster decision, when abortion was a constitutional right. It seemed inconceivable then that a minority

view would limit abortion rights. At the time, pro-choice Republicans and independents were more concerned with other issues.

Today, the mood is different. What should George Bush do? He cannot flip-flop on the abortion issue, even if he wanted to. The way out for the Republicans is to adopt a platform at their national convention that recognizes the Administration's opposition to abortion, but makes it clear that our party's candidates and voters are not a monolith and that the G.O.P. is open to diverse views on the subject.

The watchword must be tolerance. There must be no litmus test within the Republican Party on the question of choice.

With the President's nomination assured, the 1992 Republican convention will be a dull affair. The only issue of interest to the media will be abortion. If G.O.P. leaders try to silence the pro-choice majority, they will endanger the party's prospects in November.

In Houston, the party must raise the "big tent" that Lee Atwater envisioned would house all Republicans, regardless of their views on abortion. The G.O.P.'s failure to do so will lend credence to charges that the "big tent" is only a small, closed tepee. □

Essay

WILLIAM SAFIRE

Candidates' Health

WASHINGTON

The last time a dying man ran for President of the U.S. was in 1944.

Franklin Roosevelt was declared to be "in splendid shape" by his doctor, Adm. Ross McIntire. When the wartime President's haggard appearance and quaking hands started rumors of his high blood pressure and weak heart, his press secretary prevailed on the F.B.I. to investigate a doctor suspected of leaking the truth.

The story was squelched. I remember watching F.D.R. campaign down Broadway through the rain, as if to demonstrate robust health; he died three months into his fourth term.

A generation later, Lyndon Johnson, fighting for the Democratic nomination, had his friend John Connally put out word that John F. Kennedy suffered from Addison's disease, a glandular affliction requiring cortisone treatment.

Again a respected physician deliberately misled the public. Dr. Janet Travell described the serious ailment as a wartime "depletion of adrenal function from which he is now rehabilitated," and she helped Robert Kennedy cover up his brother's treatment all during the 1960 campaign.

Perhaps a case can be made during wartime for a doctor surrounding a Presidential patient with a "body-guard of lies" to keep a Commander in Chief's condition from the enemy. But that does not excuse a dying President from hiding his illness to benefit his candidacy.

Nor does it excuse the doctors for a candidate in peacetime for misleading the voters. A doctor can properly refuse to say anything about a patient, but ethical doctors do not lie.

Does the public have a right to know the intimate details of the health of candidates for President? Do doctors, directed by the candidate to tell the whole truth, have a right to hold back evidence that might lead to a different prognosis?

That issue has been raised again in the case of Paul Tsongas, who suspended his campaign last month, but not for reasons of health. He presented himself as a recovered cancer patient and forthrightly told his doctors in Boston to lay out the full details to medical reporters.

They did not. Dr. Lawrence K. Altman, the medical columnist for The New York Times, reported their assertions last month, but it seemed to the writer and to this reader at the time that there was more to the story than the doctors were letting on.

Dr. Altman kept after them, and now it seems that they failed to provide pertinent information that might conflict with their optimistic prognosis. After Mr. Tsongas's bone marrow transplant, the cancer recurred in a lymph node, requiring additional radiation treatment and creating a cause for concern.

It's hard to fault the gutsy Mr. Tsongas, who may have mentioned the troublesome node to a reporter or two. But he did not understand, or was not overly eager to explore, its possible significance.

His specialists in Boston (whose funerals Mr. Tsongas may well attend) will issue statements about how forthcoming they have been, or how laymen can never understand the complexities they face.

But the political fact is this: If Mr. Tsongas had been the front-runner

Real doctors, spin doctors.

yesterday, his campaign would have been over today. When doctors disagree about a person's ability to complete a term, voters will turn elsewhere.

How do we apply this lesson to future Presidential candidates? We have seen how personal physicians and even entire hospitals have a conflict of interest between patient privacy and public responsibility.

To avert that conflict, let the Republican and Democratic National Committees appoint a Candidate's Medical Review Board.

That panel could review the candidates' medical records in camera, interview their doctors, examine the candidates if necessary, and issue a simple statement about the candidates' general health. As Mr. Tsongas wrote to his doctors yesterday, urging full disclosure, "Limited access to the record will no longer be an option in the future."

Privacy is a value; the public need not pry into any psychological consultations, none of which should be an impediment to public service.

But good health is a qualification for office. We do have the right not to be misled about the life expectancy of the person we make the most powerful leader in the world. □

Candidates get down to earth for a day

By Judy Keen
and Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

In honor of Earth Day, the presidential campaign narrowed its focus Wednesday to the planet's future.

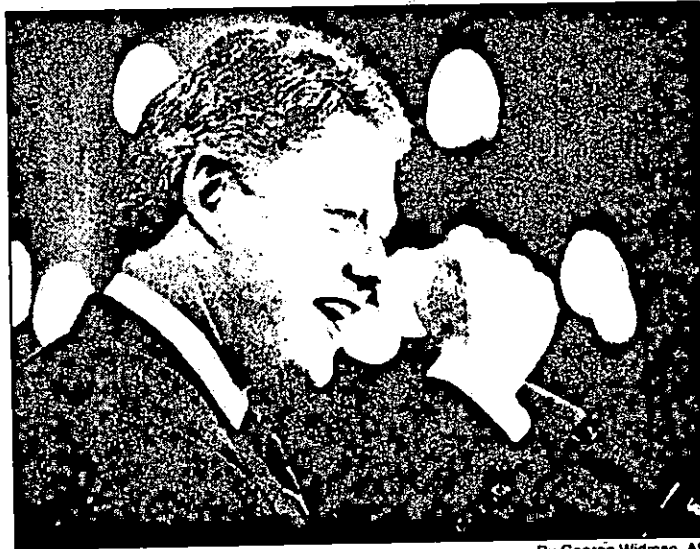
There was little agreement on the right measures to protect the environment. Each major candidate positioned himself as the Earth's best custodian — and attacked his foes.

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton blasted President Bush's record, saying the self-anointed "environmental president" has been "reactive, rudderless and expedient."

But White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater lashed back that the Arkansas governor has "the worst environmental record in America. The man does know pollution. He's got it, he's caused it, he's nurtured it and he's done nothing to clean it up."

► In a speech at Drexel University in Philadelphia, Clinton scored Bush for giving wetlands back to developers, "singlehandedly blocking" a U.N. environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, endorsing the opening of the Arctic Wilderness to oil drilling, and doing "precious little" to clean up Boston Harbor after making it an issue against Michael Dukakis in 1988.

The probable Democratic nominee tried to pre-empt attacks on pollution in Arkansas' White River. He challenged Bush to visit the river and agree to a state-federal plan to clean it up. "But I will not let this become the Boston Harbor," Clinton said.



By George Widman, AP

IN PHILADELPHIA: Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Clinton speaks about the environment Wednesday at Drexel University.

"So, Mr. President, if you want to place the blame, you're going to have to shoulder some of it, too."

He charged Bush "doesn't understand that perpetuating the false choice between environmental protection and economic growth is bad for the environment and bad for the economy."

And he said Bush must attend the Rio summit — "one foreign trip George Bush can't afford to miss."

Michael Deland, head of the Coun-

cil on Environmental Quality, retaliated quickly. "The president's record represents a lifetime commitment to environmental protection," he said, accusing Clinton of "a slippery attempt... to gloss over" a record that has Arkansas ranked low on environmental issues.

Clinton rolled out a slew of specific proposals: tightening auto emission standards; a national bottle law with deposits for returned bottles and cans; and "nature swaps" allow-

Where they differ

NUCLEAR: Bush is a nuclear power advocate, says it could help curb global warming. Clinton opposes its use.

AUTOMOBILES: Bush wants lower fuel efficiency standards, but proposes program to get more older, polluting cars off road. Clinton wants to raise average mileage to 45 mpg from the current 27 mpg.

GLOBAL WARMING: Clinton wants United States to sign a treaty that requires a reduction in energy use. Bush has opposed any treaty calling for reductions, saying the costs are too great.

WETLANDS: Bush has gotten criticism for trying to soften wetlands protection. Clinton says they are "critical ecosystems" that deserve restoration and protection.

ENDANGERED SPECIES: Bush says we need to strike a "better balance" between Endangered Species Act and economic interests. Clinton is on record in favor of strong endangered species laws.

ENERGY: Clinton advocates conservation and greater use of renewable energy sources. Bush wants exploration in the oil-rich Arctic National Wildlife Refuge.

ing undeveloped nations to exchange debt for permanently putting aside precious lands.

He also endorsed tougher fuel efficiency standards — 40 mpg by the year 2000 and 45 mpg by the year 2020; giving rebates to purchasers of fuel efficient cars.

► Bush, in an Earth Day message, trotted out specifics, too, but of achievements rather than ideas.

Earth Day, he said in a statement, "is an opportunity to re-dedicate our-

selves to leaving a better quality of life for future generations." He said, "we can have both economic growth and a cleaner, safer environment."

He said his successes include a Clean Air Act "that will cut sulfur dioxide emissions in half, reduce toxic air emissions by 90%, and clean up smog"; a moratorium on oil and gas drilling off the coasts of California, Florida, Washington, Oregon, and New England; proposing to phase out ozone-depleting substances by the

end of 1995; and adding over \$1 billion in new lands to parks, forests and wildlife refuges.

► Democrat Jerry Brown, meanwhile, drove to Bush's Council on Environmental Quality in an electric car covered with solar panels to deliver a foot-high stack of petitions demanding a national energy policy.

"The nation is being turned into a stinking junkyard, and it doesn't have to be," Brown said.

He said Clinton has such "a miserable environmental record, for the Democratic Party to consider placing him at the top of the ticket would invite an environmental backlash."

In a speech, Brown said, "Energy efficiency, environment, and economy. Four E's translate to a fifth E, elegance — an elegant, competitive way of life that will... create jobs and set a model."

► In Washington, GOP challenger Pat Buchanan said Bush "must not go to Rio" to support an environmental "transnational elite." He asked voters to send telegrams telling Bush, "We will not yield one iota of our sovereignty to these global parasites."

The environment, political analysts say, isn't a make-or-break presidential issue.

But "it's gained the stature of motherhood," said Atlanta pollster Claibourne Darden. "Just about everybody's for it, but how can a candidate capitalize on it?"

Contributing: David Judson, Gannett News Service

► Campaign roundup, 5A

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Neither party escapes wrath of environmentalists

By Rae Tyson and Linda Kanamine
USA TODAY

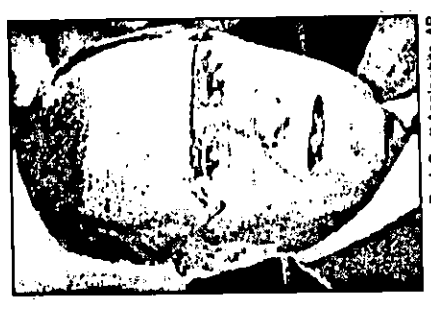
Both are fighting for the hearts and minds of environmentalists, but President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton each have environmental records ripe for criticism.

Jim Maddy, head of the League of Conservation Voters, says of the president: "In a campaign year where they're going to be looking for ways to portray the other as someone of weak character, this is the one area where it's going to be very easy for (Clinton) to claim George Bush is dishonest, manipulative, opportunistic and other things."

But Arkansas Republican Chairman Sheffield Nelson counters: "Arkansas is an environmental catastrophe. Bill Clinton should not be allowed to do to America's environment what he's done to Arkansas' environment."

A closer look at Clinton's record shows:

- ▶ Arkansas ranks 48th on the environment — only Louisiana and Alabama rank lower — according to a recent study by the Institute for Southern Studies of Durham, N.C.
- ▶ Clinton failed to halt damaging timber clear-cutting on government forestland — which Bush also has done in national forests.
- ▶ Clinton was slow to respond to environmentalists' concerns about the proliferation of medical and hazardous waste incinerators in Arkansas.
- ▶ He was especially slow to respond to water quality problems in the White River. Pollution problems are largely from the poultry industry, one of the state's largest employers. "When that industry's short-term private profits collided with the public's interest in the most stringent water quality standards, he blinked," Maddy said.



By J. Scott Applewhite, AP
BUSH: Undecided on attending U.N. summit in Brazil

Arkansas environment

A non-profit research center in Durham, N.C., recently ranked all 50 states for environmental conditions. How Arkansas scored:

Overall rank	48th
Top state	Oregon
Air quality	32nd
Top state	Idaho
Water quality	41st
Top state	Nevada
Transportation efficiency	44th
Top state	New York
Energy use	45th
Top state	Idaho
Workplace protection	38th
Top state	Massachusetts

Source: The Green Index, Institute for Southern Studies

ing treaty negotiations. Bush hasn't said if he'll even attend a June U.N. summit in Brazil where a global warming treaty would be signed.

"In 1988, candidate George Bush said, 'If you're concerned about the greenhouse effect, wait until you see the White House effect.' Well, so far the White House effect has been a whitewash," said Daniel Becker of the Sierra Club.

▶ Bush's energy policy promotes nuclear power and calls for oil drilling in the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska.

▶ He tried to gut wetlands protection rules. Bush "promised no net loss of wetlands, then he came in, looked at the consequences of that promise and began looking for a way out," Maddy says.

▶ The White House Council on Competitiveness — led by Vice President Quayle — has blocked several environmental initiatives, including a modest national recycling program.

Fran Spivy-Weber, director of international programs for the National Audubon Society, says both parties have failed: "The Republican leadership and administration now is carrying some negative baggage, the biggest being they don't seem to care what the environmental consequences are of economic development."

But, she adds: "Unfortunately, the Democrats also appear to be that way... Is there anyone who is going to say, 'Let's establish a principle that the environment must be protected, and then figure out how we're going to safeguard or create jobs?'"

Senators see threat from Soviet missiles

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

Six conservative senators are pressing the Bush administration to expose possible nuclear treaty violations by the former Soviet Union, including reports that a banned missile was recently offered for sale.

In a recent letter to the White House, the senators say they are "concerned ... the former Soviet Union did not declare" all of its SS-20 and SS-23 medium-range missiles as required by the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces treaty.

Instead, republicans may have a secret force of hundreds.

The signers were Sens. Larry Craig, R-Idaho; Jesse Helms, R-N.C.; Larry Pressler, R-S.D.; Bob Smith, R-N.H.; Steve Symms, R-Idaho; and Malcolm Wallop, R-Wyo.

Citing the administration's own treaty compliance reviews, U.S. intelligence data and press reports, the senators

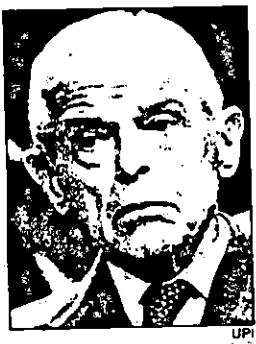
also asked if it's true that: ▶ A Ukrainian military official offered to sell an SS-20 missile to a U.S. citizen. The last existing SS-20s were supposedly destroyed in June 1991.

▶ The Strategic Rocket Forces of the former Soviet Union eradicated serial numbers and factory markings from 654 SS-20s, in order to conceal the number actually produced and destroyed.

Gabriel Schoenfeld, a Soviet expert at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, says "it's conceivable that elements of the (former Soviet) military are doing things without instruction," but he thinks any violation probably would be "inadvertent."

"The military ambitions of the leadership of Russia are gone," he adds.

In a study of "Soviet Non-compliance with Arms Control Agreements" for 1991, the White House concedes the Soviets concealed SS-23 missiles



UPI
NITZE: Sees covert campaign by administration

they had in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria.

The study also lists numerous cases of nuclear support equipment that was not declared, and says the use of large radar networks raises questions of potential "significant violations" of the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty.

Former U.S. arms negotiator Paul Nitze believes reports of such violations are part of a campaign to revive the Soviet nuclear threat by administration officials "who would like to get rid of the ABM treaty."

For Lenin, the party is definitely over

By Carole Landry
Special for USA TODAY

MOSCOW — For the first time since his death in 1924, parents, teachers and schoolchildren of School No. 315, and thousands of others like it around Russia, were not summoned Wednesday to observe Vladimir Lenin's birthday.

"That holiday is gone," school director Valentina Andreevna said of the 122nd birthday of the founder of the Soviet Union.

Under the Soviet regime, April 22 was one of many "Red Calendar Days."

That's when citizens of the former Soviet state read the gospel according to Lenin in newspapers or heard it during rallies organized in schools, factories and offices.

This year only a handful of die-hard communists or-

ganized rallies.

"Children need to know that there was a revolutionary called Lenin," said Andreevna. "But they also need to know Peter the Great, Catherine the Great and Ivan the Terrible."

The name and portrait of Lenin are being dropped so quickly it's hard to keep up. Rejects include:

▶ The ruble: Russia's Central Bank will issue new ruble bills this summer carrying the two-headed eagle, Russia's historic emblem. Gone is Lenin's face.

▶ The Moscow and St. Petersburg subways, formerly named for Lenin.

▶ Lenin Stadium: one of Moscow's best sport complexes, now simply called the Central Stadium.

▶ Lenin Museums: Every major city had one. Now, they're closed except for Moscow's.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Afghan guerrillas advance

A force of at least 1,000 Afghan guerrillas advanced to the edge of Kabul and joined forces with the crumbling government Wednesday to isolate a radical chief-tain and prepare for a rebel-led Islamic government.

After 13 years of civil war that has claimed 2 million lives, the mujahedeen rebels are reported on the verge of conquering the capital and seizing power, replacing the coalition that deposed President Najibullah, who went into hiding last week. But the takeover was delayed by rebel indecision on how to share power and who should become the nation's leader.

has strict laws against selling weapons in crisis regions like the Middle East.

ALGERIA FRONT: Algeria's banned Islamic Salvation Front has called for armed struggle to free the country from what it calls oppression

by the ruling junta.

AND IN CANADA: A trapper shot and killed a mountain lion in his living room on Redonda Island, off Canada's west coast, after the hungry animal chased a pet dachshund into the house.

USA Today 4/23/92

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Duke officially quits the presidential race

David Duke, once worrisome to Republican leaders as a threat from the far right, gave up his presidential campaign Wednesday after having already disappeared from the race for the GOP nomination. He was short of money, was kept off ballots in many states, and won no delegates to the Republican convention.

"I know that my role in this presidential election is over. ... I have no plans to continue the quest for the Republican nomination," he said in Washington.

Duke, 41, a former Louisiana state representative and failed candidate for governor who'd been a Ku Klux Klan leader and Nazi sympathizer, said he'll go to the Republican convention. He said he might run for Congress someday.

His quest — based on welfare reform, anti-affirmative action, anti-immigration and a flat tax — lost steam when Republican presidential challenger Pat Buchanan presented similar ideas in his campaign without the taint of Duke's past.



DUKE: 'My role' in election is over.

PEROT PLANS: Texas billionaire Ross Perot, on the verge of entering the presidential race, has laid the foundation for a campaign. Earlier he said he'd run if supporters got his name on the ballot in all 50 states, effectively setting a deadline of August. Now, Perot says he'll know "if all this is going to happen" in June. Over the past week, Perot has:

- ▶ Hired James Squires, former editor of the *Chicago Tribune*, to handle a backlog of 1,500 media inquiries.
- ▶ Rented 50,000 square feet of office space through January. The office can accommodate 200 phones, twice the size of the phone bank housed in Perot's office building.
- ▶ Quit two Dallas clubs that exclude minorities.
- ▶ Revealed he hired New York pollster Mark Penn of Penn Schoen Associates, which handled polling for then New York Mayor Ed Koch and Illinois Rep. John Anderson, a third-party presidential candidate in 1980.

RADIO SIGNALS: A GOP-sponsored radio ad thrashing House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo., for being among Congress' check-kickers is causing a stir back home. The ad, which chides Gephardt for upping his bad-check count from three to 23 to 28, says maybe he didn't learn "to tell the truth."

Gephardt's lawyers dashed off a letter Tuesday, warning station managers they'd have to give the congressman a chance to respond — "without charge" — to "personal attacks." The letter also mentioned scary things like "libel" and "copyright infringement." Oops, said St. Louis' KMOX, the ad is a "personal attack" and we won't air it. It's running on some stations. Rep. Newt Gingrich, R-Ga., call your lawyer. The Gephardt ad mimics almost word-for-word a Democrat-backed ad chastising Gingrich for the same no-no.

HOUSTON ELECTION: Last week Anglo state Sen. Gene Green beat a Hispanic candidate for the Democratic congressional nomination in a new Houston district drawn specifically to reflect its 60% Hispanic population. Now the election may be up for grabs again. Green defeated City Council member Ben Reyes by only 180 votes out of more than 30,000. Under Texas law, people who took a GOP ballot in the March 10 primary were not eligible to vote in the April 14 Democratic runoff. "With only one-third of the precincts checked, we've already got 400 illegal voters," Reyes said Wednesday. "We'll have the final count Thursday and then we'll file our challenge." A state judge could dismiss the suit, declare Reyes the winner or call a new runoff.

MEDIA GET PERKS, TOO: Taxpayers foot at least \$1.3 million of the annual cost to run press rooms in the Capitol, and few news organizations contribute. In the midst of sniping between Congress and the White House over perks, Senate Republican Leader Robert Dole, R-Kan., collected figures on "media perks" at the request of *Hotline*, a political newsletter. Dole tallied the costs of galleries for newspapers, periodicals, photographers and broadcasters, including staff salaries, telecommunications and computers.

Most organizations pay their own phone bills and supply their own computers but don't pay for space, desks, copy and fax machines, newspaper subscriptions and parking. Exceptions: Knight-Ridder Newspapers sends \$2,000 yearly to the Treasury. *The Wall Street Journal* sends \$1,250.

"We write a lot about perks, so when people ask us about our own perks, we can say we're covered," said Al Hunt, *Journal* Washington bureau chief.

USA TODAY doesn't pay anything, but Editor Peter Prichard said, "Maybe we ought to."

OAKAR'S CHOICE: Rep. Mary Rose Oakar, D-Ohio, who was named one of the worst "abusers" of the House bank,

said she gave up chairing the Democratic Party's platform hearings to concentrate on her campaign for a ninth term. "First things first — I have to write my own platform," Oakar said Wednesday. Besides the check scandal — she wrote 213 overdrafts — she heads the subcommittee responsible for the House post office, now the focus of drug-dealing and embezzlement investigations. And she has seven Democratic challengers. Rep. Nancy Pelosi, D-Calif., took the platform job. Oakar will be vice chairwoman of the convention's credentials committee after the June 2 Ohio primary.



OAKAR: 'I have to write my platform.'

TSONGAS TO RELEASE RECORDS: Former presidential candidate Paul Tsongas told his doctors Wednesday to release his medical records to an independent review panel because of new admissions by his doctors that they did not disclose his cancer once it occurred. The Massachusetts Democrat said he'd submit to outside medical testing because he plans "to be active in political affairs in the future."

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Jerry Brown: Louisville, meets African-American clergy, University of Louisville rally; Bloomington, Ind., University of Indiana rally; Indianapolis; Cheyney, Pa., Black Legislative Caucus forum; Philadelphia, benefit for homeless. Bill Clinton: Tallahassee, Fla., town meeting at Florida A&M University; Miami reception.

Republicans George Bush: White House, honors Academic Decathlon champions, reception for 60th anniversary of Folger Shakespeare Library, addresses free-trade conference. Pat Buchanan: private time in Florida.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: Debbie Howlett, Judy Keen, Brian O'Connell, Maria Puente

Election coverage

- ▶ Earth Day politics, 6A
- ▶ Forget old labels, 13A

IN WASHINGTON

TRADE TALKS: President Bush and European leaders pledged Wednesday to continue working toward agreement on global trade but cited no breakthroughs in trade talks stymied by European Community reluctance to slash farm subsidies, as demanded by Washington. Bush met for 2½ hours with Portuguese Prime Minister Aníbal Cavaco Silva, current EC president, and Jacques Delors, head of the European Commission, the EC's executive arm.

MIDEAST TALKS: Israeli negotiators will come to Mideast peace talks in Washington next week ready to discuss with Palestinian Arabs ways to extend limited self-rule in the West Bank and Gaza, including elections to choose local leaders, Israeli officials said.

TELEDYNE SUIT: The Justice Department has accused Teledyne Inc., a leading maker of military electronics, of systematically falsifying tests on electromagnetic relays — one of the most basic components of sophisticated weapons and spacecraft. *The New York Times* reported today. The civil suit, unsealed in Los Angeles, says Teledyne's failure to test the components properly defrauded the government of as much as \$250 million, the *Times* said. Teledyne previously disclosed that it was being investigated, the *Times* said.

USA Today 4/23/92

MARVIN KALB

Campaign TV coverage has gone downhill fast

In one month, attention to issues plunged and sound bites shriveled.

After an impressive start in February, TV news coverage of the presidential campaign descended in March into the pits of short sound bites, fewer substantive stories and a sharper focus on horse-race coverage and negative commercials.



Marvin Kalb is director of the Shorenstein Barone Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

According to an ongoing study of campaign coverage under the supervision of Professors Marion Just and Ann Crigler at the Shorenstein Barone Center on Press, Politics and Public Policy, George Bush and Bill Clinton continue to dominate the airwaves. Of 176 stories on ABC, CBS

and NBC in February, Bush was seen, heard or mentioned in 129 of them, or 73.3% of total coverage. Clinton was seen, heard or mentioned in 80 of them, or 45% of total coverage, more than any other Democratic or Republican candidate.

Of the 197 stories on these three networks in March, as the campaign swung through the South, Michigan and Illinois, Bush, having finally demolished Pat Buchanan's challenge from the right, was seen, heard or mentioned in 100 of them, or 51% of total coverage. The more controversial Clinton was seen, heard or mentioned in 108 of them, or 55% of total coverage.

Part of the reason was that Clinton was locked in a ferocious contest with Bob Kerrey and Tom Harkin, until they withdrew, Paul Tsongas, until he suspended his campaign, and Jerry Brown; and,

with the running of each primary contest, the horse-race factor tended to be emphasized. Who's still in the race? Who's out?

How long was the famous sound bite of modern-day TV coverage? In February, the average length of a Bush sound bite was 12.5 seconds. Clinton got 11.6 seconds. In both cases, that was more than the average length of a presidential candidate's sound bite in the 1988 campaign, when it was 9.6 seconds. In March, however, the average length of a Bush sound bite dropped to 9.2 seconds and, astonishingly, the average length of a Clinton sound bite plummeted to 6.5 seconds.

As the sound bite tightened, how much time was devoted to substance? In February, the three networks devoted 36 stories, or 20.5% of coverage, to substantive issues. This represented one out of every five stories, a wondrous highlight of early campaign coverage. In March, out of a larger sample, the three networks devoted only 21 stories to substance, or 10.7% of coverage, one out of every 10 stories, a significant drop.

Interestingly, though the tone of news coverage toward Bush remained essentially negative, the tone toward Clinton improved in March, primarily on the strength of reports that he kept winning primary elections even though he was pummeled by criticism about his "character."

On reflection, the special history and demographics of New Hampshire provided an opportunity for focused and substantive coverage, despite the anti-Clinton barrage of unflattering stories. But when the campaign splintered into numerous primaries, scattered over a wide terrain, requiring more TV time week after expensive week, the coverage itself lost its focus and retreated into simplistic TV voyeurism, name-calling and photo-ops.

Judging by widespread popular cynicism and disenchantment produced in part by the nature of TV coverage, there is a crying need for improvement, and there is still plenty of time to do it.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Lawsuit Alleges Coercion in President's Dinner Ticket Sales

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

James R. Elliott, president of Cherry Payment Systems, a midwestern marketing company, is one of two dozen co-chairmen from around the country in charge of selling places at next week's President's Dinner, the major fund-raising event President Bush is hosting on behalf of Republican congressional candidates.

Yesterday, a former employee of his firm, William P. Neiss, alleged in a civil suit that Elliott and two of his top executives coerced him and employees in 85 of the firm's offices to each contribute \$1,500 to the dinner. When Neiss refused, he said, he was fired.

Elliott was convicted of federal bank fraud charges in 1980s and released from prison in 1987, according to former Illinois governor James R. Thompson (R), Elliott's lawyer.

Thompson said yesterday that Elliott had not seen the suit but that he denies coercing employees to contribute. Thompson described Elliott as a "young man who went bad and has reformed and is interested in the political process."

Neiss's suit includes letters and messages sent to Cherry Payment Systems employees that provide a window on national fund-raising operations this election year at a time Congress and the White House are at odds on overhauling the campaign financing system.

It also paints a picture of potential contributors being offered access to their choice of administration officials in exchange for large donations and offers one worker's allegations on how he was pulled into the fund-raising apparatus against his will.

Neiss alleged in his suit that Elliott, 39, and two of his top executives engaged in a "scheme to coerce, intimidate and extort employees of Cherry Systems to make significant monetary contributions" to the President's Dinner. In the suit, filed in Dane County, Wis., Circuit Court, Neiss, an employee in Cherry Systems' Milwaukee office, asks for damages resulting from his dismissal.

According to the suit and attached docu-

ments, Neiss received a letter from Elliott on Feb. 13. Elliott, chairman of the board and president of the Illinois-based Cherry Payment Systems, had sent the letter to Neiss and at least 85 other regional managers nationwide informing them that he had been named "co-chairman" of the dinner and asking that they contribute.

Attached to the letter was a list of prices, ranging from \$1,500 for one ticket to \$20,000 for a table. The letter, noting the prestigious audience expected to attend the event, expressed the "hope" that the employee "could buy, or fill, at least one table" so the

See FUND-RAISER, A20, Col. 1



Lawsuit Alleges Coercion in Ticket Sales to President's Dinner Fund-Raiser

FUND-RAISER, From A1

employee could then also attend pre-dinner events.

According to the list, which dinner officials in Washington confirmed was part of their promotional material, a table-buyer would be entitled to the dinner, as individual donors are, and could attend a private reception hosted by the president and Barbara Bush or a reception hosted by the Cabinet, plus luncheon at the vice presidential residence hosted by Vice President Quayle, plus a breakfast hosted by Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) and House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.).

A purchaser who sold one table also could request a specific House member or senator to be seated there, and for selling two, a specific senator or one "Senior Administration Official." For selling \$92,000 worth of tickets, the donor was offered an individual picture of the donor and the president.

Kristen Seveda, an official of the National Republican Congressional Committee, a sponsor of the dinner along with its Senate counterpart, said last night that the issue was "news to us. We do not have to rely on such fund-raising actions, if they occurred, for this dinner. If employees were coerced, we repudiate it."

Party officials said the dinner is expected to raise more than \$7 million and will qualify as "the most successful fund-raising event in the history of politics. . . ."

The dinner does not raise funds for the president's reelection, although the promotional material calls it "The President's Dinner" and Elliott and his team suggested it was a Bush campaign event. The dinner's funds go to the two Republican congressional campaign committees, which are allowed to accept up to \$25,000 in individual contributions, compared to \$1,000 for the presidential campaign, and an unlimited amount to a separate fund.

Besides the Elliott letter, the suit includes a series of increasingly urgent messages sent by fax to Neiss

and, he alleges, to other regional managers. Signed by Peter Moles, regional marketing director who also is named in the suit, the messages refer to Elliott's request. One, dated Feb. 15, notes, "I would like to know who is going to be part of the long-term growth of this operation and therefore who will be in attendance for this great opportunity to be able to rub elbows with the most powerful people in this country."

Another message notes, "If you're asking yourself, can I afford to make this trip, then ask yourself if you can afford not to" and "We will truly see what kind of cloth your cut from when I hear from those of you that plan to participate."

Neiss, in his suit, maintains the same messages were sent to 26 offices in 14 states where the firm operates its business marketing credit-card and check-approval systems to businesses and leasing related equipment to businesses. A final message orders Neiss to reply by Feb. 24 and notes those who agree "are going to display their commitment towards. . . this company." It adds, "Let your wallet be your guide. Your either here for the long term or your on vacation."

Neiss's suit alleges that after a series of additional messages and phone calls, he was ordered to answer by March 2 and called Moles and declined to buy tickets. The next day, Neiss said, he was fired.

Thompson said Neiss was a disgruntled employee who did not measure up as a salesman and that the firing was coincidental. He said if employees believed they were being coerced, it was "a misunderstanding" and added that Elliott "volunteered" to co-chair the event as a favor to him. Thompson, who is one of the deputy chairmen of the dinner, said he picked Elliott as one of the co-chairmen in his region.

Elliott and his firm also have been involved in separate fund-raising efforts for Bush's campaign. He was among nine contributors from Cherry Payment Systems who gave \$1,000 each to the reelection campaign on one day last November. He also has given \$20,000 to the Republican National Committee and

\$5,000 to the National Republican Senatorial Committee, according to Federal Election Commission records.

Elliott was indicted more than six years ago on charges of mail and wire fraud, racketeering and misapplication of bank funds as part of a federal investigation of a complex real estate scheme involving Manning Savings and Loan Association, an Illinois thrift closed by the Federal Home Loan Bank Board in 1983.

Elliott was accused of helping arrange a condominium deal that inflated Manning's net worth. Manning reportedly lost more than \$3 million in the deal, which regulators said contributed to the thrift's failure.

Elliott was convicted in federal court in 1984 on charges of cheating two home-loan programs out of more than \$135,000 and was on probation at the time of the Manning indictments. He cooperated with authorities in the Manning case and agreed to plead guilty to one count of mail fraud.

Moles was among the Chicago-area salesmen for First Commodities of Boston, a defunct trading firm, who were indicted in federal court more than three years ago on charges of using high-pressure sales tactics to swindle investors, according to a report in the Chicago Tribune.

Staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

Peter Milius

Bush's Education Proposal: A Little Learning

The supposed expansion of federal aid to higher education that President Bush proposed last week in the form of a Lifelong Learning Act of 1992 is a metaphor for the domestic timidity of his administration. The education president and the publicity apparatus that surrounds him tried to inflate a minor and marginal proposal into a major step forward. It turns out to be a small step indeed.

The president said in a speech on education at a Pennsylvania campaign stop last Thursday: "And you've got every right to ask: What can Washington do to help?" "Well, here's one way we can," he went happily on. "Today I want to announce a legislative initiative that I call the 'Lifetime Education and Training Account'—a package of grants and line of credit worth \$25,000 to every eligible American to further their education or acquire new job skills to make the most of their abilities." The White House duly produced what it calls a Fact Sheet to back that up.

The Fact Sheet left a few facts out. The new proposal has three parts, the first of which turns out to have been enacted by Congress six years ago. It has been in the law ever since, and it hasn't worked. The second and third proposals contain major—and familiar—contradictions, in that the administration would limit or isn't sure how to provide the subsidies on which they would depend.

The first proposal is to extend so-called Pell grants to less than half-time students. It was couched last week in unassailable small-d democratic terms as a way of aiding those admirable people who want to continue their educations but can take only a course or two at a time because that's all the money they have, they have to work, have children to care for etc.

In fact, their cause is so worthy, or seems so, that Congress included just such an extension in the higher education amendments of 1986. Two problems developed. The first involved funding. The extra aid was not an entitlement but an authorization subject to the appropriations process, and the appropriators haven't provided the funds, which they've claimed not to have. The president wouldn't require or facilitate the funding any more than the law does now. Nor, even if he did, would the aid amount to much.

A student attending less than half-time would have low costs. Pell grants cover only a part of costs, and for good administrative reasons there is a minimum grant; a student entitled to less gets nothing. Even with an appropriation, the minimum and other regulations having to do with such things as expected student contributions would tend to crowd many less-than-half-timers out of the program.

The president's second proposal would offer the other main form of federal aid, guaranteed student loans, to less than half-time students as

well. Here a different problem arises. The main subsidy in the guaranteed student loan program is that the government pays the interest and the student pays nothing so long as the student is in school. To protect itself against perpetual students, however, the government makes such in-school payments only for those enrolled in normal degree-granting programs. In this case the government would likewise protect itself.

To take a course, a student could take out a loan, but the government would make the interest payments only for the year in which the course was taken; after that, the less-than-half-time student would be responsible for *that* loan even if he had then taken out others and was still in school. The label would say aid, but the aid would be much reduced.

The third proposal is to create a new system of income-contingent student loans in which the monthly payments of those who went on to low-paying jobs would be less than the payments of those whose incomes were comfortable or high. The administration has long been attracted to the idea, in part as a way of averting defaults. The problem is that banks won't make such loans; the only way to do it is for the government to make them itself—and the administration, much as it favors the loans, is opposed to direct federal lending.

Its position is isometric; to relieve the conflict, the president proposes that Sallie Mae, the

quasi-public Student Loan Marketing Association, make the loans instead. Then comes a second unresolved problem, which is how to make such a lending system come out even without the government subsidy that the administration also is opposed to giving. If low-income people pay less, who pays more to make up the difference? If you ask those with likely high incomes to do it, they'll turn to other lending programs. But the unsubsidized alternative is that the lowest-income people will end up paying forever. Let Sallie Mae figure it out, the Fact Sheet unhelpfully says.

Bill Clinton has also got a "lifelong learning" proposal and one for income-contingent loans. His aides were unkind enough to suggest last week that his had inspired the administration's so that the president wouldn't seem to be lagging behind. Clinton's proposals also are vague just now; the aides say that he plans to clarify them in a speech in the next few weeks.

We'll see. In the meantime, that Fact Sheet says that "the president believes that Americans of all ages should have the opportunity to pursue education and training options throughout their lifetimes." No doubt he does, but that lifetime proposal the other day contained a lot more air than aid.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

POLITICS

Perot Is Hiring Professionals To Assist His Volunteer Drive

"I won't be surrounded by speech writers, cosmetologists, handlers and what have you," Ross Perot told CBS News earlier this month when asked to characterize his potential presidential campaign. Mostly, he said his campaign would be a volunteer effort and he would speak directly to the voters.

But guess what?

The Texas billionaire has hired former Chicago Tribune editor James D. Squires to handle media operations in his independent presidential campaign.

What's more, Perot already has paid \$180,000 for "research" to pollster Mark Penn of the New York-based firm Penn and Schoen, which has polled for Democratic and Republican candidates.

Penn, who said yesterday that he is working independently of his firm, added that he had been asked by Perot to keep "the details of the work confidential."

Perot has said he will run if supporters succeed in putting him on presidential ballots in all 50 states.

Squires, who was editor of the Tribune from 1981 to 1989, teaches at Middle Tennessee State University.

Perot associate Tom Luce said yesterday that he asked Squires to help with the news media. "There are 1,500 calls pending," he said. As for Squires's future responsibilities and those of Penn or any other consultants, Luce said that question involves "a big assumption—that Mr. Perot will run." However, Luce added that if Perot runs "he will have to hire people who will help him."

But not handlers or cosmetologists, Luce said, emphasizing that Squires and Penn do "not fit in that category."

Democratic Divisiveness or Open Talk?

■ Maybe it is not quite internecine warfare, but it isn't intraparty unity either.

Democratic Party Chairman Ronald H. Brown and Maryland Democratic Chairman Nathan Landow are at odds over the agenda of a meeting that was scheduled for today of Landow's large donor fund-raising organization, IMPAC.

Brown had planned to attend the meeting until he read the letter Landow sent IMPAC members describing its purpose: "Many members are concerned, to say the least, about our party's prospects for winning in November and feel the need to discuss openly how we got to where we are, and what options we have for the immediate future and for changing the process."

Brown called Landow Tuesday to say he would not be at the meeting and fired off a letter of explanation: "When I agreed to attend, I thought you were hosting a meeting to discuss unifying the Democratic Party for our general campaign. . . . The program in the letter suggests the meeting will be about reopening old wounds, continuing divisive anti-Party bickering, and unbelievably, an attempt to debate the party process."

Landow said yesterday that Brown had "chosen for whatever reasons to misconstrue" the letter. "The invitation was an opportunity for a frank and open discussion among people who have been activists and major contributors to the party," Landow said. "It is unfortunate that Ron misrepresented it as an attempt to be divisive. Nothing could be further from the truth."

Because Brown was to have been the "focus" of the meeting, Landow said he had no choice but to cancel it. He suggested that Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's campaign may have pressured Brown into not attending.

But DNC press secretary Ginny Terzano said Clinton's campaign had nothing to do with Brown's decision: "He saw the letter and blew up," she said. "His real concern was that the meeting would be a direct assault on the delegate selection process and our likely nominee."

—Maralee Schwartz

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Duke Formally Ends Bid For GOP Nomination

Ex-Klansman Rules Out 3rd-Party Candidacy

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Conceding that his presidential campaign had been unsuccessful, David Duke yesterday formally ended his bid for the Republican nomination and ruled out a third-party candidacy in the fall.

Duke, the former Klansman who ran and lost for the Senate and the governorship in Louisiana over the past two years, foundered badly in his presidential campaign, winning just 7 percent of the vote in the South Carolina primary, which effectively killed his hopes of being a factor in the race.

"I feel I've done what I can do," Duke told a sparsely attended news conference at the National Press Club, which contrasted with the packed house he enjoyed when he announced his candidacy last fall. "At this point, I've gone as far as I can go."

Duke said he saw no future in an independent candidacy this year, particularly with the prospect of Texas businessman Ross Perot en-

tering the race. "Perot's candidacy would preclude other third-party candidacies," Duke said. "A third-party candidacy at this point would accomplish little." He added, "I know my role in this presidential election is over."

Duke said he had "no plans" to run for Congress or any other office, adding that he would leave the door open to future campaigns and would not bow out of the political process. But he said he needed to pay off personal and campaign debts and would try to make a living in part through lectures and by writing a book.

Duke's candidacy was hurt by the strength of conservative commentator Patrick J. Buchanan, who has campaigned on some of the same issues as Duke and appeared to be a more acceptable alternative to President Bush than the former Nazi sympathizer. Duke said his campaign was damaged by a late start and Buchanan's strong showing in New Hampshire.

Duke denied that his failure as a presidential candidate was caused



DAVID DUKE
... says he will attend convention

by voters' distaste for his ideas. "I don't think the American people see me as a racist," he said.

Duke used his news conference to restate many of the themes of his election campaigns, saying that government is "out of control," that the European and Christian values of the country are being lost because of massive immigration and special treatment of minorities, and that whites have become "second-class citizens" in this country.

Duke said he would go to the Republican National Convention in Houston in August.

30-SECOND POLITICS



Candidate: Bill Clinton
Contest: April 28 Pennsylvania primary
Producer: Greer, Margolis, Mitchell, Grunwald & Associates
Time: 30 seconds

Audio (Clinton's voice): This is Susan Chiusano, who's juggling four kids and two jobs, working seven days a week to make ends meet. Bill Brierton who worked 24 years and lost his job—and his dreams. Two of the millions of casualties of the Reagan-Bush war on America's middle class. Some people say I've

taken some hits lately—but nothing like the hits the American people have taken. You deserve better. I want to create jobs, invest in education and health care, make the rich pay their fair share—put our people first. That's what really matters.

Background: Clinton has said that he has been victimized by unfair press coverage, and in this ad he casts his lot with other victims, those who have suffered from social injustice. Clinton is trying to undo his weakness—his personal image problems—by playing to what polls show is one of his strengths. In a recent Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll, 68 percent said Clinton cares about and fights for the concerns of average people. In the same poll, only 33 percent said Clinton is "honest, a person you can trust." A biographical ad running in tandem with this one reinforces the same message by emphasizing Clinton's humble origins.

—E.J. Dionne Jr.

THE WASHINGTON POST

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Honoring Earth Day, Candidates Look at Each Other and See Red

Gov. Clinton Says at Times He Favored Jobs Over Arkansas Environment

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
and Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writers

For at least one day—Earth Day—the environment became an issue in the presidential campaign, with Democrats Bill Clinton and Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. and President Bush all touting their environmental records yesterday and questioning the green credentials of their rivals.

Clinton celebrated the 22nd anniversary of the original Earth Day with a wide-ranging attack on Bush, charging that "presidential leadership on the environment has become an endangered species" and criticizing Bush's policies on global warming, preservation of wetlands, oil drilling in the Arctic and energy conservation.

A Bush surrogate responded by charging that Arkansas under Gov. Clinton's leadership had the worst environmental record of any state in the country. That theme was also sounded by former California governor Brown, who warned that if Clinton is the Democratic nominee, environmentally conscious voters would support independent Ross Perot as part of an "environmental backlash."

In a speech at Drexel University in Philadelphia, Clinton called for higher fuel-efficiency standards for automobiles, increased reliance on natural gas, tax policies that would reward conservation and punish "energy wasters," and national legislation to promote recycling by requiring deposits on bottles throughout the country.

Clinton was especially tough in criticizing Bush's hesitancy in making a commitment to attend a June summit meeting on global warming and other environmental issues to be held in Rio de Janeiro.

"Nearly a hundred heads of state have already firmly committed to attend," Clinton said. "But just yesterday, the president said he simply couldn't decide whether to go or not. We've seen eight of the hottest years in the history of our planet in



GOV. BILL CLINTON
... attacks Bush's indecision on trip

the last decade. . . . And the leaders of nearly every nation on earth are waiting while the president of the United States makes up his mind on whether to act."

To applause, Clinton added: "I think this is one foreign trip President Bush can't afford to miss."

Clearly aiming to inoculate himself from future criticism, Clinton offered a confession of sorts, saying in tough economic times he had made trade-offs in favor of employment over the environment. "In that context, I've made the choice from time to time for jobs because my state was a poor one, without either enough jobs or enough federal help to clean up the environment," Clinton said.

"But over the years, as I have worked in this area, I have come to learn something that George Bush and his advisers still don't understand: I've come to reject the false choice between economic growth and environmental protection."

Other than issuing a statement from the White House listing his administration's environmental accomplishments and stressing "we can have both economic growth and a cleaner, safer environment," Bush did not respond directly to Clinton's

criticisms. That task fell to Michael R. Deland, chairman of the president's Council on Environmental Quality, who said that Clinton's "slippery attempt on Earth Day to gloss over his record gives new meaning to the words oil slick."

Deland said the administration's accomplishments—including reauthorization of the Clean Air Act, proposals to phase out ozone-depleting chemicals, and a moratorium on offshore oil and gas drilling—"represent a lifetime commitment to environmental protection."

Brown spoke to an Earth Day rally on the Mall, and urged the Democratic Party to "take the lead" in protecting the environment and making the United States more energy efficient and independent.

"And don't tell me that we don't have the money," Brown said. "Don't tell me the deficit's too big. When it comes to pay raises, when it comes to bailing out the S&L industry, and when it comes to fighting a Gulf war, the deficit never stands in the way. And it shouldn't stand in the way for energy efficiency, human health, protecting the environment and putting America in the forefront of innovation and energy creativity."

Clinton sought to take the offensive on what is likely to be one of his liabilities: pollution in his home state's White River caused by the state's large poultry industry.

He called on Bush to reach an agreement with him on "federal and state responsibilities" to clean up the river. And Clinton said pointedly that he will not allow Bush to use the river the way Bush used pollution in Boston Harbor against his 1988 Democratic opponent, then-Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis.

"Our people in Arkansas are tired of the politics of blame," Clinton said. "... So Mr. President: If you want to place the blame, you're going to have to shoulder some of it too."

Bush may or may not accept that challenge. He celebrated Earth Day by signing into law the Arkansas Wild and Scenic Rivers Act, which protects almost 200 miles of eight rivers in Clinton's home state.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992



Tsongas holds letter he sent his doctors instructing them to release his medical records to an independent review panel.

Tsongas Tells of Later Therapy

Treated in 1987 for Cancerous Lymph Node After 1986 Transplant

By Christopher B. Daly
and David Brown
Washington Post Staff Writers

Former Democratic presidential candidate Paul E. Tsongas acknowledged yesterday that he received radiation therapy for a cancerous lymph node less than a year after an apparently successful bone-marrow transplant to treat his lymphoma.

But Tsongas and one of his doctors denied that he had suffered a "recurrence" of lymphoma and said that he remains cancer-free.

Tsongas, whose presidential campaign is suspended, was responding to an article in yesterday's New York Times which reported that he had "suffered a recurrence" of the cancer in 1987 "contrary to ... earlier assurances" by Tsongas's doctors.

"There was never a recurrence in our minds," Tsongas said yesterday in an interview. "The fact is, I have enough sense to know that something like this, if it were indeed a recurrence, would be made public sooner or later. And so I would not, from a purely political point of view, have allowed this situation to arise."

Tsongas also said that if he returns to public life as a candidate for national office, he has authorized his doctors to release his entire written medical record, which runs to thousands of pages.

The affected lymph node in Tsongas's armpit was detected in March 1987, about seven months after Tsongas had completed a pioneering course of treatment that involved removing bone marrow, administering radiation and chemotherapy, and then replacing the bone marrow.

George P. Canellos, chief of medical oncology at Dana-Farber Cancer Institute in Boston where Tsongas was treated, said yesterday that the node contained cells "consistent with follicular center cell lymphoma"—Tsongas's original diagnosis. "This [the armpit] was a site of previous involvement. Whether or not these were tumor cells growing, or tumor cells that hadn't died yet, we weren't sure," said Canellos.

Nevertheless, such a finding is called a "local relapse" or "local recurrence," because it is a return of a previously diagnosed malignancy in a single location, several bone-

marrow transplant experts said. It almost certainly represented cancerous tissue that had survived the treatment and not malignant cells reintroduced through the bone marrow transplant.

Canellos recalled yesterday that it was likely that he and other physicians used euphemisms in describing this finding to Tsongas while at the same time letting him know it was worrisome.

"The euphemistic terms that I used is that there are 'suspicious' or 'mischievous' looking cells in this biopsy, and we need to proceed with radiation therapy. ... I can assure you that we probably did not hit him over the head with: 'I'm sorry—you've relapsed. School's out,'" Canellos said.

The prognostic significance of local relapse was not known in 1987, but is somewhat clearer now.

In 1990, physicians at the Fred Hutchinson Cancer Center in Seattle reported on 60 bone marrow transplant patients who had local recurrence and were treated again for their disease. (The patients did not all have exactly the form of cancer Tsongas had.) Of that group, 10 ended up being "long-term" survivors—that is, living three years or more. For the other 50, recurrence ultimately proved fatal.

That any patients survived, however, surprised many experts. "In the old days, we felt that anybody who relapsed after a transplant was doomed. Now we know that's not true," said C. Dean Buckner, head of the transplant program at the Hutchinson Center.

Most fatal recurrences occur within 18 months of transplant. Patients who are treated for a first recurrence sometimes have a second recurrence, which generally occurs even sooner than the first. The significance of Tsongas's lengthy survival since relapse is not known, though clearly it is a very encouraging sign, several specialists said.

In a lengthy interview last November, Tsongas referred briefly to the supplementary radiation treatment, but said he was never sure of its significance.

"To this day, they disagree on what it was," Tsongas said then, but recalled that the doctors ordered another course of radiation treatments. "That was pretty scary,"

Tsongas recalled last fall, "because if it had come back, you didn't have to be a genius to figure out" that his prognosis would be dramatically worse.

Later in the same interview, Tsongas returned to the question of complications following his bone marrow transplant in the summer of 1986.

"There were two times when I thought I was dying," he said last November. "The second time was a year after the bone marrow [transplant], when I got a fever that lasted a month. Fever is the hallmark of lymphoma. They just couldn't knock it down, and I just began to worry."

"They pulled me in, put a tube down my nose into my lungs. I could see, it was on TV. I could see my lungs. They scheduled me to be pulled in. They were just going to hit me again, with other kinds of stuff. And on the way to the hospital, the fever went away. That was it."

Tsongas said he had asked his doctors to be completely forthcoming, although they did not release his written medical records, on the grounds that entries could be taken out of context or misconstrued by lay readers.

Canellos and Tak Takvorian, the physician in charge of the transplant, in interviews last November reviewed Tsongas's case exhaustively and answered all questions. Both stated then that Tsongas had been cancer-free since his treatment. At that time, neither doctor volunteered any information about the cancerous node.

Yesterday Takvorian said in an interview from Alabama, where he is vacationing, that he considered Tsongas's "treatment" to include the node biopsy and subsequent localized dose of radiation. That is why, he explained, he did not mention it last November when asked if Tsongas had had any reappearance of cancer since his treatment.

Furthermore, Takvorian said, he did not consider the finding of malignant lymphoma cells in the node to be a "recurrence" in either the ordinary sense or in a clinical sense. He considered it a "residual" portion of the original cancer that escaped the whole-body radiation treatment. Repeatedly, he referred to the 1987 treatment as a "non-event."

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Helping U.S. Businesses Move Into Former Soviet Bloc

By Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

Edgar Fulton is a glutton for punishment. In 1989, he was the Commerce Department's man in Warsaw. With the fall of communism, his sleepy one-person operation exploded into a hotbed of commercial activity.

Fulton received a promotion for his work in the face of adversity.

Now he is under the gun again. In Moscow. For the Commerce Department. Again. Earlier this year, Fulton pulled out of Spanish language training where he was getting ready for a cushy posting in Costa Rica and moved to Moscow for six months of temporary duty.

He has put his Russian language skills and Warsaw experience to use helping set up U.S. commercial operations in the new Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), the former Soviet Union. When he's finished, he'll be up for a new assignment.

The end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union prompted the Commerce Department's 200-person U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service to open new offices and add Americans and local staff in countries once opposed to capitalism but now eager to develop trading relationships with American companies.

With a bit of luck and a nimbleness not usually displayed by government, the number of Commerce Department workers in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union has more than quadrupled since 1989, from 16 positions in four countries to 66 positions in seven countries. The number of Americans in those posts has more than tripled, while the number of local employees has increased more than fourfold.

These Americans and their foreign aides are responsible for helping U.S. companies do business in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, helping them win orders for American products, buy or build factories and set up joint ventures for manufacturing, banking, telecommunications and other businesses.

The Bush administration sees the extension of American business as vital to U.S. interests—a tool to teach democratic values, establish a free enterprise system and improve economic conditions in nations ravaged by decades of communist rule.

But a survey released last week by the Commerce Department showed that economic and political uncertainties in the CIS make American businesses wary of investing or making a major export push there.

"They are concerned that the cur-



Edgar Fulton, right, shown in Moscow with U.S. Ambassador Robert S. Strauss.

rent business climate makes the investment risk disproportionate to the possible rewards," said Commerce Secretary Barbara H. Franklin.

She said business executives from more than 100 companies that participated in the survey pinpointed serious obstacles to greater U.S. trade and investment. These include "a discouraging series of new taxes and duties frequently adopted with little or no warning," sudden adoption of laws that conflict with other laws or regulations, and "innumerable" reviews that create a decision-making gridlock.

The complaints have been shared with the governments of the CIS. Franklin said Commerce Department officials will discuss them further as U.S. and CIS officials prepare for the first meeting of the new U.S.-Russian Joint Commercial Commission in June, at the time of the summit here between President Bush and Russian Republic President Boris Yeltsin.

Franklin said the Commerce Department is working with U.S. business to find ways to increase their investments in and exports to the former Soviet republics.

At a Rose Garden ceremony on Tuesday, Bush urged 16 U.S. business leaders to "seize this opportunity" to do business in the former Soviet republics. "I'm absolutely committed to giving American companies every opportunity to do business with these countries," he said.

To further that effort, the Commerce Department has increased U.S. commercial representation in the newly independent states.

In a period of tight budgets, the increase in money spent on commercial operations in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe

has been staggering—an almost fourfold increase, from \$753,000 in 1989 to \$2.7 million this year.

The budget for the former Soviet Union jumped from \$328,000 to \$900,000 while the money allocated to Eastern Europe rose from \$425,000 to \$1.8 million.

"Most government agencies spend that amount in a day. But for us it is big bucks," said Commerce Assistant Secretary Susan C. Schwab, director general of the U.S. and Foreign Commercial Service. She oversees workers in 69 regional offices in the United States and 67 foreign countries.

It is easy to see where the money went.

The Commerce Department reopened its office in Prague and established new operations in the former East German cities of Berlin and Leipzig and in Bratislava, the capital of the Slovak Republic of Czechoslovakia. A new office in Sofia, the capital of Bulgaria, opened last month, and offices in Kiev, Ukraine and St. Petersburg, Russia, will open by fall.

At present, there are four American commercial officers attached to the U.S. Embassy in Moscow compared to three in 1989. Later this year, two new officers will be sent to St. Petersburg and Kiev. From 1989

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COMMERCE ACTIVITIES

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through last year, there were just three commercial officers for the entire Soviet Union, all in Moscow.

And with new rules issued by the State Department allowing the embassy to hire local aides, the Americans will be backed up by a staff of 15 locally hired Russians and Ukrainians. As he did in Warsaw, Fulton will train the new local hires, helping them learn the local business scene, the distribution system and specific sectors of the local economy.

"We can't operate effectively without local employees. They are such an important part of our operation," Schwab said.

In Eastern Europe, the number of U.S. commercial officers has grown from three in 1989 to 13 this year.

The Commerce Department also is nudging the former Soviet Union into easing the problems that are impeding U.S. trade and investments. "The overarching barriers to trade and investment," the Commerce Department survey stated, "are the lack of hard currency and massive unpredictability in the commercial environment."

The 50-page report pointed to the different perspectives of U.S. business and officials in the former Soviet republics: "Firms see high risks and costs . . . but not large profits.

They are concerned that the governments [of the newly independent nations] believe the opposite: that investors face little risk and can make large profits overnight."

U.S. companies have their own suggestions to move forward. Among those listed in the report:

- Guarantees by the governments of the newly independent nations to the United States or a multilateral organization that contracts would be honored, especially in natural resources such as oil, gas or timber, and the establishment of an international arbitration body to settle disputes.
 - Preservation of the current tax structure to protect investors against radical tax increases, and offer tax incentives to attract investment as other countries do.
 - Make it easier for companies to do business as the economy moves to a convertible currency by facilitating barter, lessening restrictions on currency exchange and allowing partial convertibility of the ruble for some profits and needed imports.
 - Permit foreign banks to serve foreign investors.
 - Arrange to pay outstanding debts that are keeping some companies from continuing to do business in the former Soviet Union.
 - Decide who has jurisdiction to sign contracts and issue licenses and establish "at the highest level" a "vice president for foreign investment" who can settle disagreements within the government.
 - Publish laws and directives in an orderly manner.
 - Eliminate entry visas for business executives or at least make multiple-entry visas easily available.
- To help persuade the U.S. business community to take the risk, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), an independent agency, said earlier this week it would offer insurance on sound American corporate investments in the former Soviet Union.
- OPIC will cover investments up to \$100 million. The new policy will help clear the way for the kind of big money deals possible in developing the oil industry in the area.
- OPIC President Fred Zeder told the Reuter news agency Tuesday that more than 300 companies wanting to invest \$12 billion in projects in the CIS have applied for OPIC insurance.

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Bushes Give Redskins Presidential Treatment

By Richard Justice
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Washington Redskins celebrated one of the traditions of a championship season yesterday when President and Mrs. Bush hosted the traditional Rose Garden ceremony. But the hometown team got the hometown treatment that included not only the usual speeches and exchange of gifts, but also a barbecue and a three-hour evening that included Bush and various Redskins in contests of horseshoes, putting and free-throw shooting.

Bush saluted the Redskins as "the flagship franchise of the NFL since 1937" and had special words for Super Bowl MVP Mark Rypien, wide receiver Art Monk, Coach Joe Gibbs and General Manager Charley Casserly for their work in football and the community.

"America loves the Redskins and we're proud to have you here," Bush said.

The Redskins presented Bush with a jersey and autographed ball and kidded him for his statements before the Redskins-Houston Oilers game that he was rooting for the Oilers.

"It's not the blue and white of the Oilers, but it's close," Rypien said in handing the jersey to Bush.

Bush responded: "I could have gone all night without being reminded of that."

Defensive end Charles Mann handed the autographed ball to Bush and said: "We signed this after the Houston game."

Gibbs thanked Bush for the kind words and added with a smile: "In the president's defense, I think he came over to the Redskins' side. The reason we were inside so long before coming out is that Barbara was trying to get the hog nose off his face. I think he has come over."

The Bushes mingled with players and team officials for more than an hour, then organized a horseshoe tournament that ended with him and an aide defeating Redskins Don Warren and assistant coach Don Breaux. Punter Kelly Goodburn won the free-throw shooting contest and running back Earnest Byner took the putting competition, and all received presidential gifts.

Casserly and his staff interrupted their draft preparations to spend the evening at the White House. But they'll be back in their film rooms this morning preparing for Sunday's draft.

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Media

Questions Of Privacy

Is There Anyplace Left Where The Media Fear to Tread?

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Psst! Have you heard? Madonna has AIDS! Well, that was the rumor making the rounds, anyway. And that was enough for Entertainment Weekly to run a story in December, quoting Madonna's spokeswoman as calling the gossip "completely unfounded and untrue."

Quick! Turn on NBC! The network is broadcasting the name of Desiree Washington, the 18-year-old woman who says Mike Tyson raped her.

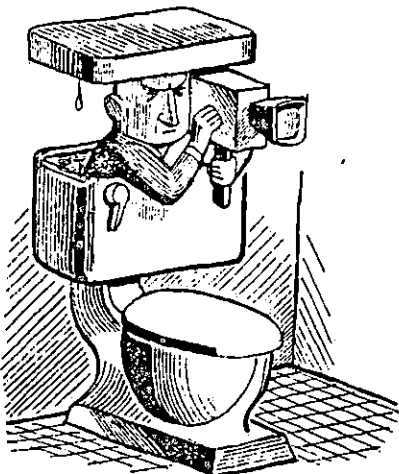
Check out the latest reports from the campaign trail: Bill Clinton didn't inhale. Jerry Brown partied with people who *did* inhale. And Hillary Clinton says George Bush has something to hide.

More and more with each passing week, it seems, people are wondering what has happened to the mainstream media. In an era in which Donna Rice, Marla Maples, Tai Collins and Gennifer Flowers have each basked in 15 minutes of white-hot publicity, there seem to be no rules, no boundaries, no corner of human behavior into which prying reporters won't poke.

The sense of public discomfort came to a head earlier this month when USA Today asked Arthur Ashe if he had AIDS, an act that some have described as a "medical outing." Although the editors held off on the story when Ashe would not confirm it, the former tennis star blamed the newspaper—and the leaker—for forcing him to go public.

"I didn't commit any crimes and I'm not running

See MEDIA, D4, Col. 1



By D. Suter for The Washington Post

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Questions of Privacy

MEDIA, From D1

for public office," Ashe said. "I should be able to reserve the right to keep things like that private."

The knee-jerk journalistic defense—that Ashe is a "public figure" whose illness is news—doesn't ring true with much of the public. Most people see a retired athlete with a 5-year-old daughter who wanted to cope with his tragedy in private.

Charles Laquidara, host of a Boston radio show, has offered a \$1,000 reward to listeners who can supply "dirt" on top USA Today editors. "I'm pissed off for the same reason about 50 million Americans are pissed off—there was no reason to do the story," he says. "What does it accomplish? This puts a stigma on his whole family."

But what if Ashe had had an inoperable brain tumor? Would that also have been a huge Page 1 story? Or was it the dark specter of AIDS, and the ever-present question of how it was contracted, that boosted the story into the media stratosphere?

USA Today has gotten more than 600 letters, nearly all of them negative. "People are just emotionally devastated by the news that Arthur Ashe has an illness that's going to kill him, and they're angrily striking out," says Gene Policinski, managing editor for sports. He says it would be news if Ashe had any fatal disease because he is "one of the most famous athletes of the 20th century."

But the Ashe backlash is just part of a growing uproar over media invasions of privacy. "There is a 'We're going to get the story regardless' mentality throughout the press," says Terry Eastland, media columnist for the American Spectator.

That, of course, is not the view from the executive suites of most newspapers and networks. Some editors, in fact, believe that news organizations have grown too timid in recent years, too wary of alienating this or that faction.

"As rough and unruly and uncomfortable as it is, this is what we're supposed to be doing," says Geneva Overholser, editor of the Des Moines Register. "If you think about the things that are the most difficult for people—rape victims' names or Arthur Ashe's AIDS—this is how society makes change."

"Our role is not to suppress difficult information. We've got to be willing to offend people. We should be in the business of telling people what we know."

But Overholser is the first to admit that she doesn't always follow her own advice. Although she believes that withholding the names of women who are raped adds to the stigma—and her paper won a Pulitzer Prize last year for a series on a victim who agreed to be named—the Register still doesn't identify rape victims without their consent.

And while Overholser believes that newspapers exacerbate the stigma of AIDS by shying away from it, she declined to publish a story about a prominent Iowa politician who was dying of AIDS complications (although the paper did mention the illness in his obituary).

Just what are the rules, anyway?

Most news organizations don't name adolescents in criminal proceedings—although the Wall Street Journal last year identified a 14-year-old boy accused of killing Jermaine Daniel, a friend of then-D.C. Police Chief Maurice Turner. A Journal editor, Thomas Petzinger Jr., said at the time that omitting the suspect's name "would have conferred an anonymity on this story that would have made it less believable and less powerful." Of

course, the same could be said for any story where someone's privacy is violated for the sake of a more realistic drama.

Most news organizations resist efforts by activists to "out" closeted homosexuals—although columnist Jack Anderson and several newspapers last year named a Pentagon official that the Advocate, a gay magazine, had identified as gay. The Advocate generally opposes outing, but said the move was justified in this case because of the military's policy of discharging homosexuals.

Most news organizations don't name women in rape cases without their consent—although NBC and the New York Times named Patricia Bowman, who accused William Kennedy Smith of rape, after the Globe, a supermarket tabloid, published her name and high school photo.

Most news organizations don't print rumors—except when the whispering gets really loud and big names are involved. In the case of Madonna, "the rumors had gained so much currency and were the subject of so much speculation that it was unquestionably a valid news story," says James Seymore, managing editor of Entertainment Weekly.

Most news organizations say they don't report on extramarital affairs by politicians unless it affects their public performance. That fuzzy standard began to change in 1987, when the Miami Herald found Donna Rice emerging from Gary Hart's town house. Justification: the all-purpose character issue. Hart had dared reporters to put a tail on him, and anyone reckless enough to have a fling during a presidential campaign was deemed unfit for the White House.

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But each attempt to codify a sexual standard has simply spawned a new set of exceptions. Some editors said extramarital high jinks were relevant only if the politician were running for president—but that went out the window when former beauty queen Tai Collins claimed to have had an affair with Virginia Sen. Charles Robb (who denied it). Some editors said there should be a journalistic statute of limitations on old affairs—until Jennifer Flowers peddled her allegations about Clinton to the *Star*.

The underlying rationale for such stories—that the politician in question can't control himself, doesn't respect women, or (gasp) has lied to his wife—becomes murkier with each new round. After all, the press seemed a lot more concerned about Bill Clinton's alleged bed-hopping than Hillary Clinton did.

The Flowers episode sparked a hue and cry about a celebrity rag setting the agenda for elite news organizations. But this merely reflected the capricious nature of an info-saturated society. The story was out, and no amount of editorial tut-tutting could put it back in the bottle.

The media often wrestle with retroactive morality—to wit, should public figures be pilloried in the '90s for having smoked pot in the '60s, when "youthful experimentation" (to use the standard euphemism) was hardly un-

usual? Overholser's theory, that media exposure helps take the sting out of taboo activities, seems to have taken hold here.

After the marijuana issue sunk Douglas Ginsburg's Supreme Court nomination in 1987, numerous public figures, such as Tennessee Sen. Al Gore and former Arizona governor Bruce Babbitt, announced they too had once tried the drug. By the time another high court nominee, Clarence Thomas, owned up to past experience with marijuana, it was a one-day story. (Clinton, however, managed to turn his ancient pot-puffing into a long-running saga with his carefully worded denials.)

If there is one media practice that strikes many people as unfair, it is the use of anonymous sources—or, more pejoratively, unnamed accusers—to blacken someone's reputation. ABC has drawn substantial flak for allowing such sources—two of whom were literally kept in the shadows—to charge on television that Jerry Brown tolerated marijuana and cocaine use in his house when he was governor of California. Brown denied the allegation. As *USA Today* columnist DeWayne Wickham put it: "For ABC to air criminal allegations against Brown that are supported only by those who secretly allege his misconduct—but publicly refuted by some of his closest friends and harshest foes—is to plunge journalism into the swamp where the tabloids dwell."

The *Seattle Times* ended Sen. Brock Adams's reelection bid last month by reporting charges from eight women that the Washington Democrat sexually harassed them in incidents dating to the early 1970s. Should the paper have allowed these women to make such accusations from behind a curtain of anonymity? Or was it, as Adams's spokeswoman charged, a form of "journalistic terrorism?"

"I don't mean to impugn your profession, but nobody really wants to stay away from a terrific story," says Todd Gitlin, a sociology professor at the University of California, Berkeley. "When push comes to shove, or ratings point comes to ratings point, the presumption is that if you don't do it, someone else will."

The onslaught of sleaze thrives in a tabloid culture in which everyone—corporate chiefs, politicians, pontificators, athletes and their boyfriends or girlfriends—is grist for the celebrity mill. And there is no shortage of famous folks willing to dish their most intimate secrets under the klieg lights. Such voluntary confessions give the press protective cover, even if other people's privacy is trampled in the process.

Donald Trump, for example, milked his affair with Marla Maples to publicize his Taj Mahal casino, although his estranged wife, Ivana, shrank from the media hype and worried about the effect on their children. Roseanne Arnold told the world she had been abused as a child, an announcement that horrified her parents, who denied it.

Others are all too willing to seek media attention after they have violated someone else's rights, such as former American University president Richard Berendzen, who went on

"Nightline" to discuss his penchant for making obscene phone calls.

Still others are dragged into the spotlight through an accident of birth or circumstance. Would anyone care that a college student named John Zaccaro Jr. was busted for cocaine if his mother wasn't Geraldine Ferraro?

The public may have a "right to know" when Time Warner's Steve Ross is diagnosed with prostate cancer, because he runs a huge conglomerate. But what if it was a high-ranking police official, or a TV weatherman, or a middle-level editor at the *New York Times*? Don't they have some right to privacy?

Jack Limpert, editor of the *Washingtonian* magazine, says illness should be a private matter for those who hold no public or corporate office.

"When someone has a fatal disease, they ought to be able to have some control over their death," he said.

Still, a "public figure" now seems to be anyone who was ever famous for anything at any time. Ron Nessen, who was President Ford's press secretary, got a taste of this when the *Washingtonian* published a batch of 25-year-old love letters he wrote to his ex-wife before and during their marriage. The magazine apologized after Nessen filed suit for copyright infringement and invasion of privacy.

"In retrospect, I would not have published as much from the letters," Limpert said. "I would not have published as much in terms of intimate details. I think we did go too far."

Nessen, now a Mutual radio vice president, says that when he was a UPI reporter in the 1950s, "you just didn't delve into people's personal lives unless it had some obvious effect on their public duties. The standards have changed so rapidly we haven't had time to replace them. Look at what our presidential races have come to—good God! Is anybody proud of what this campaign has turned into?"

Yet there is a slight whiff of hypocrisy in the stern public demands that the media get out of the gutter. *Somebody*, after all, is tuning in "Hard Copy" and "Gerald" and "A Current Affair" and buying all those copies of the *National Enquirer*, the *Star* and the *Globe*.

"Everyone is both a voyeur and a citizen," Gitlin says. "The voyeur is reading with eyeballs bugging out, while the citizen is saying, 'These abominations are sinking lower once more.'"

In the Arthur Ashe case, it turns out that many journalists, including *Newsweek* sportswriter Frank Deford and "Today" show anchor Bryant Gumbel, were aware of his illness. "We had people here who knew it for two years," says Jerry Nachman, editor of the *New York Post*. "I think they were part of the conspiracy. . . . Frank Deford was ripping off his employers over the last three or four years to protect a friend."

But Deford says that "Arthur had told me as a friend, so obviously I wasn't go-

ing to release it. You don't sign a contract when you join a paper that you're going to reveal everything. Under the Nachman theory of journalism, that you can't keep secrets, I wouldn't want to be in the business."

No one is immune to the perpetual tug between journalism and friendship. Nachman says that television journalist Linda Ellerbee, a close friend, recently told him of her double mastectomy, and that he respected her wish that nothing be published. Nachman says he was not ripping off his employer because Ellerbee had agreed to make her breast cancer public within a few weeks.

Is it time for a new era of media sensitivity? Or would that simply return journalists to the days when they acted like privileged insiders, keeping secrets from their audience?

"We must be clear about whom we are protecting from what," says Geneva Overholser. "Are you protecting the public from being offended? Are you protecting the public figure? Or are you protecting yourself from being gripped at?"

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JACK ANDERSON and MICHAEL BINSTEN

Oil Is Potent Weapon Against Gadhafi

Col. Moammar Gadhafi summoned us to Tripoli 13 years ago this month for an interview in a tent. "I like to see the sky," he said, explaining our unusual surroundings. "It helps me think better than when I am surrounded by walls."

During our tent meeting with Gadhafi, his face seemed somehow divided against itself—the upper half fierce, with a trace of anguish in the eyes; the lower half disarming, almost lost in thought, with a wisp of a smile playing across the lips that spoke softly. Gadhafi had an amazing ability to smile and scowl at the same time. President Bush, like his predecessors, will be spending much time in the coming months studying this inscrutable man. What Bush discerns may determine questions of war and peace this election year.

Gadhafi seems to serve up tests for every American president. Despite his resolve in Desert Storm, Bush is apparently no exception. Bush's determination in rolling back state-sponsored terrorism will be put to the test in the way he responds to Gadhafi. Lesson one for administration officials: The strongman of this North African nation has always relished pressure from the United States, as if taking on a superpower enhances and exalts him with his own people, almost bestowing a mythical quality.

Moreover, CIA reports show that there has actually been more Libyan-sponsored terrorism against Americans since President Ronald Reagan sent 18 warplanes to blast Tripoli in 1986 in retaliation for suspected terrorism.

Gadhafi has shelters and bunkers to protect him from military threats, but he's defenseless against one weapon: oil. While a bombing strike would be politically popular and militarily simple, intelligence experts believe that the only way of tightening the noose on Gadhafi is the imposition of an international boycott on Libyan oil.

But first, Bush might have to go to war diplomatically with U.S. allies—not to mention powerful American corporations. Using the oil weapon would inflict a direct hit on the Libyan economy, which derives 90 percent of its earnings from petroleum exports. Bush would incur heavy political fire from Italy and other European allies, who buy the bulk of Libyan oil, not to mention some of the most powerful American oil companies that conduct business internationally.

Bush would also be rolling the dice: Does he want to risk a deeper recession as a reward for dislodging Gadhafi?

The first shot across Gadhafi's bow was the recently passed U.N. sanctions that halted arms sales, cut off airline flights to and from Libya, and in some cases expelled Libyan diplomats around the world. Bush administration officials see these initial sanctions as a way of sending a warning to Gadhafi

President Bush, like his predecessors, will be spending much time in the coming months studying this inscrutable man. What Bush discerns may determine questions of war and peace this election year.

that his reign of state-sponsored terrorism is at an end.

The United States is squeezing Libya by expelling three of its diplomats from the United Nations and pledging to maintain an economic war against the North African nation until it can prove it no longer supports terrorism. Even if Libya surrenders two suspects in the 1988 bombing of Pan Am Flight 103, it probably won't be enough to lift sanctions imposed by the United Nations. The resolution also demands Libya pay compensation and end its support of terrorism.

There's more saber rattling than substance behind Bush's approach. The United States has no diplomatic relations with Libya, and there are no Libyan diplomats here. The United States already bans commerce with Libya.

At some point, Bush will come to a crossroads with this strongman who has bedeviled presidents for decades. If Bush unleashes the Pentagon he will also unleash political forces that could damage his reelection in unpredictable ways. If he opts for the oil weapon Bush could disrupt the economies of the world. In either case, this could be a decision that becomes the wild card of the 1992 election.

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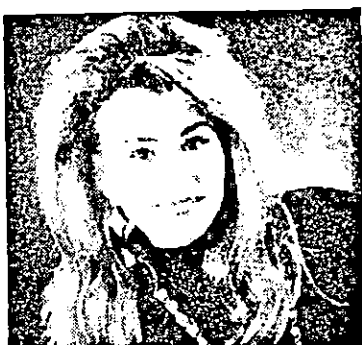
Love, Republican Style

■ He was a domestic policy analyst in the Reagan White House, a rising conservative child star. She was an intern in the Office of Political Affairs. And it was almost love at first sight.

When Dixie Brubaker heard that GOP darling Dinesh D'Souza was on the premises, she sought him out. As D'Souza recalls the encounter 3½ years ago, Brubaker "very brazenly walked into my office . . . and expected to find a very somber 64-year-old."

Instead, she found the "precocious" 27-year-old D'Souza, budding author of the controversial "Illiberal Education: The Politics of Race and Sex on Campus." And it went from there.

Now, he's a fellow at the American Enterprise Institute and hoping this summer to start writing a book about the "elusive subject" of racism. She's wrapped up in grad school—and very busy planning their May wedding.



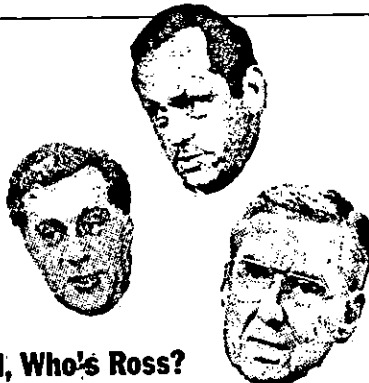
Linked: Dixie Brubaker and Dinesh D'Souza.

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



Presidential possibility Perot and clues, from top, Bradley, Arney and Bentsen.



If You Are What You Spend, Who's Ross?

He's fast becoming the Unknown Factor in the '92 campaign as pundits far and wide try to figure him out. But if one can know a man by his campaign contributions, the unfathomable political core of Ross Perot will remain so.

The presidential wannabe (you know he does) and the long, rich arm of his family seem to be bipartisan switch-hitters. For the years '87 through '90, the clan contributed to Bill Bradley (D-N.J.), David Boren (D-Okla.), Tom Daschle (D-S.D.), Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), Quentin Burdick (D-N.D.), Mark Hatfield (R-Ore.) and Frank Lautenberg (D-N.J.).

H. Ross Jr., a Dallas investor, is as unpredictable as Dad. He and his wife, Sarah, contributed \$2,000 to moderate Dave McCurdy (D-Okla.), \$1,000 to the more liberal Dick Gephardt (D-Mo.) as well as \$15,000 to the Effective Government Committee, a PAC

controlled by Gephardt. He also helped retire the '84 presidential debt of John Glenn (D-Ohio). Closer to home, Junior and Sarah prefer the harder right, giving \$6,000 over four years to the campaigns of Texas Rep. Dick Arney (R).

But wait. Father and son also helped out Dallas's liberal-leaning Rep. Martin Frost (D), each giving the \$2,000 max in '89.

According to the compilation by freelance PAC expert Edward Roeder made available to The Post, when the group really likes someone they shovel in the dough. For Lloyd Bentsen's (D-Tex.) 1988 reelection bid, Ross, his wife, Margot, Junior and Sarah, daughter Nancy and his sister Bette contributed nearly \$9,000.

But Perot's favorite candidate, despite his protests, is himself. He gave \$400,000 to his own recent grass-roots petition drive—which says it all.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT.



By DUANE M. BROOKS - THE WASHINGTON POST
Kay Shouse at Wolf Trap in 1984.

■ Wolf Trap founder Kay Shouse is recovering from a thighbone injury sustained when she was mugged in Florida three weeks ago. Minutes after the 95-year-old arts patron arrived in an Ocala, Fla., motel room, an assailant stormed in, knocked Shouse off her canes, swiped her purse and sped off in a getaway car. He hasn't been caught, according to Shouse associate Carol Harford.

■ Presidential candidate Pat Buchanan updated his former classmates by telling the Columbia Journalism Alumni Journal: "Right now, I am trying to overthrow the Government of the United States."

■ An Australian man found not guilty by reason of insanity of stomping his mother to death five years ago because she complained about his playing Bob Dylan's album "Desire" at 4 a.m. was recently released from prison one night to catch a Dylan concert. The Australian Associated Press reports that he was escorted by a guard and a nurse.

HIGHLIGHTS

- The NHL Capitals play Pittsburgh in the Stanley Cup playoffs on WDCB.
- "L.A. Law" on WRG.
- Michael Jackson's video film "In the Closet" on WTTG.
- The conclusion of "The Creative Spirit" on WETA.
- Plus "PrimeTime Live" on WJLA.

Sports

Stanley Cup Playoffs. Washington Capitals at Pittsburgh Penguins (Channel 20, 7:30 p.m.).

Public Broadcasting

The Creative Spirit (CC). Part IV of four. Marlee Matlin and Patty Duke host the series conclusion about effecting social change in the workplace and schools (Channel 26 at 8).

Mystery!: Driven to Distraction (CC) (DVS). Part I of two. Morse has help from Sgt. Maitland linking a car dealer to two fatal stabbings (Channel 26 at 9).

Music Special

In the Closet. Debut of Michael Jackson's video film directed by Herb Ritts and starring model Naomi Campbell (Channel 5, approx. 8:28 p.m.).

Primetime Movies

Columbo and the Murder of a Rock Star (R) (1991). Columbo matches wits with a clever criminal attorney (Dabney Coleman) suspected of killing his girlfriend. Two hours (Channel 7 at 8).

Wicked Stepmother (1989). Bette Davis (in her last role) portrays a malicious witch who marries an unsuspecting man. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

The Cosby Show (CC). Clair informs Cliff that he cannot take tax deductions for most of the children he has been supporting for the past year (Channel 4 at 8).

The Simpsons (CC). Spinal Tap hits Springfield on their national tour to the joy of Bart and his bus driver, Otto (Channel 5 at 8).

Top Cops (CC). New York police capture a rapist and an El Paso cop designs a sting to bust a ring of car thieves (Channel 9 at 8).

A Different World (CC). Lena is concerned when Gina shows too much interest in a rapper's hateful lyrics (Channel 4, 8:30).

Cheers (CC). Rebecca's high school sweetheart (Harvey Fierstein) arrives to her delight but surprises her with news that alters her romantic plans (Channel 4 at 9).

Beverly Hills, 90210 (CC). The gang tries to meet singing group Color Me Badd at the Beverly Hills Hotel, but only Kelly succeeds (Channel 5 at 9).

Street Stories (CC). Reports include a man who jumped off a casino and is now suing the managers for not stopping him; a New York farm for disturbed kids; and a mass killing of Buddhist monks in Arizona (Channel 9 at 9).

Wings (CC). Brian is robbed while working as a night security guard to pay off his recalled tax refund while Joe and Helen fight over Red Sox Opening Day tickets (Channel 4, 9:30).

L.A. Law (CC). Clemmons tries to convict a wealthy businessman who killed a homeless man in a hit-and-run accident; Bloom's handsome new husband is wanted by immigration officials while he moons over C.J.; and Benny may lose custody of Sam (Channel 4 at 10).

PrimeTime Live (CC). Previewed by Tom Shales on Page D2 (Channel 7 at 10).

Human Factor (CC). Matt Robbin tries to learn the uncomfortable side of pregnancy and McMurtry must give a crucial second opinion to his former partner's (Norman Lloyd) patient (Channel 9 at 10).

Friday Morning

Today (CC). With a segment on protective mastectomies, a performance by Ellis Marsalis and Dolly Parton from Dollywood (Channel 4 at 7 a.m.).

Good Morning America (CC). With Peter Jennings, Mickey Rourke, designer Mario Buatta and author Bill McKibben on the effects of television (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With the first of five parts on "Northern Exposure," and Priscilla Presley (Channel 9 at 7).

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The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Politizzzz in the air. Vice President Dan Quayle will be interviewed live in New York during the first half-hour of "Good Morning America" on Monday. Between news breaks and regular features he'll get about 12 minutes in all...

And on Tuesday Dan Rather will anchor a 15-minute late-night report on the Pennsylvania primary results starting at 11:30. And yes, Channel 9 will carry same!...

Deborah Leff, one of two senior producers at ABC News's "20/20," told the staff yesterday that she'll be leaving to become president of the Chicago-based Joyce Foundation, a \$400 million foundation that makes grants in five areas—economic development, education, culture, environment and elections...

Leff has lots of Washington connections—she even was a consumer producer for Betsy Ashton at Channel 7 here in the early 1980s, between jobs at ABC-owned WLS in Chicago and ABC News's "Nightline"...

"I've been with ABC News for almost 10 years," she wrote to staffers yesterday, "and I find myself leaving the job I've loved most here... nowhere are the staff finer, the pieces better, the working environment more supportive"...

The Joyce Foundation was established by Beatrice Joyce Kean and is funded by a lumber fortune...

At WLS, by the by, Leff worked with investigative reporter Roberta Baskin, another WJLA alum, who makes her debut tonight on "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather" with a report on the dangers of underground fuel tanks that leak. Reporting from Mantua, Va. H'mmmmm...

And before we bid *adieu* to "20/20," John Stossel—not Barbara, not Hugh—will host a special edition of the series at 10 p.m. Wednesday, April 29, called "The New Rules Of Love"...

John will be looking at "the changing roles between men and women in the '90s vis-a-vis seduction, courtship, the division of labor in the home and the approach to arguing"...

Now This

Frank Killmond, who portrayed "the unfailingly composed major-domo of the Quartermaine household" on the ABC daytime drama "General Hospital," died a week ago in Los Angeles at the age of 58. He had been suffering from cancer...

Mr. Killmond's final appearance on "General Hospital" was taped less than a week before his death and will air next Wednesday, the network announced this week. He had been with the program since 1984...

Good career move, Arsenio. "The Arsenio Hall Show" will be in reruns during the week of May 18-22—Johnny Carson's last week on "The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson." No word on how Channel 9 feels about it...

And Cable's Comedy Central will go dark when Johnny Carson hosts the final show on May 22, airing only a slide that says something like "we're watching Johnny Carson's last show and so should you"...

CBS Sports won six Emmys at the 13th annual Sports Emmy Awards. ABC Sports, NBC Sports, ESPN and HBO each won five. NFL Films won three and USA Network, one. Curt Gowdy received a lifetime achievement award...

Parking problems for the networks trying to cover the Supreme Court yesterday. Our spy says when the dust settled CBS News had managed to park two trucks near the Court, while NBC, FOX, CNN, C-SPAN and WUSA all found spaces for one truck. ABC was parked closer to the Folger, while Metro Teleproductions, representing Court TV, ended up blocks away...

"CBS This Morning" anchor Paula Zahn had begun reading the news at the top of the hour Tuesday at 8 a.m. It was a report, just handed to her, of a USAir jet that had to abort its takeoff from New York's LaGuardia Airport earlier that morning with 44 passengers and a crew of seven aboard...

As she read, she realized it was the Boston-

bound 6:30 shuttle her husband, real estate developer Richard Cohen, had taken...

She kept her composure and, at the end of the report, could read that all aboard had escaped via emergency chutes and no one had been injured...

ABC News and Johns Hopkins Hospital issued the following statement yesterday on the condition of Roone Arledge, president of ABC News:

"Mr. Arledge's surgery for prostate cancer was successfully completed this morning by Dr. Patrick Walsh. As expected, the tumor had not spread and has been removed. Mr. Arledge is recovering nicely and no further treatment will be necessary"...

Walsh is head of the Brady Urologic Center at Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions in Baltimore. A network spokesman said the operation took about three hours...

Moving Right Along

ABC had no trouble winning Tuesday night, averaging a 15.4 national Nielsen rating and a 25 percent audience share...

Washington viewers missed them, but a repeat of "Full House" did a 14.7/25 and a repeat of "Home Improvement," an 18.2/29 in the first hour. "Roseanne" did a 20.0/31 and "Coach," returning to the schedule, averaged a 16.8/26. They, too, were repeats...

The penultimate (and an original) episode of "Civil Wars" did an 11.4/19. The Tuesday night episode played like a season-ending cliff-hanger as that rat Charlie made poor Sydney cry. And after 18 episodes, it probably was the season ender. However ABC has one more original episode, which is due next Tuesday night. It is a "generic" episode, which was preempted by a New York primary special...

Otherwise Tuesday, an all-rerun CBS schedule averaged an 11.3/19. "Murder in New Hampshire" did an 11.2/18...

NBC averaged a 10.0/16. "Dateline NBC" was the only original show of the night, averaging a 9.1/16. In three previous outings, the magazine show had averaged a 12.2/21. H'mmmmm...

In Washington on Tuesday night, unbeknownst to us, Channel 7 had preempted the ABC schedule from 8 to 9 to air the April 16 edition of "The Oprah Winfrey Show," dedicated to "fathers reunited with abandoned children." The 4 p.m. show had been preempted last Thursday by an ABC Afterschool Special...

Oprah averaged a 10.4/16 for the hour. "Roseanne" did a 17.4/25, "Coach," a 14.0/20 and "Civil Wars," an 8.4/14...

Elsewhere, "Dateline NBC" managed a 10.2/17 on Channel 4; the Orioles-Royals game on WDCA between 8:30 and 11:45 did a 5.0/8; and the "Murder in New Hampshire" rerun on Nine averaged a 12.1/19...

Each national ratingzzzz point represents 921,000 TV homes. A local ratingzzzz point, 18,199 homes...

(Captain Airwaves says he wants to apologize for the Tuesday listings errors—including the wrongo that the "Civil Wars" season was over)...

In case you didn't notice the fireworks last night, the May ratingzzzz sweeps began as Arbitron started its 28-day count...

Nielsen kicks off its 28-day sweeps polling today...

Woman's Day—by way of an interview with series star Candice Bergen—reports in its May 12 issue that viewers can call a 900 number to suggest names for Murphy Brown's baby, scheduled to be born during the May 18 season finale on CBS...

Proceeds for the calls, which cost \$1.50 each, will go to charity...

The baby's name will be revealed next season. In deciding on a name, the producers will take into consideration those names most frequently suggested by callers. Look for the official 900 number in tomorrow's column...

Bergen, who plays Murphy, and Diane English, the program's executive producer, chose the March of Dimes Birth Defects Foundation and the Pediatric AIDS Foundation as the charities...

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U.N. to Weigh Use of Iraq's Frozen Assets

U.S. Pushing Plan to Pay for Scrapping Weapons, Compensation of Victims, Food Aid

By Trevor Rowe
Special to The Washington Post

UNITED NATIONS, April 22—The United States plans to push for a resolution under which frozen Iraqi assets would be used to pay for eliminating Baghdad's weapons of mass destruction, compensating victims of its invasion of Kuwait and providing humanitarian aid, Western diplomats say.

Among key U.S. allies, France and Britain have appeared cool to the plan, expressing concern that it might lead to legal and technical problems. Nevertheless, Washington appears prepared to press ahead, and a Western diplomat said a draft resolution may be presented to the Security Council within a week.

About \$5.5 billion in Iraqi assets have been frozen around the world, including more than \$1 billion in the United States, an official said. In addition, about \$1.5 billion might be available from Iraqi oil held mainly in Saudi Arabian tanks and in a pipeline linking Iraq with Turkey, as well as from payments for crude oil that were held up after the U.N. embargo following Iraq's Aug. 2, 1990, invasion of Kuwait.

The move to tap frozen assets stems chiefly from Iraq's refusal to sell oil under U.N.-mandated terms. Such sales were expected, in part, to pay for destruction of Iraq's chemical, biological, nuclear and ballistic arms facilities and for humanitarian measures. Diplomats expressed confidence that the United States can muster sufficient support from other council members for the proposal.

"There's something here for everyone," a Western diplomat said. "We can get money for eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, money for people with claims—India and developing countries—and we can get some food in." The proposed resolution also "keeps the heat on Iraq to start pumping oil," the official added.

Diplomats said humanitarian food aid is likely to become essential as Iraq depletes funds, largely in secret bank accounts, that have allowed it to import food.

[Meanwhile, in Geneva, the United Nations said Iraq has stepped up harassment of relief workers and has imposed tough restrictions on the movement of many U.N. vehicles, the Associated Press reported. President Saddam Hussein's government told the head of the U.N. humanitarian team in Baghdad last week that team members needed approval to use U.N. trucks 48 hours in advance, a U.N. statement said.]

["Serious incidents of harassment of U.N. personnel at government checkpoints are on the rise," the statement said. A U.N. official said hundreds of trucks are used to transport food, medicine and clean water to Iraqi civilians, adding that the new rules make it impossible to respond to emergencies.]

Last year, the Security Council approved a resolution allowing Iraq to sell \$1.6 billion in oil over six months, but the resolution lapsed last month with none of the oil sold. Baghdad has argued that U.N. terms for overseeing such oil sales and food distribution represented a violation of its sovereignty.

Iraq recently agreed to negotiations with U.N. officials in Vienna over the issue, with further talks expected soon at another site, as yet unnamed. But Western diplomats have expressed frustration with the slow pace.

The U.N. Special Commission charged with eliminating Iraq's weapons of mass destruction faces a shortage of funds for what are expected to be costly activities. These include arranging contracts to remove hazards posed by Iraqi un-

ranium, a task expected to cost nearly \$25 million. Destroying Iraq's chemical weapons is considered likely to cost an additional \$10 million.

A similar resolution was considered in early March, but the proposal was shelved because of concern over possible legal problems, such as lawsuits against governments and central banks by those with claims against Iraq's frozen assets. Diplomats said, however, that pressure from the United States along with further analysis of the legal risks appeared to have removed obstacles to the resolution.

"The legal problems related to the wish of [government] treasuries to hold onto the money for their own nationals," a Western diplomat said. The "first instinct" of central banks "is to hold," he added, "but the fact that governments want it done made a difference."

Reuters news agency reported from Nicosia, Cyprus:

Iraqi troops backed by tanks and artillery have launched a three-pronged attack in southern Iraqi marshes, killing or wounding hundreds of civilians, an Iran-based Iraqi opposition group said.

More than 1,000 families fled

their homes when the attack started before dawn Tuesday, but many others were trapped by a heavy barrage of tank and artillery shells, the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq said in a statement, made available in Cyprus.

In Washington, a U.S. official said he could not confirm the report, but added that "it would surprise us if that level of action took place."

The group said the attacks were concentrated on marshes near Basra, Amara and Nasiriyah—centers of a Shiite Muslim revolt crushed by Saddam's army a year ago.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

LOSING GROUND TO INFLATION

PER CAPITA INCOME BY STATE

Adjusted for inflation, Americans' per capita income shrank in 1991 for the first time in nine years, the Commerce Department reported yesterday. For the first time since 1982, growth in per capita income failed to keep pace with rising prices.

Personal income totaled \$19,082 per person last year, just 2.1 percent more than in 1990, the Commerce Department said.

That marked a growth rate only slightly more than half last year's 4.1 percent inflation rate as measured by the department's index for personal expenditures.

It was the third consecutive annual decline in the growth rate. Per capita incomes grew 5.4 percent in 1990, 6.9 percent in 1989 and 7.1 percent in 1988.

The income figures also showed the continuing reversal of a mid-1980s trend, dubbed the bicoastal economy, whereby incomes were growing faster on the East and West coasts than in the country's heartland.

In general, the Commerce Department said, the states with the fastest-growing incomes in 1991 had endured some of the slowest growth in the 1980s. Conversely, many states experiencing the slowest growth last year had led the 1980s boom.

Only seven states had income

increases equal to or better than the national inflation rate last year: Wyoming, 5.1 percent; Montana and North Dakota, each 4.8 percent; Hawaii, 4.6 percent; Louisiana, 4.2 percent, and New Mexico and Arkansas, 4.1 percent.

Still, income growth was lower in 1991 than a year earlier in all 50 states, reflecting the recession that began in July 1990 and continued, according to many economists, throughout 1991.

The sluggishness was much more widely dispersed than in previous years. In 1990, 40 states reported slower income growth than the previous year. Twenty-five states reported a slowdown in 1989.

Last year, five states registered income gains of 1 percent or less: Rhode Island, 0.2 percent; Nevada and Maine, 0.7 percent; New Hampshire, 0.9 percent, and Idaho, 1 percent.

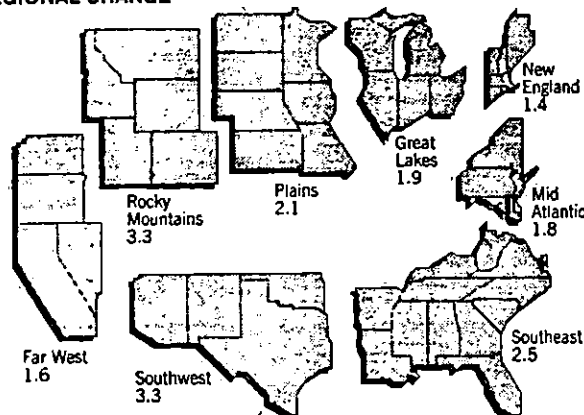
The Commerce Department derived the per capita income figure by dividing total income—\$4.81 trillion nationally in 1991—by the total population, 252.2 million.

Personal income is measured before taxes but after Social Security deductions and includes income from all sources, including wages, investment earnings and government payments such as welfare.

—Associated Press

State	Income	Percent change
Conn.	\$25,881	1.9%
N.J.	25,372	2.0
D.C.	24,439	3.5
Mass.	22,897	1.5
N.Y.	22,456	1.5
Md.	22,080	1.0
Alaska	21,932	1.3
Hawaii	21,306	4.6
Calif.	20,952	1.3
N.H.	20,951	0.9
Ill.	20,824	1.9
Del.	20,349	1.3
Va.	19,976	1.4
Wash.	19,442	3.5
Colo.	19,440	3.1
Nev.	19,175	0.7
Pa.	19,128	2.4
Minn.	19,107	2.0
Fla.	18,880	1.8
R.I.	18,840	0.2
Mich.	18,679	1.6
Kan.	18,511	2.2
Wis.	18,046	2.6
Ohio	17,916	2.0
Neb.	17,852	2.1
Mo.	17,842	2.1
Vt.	17,747	1.4
Ore.	17,592	2.4
Iowa	17,505	1.2
Ga.	17,364	1.9
Maine	17,306	0.7
Texas	17,305	3.5
Ind.	17,217	1.7
Wyo.	17,118	5.1
N.C.	16,642	2.3
Ariz.	16,401	2.5
S.D.	16,392	3.2
Tenn.	16,325	2.9
N.D.	16,088	4.8
Mont.	16,043	4.8
Okla.	15,827	2.4
Ala.	15,567	3.8
Ky.	15,539	3.6
S.C.	15,420	1.8
Idaho	15,401	1.0
La.	15,143	4.2
N.M.	14,844	4.1
Ark.	14,753	4.1
Utah	14,529	3.9
W.Va.	14,174	3.1
Miss.	13,343	4.0
USA	\$19,082	2.1

REGIONAL CHANGE



THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Burger King Tried to Hide Records, U.S. Says

Suit Alleging Child Labor Violations Claims Restaurant Managers Were Told to Remove Data

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

Restaurant managers in the Burger King Corp. fast-food chain were warned on the corporation's telephone hot line last month to hide some employee wage and hour records during a Labor Department crackdown on child labor law violators, according to court affidavits filed by the government.

The affidavits, filed as part of an ongoing court case against the company, claim that on March 26 two of the company's human resources managers warned restaurant managers over Burger King's voice-mail telephone message system to take internal records, in the words of one of the managers, "out of the restaurant until the labor sweep blows off."

Burger King is the nation's second-largest fast-food chain, with 41,000 U.S. employees, the vast majority of whom are teenagers. The Labor Department suit involves the 872 of the 5,528 Burger King restaurants in the United States that are owned and operated by Burger King itself. The balance of the restaurants are franchise operations. Burger King is a subsidiary of Grand Metropolitan Inc. of Britain.

Burger Kings in the Washington area are franchise operations and are not involved in this part of the investigation, according to Labor Department officials.

The Labor Department filed suit against Burger King in March 1990, charging violations of child labor laws dating back to 1986 in almost every one of the restaurants owned by the chain. Most of the violations

involved 14- and 15-year-olds working longer and later hours than allowed by federal law. Teenagers under 16 are allowed to work only three hours a day when school is in session and a maximum of 18 hours a week during a five-day school week. They can work only between 7 a.m. and 7 p.m.

The Labor Department has brought similar charges against some Burger King franchise operations, but the inspection process has not been complete enough to determine if there is a pattern of violations throughout the entire Burger King system, according to Labor Department sources.

It is the largest child labor suit currently before the department and a significant case for the government in terms of possible further legal action against other fast-food chains. The department would not comment on the case yesterday because it is involved in the litigation.

The voice-mail warnings were made in the early stages of a special three-week, nationwide enforcement sweep of restaurants, fast-food operations and other businesses that hire teenagers.

Burger King acknowledged the existence of the telephone messages and confirmed the identity of the two human resource managers as Frank Penna and Victoria McLaughlin, both of whom are in Burger King's Miami headquarters. Burger King spokeswoman Corrie Zowotow said the company was investigating the situation surrounding the telephone messages.

However, the company yesterday denied any wrongdoing. A represen-

tative said that the company kept two identical sets of books at its restaurants and the records that managers were told to remove from the business operations were not the official ones required by the government.

"The Department of Labor had access to every document in the restaurant that was required by law," Zowotow said. She said the voice-mail message was the result of "over-zealousness and overreaction" on the part of the two Burger King managers. Zowotow said the company has cooperated fully with the investigation.

Zowotow emphasized that all the violations cited by the Labor Department in its court suit predated the purchase of Burger King by Grand Metropolitan from Pillsbury Co. in 1989. "What the court's talking about is allegations pre-Grand Met," Zowotow said. She said that since acquiring Burger King, Grand Met has "vigorously addressed this issue."

The telephone message incidents were included by the Labor Department in an amended suit filed in U.S. District Court in Miami last month

along with the affidavits of three department officials who had called the message line after receiving an anonymous tip.

The original Labor Department suit against Burger King was dismissed by a federal judge in Miami after the company said that in September 1990 it adopted a policy to hire no one under the age of 16 to ensure future compliance. The government appealed the decision and a federal appeals court last month ordered the suit reinstated.

"Burger King has produced nothing more than a bare assertion that this time it will enforce a management directive not to hire 14- and 15-year-olds," the appeals court said in reinstating the case. "The Sept. 12, 1990, policy is only one of many instances in which [Burger King] has promised compliance."

A lower court judge has since rejected a motion by the Labor Department to issue a temporary restraining order against Burger King, but has ordered discovery to begin for a trial tentatively scheduled for August. That process has just begun.

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Questions Raised Over Check Given to Rep. Smith of Florida

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Lawrence J. Smith (D-Fla.) is among the leading writers of bad checks on the House Bank. But he may be facing more scrutiny for a different check—one from a former law partner for \$10,000 that Smith converted into two cashier's checks in 1990.

Smith has refused to answer questions about what he did with the \$10,000 since his handling of the check was disclosed by a Miami television reporter earlier this month. Fred Wertheimer, president of the public interest lobby group Common Cause, asked the House ethics committee yesterday to investigate whether Smith converted campaign funds to his personal use.

In a statement yesterday, Smith said he believes the Federal Election Commission (FEC) is the "proper forum" to review the applicable laws. He said in an earlier statement that "it appears that some" of his 1990 campaign expenditures "may not have been reported in a manner consistent with the procedures of the Federal Election Commission." Spokeswoman Karin Walser said Smith hired David Ifshin, an election law attorney, to represent him at the FEC.

Smith told the Miami Herald his campaign committee paid former partner Brian Berman \$10,000 in the fall of 1990 to represent him on redistricting matters, and Berman refunded the money when they called off the arrangement. According to accounts in the Florida news

media, however, the transaction is not that simple.

Berman, who was disbarred last year after bouncing \$2 million in checks on client trust accounts, wrote the refund check first and made it out to Smith personally, not the campaign. The \$10,000 check—found in the disbarment proceeding files—was dated Sept. 7, 1990. The campaign committee's \$10,000 check to Berman was dated Sept. 10.

A Herald story noted that Smith cashed the \$10,000 check from Berman on Sept. 14 and quoted bank employees as saying the endorsement showed two \$5,000 cashier's checks were issued from the Berman check.

Smith, a five-term veteran who will be 51 Saturday, is a member of the Appropriations subcommittee that sets funding levels for foreign aid. He was named last week as writing 161 overdrafts on the House Bank between mid-1988 and last fall, the most of any member from Florida.

In a front-page article Sunday, the Herald said Smith has used his campaign funds as an expense account to entertain friends and constituents. The story said Smith has refinanced his home in Hollywood, near Miami, three times since first being elected to Congress in 1982 to send his children to college. Smith has a red Corvette and a leased Cadillac in Florida and a Lincoln in Washington, the Herald added.

While refusing to discuss details about his finances, he told the newspaper: "I haven't aggrandized myself" in public office.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Casey Tells Democrats, 'Our Side's in Trouble'

Governor Resists Push to Unite Behind Clinton

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey is the very model of a politically incorrect Democrat, and suddenly isn't shy about showing it.

At a time when party leaders are urging Democrats to rally behind Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton as their presidential nominee, Casey outspokenly resists, saying the party should not throw away the option of picking another candidate at the convention in July.

"We have a front-runner who wins every race and yet the people are throwing these red flags down all over the field," he said yesterday. "The signs are unequivocal that, just as [President] Bush is in trouble, our side's in trouble."

And on a day when the Supreme Court heard oral arguments on Pennsylvania's abortion law in a case that could result in further weakening of the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision, Casey was on hand to warn Democrats that they are on the verge of becoming a permanent minority party in presidential elections because their "abortion on demand" position is driving away millions of Americans.

"I just made the decision I'm not going to remain silent any longer," said Casey, who is strongly opposed to abortion, "because there is a litmus test for presidential candidates and I think it's destructive and self-defeating for the national party. If you're pro-life, you don't qualify. You can be a mayor, you can be a congressman, you can even be a governor, but just go away, don't talk about it."

Casey is anything but a bomb thrower, better known for his mild manner and bland rhetoric. But in the past month, he has decided to challenge the Democrats on abortion, first going to the University of Notre Dame to attack what he sees as a closed society with the party, then raising questions about Clinton's November electability at a time when Democratic leaders want the race to be over.

Casey predicted Clinton will win next Tuesday's Pennsylvania primary over former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., but that appeared to have little influence on his concerns about Clinton's long-term problems.

He said that with Clinton's string of victories, "There should be a lot of optimism and a lot of excitement, but it just isn't there. . . . In the sense of testing the staying power of a Clinton candidacy, you get very little to go on. You just get this real little sliver of Democrats voting, and voting where the choices in my judgment are not as compelling as they were four years ago. It's just very tragic."

Casey's criticism is particularly painful to the Clinton campaign, given that two of Clinton's top advisers, James Carville and Paul Begala, helped run Casey's 1990 reelection bid, in which he defeated an opponent who favored abortion rights by more than a million votes.

"I've always been impressed very much with Bill Clinton," Casey said in an interview in the Pennsylvania state office near Capitol Hill. "He's gone through an awful battering." But Casey said that as the election nears the voters may not give him credit for his resilience.

Casey rejects suggestions that endorsements by party figures will help Clinton erase questions about his character and integrity. He said the primary process so far has produced a "giant question mark" and ought to run its course. "There are procedures for making a selection at the convention," he added. "I don't think we should just jettison that option at this point."

He has not begun an "anybody but Clinton" campaign, but said, "I'd like to see more elected officials speak their minds on this issue like I'm doing. I know a whole bunch who feel this way, but it's impolitic. I guess, to say some of the things I'm saying. Frankly I'd like to see some of those whose names have been mentioned [as alternatives] tell some of us what their intentions are, would they be willing to con-

sider a fallback position if that should develop. I know that's not the traditional way you do things like this, but I think we have to do things a little differently."

Casey once shied away from making abortion a political issue but said he now feels estranged from his own party. "You see the party going in a direction that I think is very harmful, very destructive," he said.

Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown acknowledged in a statement, "We have a fundamental disagreement with him on this issue."



Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey outside the Supreme Court yesterday.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Repatriation Of Haitians May Resume

Associated Press

The Supreme Court yesterday allowed the federal government to resume, at least temporarily, returning some Haitians to their homeland from the U.S. naval base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba.

The court, by a 5 to 4 vote, lifted an injunction imposed earlier this month by a U.S. district judge barring repatriation of some Haitians until they could be interviewed by lawyers representing them.

In a brief order, the high court set aside the injunction while the dispute is being studied by the New York-based 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The appeals court is to hold a hearing in the case May 7.

Justices Harry A. Blackmun, John Paul Stevens, Sandra Day O'Connor and David H. Souter dissented from the high court's decision.

The Coast Guard has intercepted 19,000 Haitian refugees headed for U.S. shores since the army ouster last September of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide. More than 11,500 have been repatriated.

U.S. Asks Afghans to Return Missiles

By Don Oberdorfer
Washington Post Staff Writer

The United States, having supplied rebel forces in Afghanistan with high-tech Stinger missiles that may have turned the tide of battle, has launched a campaign to get the remaining weapons back.

Administration sources said the U.S. effort to recover the Stingers stemmed from concern that the shoulder-fired antiaircraft missiles could fall into the hands of terrorist groups or unfriendly or unstable governments, posing potential danger for civil as well as military aircraft.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler, asked yesterday whether the United States was trying to regain control of the missiles, cited an accord last September in which the United States and the then-Soviet Union agreed to cut off arms to both sides in the Afghan war and to "work toward withdrawal of major weapons systems."

Under the agreement, which took effect Jan. 1, both Washington and Moscow have in fact stopped the massive arms inflow into Afghanistan, official sources said. A U.S. official said, however, that Russia, the inheritor of Soviet obligations, has little interest in Afghanistan, which is now separated from its border by five new Central Asian states that also were formerly part of the Soviet Union. This dims the prospects for return of Soviet-supplied heavy weapons, including warplanes, armed helicopters, tanks, armored personnel carriers, Scud missiles and field artillery.

The chances of reclaiming the sophisticated Stingers also are considered uncertain, given the high value placed upon them, even if the United States offers to buy them back as part of the new program. The 35-pound weapons, which were credited with downing more than 250 Soviet aircraft and changing the tide of the Afghan war, are in great demand in arms markets.

In 1987, Iran reportedly bought 16 of the missiles, one of which was fired against a U.S. helicopter over the Persian Gulf, from an Afghan guerrilla commander.

A Washington Post report in 1989 estimated that a total of 900 to 1,000 Stinger missiles had been supplied to the Afghan rebels, about 340 of which were reported to have been fired. A special U.S. Army report said the Stingers "changed the nature of combat" in Afghanistan by eradicating Soviet air superiority and that they were "the war's decisive weapon."

Thomas Gouttierre, director of the Center of Afghanistan Studies at the University of Nebraska, said that the return of the Stingers and

other advanced weapons is likely to be "a very difficult thing to bring about." Afghans traditionally have placed great value on their weapons and guarded them closely, said Gouttierre. The best hope for retrieving the high-tech weapons, he said, is for a stable government to be organized in Afghanistan that eventually might be able to collect many of them.

In response to questions about U.S. aid, Tutwiler said that since 1985, the United States has provided nearly \$400 million in bilateral humanitarian assistance to Afghans in the border area near Pakistan for agriculture, health, education and general relief services, in addition to \$50 million in humanitarian aid supplied through the United Nations.

She declined to give a figure for U.S. military aid to the Afghan guerrillas. Several published estimates put the figure at \$2 billion or more since the Soviet invasion in late 1979. Gouttierre quoted Soviet sources as saying Moscow spent more than \$20 billion on the Afghan war.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

Lally Weymouth

Afghanistan: Where the Credit Belongs

The ouster of Najibullah, the Soviet-backed dictator of Afghanistan, has rightly been hailed as yet another blow to that which remains of global communism. But before we turn our focus to the problematic question of succession in Kabul—and focus on which elements among the mujaheddin are most likely to adopt a pro-Western posture—it's worth taking a moment to note just how this victory was achieved and to apportion credit where due.

Beyond the manifest courage of the Afghan anti-communist resistance forces, a small group of congressmen and government officials—inspired by the tenacity of President Reagan—devoted themselves, at critical junctures, to pressing the cause and needs of the resistance.

Throughout the Reagan administration, both the president and Congress strongly supported military assistance for the mujaheddin fighters and self-determination for Afghanistan. But there were differences over how to implement the goal.

For example, in 1986 there was a full battle between government agencies over whether to give the highly mobile, tactically valuable Stinger missile to the mujaheddin. Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) helped persuade CIA Director William Casey to make the Stinger available; Undersecretary of Defense Fred Ikle along with Assistant Undersecretary Mike Pillsbury fought a parallel battle at the Pentagon. Opposition was widespread. But the proponents prevailed.

Many would argue that the Stinger helped turn the military tide in favor of the resistance, limiting the mobility of Najibullah's well-armed Soviet-backed forces.

On the diplomatic front, a key turning point came some two years later. The long-negotiated Geneva Accords were about to be signed by Pakistan, the Afghan government, the Soviet Union and the United States. The accords called on Pakistan to stop training and financing the mujaheddin. But Pakistan negotiated a secret side agreement with

Washington that permitted Islamabad to continue its support for the Afghan resistance.

The Reagan administration also made a key military decision in 1988: The United States would not stop giving weapons to the Afghan resistance even if the Soviets withdrew their

A small group devoted themselves to the cause and needs of the resistance.

own troops from Afghanistan. Indeed, Washington came to the view that U.S. military assistance to the mujaheddin would not be halted until Moscow stopped sending any weapons at all to the puppet regime it had installed in Kabul.

The second half of 1988, however, gave supporters of the Afghan resistance reason for concern. General Zia, whose personal commitment to the anti-communist cause played a major role in Pakistan's consistent support for the mujaheddin, died, along with most of his high command, in a mysterious plane crash in August of that year. In November George Bush was elected president, and Ronald Reagan became a lame duck.

Shortly after the Bush administration came to office, the Soviets completed their promised troop withdrawal. But instead of continuing the military pressure on Kabul, Washington—as then-Pakistani prime minister Benezir Bhutto told me in an interview the following year—decided to experiment with a six-month cutback in military supplies to the mujaheddin.

Key mujaheddin supporters on Capitol Hill blamed the U.S. cutback—which coincided with an enormous outpouring of Soviet military sup-

port for Najibullah—for the critical defeat experienced by the Afghan resistance at the battle of Jalalabad in March 1989.

The Jalalabad debacle emboldened mujaheddin supporters on the Hill—Rep. Don Ritter and Sen. Gordon Humphrey, for example—to go toe to toe with the CIA operations directorate to secure more Stingers as well as antitank missiles for the resistance. Interestingly, the congressmen had to wage an all-out battle just to secure weapons for the more moderate elements of the resistance—Ahmed Shah Massoud, for example. Meanwhile, the CIA was turning a blind eye while the Pakistani intelligence service channeled U.S. weapons to its own favorite commanders—among them, radical fundamentalists such as Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

On the diplomatic front, the Bush administration promptly abandoned the Reagan demand that Najibullah—once head of the Afghan secret police—leave the country before any elections were held. Washington declared that Najibullah could participate in elections.

The administration then proceeded to turn the conflict over to the United Nations—in the spirit of the new world order. Congressional supporters of the resistance opposed the new U.N. role, believing the U.N.—which had maintained relations with Najibullah—couldn't act as an impartial broker.

In the end, Najibullah fled into the U.N. office in Kabul. Speculation continues as to where he will find eventual refuge; but the U.N.—undoubtedly with American encouragement—is seeking to identify countries willing to guarantee his safety.

This makes for an unsatisfying end to what was, in many respects, a noble struggle. After all, can it really be that in "the new world order" mass murderers—rather than pay a price for their crimes—will live out their days in U.N.-guaranteed safety and security?

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

High Court At Abortion Juncture

Questions on Roe Punctuate Arguments In Pennsylvania Case

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court, one vote away from eliminating the constitutional right to abortion, wrestled yesterday with the implications of such a historic step as it considered a challenge to a Pennsylvania abortion law.

In a long-awaited test of the conservative new court's views on abortion, the justices remained largely silent as American Civil Liberties Union lawyer Kathryn Kolbert urged them to reaffirm *Roe v. Wade*, the landmark 1973 decision establishing abortion as a fundamental right.

They were far more active in quizzing Pennsylvania Attorney General Ernest D. Preate Jr. and U.S. Solicitor General Kenneth W. Starr about the individual provisions at issue in *Planned Parenthood of Southeastern Pennsylvania v. Casey* and what it would mean to strip constitutional protection for abortion.

Justice David H. Souter, whose views on the abortion question are unknown, pressed Starr about whether an outright prohibition on abortion—with an exception only to save the life of the woman—would be allowed under the permissive standard of review urged by the Bush administration. Utah, Louisiana and Guam have adopted laws that bar abortion under most circumstances.

Starr resisted Souter's question, saying, "I think it best not to answer these in the abstract." Souter continued, telling Starr, "You're asking the court to adopt a standard and I think we ought to know where the standard would take us."

Souter's general voting alignment with Justice Sandra Day O'Connor has led to speculation that they might pair up to forge a middle ground on the court—a position that may or may not be relevant depending on whether the four justices known to oppose the *Roe* decision can attract a fifth and decisive vote. Only two solid abortion-rights advocates, Justices Harry A. Blackmun and John Paul Stevens, remain on the court.

Justice Clarence Thomas, who refused to divulge his position during Senate confirmation hearings

See COURT, A13, Col. 1

Realigned Since Roe v. Wade, Justices Ponder Abortion's Constitutional Future

COURT, From A1

last fall, was the only justice who did not speak during the hour-long oral argument. A ruling in the case is expected by July, and will likely be a major issue in the November elections.

The Pennsylvania law at issue is one of a spate of abortion restrictions enacted after the high court's 1989 ruling in *Webster v. Reproductive Health Services*, in which four justices voted to remove abortion from the list of specially protected constitutional rights.

The Pennsylvania law requires married women to notify their husbands of the intention to have an abortion; imposes a 24-hour waiting period on women seeking abortions; and requires doctors and counselors to provide information that one side characterizes as the basis for "informed consent" and the other views as "biased counseling."

Nearly identical provisions have been overturned by the court, as recently as 1986, as intrusions on the right to abortion established in *Roe*.

The court in *Roe* said restrictions on abortion must pass "strict scrutiny," a tough test that meant they would generally be struck down.

Having lost a majority to support that approach, the court in *Casey* is presented with a choice between two alternatives.

One, suggested by O'Connor, is whether abortion regulations constitute an "undue burden." The other, endorsed by the Bush administration and at least four justices, would ask simply whether the abortion regulations have a "rational basis"—whether they further the state's legitimate objective of protecting potential human life.

O'Connor questioned Preate about the husband notification provision, terming it "curious" that the state did not "require notice to all fathers."

She then asked about forms of birth control, such as intrauterine devices, that act as "abortifacients" by preventing implantation of the fertilized egg. Could the state, protecting its interest in preserving fetal life, require all women to inform their sexual partners of their use of such contraception, she asked.

Preate first said that would be "problematic," but then seemed to change. "Well, if the state had posited its interest as protecting the life of the unborn then utilizing the rational basis standard, then I would submit that it could legitimately require that kind of notification to all people," he said.

O'Connor also expressed repeated interest in whether the mandatory counseling provisions and husband notice provisions violated the First Amendment guarantee of free speech. "The state is compelling a woman to say something to her husband," O'Connor said. "I would have thought perhaps compelling speech would get us right into a First Amendment area."

Preate said that because 95 percent of married women in Pennsylvania inform their husbands voluntarily, the spousal notice law would actually affect very few women. Stevens said: "Well, if no one's affected by the statute, what is the state interest in upholding the statute?"

During his 10-minute argument in support of the Pennsylvania law, Starr left open the possibility that fetuses might be "persons" protected by the Constitution and that states, therefore, could be not only permitted to outlaw abortion, but required to do so.

"We do not have a position on that," he told Stevens, adding that it was "an extraordinarily difficult and sensitive issue" that the court need not resolve in the pending case.

In *Roe*, the court concluded that the 14th Amendment—which prohibits states from depriving any "person" of life without due process of law—"does not include the unborn."

In the *Roe* opinion, Blackmun pointed out that considering fetuses as "persons" under the Constitution could require states to treat abortion as harshly as murder and bar states from making exceptions in their antiabortion laws for saving the life of the mother.

No justice has endorsed the view that fetuses are "persons" under the Constitution. However, in a speech that became controversial after his nomination to the high court, Thomas praised an article taking such a position.

Abortion-rights advocates expressed alarm yesterday about the administration's refusal to eschew the proposition.

"What would flow from that position could be a requirement that every state ban abortion," said Marcia Greenberger of the National Women's Law Center. "The fact that it was explicitly left open by the solicitor general should cause people to sit up and take notice of what the future might hold."

Kolbert steadfastly resisted repeated efforts by O'Connor and Justice Anthony M. Kennedy to get her to address specific restrictions in the Pennsylvania law. Instead, she hammered home the theme that under the "strict scrutiny" standard of review adopted in *Roe*, all the provisions of the statute would fail.

"Since this court's decision in *Roe v. Wade*, a generation of American women have come of age secure in the knowledge that the Constitution provides the highest level of protection for their childbearing decisions," she said.

Kolbert warned that "there is no logical stopping point" and that overruling *Roe* would also jeopardize the court's previous privacy rights decisions protecting the ability to marry and to use contraception and prohibiting forced sterilization.

"Particularly where there is no bright line between abortion and some methods of birth control, the fundamental right both to prevent

pregnancy and to end pregnancy may be at stake," she said.

Kennedy told Kolbert that other fundamental rights—such as freedom of speech—had had limitations placed on them and that "our sustaining these statutory provisions does not necessarily undercut all of the holding of *Roe v. Wade*."

Kolbert insisted that it would.

"Well, if you are going to argue that *Roe* can survive only in its most rigid formulation, that is an election you can make as counsel," Kennedy said. "I am suggesting to you that that is not the only logical possibility in this case."

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Jim Hoagland

New World Disorder

The collapse of the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia has loosed upon the world 20 new fragile nation states, Iraq, another imperfect creation of 20th century political engineers, totters toward disintegration, while Ethiopia and Somalia deconstruct themselves.

It sounds like a script for a New World Disorder rather than the harmonious global arrangement under U.S. leadership that President Bush sketched a year ago as the Persian Gulf War ended.

But there may be a silver lining. This cloud of immediate turmoil and regrettable human suffering should force the world community to reassess a prevailing view of national sovereignty that has contributed to these disasters.

New economic and political currents sweeping the world are rapidly eroding the post-1917 notion that states and superstates can be willed into existence by a ruling elite and imposed indefinitely on a subdued population and the world community as part of a grand historical process.

The Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and Iraq were created out of the ruins of World War I as antitheses of the nation state. Lenin's theories of dictatorship, Wilsonian self-determination and British colonial policy all created overarching superstructures that were to contain and eventually eliminate tribal or national conflicts.

After World War II, the ideology of national liberation powered a similar optimism about the ability of the modern state to remake its citizens. In the era of decolonization, scores of Third World states gained independence and ran up their flags at the United Nations headquarters in New York.

But political sovereignty so casually granted to geographic entities with neither national cohesion nor the economic resources to create and sustain that cohesion turned out to be fool's gold. The flags fluttering over the East River provide cold comfort for the deepening poverty and insecurity that mark everyday life in the former Soviet Union, in Africa and most of Asia today.

To their credit, individual officials in the Bush administration have recognized the deep currents of change sweeping the international order. Partly through their efforts and partly because of events, the United States today supports in three different cases the duty of the United Nations to intervene in what were once considered the internal affairs of member states.

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To their credit, individual officials in the Bush administration have recognized the deep currents of change sweeping the international order. Partly through their efforts and partly because of events, the United States today supports in three different cases the duty of the United Nations to intervene in what were once considered the internal affairs of member states.

Through Security Council resolutions, Iraq's citizens have been formally promised U.N. protection from Saddam Hussein's murderous regime. Sanctions have been imposed on Libya for refusing to turn over two of its citizens accused of masterminding the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103. In the Yugoslav crisis, the central authorities in Belgrade were maneuvered into accepting U.N. peace-keeping forces in their fragmenting country.

Admittedly the Bush administration, for dubious reasons, has been selective in its outrage, sparing China and other serious human-rights abusers. But its willingness to help define an international right to intervene and to see it used in these specific cases is a praiseworthy innovation.

Washington's senior policy makers do not seem, however, to have thought through the implications and consequences of this new collective interventionism. On key points, Washington stops halfway and risks bringing about the worst of all worlds.

The United States says it is committed to maintaining Iraq's territorial integrity. But its deeds increase the pressures for an uncontrolled dismemberment of the artificial creation that brought unwilling Kurds into the same state structure as rival Arab Sunni and Shiite Muslims.

While providing protection for the Kurds and the independent elections they will hold next month, the United States also enforces economic sanctions that reduce the Sunnis to misery and despair. Saddam is left in place and free to persecute the Shiites. What precious little national fabric existed to unite the three groups in the past is being ground into bits. When it comes, Iraq's breakup will be seen as a result of U.S. action, not of natural internal forces.

In Yugoslavia, the Bush administration declined a request from the United Nations to contribute a small number of American troops to the peace-keeping unit for symbolic effect. The proposal had the support of U.N. mediator Cyrus Vance and would have matched a contribution of troops by Russia.

The election-year anxieties of President Bush and Secretary of State Jim Baker prevailed. The American answer was no. An opportunity to enhance U.N. credibility and to demonstrate U.S. commitment to effective interventionism was missed.

America's promising beginning in pressing the international community to intervene against desperado regimes will wither away if it becomes too selective and halfhearted. That will leave the field clear for desperados and a New World Disorder they would promote.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

What Dividend?

THE DEMOCRATS haven't produced the increased defense dividend they began the year by promising. The result is that the appropriators now will have to take the unfamiliar step of cutting domestic spending in real terms in a weak economy and an election year. The pressure in certain subcommittees will be enormous. The spending cuts are likely to be as important an issue for the rest of the year as tax cuts were when the year began.

The confident early talk from the Democrats was that defense could and should be cut billions of dollars below what the president requested. Their idea was to breach the budget agreement by shifting the savings or some of them to domestic programs rather than using them all to reduce the deficit. The overall limits on spending would not be affected; the breakup of the Soviet Union made it possible merely to change the mix.

That's reasonable enough policy—but it was in the abstract, before the leaders had counted votes, and before all the members had fully assessed the likely effects of a smaller defense budget on such things as hometown contracts, installations, Guard units and jobs. The House did vote for defense cuts two to three times larger than the president's, but deserted the leadership on shifting the savings to domestic purposes. The Senate, in its budget resolution, failed to support even the deeper cuts.

The measures still need to be reconciled, but for now the tight cap in the budget agreement on 1993 domestic appropriations has been retained. The cap requires the moral equivalent of a domestic appropriations freeze; in real or inflation-adjusted terms, it translates into a cut in these domestic programs, taken all together, of about \$6.5 billion, or 3 percent.

The funds and disappointment will be apportioned in two stages. The first will occur when the money is divided among the appropriations subcommittees. This is where broad priorities are set—how much for the panel that dispenses funds for health and education, for example, as distinct from the one with control over veterans' affairs and space. No step in the budget process is more fundamental, yet these decisions are made entirely by the appropriations committees without reference to the members at large.

The next stage—the writing of bills—is the allocation of funds among programs within each subcommittee. By this time the process is often fratricidal—not competition across the broad purposes of government but within those purposes, the Head Start program versus college student aid, for example. Last year the subcommittees struggled; this year they will struggle more. Since in real terms total appropriations will be headed down, any program that goes up—as both parties have suggested should occur in the case of Head Start, for example—will do so doubly at its close competitors' expense.

The great question is how much of this kind of intramural bloodletting either Congress or the administration will want to keep up as Election Day approaches. One theory is that a break-out will occur in the form of an end-of-session bill to make all programs whole by taking down the wall between defense and domestic appropriations after all. The president and members who resisted the step this spring are likely to find it harder to do so in the fall; so the proponents believe. A modestly greater defense dividend of some kind is still there to be had, they say. It gets harder to believe.

History: Save or Spike?

IF YOU work in the White House or high up in government, federal law requires that your work be preserved for posterity. But are electronic mail messages sent by computer an essential part of that work, or are they just peripheral chatter, like telephone calls, destined for oblivion? The question has crystallized in a lawsuit by historians and public-interest groups against the government, which wants to destroy hundreds of White House computer backup tapes of such "e-mail" messages.

The suit arose because some of these same tapes had proved anything but trivial: They supplied telltale exchanges to investigators trying to piece together the mechanics of the Iran-contra scandal. The administration would now like to wipe these and subsequent e-mail tapes off the books without further vetting, saying the law on saving documents does not cover electronic communications and that they cover non-substantive matters, such as scheduling and routing. The historians plead archival value, saying history can be deduced most effectively from just such background-chatter snippets—and, indeed, sometimes only by them.

The post-Watergate statutes governing preservation of government business (the Presidential Records Act for business directly involving the president and the Federal Records Act for the work of government agencies) require that office workers

save any documents relating to potentially significant business and turn the material over to archivists. The White House says staffers are also supposed to print out their e-mail messages and save them when they are "significant." But of course the Iran-contra computer tapes proved to be an investigative treasure trove precisely because most of the e-mailers had no idea their messages were being saved.

Courts may not glean as much from the presumably more self-conscious e-mail tapes of the future. But the history argument still holds. Historians of the modern White House have mountains of possible material because that's what modern technology and modern office practices generate, and any office worker knows that a high proportion of what's generated in a day—on paper or otherwise—is simply chaff. But in passing the records laws, Congress recognized that the flurry of daily work at high levels may not be the best circumstances for deciding what, of that chaff, will turn out to be historically important. That insight transcends the minor difference between working on paper memos (often trivial too) and conducting business via short traveling bursts of electrical energy. Historians seek the message without regard to the method by which it was delivered. So whether the notes are made with quill pens or computer keyboards the rule should be: Save now, sift later.

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1992

GATT Talks Still Stalled on Subsidies

By Steven Mufson
and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

United States and European officials yesterday failed to break the impasse in world trade talks at a top-level White House meeting, though they said later that they had exchanged "new ideas."

The stalemate appears likely to drag on into the summer, despite repeated warnings by international financial leaders about the damage to the world economy from the failure to wrap up the 5½-year-old talks on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a series of accords between 108 nations that are supposed to set the rules for world trade into the next century.

Assistant Secretary of State Thomas Niles said, "We did not ex-

pect a breakthrough. Nor was one achieved."

President Bush and the president of the European Community pledged to continue working to resolve the dispute over agriculture subsidies, which EC Commission president Jacques Delors said was "at the heart of the dilemma for the moment."

"Some new ideas were advanced," Bush said of his talks with Delors and EC President Amílcar Cabral Silva. Niles declined to specify the nature of the new ideas, but said they were a basis for further talks.

"We exchanged a lot of ideas," said U.S. Trade Representative Carla A. Hills. "I don't think any of the ideas hit home."

U.S. officials blame EC farm subsidies for blocking progress on the GATT. Opposition to reform by France and Ireland and the unwilling-

ness of Germany to press those countries for compromise has blocked EC support for a proposal to lower export subsidies, tariffs and quotas by 36 percent and cut domestic subsidies by 20 percent.

But Delors said yesterday that the EC "has invented new ideas to force the American side to discuss in a new fashion on the problem of agriculture."

Bush administration officials said the impasse will be a major agenda item at the July 6 economic summit of the industrialized nations in Munich. But Delors said it was necessary to set a "deadline" of late June to reach an agreement. "It seems to me that if we want to keep or to regain the momentum, we must fix a deadline," Delors said of the talks, which already have lasted 16 months longer than their original deadline.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Delia Stafford
President
Texas Alternative Certification
Association
4131 Martinshire
Houston, Texas 77025



THE PRESIDENT

4-23-92

Dear Delia,

Charles Kolb came back
raving about your leadership
and bearing my Teaching
certificate. Here is a picture
of that. With it comes my

thanks and my respect
for what you are doing
on this question.

Most Sincerely

Jan Burmeister

Jan Burmeister