

Originally Processed With FOIA(s):
2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 90677
Folder ID Number: 90677-002

Folder Title:
Wednesday, May 6, 1992 [3]

Stack:

Row:

Section:

Shelf:

Position:

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Los Angeles, California; redaction. (1 pp.)	May 1992	(b)(7)(c)	
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Los Angeles, California; redactions. (2 pp.)	May 1992	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
03. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Los Angeles, California; redactions. (2 pp.)	05/07/92	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Los Angeles, California; redactions. (2 pp.)	05/08/92	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
05. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Los Angeles, California; redaction. (1 pp.)	05/08/92	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
06. List	White House Room List for Los Angeles, California; redaction. (1 pp.)	May 1992	(b)(7)(c)	
07. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	05/06/92	(b)(7)(c)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Wednesday, May 6, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML15897

OA/ID Number: 90677-002

Date Closed: 8/28/2024

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee

Processed by:

Processed by:



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Wednesday, May 6, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Baker</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 Cabinet Members</u> (Holiday)	Cabinet Room
9:45 am (15 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
10:00 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
10:30 am (60 min)	<u>Meeting with Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office/ Cabinet Room
11:30 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:45 am (60 min)	<u>Luncheon with President Kravchuk</u> (Scowcroft)	Old Family Dining Room
12:45 pm (40 min)	<u>Treaty Signing Ceremony</u> (Scowcroft)	East Room
1:30 pm (15 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Smith)	450 OEOB Sitting Room
1:45 pm (15 min)	<u>Teleconference with American Newspaper Publishers Associa- tion Convention</u> (Smith)	459 OEOB
2:00 pm (20 min)	<u>Video Taping Session</u> (Smith)	459 OEOB

UNP 05/06/92
6:00 pm
REVISED



2:20 pm (25 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:45 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Dr. James Dobson</u> (Rollins)	Oval Office
3:00 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with President</u> <u>Callejas of Honduras</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
3:15 pm (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
4:00 pm	The President, accompanied by President Kravchuk, <u>departs for Camp David</u> (Scowcroft)	South Lawn
4:30 pm	<u>Arrives Camp David</u>	
6:00 pm	<u>Departs Camp David for Andrews</u> <u>Air Force Base enroute to</u> <u>Los Angeles</u>	
8:50 pm	<u>Arrival Statement at Los</u> <u>Angeles International Airport</u> (Rollins)	Los Angeles
9:10 pm	<u>Meeting with Presidential Task</u> <u>Force at Airport Terminal</u> <u>Conference Room</u> (Holiday)	
10:20 pm	<u>Arrives Westin Bonaventure</u> <u>Hotel for RON</u> <u>RON Los Angeles</u>	

UNP 05/06/92
6:00 pm
REVISED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

MAY 6 - 8, 1992

EVENTS:

Arrival Statement
Meeting with Presidential Task Force
Tour Riot Damaged Area
Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church Prayer Service
Neighborhood Community Meeting
Meeting with State and Local Officials
Working Luncheon
Meeting with Korean Community Leaders
Hispanic Economic Development Meeting
Meeting with Presidential Task Force
Visit with Area Fire Fighters and Law Enforcement Personnel
Visit with Military and Law Enforcement Personnel
Address Los Angeles Community Groups

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACT:

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

Trip Coordinator
Suzanne Faulk - 202/456-7565

Los Angeles, California Signal- 213/489-0719
*96/31-000

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
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Subseries:

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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)]

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]
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P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
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(b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

ADVANCE:

Martin Paine	- LEAD
Kelley Gannon	- PRESS
(b)(7)(c)	- USSS
Wayne Justice	- MIL. AIDE
Dave Miller	- WHCA
Walt Tomczak	- AFI

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/mid 60s

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

MAY 6 - 8, 1992

Wednesday, May 6, 1992

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

3:45 pm **Baggage Call.** Please place all unlocked baggage outside of Room 89 1/2, OEOB, at this time.

5:40 pm Vans depart West Basement en route Andrews Air Force Base at this time.

5:40 pm Guests and Staff with own transportation and baggage should arrive Distinguished Visitor's Lounge, Andrews Air Force Base, at this time.

6:00 pm Guests and Staff with own transportation and without baggage should arrive Distinguished Visitor's Lounge, Andrews Air Force Base, at this time.

6:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Marine One and departs Camp David en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flying Time: 35 Minutes)

6:35 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base and proceeds to board Air Force One.

6:45 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base en.
(E.D.T.) route Los Angeles, California.

(Flying Time: 5 Hours)
(Time Change: Back 3 Hours)
(Interchange: No)
(Food Service: Dinner)

8:45 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Los Angeles International
(P.D.T.) Airport, Los Angeles California and proceeds to Toast Lectern.

Met by:

The Honorable Pete Wilson
Governor, California

The Honorable Dan Lungren
Attorney General, California

The Honorable Tom Bradley
Mayor, Los Angeles, California

The Honorable John Ferraro
President, Los Angeles City Council

The Honorable Deane Dana
Chairman, Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors

EVENT: ARRIVAL STATEMENT

OPEN PRESS

BRIEF REMARKS

TOAST LECTERN

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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.PRM... Removed as a personal record misfile.

8:50 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Toast Lectern and gives Brief Remarks.

9:00 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks and proceeds to Remote Terminal Conference Room.

EVENT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE

POOL COVERAGE (AT BEGINNING ONLY)

9:10 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Remote Terminal Conference Room and begins participation in Meeting with Presidential Task Force.

9:40 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in meeting with Presidential Task Force, departs Remote Terminal Conference Room, and proceeds to Motorcade.

9:45 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Los Angeles International Airport en route Westin Bonaventure 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)

(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: 35 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Westin Bonaventure Hotel,
Guests and Staff will be escorted to
30th Floor (Red Elevator Bank), for Room
Assignments and Keys.

10:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Westin Bonaventure Hotel
and proceeds to Suite.

Page Four

10:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives Suite for RON.

RON Los Angeles, California

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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03. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Los Angeles, California; redactions. (2 pp.)	05/07/92	(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

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Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, May 6, 1992 [3]

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
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 (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Thursday, May 7, 1992

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Please board Motorcade no later than
6:35 am for transport to Crenshaw and
Slauson Streets Damage Area.

6:40 am

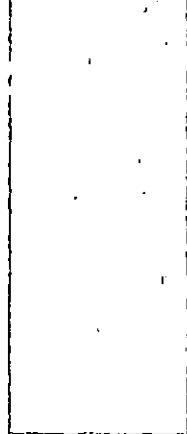
THE PRESIDENT departs Suite and proceeds to
Motorcade.

6:45 am

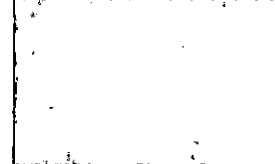
THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Westin
Bonaventure Hotel en route Crenshaw & Slauson
Streets Damage Area.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

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



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



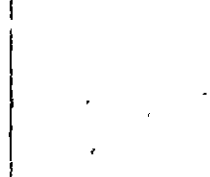
(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)



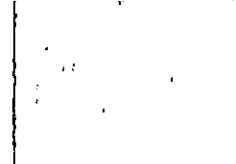
(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

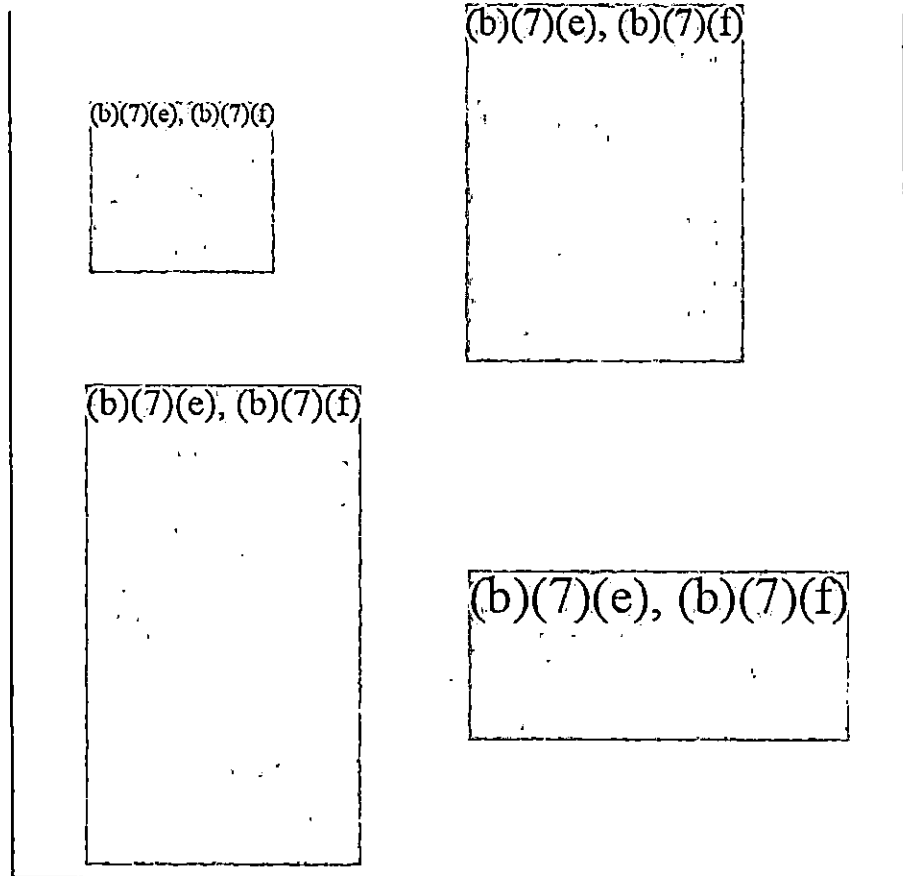


(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)



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





(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Crenshaw and Slauson Streets, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 8:15 am for transport to Mount Zion Baptist Church.

7:05 am

THE PRESIDENT arrives Crenshaw and Slauson Streets Damage Area.

EVENT: TOUR RIOT DAMAGED AREA

EXPANDED POOL

WALKING TOUR

7:06 am THE PRESIDENT begins participation in Tour of Riot Damaged Area.

8:20 am THE PRESIDENT concludes Tour, boards Motorcade and departs Crenshaw and Slauson Streets Damage Area en route Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 10:15 am for transport to Ronald Reagan State Office Building.

8:30 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church and proceeds to Congregation Hall.

Met by:

Pastor Edward V. "E.V." Hill
Pastor, Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church

EVENT: MOUNT ZION MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH PRAYER SERVICE

EXPANDED POOL

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

FOR: ROSE ZAMARIA

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY

The President's *unpublished* schedule for

5/6

PRAYER SERVICE

BRIEF REMARKS

8:32 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Congregation Hall, proceeds to seat and begins participation in Prayer Service.

8:50 am THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Brief Remarks by Pastor Edward V. "E.V." Hill, Pastor, Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church.

8:51 am THE PRESIDENT gives Brief Remarks.

8:57 am THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks and returns to Seat.

9:05 am THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Prayer Service, departs Congregation Hall and proceeds to Holding Room.

9:11 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

9:13 am THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Meeting Room.

EVENT: NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY MEETING

POOL COVERAGE

9:15 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Meeting Room and begins participation in Community Leaders Meeting.

10:15 am THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting, departs Meeting Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

10:20 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church en route Ronald Reagan State Office Building.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Ronald Reagan State Office Building, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Holding Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 12:00 pm for transport to Westin Bonaventure Hotel.

10:40 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Ronald Reagan State Office Building and proceeds to 16th Floor.

10:45 am THE PRESIDENT arrives 16th Floor and proceeds to Governor's Office.

EVENT: MEETING WITH STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

PHOTO OPPORTUNITY (At Beginning Only)

10:50 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Governor's Office and begins participation in Meeting.

12:00 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting, departs 16th Floor and proceeds to Motorcade.

12:05 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Ronald Reagan State Office Building en route Westin Bonaventure Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Please board Motorcade no later than
1:45 pm for transport to Radio Korea
Broadcast Studio.

12:10 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Westin Bonaventure Hotel and proceeds to Suite.

12:15 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Suite for Private Time.

(PRIVATE TIME: 25 MINUTES)

12:40 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Suite and proceeds to Luncheon Meeting Room.

EVENT: WORKING LUNCHEON

12:45 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Luncheon Meeting Room and begins participation in Working Lunch.

1:45 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Working Lunch, departs Luncheon Meeting Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

1:50 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Westin Bonaventure Hotel en route Radio Korea Broadcast Studio.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Radio Korea Broadcast Studio, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Holding Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 2:45 pm for transport to Westin Bonaventure Hotel.

2:00 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Radio Korea Broadcast Studio and proceeds to Meeting Room.

EVENT: MEETING WITH KOREAN COMMUNITY LEADERS

POOL COVERAGE

2:05 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Meeting Room and begins participation in Korean Community Meeting.

3:15 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting, departs Meeting Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

Page Twelve

3:20 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Radio Korea Broadcast Studio en route Westin Bonaventure Hotel.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

3:30 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Westin Bonaventure Hotel and proceeds to Suite.

3:35 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Suite for Private Time.

(PRIVATE TIME: 25 MINUTES)

4:00 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Suite and proceeds to Hispanic Meeting Room.

EVENT: HISPANIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MEETING

POOL COVERAGE

4:05 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Hispanic Meeting Room and begins participation in Meeting.

5:25 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting, departs Hispanic Meeting Room and proceeds to Task Force Meeting Room.

EVENT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE

CLOSED PRESS

5:30 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Task Force Meeting Room and
 begins participation in Meeting.

6:45 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting,
 departs Task Force Meeting Room and proceeds to
 Suite.

6:50 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Suite for RON.
 RON Los Angeles, California

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Friday, May 8, 1992

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

5:00 am Baggage Call. Please leave all unlocked baggage outside of room at this time.

Guests and Staff should board Motorcade no later than 7:10 am for transport to Los Angeles Fire Station #26.

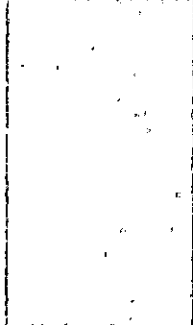
Guests and Staff not attending morning events should board vans at Westin Bonaventure Hotel no later than 9:00 am for transport to Los Angeles International Airport.

7:10 am THE PRESIDENT departs Suite and proceeds to Motorcade.

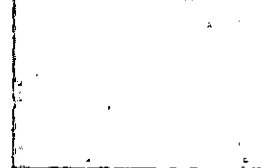
7:15 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Westin Bonaventure Hotel en route Los Angeles Fire Station #26.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

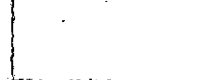
(b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)



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



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



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

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

(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)

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

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

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

(Drive Time: 15 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Los Angeles Fire Station #26, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 8:10 am for transport to Los Angeles Coliseum.

7:30 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Los Angeles Fire Station #26 and proceeds Engine Room Floor.

EVENT: VISIT WITH AREA FIRE FIGHTERS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL

EXPANDED POOL

INFORMAL DISCUSSION

BRIEF REMARKS

TOAST LECTERN

7:35 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Engine Room Floor and begins participation Informal Discussion with Fire Fighters.

8:00 am THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Informal Discussion and proceeds to Toast Lectern.

8:01 am THE PRESIDENT gives Brief Remarks.

8:10 am THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks, departs Engine Room Floor and proceeds to Motorcade.

8:15 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Los Angeles Fire Station #26 en route Los Angeles Coliseum.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENT:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Los Angeles Coliseum,
Guests and Staff will be escorted
to Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than
9:15 am for transport to Challenger
Boy's and Girl's Club.

8:20 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Los Angeles Coliseum and
proceeds to Staging Area.

EVENT: VISIT WITH MILITARY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL

EXPANDED POOL

BRIEF REMARKS

TOAST LECTERN

8:25 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Staging Area and begins
participation in Greeting with Military and Law
Enforcement Personnel.

9:00 am THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Greeting
and proceeds to Toast Lectern.

9:05 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Toast Lectern and gives
Brief Remarks.

9:15 am THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks, departs
Staging Area and proceeds to Motorcade.

9:20 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Los Angeles Coliseum en route Challenger Boy's and Girl's Club, South Central Los Angeles.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 5 Minutes)

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Challenger Boy's and Girl's Club, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than 9:45 am for transport to Los Angeles International Airport.

9:25 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Challenger Boy's And Girl's Club and proceeds to Holding Room.

9:28 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

9:29 am THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area.

9:30 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

EVENT: ADDRESS LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY GROUPS

OPEN PRESS

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

BRIEF REMARKS

9:32 am THE PRESIDENT is announced into Gymnasium and proceeds to Seat in bleachers.

9:35 am THE PRESIDENT is introduces for Brief Remarks by The Honorable Pete Wilson, Governor, California.

9:38 am THE PRESIDENT gives Brief Remarks.

9:47 am THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks, departs Gymnasium and proceeds to Motorcade.

9:50 am THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Challenger Boy's and Girl's Club en route Los Angeles International Airport.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

10:15 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Los Angeles International Airport and proceeds to board Air Force One.

Met by:

Daily Point of Light Greeters:

Mr. and Mrs. Gary Perreira (Janet)
Volunteer Coordinator, Bureau of Land Management
and 221st Daily Point of Light

Mr. and Mrs. Simon Fox (Karen)
Founder (Karen) and Executive Director (Simon),
Love Yourself Foundation and 407th Daily Point of
Light

Ms. Jan Ryan
Coordinator, Chemical Awareness Network and 474th
Daily Point of Light

Ms. Shirley Jermane
Community Service Chairman and Volunteer Tutor,
Brandeis University National Women's Committee,
Desert Chapter and 717th Daily Point of Light

Ms. Cookie Dexter
President-Elect and Volunteer Tutor, Brandeis
University National Women's Committee, Desert
Chapter and 717th Daily Point of Light

Mr. Rocky Leitzell
Executive Director and former Pyles camper, R.M.
Pyles Boys Camp and 722nd Daily Point of Light

Mr. Richard Robison
Volunteer and former camper, R.M. Pyles Boys Camp
and 722nd Daily Point of Light

Ms. Doris Tate
Victim's Rights Volunteer and 738th Daily Point of
Light

Ms. Patty Tate Ford
Victim's Rights Volunteer and 738th Daily Point of
Light

Ms. Deborah Tate Mussenden
Victim's Rights Volunteer and 738th Daily Point of
Light

Mr. and Mrs. Malvern Williams (Rosemarie)
Volunteer, Association of Retarded Citizens and
761st Daily Point of Light

10:25 am
(P.D.T)

THE PRESIDENT departs Los Angeles International
Airport en route Andrews Air Force Base.

(Flight Time: 4 Hours 20 Minutes)
(Time Change: Ahead 3 Hours)
(Interchange: No)
(Food Service: Cont. Breakfast/Lunch)
Page Twenty-One

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Los Angeles, California; redaction. (1 pp.)	05/08/92	(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: Wednesday, May 6, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 8/28/2024	OA/ID Number: 90677-002
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)]

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]

(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

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

~~PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.~~

5:45 pm
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Andrews Air Force Base and proceeds to board Marine One.

5:55 pm

THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base en route White House.

MARINE ONE MANIFEST:

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

(Flying Time: 10 Minutes)

6:05 pm

THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.

WHITE HOUSE ROOM LIST
FOR
LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA
MAY 6 - 8, 1992

OFFICE	HOTEL	ROOM	DROP
Staff Office	WestinBonaventure	3018	31220
Senior Staff Office	Westin	3124	31281
Senior Staff Lounge	Westin	3122	31281
USSS Command Post	Westin	2818	31238
Press Advance	Westin	3020	31224
Press Office	Westin	San Pedro	31228
Press Secretary's Office	Westin	La Brea	31227
Press Filing Center	Westin	San Gabriel	31225
WHCA Office	Westin	2908	31240
WHCA Comm. Center	Westin	3008	31242
Driver Down Room	Westin	2968	31269
Security Room	Westin	3118	31308
Task Force Office	Westin	3158	

LAST NAME	FIRST	HOTEL	ROOM	DROP
AGENA	RAMONA	WESTIN	3051	
BABAROVIC	GREG	WESTIN	2404	
BAUTISTA	MANOLITO	WESTIN	3120	
BIDDLE	SUSAN	WESTIN	3140	
BRADY	PHIL	WESTIN	3038	
BUSCH	MICHAEL	WESTIN	3077	
DEMAREST	DAVID	WESTIN	3145	31323
DREYLINGER	JOHN	WESTIN	2014	
FARISH	BILL	WESTIN	3102	31325
FARSON	MIKE	CROWN STERLING		
FASSETT	SCOTT	WESTIN	2208	
FERNANDEZ	RAMON	WESTIN	3160	
FINLEY	CAMERON	WESTIN	3117	
FITZWATER	MARLIN	WESTIN	3030	31332
FONG	CLAYTON	WESTIN	3157	
FRILLES	ORLANDO	WESTIN	3120	
GANNON	KELLEY	WESTIN	2813	
GYWN	ROBERT	WESTIN	3060	
HALLSMITH	WILLA	WESTIN	3021	
HAWES	THOMAS	WESTIN	3057	
HERRICK	JOHN	WESTIN	3080	31334
HOLIDAY	EDE	WESTIN	3022	31345
HOWE	JONATHAN	WESTIN	3174	31315
HYDE	KRISTEN	WESTIN	3002	
JACKSON	ARNOLD	WESTIN	2311	

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. List	White House Room List for Los Angeles, California; redaction. (1 pp.)	May 1992	(b)(7)(c)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, May 6, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 8/28/2024	OA/ID Number: 90677-002
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:

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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

LAST NAME	FIRST	HOTEL	ROOM	DROP
JENKINS	GREG	WESTIN	2208	
JUSTICE	WAYNE	WESTIN	3101	31381
KEMP	JACK	WESTIN	3150	
LEE	BURTON	WESTIN	3114	31384
LUKENS	MEL	WESTIN	3121	
MACKENZIE	DOUG	WESTIN	2759	
MARSHALL	MEGAN	WESTIN	2106	
MARTIN	CHRISTINA	WESTIN	3147	
MCBRIDE	TIM	WESTIN	3125	31311
MCDOUGLE	JACK	WESTIN	2305	
MCGROARTY	DAN	WESTIN	3042	
MILLER	DAVE	WESTIN	2914	
MILLER	RICH	WESTIN	2933	31361
MOORE	HENSON	WESTIN	3134	31313
MURNANE	ED	WESTIN	3141	31322
(b)(7)(c)				
PAINE	MARTIN	WESTIN	2726	
PETERSMEYER	GREGG	WESTIN	3050	
PICKART	CLAIRE	WESTIN	3046	
PORTER	ROGER	WESTIN	3047	
RATHMELL	RICHARD	WESTIN	3113	31362
ROLLINS	SHERRIE	WESTIN	3173	
SAIKI	PATRICIA	WESTIN	3052	
SHEBUSKI - TOLTON	ELLEN	WESTIN	2158	31385
SIMONSON	TIM	WESTIN	2005	
SINISCALCHI	KIM	WESTIN	3127	
SKINNER	SAMUEL	WESTIN	3177	31312
SMITH	DORRANCE	WESTIN	3137	31331
SMITH	JUDY	WESTIN	3154	31333
SNYDER	JIM	WESTIN	3161	
SOBICH	PETER	WESTIN	3061	
STEVINSON	PAUL	WESTIN	2206	
SULLIVAN	LOUIS	WESTIN	3130	
THOMPSON	BETH	WESTIN	3043	
TOMCZAK	WALT	CROWN STERLING		
VALDEZ	DAVE	WESTIN	3074	
VINCENT	ROB	WESTIN	2913	
WALKER	WILLIAM	WESTIN	3160	
WALSH	SEAN	WESTIN	3073	
WISSLER	JOHN	WESTIN	3040	31382
YOUNG	PHIL	WESTIN	3053	

Los Angeles, California
May 6-8, 1992

Wednesday, May 6, 1992

6:00 pm Boards Marine I and dep. Camp David
en route Andrews AFB
6:35 pm Arr. Andrews AFB and proceeds to
(E.D.T.) board Air Force I
8:45 pm Arr. Los Angeles International
(P.D.T.) Airport and proceeds to Toast
Lectern
EVENT: ARRIVAL STATEMENT
8:50 pm BRIEF REMARKS
9:00 pm Concludes Brief Remarks
and proceeds to Remote Terminal
Conference Room
EVENT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE
9:10 pm Arr. Remote Terminal Conference
Room and begins participation
in Meeting
9:40 pm Concludes Meeting, dep. Remote
Terminal Conference Room and
proceeds to Motorcade
9:45 pm Boards Motorcade and dep. Los
Angeles International Airport
en route Westin Bonaventure Hotel
10:20 pm Arr. Westin Bonaventure Hotel and
proceeds to Suite
10:25 pm Arr. Suite for RON

RON Los Angeles, California

Thursday, May 7, 1992

6:40 am Dep. Suite and proceeds to
Motorcade
6:45 am Boards Motorcade and dep.
Westin Bonaventure Hotel en route
Crenshaw & Slauson Streets Damage
Area
7:05 am Arr. Crenshaw and Slauson Streets
Damage Area
EVENT: TOUR RIOT DAMAGED AREA
7:06 am Begins participation in Tour of
Riot Damaged Area

8:20 am Concludes Tour, boards Motorcade and dep. Crenshaw and Slauson Streets Damage Area en route Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church

8:30 am Arr. Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church and proceeds to Congregation Hall

EVENT: MOUNT ZION MISSIONARY BAPTIST CHURCH PRAYER SERVICE

8:32 am Arr. Congregation Hall, proceeds to Seat and begins participation in Prayer Service

8:50 am Introduced for Brief Remarks by Pastor Edward V. "E.V." Hill, Pastor, Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church

8:51 am BRIEF REMARKS

8:57 am Concludes Brief Remarks and returns to Seat

9:05 am Concludes participation in Prayer Service, dep. Congregation Hall and proceeds to Holding Room

9:11 am Arr. Holding Room and holds briefly

9:13 am Dep. Holding Room and proceeds to Meeting Room

EVENT: NEIGHBORHOOD COMMUNITY MEETING

9:15 am Arr. Meeting Room and begins participation in Meeting

10:15 am Concludes participation in Meeting, dep. Meeting Room, and proceeds to Motorcade

10:20 am Boards Motorcade and dep. Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church en route Ronald Reagan State Office Building

10:40 am Arr. Ronald Reagan State Office Building and proceeds to 16th Floor

10:45 am Arr. 16th Floor and proceeds to Governor's Office

EVENT: MEETING WITH STATE AND LOCAL OFFICIALS

10:50 am Arr. Governor's Office and begins participation in Meeting

12:00 pm Concludes participation in Meeting, dep. 16th Floor and proceeds to Motorcade

12:05 pm Boards Motorcade and dep. Ronald Reagan State Office Building en route Westin Bonaventure Hotel

12:10 pm Arr. Westin Bonaventure Hotel and proceeds to Suite

12:15 pm Arr. Suite for Private Time

PRIVATE TIME: 25 MINUTES

12:40 pm Dep. Suite and proceed to Luncheon Meeting Room

EVENT: WORKING LUNCHEON

12:45 pm Arr. Luncheon Meeting Room and begins participation in Working Lunch

1:45 pm Concludes participation in Working Lunch, dep. Luncheon Meeting Room and proceeds to Motorcade

1:50 pm Boards Motorcade and dep. Westin Bonaventure Hotel en route Radio Korea Broadcast Studio

2:00 pm Arr. Radio Korea Broadcast Studio and proceeds to Meeting Room

EVENT: MEETING WITH KOREAN COMMUNITY LEADERS

2:05 pm Arr. Meeting Room and begins participation in Korean Community Meeting

3:15 pm Concludes participation in Meeting, dep. Meeting Room and proceeds to Motorcade.

3:20 pm Boards Motorcade and dep. Radio Korea Broadcast Studio en route Westin Bonaventure Hotel

3:30 pm Arr. Westin Bonaventure Hotel and proceeds to Suite

3:35 pm Arr. Suite for Private Time

PRIVATE TIME: 25 MINUTES

4:00 pm Dep. Suite and proceeds to Hispanic Meeting Room

EVENT: HISPANIC ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT MEETING

4:05 pm Arr. Hispanic Meeting Room and begins participation in Meeting

5:25 pm Concludes participation in Meeting, dep. Hispanic Meeting Room and proceeds to Task Force Meeting Room

EVENT: MEETING WITH PRESIDENTIAL TASK FORCE

5:30 pm Arr. Task Force Meeting Room and begins participation in Meeting

6:45 pm Concludes participation in Meeting, dep. Task Force Meeting Room and proceeds to Suite

6:50 pm Arr. Suite for RON

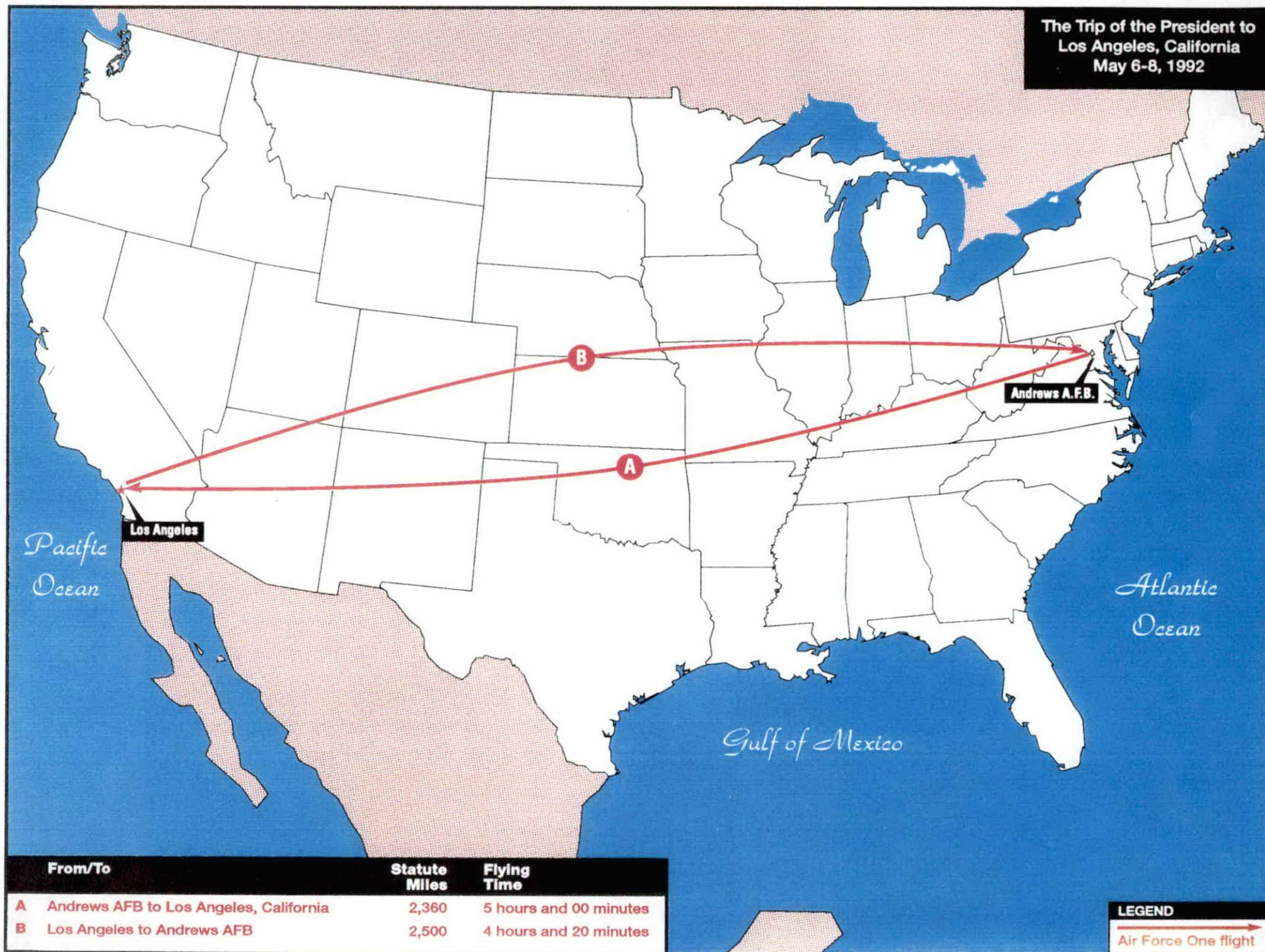
RON Los Angeles, California

Friday, May 8, 1992

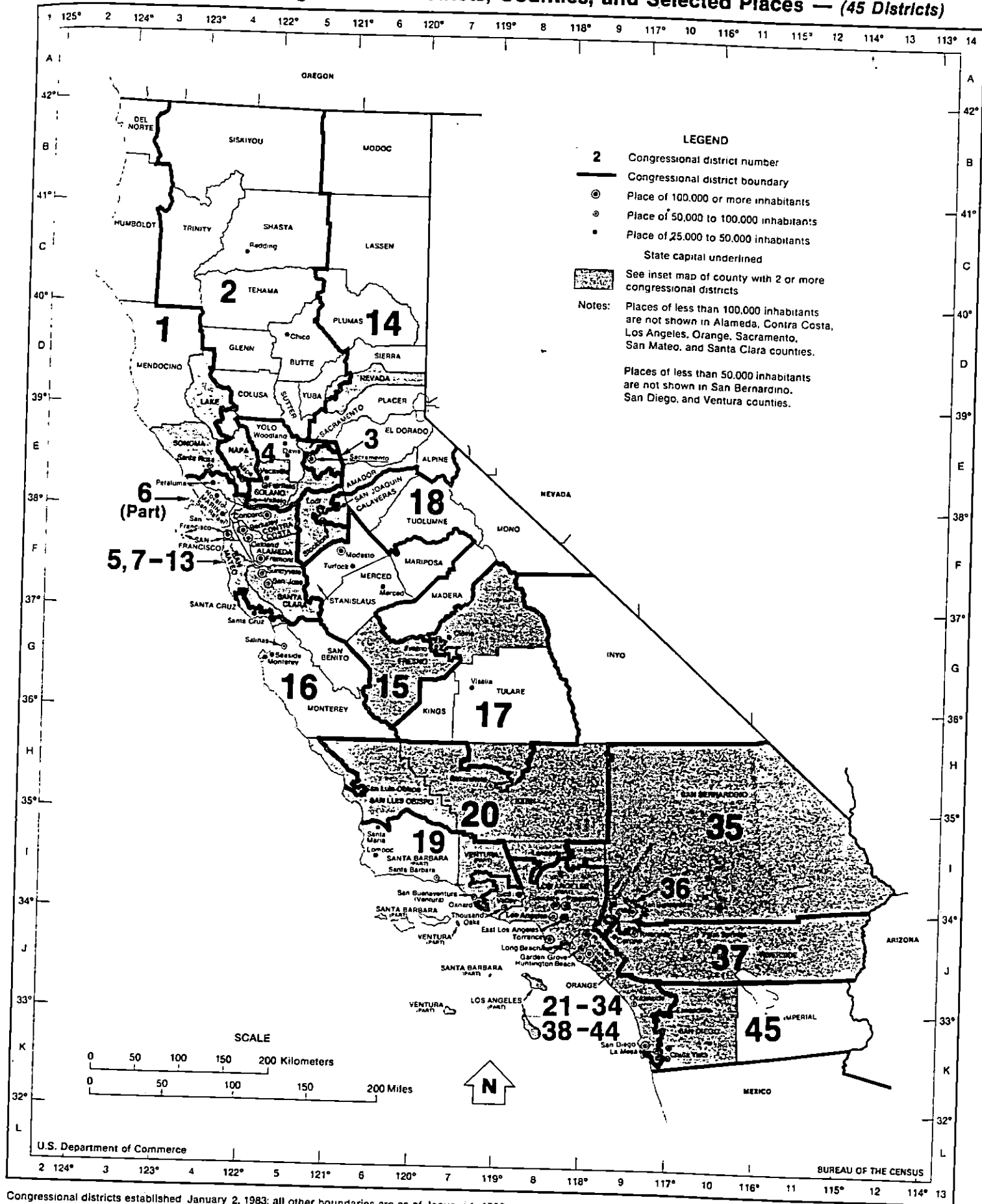
7:10 am Dep. Suite and proceeds to Motorcade
7:15 am Boards Motorcade and dep. Westin
Bonaventure Hotel en route Los Angeles
Fire Station #26
7:30 am Arr. Los Angeles Fire Station #26
and proceeds Engine Room Floor
EVENT: VISIT WITH AREA FIRE FIGHTERS AND LAW
ENFORCEMENT PERSONNEL
7:35 am Arr. Engine Room Floor and begins
participation in Informal Discussion
with Fire Fighters
8:00 am Concludes participation in Informal
Discussion and proceeds to Toast Lectern
8:01 am BRIEF REMARKS
8:10 am Concludes Brief Remarks, dep. Engine Room
Floor and proceeds to Motorcade
8:15 am Boards Motorcade and dep. Los Angeles Fire
Station #26 en route Los Angeles Coliseum
8:20 am Arr. Los Angeles Coliseum and proceeds
to Staging Area
EVENT: VISIT WITH MILITARY AND LAW ENFORCEMENT
PERSONNEL
8:25 am Arr. Staging Area and begins participation
in Greeting with Military and Law Enforcement
Personnel
9:00 am Concludes participation in Greeting and
proceeds to Toast Lectern
9:05 am BRIEF REMARKS
9:15 am Concludes Brief Remarks, dep. Staging
Area and proceeds to Motorcade
9:20 am Boards Motorcade and dep. Los Angeles
Coliseum en route Challenger Boy's and
Girl's Club, South Central Los Angeles
9:25 am Arr. Challenger Boy's and Girl's Club
and proceeds to Holding Room
9:28 am Arr. Holding Room and holds briefly
9:29 am Dep. Holding Room and proceeds to
Off-Stage Announcement Area
9:30 am Arr. Off-Stage Announcement Area
and holds briefly
EVENT: ADDRESS LOS ANGELES COMMUNITY GROUPS
9:32 am Announced into Gymnasium and proceeds
to Seat in bleachers

9:35 am Introduced for Brief Remarks by Gov.
Pete Wilson
9:38 am BRIEF REMARKS
9:47 am Concludes Brief Remarks, dep. Gymnasium
and proceeds to Motorcade
9:50 am Boards Motorcade and dep. Challenger Boy's
and Girl's Club en route Los Angeles
International Airport
10:15 am Arr. Los Angeles International
Airport and proceeds to board Air Force I
10:25 am Dep. Los Angeles International Airport
(P.D.T.) en route Andrews AFB
5:45 pm Arr. Andrews AFB and proceeds to board
Marine One
6:05 pm Dep. Andrews AFB en route White House
6:15 pm Arr. White House

**The Trip of the President to
Los Angeles, California
May 6-8, 1992**



CALIFORNIA — Congressional Districts, Counties, and Selected Places — (45 Districts)



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEETING WITH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS IN LOS ANGELES

DATE: May 6, 1992
LOCATION: Remote Facility Terminal, LAX
TIME: 9:10 p.m.
FROM: EDE HOLIDAY 

I. PURPOSE

To meet with the group of Administration officials who have been sent to Los Angeles to help coordinate federal efforts in the aftermath of last week's riots.

II. BACKGROUND

On Monday, you designated Deputy Secretary of Education David Kearns and Deputy Secretary of HUD Al Dellibovi to lead a group of subcabinet officials to Los Angeles to help coordinate the federal response to the riots. This team has met with a number of regional federal officials who are in Los Angeles to assist in this effort.

Since arriving in Los Angeles, the group has met with Governor Wilson, Mayor Bradley, and Peter Ueberroth. They have also had regular discussions with other state, local, and county officials. Wilson and Bradley will join you for this meeting.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Governor Wilson
Mayor Bradley
Deputy Secretary Kearns
Deputy Secretary Dellibovi
Other members of the Federal delegation in Los Angeles
(see attached list)
Dan Lungren, California Attorney General
John Ferraro, President, L.A. City Council
Deane Dana, Chairman L.A. County Board of Supervisors

IV. PRESS PLAN

Pool press at the beginning of meeting.

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

- Meeting participants will be assembled in airport meeting room.
- You will enter the room with the Governor, the Mayor and other California officials, and be seated at the table.
- After the press departs, you will make brief opening remarks.
- Following your remarks, David Kearns will lead a briefing for you on the situation in Los Angeles.
- At the conclusion of the meeting, you depart LAX airport.

VI. REMARKS

Talking points attached.

FEDERAL GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL IN THE LOS ANGELES AREA

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE

Ann Veneman, Deputy Secretary
Sharon Levinson, Regional Administrator

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE

Rock Schnabel, Deputy Secretary
Joe Lira, Director, Minority Business Development
Maggie Faulkner
Charles Oaks
Stephen Arlinghaus, L.A. District Director

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

David Kearns, Deputy Secretary
Wade Dyke
Vada Hill
Etta Fielek

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

Arnold Tompkins, Assistant Secretary
Sharon Levinson, Regional Administrator

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

Al DelliBovi, Deputy Secretary
Arthur Hill, Assistant Secretary, Federal Housing Authority
Dave Caprara, Deputy Assistant Secretary, Office of Residential Initiative
Eric Amig, Special Assistant to the Deputy Secretary

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Bob Muller, Assistant Attorney General
Lourdes Baird

DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Del Spurlock, Deputy Secretary
Bryan Reilty
Felix Contreras

OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET

Bob Grady, Deputy Director

THE WHITE HOUSE

Jay Lefkowitz, Cabinet Affairs
Gretchen Pagel, National Service

FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT ADMINISTRATION

Bill Medigovich, Regional Administrator
Roy Kite

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION

Oscar Wright, Regional Administrator
Steve Waddell

OFFICE OF PERSONNEL MANAGEMENT

Linda Peterson, Regional Administrator

TALKING POINTS
MEETING WITH ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS
LOS ANGELES, MAY 7 -- 9:10 PM

- I wanted to meet with you this evening to get an update on what you have learned in the few days you've spent here.
- I'm delighted that Governor Wilson, Mayor Bradley, Dan Lungren, the State Attorney General, John Ferraro, President of the L.A. City Council, and Deane Dana, Chairman of the L.A. County Board of Supervisors could join us because I know how closely you have been working with them throughout this week.

2

- I'm anxious to hear from you, but before we begin, I wanted to personally recognize the tremendous contribution made by our law enforcement officials along with the federal troops in restoring a sense of order to Los Angeles.
- I should also mention that the people from FEMA and SBA have done a particularly outstanding job in responding to a disaster that presented extraordinary challenges. Everyone is grateful for your efforts.

- Of course, this is a genuine, government-wide team effort. Both the Governor and the Mayor have told me about the first-rate job you have all done, especially under the difficult circumstances we are confronting.
- I asked David and Al to lead a delegation of Administration people out to Los Angeles so that we could be as responsive as possible to the citizens of the city and to the state, county, and local governments that serve them.

- Everyone in this room realizes that we are just at the beginning of what will be a long process of restoring the communities and neighborhoods of this city. Helping to fix the problems here will continue to occupy us for many weeks and months ahead.
- Your presence here this week sent the right message: this Administration stands ready to work with the community, the private sector, and every level of government to make sure that we are providing assistance to the people whose lives have been disrupted by violence and looting.

- Once again, thanks to all of you. We have more work to do, but I believe we are moving swiftly in the right direction.
- Now let me turn to David and Al to give me a run-down of what you have learned.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 5, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: SHERRIE ROLLINS

FROM: BOBBIE KILBERG BK
CLIFF ALDERMAN CA

SUBJECT: CALIFORNIA

NOTE: This memorandum follows our normal format and does not focus in great detail on the civil unrest in California following the acquittal of the Los Angeles police officers involved in the Rodney King beating. It is our understanding that Roger Porter will provide you with a comprehensive fact sheet on the Administration's response to the Los Angeles crisis.

I. Recent Correspondence

Governor Wilson contacted you on the following topics:

- o Urging you to reject the proposal to extend to wine eligibility for special duty-free entry under the Generalized System of Preference (GSP).
- o Urging Secretary Brady's enactment of a permanent solution to the Department of the Treasury's Section 861-8 allocations rules for Research and Development (R&D), which are currently under a moratorium to prevent their implementation. Wilson feels that in the current climate of declining defense spending and renewed attention to our global competitiveness, the United States needs strong, stable federal policies to encourage private sector R&D activities.
- o Calling for your support for H.R. 2806, legislation to establish a state-oriented earthquake hazard reduction program and a pre-funded insurance program making earthquake insurance available.

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PAGE TWO

- o Asking for your support for locating the National Science Foundation's Material Research Laboratory at the University of California.

Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn wrote requesting that you direct U.S. Navy construction battalions stationed at Fort Heuneme to assist with the clean up of area affected by the recent riots.

Several California elected officials have contacted you regarding the upcoming "Earth Summit." Lt. Governor Leo McCarthy wrote urging you to support and participate in the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Brazil. Mayor Don Lane, Santa Cruz, forwarded a Santa Cruz City Council resolution calling on you to attend the Conference. Also, Judge Robert Coats, Municipal Court of the San Diego Judicial District, wrote urging you to attend.

Mayor Rosalie Sher, Hawaiian Gardens, wrote urging you to approve loan guarantees for Israel.

The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors notified you that they have formally gone on record in opposition to proposed reductions in the Nation's Reserve and National Guard forces.

Hal Conklin, President of the League of California Cities, wrote urging the immediate publication of EPA's proposed Interim Municipal Settlement Strategy for solid waste disposal which would cap the liability of municipalities. Conklin feels that if adopted, the draft guidance would go far in relieving cities from the heavy burden of Superfund liability.

Mayor C.R. "Bob" Holmes, Manhattan Beach, wrote in opposition to the planned relocation of the U.S.S. Missouri from its current home port in Long Beach, California, to Bremerton, Washington, for storage.

II. Discussion

A. Los Angeles Rioting

Greater Los Angeles suffered from several days of rioting, looting, and killings following the jury acquittal of four Los Angeles police officers involved in the Rodney King beating. This action also sparked rioting in several cities across the country.

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PAGE THREE

Key actions and events relating to the rioting include the following:

- o As of May 5, 58 people have been killed; over 1,000 injured; and over 9,000 arrested as a result of the rioting which commenced on April 29. The recent civil unrest is considered worse than the Watts riots of 1965. Currently, damage estimates are nearing \$1 billion.
- o In consultation with Governor Wilson and Mayor Bradley, you ordered the Department of Justice to dispatch 1,000 federal riot-trained law enforcement officials to help restore order in Los Angeles and another 1,000 federal law enforcement officials on standby alert. You also directed 3,000 members of the 7th Infantry and 1,500 marines to stand by at El Toro Air Station. You also federalized the National Guard and placed all troops under a central command.
- o You declared a major disaster exists in the County of Los Angeles and the City of Los Angeles and ordered Federal aid to supplement state and local recovery efforts in Los Angeles County, affected by fires during the period of civil unrest beginning on April 29, 1992. This assistance can include temporary housing, grants, low-cost loans to cover uninsured property losses, and other programs to help individuals and business owners recover from the effects of the disaster. Federal funding also is available to eligible local governments on a cost-sharing basis for the repair or replacement of public facilities damaged by the fires.

FEMA's statutory authority currently covers only those structures affected by fires, not structures that were only looted. FEMA is working to see whether it can resolve this problem in order to help as many people as possible.

- o On Saturday, May 2, Mayor Bradley announced the appointment of former Baseball Commissioner Peter Ueberroth to oversee private sector efforts to help rebuild areas of Los Angeles destroyed by rioting.
- o As a result of the situation in Los Angeles, the federal civil rights investigation of the Rodney King beating was put into high gear within an hour

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PAGE FOUR

of the verdicts and is being aggressively pursued. Attorney General Barr has been in steady contact with Associate Attorney General Wayne Budd, who is in Los Angeles, and United States Attorney for the Central District of California Lourdes Baird. Federal grand jury activity is underway in Los Angeles, subpoenas have been served, and evidence is being reviewed.

- o On Friday, May 1, you met with Civil Rights leaders to discuss the Los Angeles rioting. Reverend E.V. Hill was the only civil rights leader from California to attend the meeting. Governor Ashcroft, Co-chairman of the Commission on Urban Families, also attended.
- o On Monday, May 4, a delegation of sub-cabinet officials, headed by Education Under Secretary David Kearns, arrived in Los Angeles to coordinate federal assistance efforts.
- o On Friday, May 1, Mayor Raymond Flynn, President of the U.S. Conference of Mayors (USCM), issued a statement calling on you and Congress to "come together in a national action, not just to end the visible riots, but to stem the 'quiet riots' of poverty and injustice in America's cities." Flynn called for the formation of a National Commission on Urban Neglect that will propose concrete actions for enactment in Washington by the end of the year. He totally ignored your establishment earlier this year of the Commission on Urban Families.
- o There have been consistent allegations that much of the rioting was targeted in Korean areas. It is currently estimated that approximately one third of all damage (\$300 million) was sustained by Korean businesses. On Thursday and Friday of last week, the State Department received two telegrams from the American Embassy in Korea expressing Korea's concern regarding looting and rioting targeting Korean citizens. On Friday, the Korean Ambassador to the United States met with Assistant Secretary of State Solomon to discuss this, and on Saturday he met with Mayor Bradley. A delegation of Korean officials are travelling to Los Angeles to help the Korean community.

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PAGE FIVE

- o Senator Art Torres (D) whose district encompasses Koreatown has proposed an increase in the state sales tax to help rebuild Los Angeles areas damaged in the rioting.

B. Community Relations Service

The Justice Department's Community Relations Service (CRS) is implementing its crises response plan for the Los Angeles area. Activities directed at the immediate crisis include deploying CRS conciliation specialists throughout Los Angeles to act as liaisons between civic and community leaders, church groups, elected officials, youth groups, and law enforcement. CRS is continuing to develop lines of communications between these groups, monitor demonstrations and protests, and provide conciliation assistance to local community leaders and law enforcement personnel in an attempt to avoid additional violence.

CRS is now initiating "Operation Rebuild and Repair: Healing the Wounds." In this mission, CRS will attempt to bring together community groups and leaders, law enforcement officials (federal, state and local), and government officials to discuss the issues surrounding the riots in Los Angeles these past few days and to jointly address issues and concerns to build a more cooperative relationship among these groups in the future.

C. Northern California Earthquake

On Saturday, April 25, at 11:06 Pacific Daylight Time, a major earthquake rocked the sparsely populated northern California coast, causing fires and shaking houses off their foundations. Two subsequent similar-magnitude earthquakes occurred on Sunday, April 26, causing as much destruction as the initial magnitude 6.9 (M6.9) earthquake. The worst damage was sustained in Ferndale, about 250 miles north of San Francisco and nearest the epicenter, and in Petrolia, where the Post Office and other buildings burned to the ground. Losses from the earthquakes in the Ferndale area are estimated to be in the \$60 million range.

On May 4, you approved federal disaster assistance for the northern California communities affected by the earthquake and the aftershocks. Immediately after your declaration, FEMA designated Humboldt County eligible for federal funding to supplement the recovery needs of residents and local jurisdictions.

D. Robert Alton Harris Execution

On July 5, 1978, Robert Alton Harris kidnapped and murdered two teenage boys. Less than one year later, he was tried and convicted of those murders and sentenced to death. Almost fourteen years passed between his first appeal, on November 30, 1979, and his execution, on April 21, 1992.

In continuous legal maneuverings, Robert Alton Harris filed ten petitions for writ of habeas corpus in the California Supreme Court, six habeas corpus petitions in the federal courts [including one when he was strapped in the gas chamber] and five appeals to the United States Supreme Court.

California Assembly Republicans plan to introduce legislation to streamline the State's criminal appeals process. In addition, they also plan to ask the State bar to request tougher ethical limitations on members of the Bar who engage in frivolous appeals and for an ethical investigation of the lawyers who represented Harris.

E. Fiscal

After increasing taxes by \$7 billion and slashing spending by the same amount in the last legislative session, California is anticipating a \$9 billion deficit for the fiscal year ending on June 30, 1992.

The general consensus among both Democrats and Republicans is that they will need to balance the budget by cutting spending, not by raising taxes again.

Welfare payments are one of the major causes of the spiraling budget deficit. Welfare reform and revamping the Legislative budget process are Governor Wilson's major priorities this year.

F. Unemployment

California's seasonally adjusted unemployment level for March, 1992, stood at 8.5 percent, an increase of 1 percent over the same period in 1991.

The most current preliminary unemployment figures for Los Angeles show an unemployment rate of 8.6 percent, an increase of 2 percent over the same period in 1991.

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PAGE SEVEN

The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that the overall unemployment rate for blacks in California in 1991 stood at 11.8 percent, and the overall unemployment rate for black teens stood at 32.3 percent.

The unemployment rate for Los Angeles blacks in 1991 was 11.1 percent, and the overall unemployment rate for black teens stood at 27.6 percent.

G. Federal Weed and Seed Program

On April 6, 1992, Attorney General Barr announced that Los Angeles and San Diego, California were selected for grants involving 16 cities under the Weed and Seed initiative. The grants are approximately \$1.1 million each. The Weed and Seed Program is an innovative, comprehensive, and integrated multi-agency approach for controlling and preventing violent crime, drug abuse, and gang activity in the United States.

H. South Coast Clean Air Plan

As a result of high pollution levels, rapid growth and adverse meteorology of the Los Angeles area, the Los Angeles smog problem is so severe (violations of the ozone standard occur 150 days each year, compared to 20 days in New York or Chicago), that attainment of Clean Air Act standards requires extraordinary pollution reductions -- including much cleaner fuels and vehicles than mandated under the Clean Air Act Amendments, severe restrictions on industrial emissions and reformulation of many commercial and consumer products.

Since attainment in Los Angeles is not feasible without practically emission-free motor vehicles, the State of California is mandating progressive delivery of cleaner vehicles and fuels, with introduction of ultra-clean cars and trucks by the end of the century.

The Clean Air Act Amendments call for attainment of the ozone standard by the year 2020, and the attainment of the carbon monoxide standard by the year 2000.

I. Central Valley Water Allocation

On March 5, 1992, you signed into law H.R. 355, the "Reclamation States Emergency Drought Relief Act of 1991." This bill provides, for a period of 10 years, general authority of the Secretary of the Interior to take action in the Western States to protect and

preserve fish and wildlife habitat and assist farmers and urban dwellers in overcoming drought conditions.

In signing this bill, you also announced that Secretary Lujan would make available additional allocations of more than 1 million acre feet of water. This enabled the Bureau of Reclamation to deliver project water to agriculture in the Central Valley without sacrificing any allocations provided for other uses.

Recently, NBC news suggested that you may have given Central Valley farmers more water because of their large campaign contributions to Republicans. There is no truth to this report.

Beginning in February of each year, the Bureau of Reclamation announces in the middle of each month the expected water allocations for the year. This provides farmers with critical information on how much water they will have, which of course is essential for them to plant their crops and to secure financing.

Because the water supply situation in California had improved by heavy February rains, the Bureau of Reclamation was in a position to announce delivery of more water to farmers. The announcement date was moved up in order to help provide the farmers with the new water supply information at the earliest possible date. The announcement provided a little extra security for the farmers livelihood. Two weeks prior, the farmers had been told their Federal water deliveries would be eliminated due to the six-year-old drought.

J. Governor Wilson's Welfare Reform Proposal

Governor Wilson has turned in an estimated one million signatures to qualify his welfare initiative, called the "Taxpayer Protection Act," for the November general election ballot, undercutting efforts by both Assembly and Senate Democrats to adopt alternative welfare reforms of their own.

The Governor's plan projects an estimated savings of \$672 million, about half of which would be in federal matching dollars that would no longer come to California. Features of the plan include grant reductions (welfare grants would initially be cut 10 percent and then another 15 percent for able-bodied recipients who are unable to find work after six months, offset by a small automatic food stamp increase); Cal Learn education incentives; work

incentives; maximum family grants; and teenage pregnancy disincentives.

Wilson's initiative effectively moves the debate over welfare reform from the legislature to the electorate.

K. California 2000

Governor Wilson is supportive of AMERICA 2000 and has indicated his desire to bring California on board with the strategy. However, the Governor has not yet announced a statewide effort due to the enormous size of California and the need to devise a proposal best suited for the State.

Secretary Alexander and Under Secretary Kearns have spent significant time working with Los Angeles education and business leaders to help with their education reform efforts. Secretary Alexander is also working through the Los Angeles Education Alliance for Restructuring Now (LEARN) to better understand how the Department of Education can be of greater assistance to the Los Angeles Community.

L. Outer Continental Shelf

On May 1, 1992, the Department of the Interior's Minerals Management Service (MMS) announced its proposed final Outer Continental Shelf (OCS) leasing program for the 1992-1997 leasing cycle. The program does not include any blocks for leasing off the California coast and does not address when, if at all, California blocks may be included in future planning cycles.

This represents a change from the draft proposal of February, 1991, which included 87 blocks in the Santa Maria Basin and Santa Barbara Channel. They were identified in your OCS announcement of June, 1990 as being potentially available for leasing after 1996 depending on results of additional studies. Your announcement simultaneously placed more than 99 percent of the California OCS under a leasing moratoria until after the year 2000.

Removal of the 87 blocks was recommended by Governor Wilson.

M. California Division Ballot Initiative

Frustrated by last year's state budget problems, and the funding difficulties encountered by rural California counties, State Assemblyman Stan Stathan (R) joined State Senator Barry Keene (D) in sponsoring a proposal to split California into two states. Not wanting to have special interests bankroll an initiative, they decided to ask all county Boards of Supervisors to place two questions on their June ballots: "Should California be divided into two states?" and "If California is divided, would you want your county to be part of Northern California?" Over one-half (31) of California counties will vote on these questions in the June 2 primary.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH: RONALD C. KAUFMAN **RCK**
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT FOR
POLITICAL AFFAIRS

FROM: CATHY HUTCHINSON **CH**
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING

1992 POLITICAL OUTLOOK

1992 will be a very crucial and expensive year politically in California. Many political experts predict that 150 million dollars will be raised and spent by the Republican Party on its many campaigns. In addition to the Presidential election, U.S. Senator John Seymour's seat, U.S. Senator Alan Cranston's open seat, and 52 Congressional seats will all be up for election in 1992. With the sheer number of State Assembly, State Senate, Congressional and U.S. Senate seats open this year, it is certain that the California primary and general election will be brutal.

The BUSH-QUAYLE ticket carried California by a 51% to 47% margin in the 1988 Presidential election. The ballot filing deadline was March 6, 1992 and the primary election is June 2, 1992.

California has a total of 201 delegates (3 from each Congressional District and 45 at large). Governor Pete Wilson filed the slate of delegates to the Secretary of State's office on May 4, 1992. Pat Buchanan has also filed his slate of delegates.

The Los Angeles riots have created an enormous amount of political controversy, and most experts expect this to be a major factor in the June 2nd primary. With Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and other elected officials urging angry Los Angeles residents to vote for a police reform package on the June ballot, many believe the riot might ultimately increase political participation by Blacks. Clinton has attacked the President saying that 12 years of Republican administrations have led to neglect of minorities and cities and it is time again for an activist federal government. Secretary Kemp has criticized Clinton for accusing the Bush administration of practicing divisive racial politics that helped set the stage for the riots.

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE TWO

1992 POLITICAL OUTLOOK CONTINUED

At the California Republican Party Convention on February 29, 1992, the President overwhelmingly won a straw vote over **Pat Buchanan** by a 89% to 11% margin. The California Republican Party decided not to endorse the President before the June primary and suspend the Central Committee rules because of the significant **Buchanan** presence and sake of party unity. **Buchanan** did not have a large percentage of people present at the convention, but his people did organize a rally which heightened his presence.

Buchanan has campaigned in the Sacramento and Orange County areas. His statewide organization consists of mostly anti-environmentalists and Congressman **Bill Dannemeyer's** political supporters. He is expected to campaign up to the June primary and run TV commercials statewide. Since the Rodney King verdict, **Buchanan** has been criticized as racist and not being sympathetic to the needs of minorities in Los Angeles. Most California political operatives see his presence in California as an attempt to fractionalize the GOP by courting the conservatives who are furious with Governor **Wilson** over his tax increase.

Governor **Pete Wilson** has attacked **Buchanan** for being a racist and lacking "real conservative" credentials. **Wilson** believes that **Buchanan** is out of sync with Republican conservatives and that he would fail if he tried to stir up a California primary battle. However, **Buchanan** will be a distraction and diversion for state Republicans who need to stay focused on the fall elections.

Governor **Pete Wilson** will serve as the 1992 Bush-Quayle Chairman for California. Chevron CEO and Team 100 member **Ken Derr** has agreed to be 1992 Bush-Quayle Finance Chairman for Northern California. **John Cronin** has been asked to serve as the 1992 Bush-Quayle Finance Chairman for Southern California.

Katie Boyd, Karl Samuelian, Lod Cook, Howard Leach, George Argyros, David Murdock, Don Bren, Margaret Brock, Yong C. Kim, and Alex Spanos all serve in leadership positions for the 1992 National Bush-Quayle Finance Committee.

The most recent California statewide poll (4/23-26) conducted by the Los Angeles Times is as follows:

President Bush	33%	Jerry Brown	51%
Ross Perot	32%	Bill Clinton	37%
Bill Clinton	26%		
President Bush	72%		
Pat Buchanan	18%		

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE THREE

1992 POLITICAL OUTLOOK CONTINUED

President Bush	49%	Jerry Brown	41%
Bill Clinton	39%	Bill Clinton	28%
		Paul Tsongas	21%
President Bush	48%		
Jerry Brown	43%		

This new Los Angeles Times poll indicates that the President leads all of his potential opponents, however, Perot's strong showing underscores widespread dissatisfaction with both the President and Clinton in this battleground state. A majority of Californians disapprove of the President's job performance and a plurality say Clinton lacks the honesty and integrity to serve as President. Over 4 in 10 likely Perot voters in California hold an unfavorable opinion of both Clinton and the President. Perot attracts about one third of both Democrats and Republicans and a plurality of independents - capturing 39% of those voters to the President's 28% and Clinton's 18%.

The President's approval rating according to this poll is approximately 43%, while 54% of Californians disapprove of the his performance. These numbers have slipped compared to December 1991 when the President's approval rating was 50%-48%.

Despite the President's recent decrease in popularity, one fourth of those Californians who disapprove of the President will vote for him over Clinton in a two way race. These results are directly related to California's stumbling economy, high unemployment, and the decrease in defense industry jobs.

California will have 54 electoral votes in 1992, which will be crucial in the Presidential election. Bringing Asians, Hispanics, and conservatives to our support base will be essential, not only for the President, but for all Republican candidates in 1992. Also, implementation of an extensive absentee voter ballot program will be critical in the 1992 election cycle.

Democratic registration has slipped to its lowest level (48.9%) in 59 years. The Democrat party predicts that registration will drop to 47% by the end of next year because a Democrat has not occupied the White House or the Governor's mansion in 12 years and the Democrats do not have one overriding message. Republican registration is 39.27%.

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE FOUR

U.S. SENATE "A" RACE:

Senator **Cranston** will be retiring in 1992, thus leaving an open, six year seat. Congressman **Tom Campbell** (CA-12, San Mateo), radio and television commentator **Bruce Herchensohn**, and Mayor **Sonny Bono** are the only announced Republicans to date. **Campbell** has the lead in fundraising. He has raised approximately \$3.1 million.

Bono has the highest name ID, but is the least admired candidate at this time. **Campbell** has improved his standing considerably due to his recent statewide media and TV buys which has greatly increased his name ID. The **Campbell-Herchensohn** standoff suggests a fierce battle between the moderate and conservative wings of the California Republican Party.

The most recent Los Angeles Times poll (4/23-26/92) for the Republican candidates is as follows:

	4/92	12/91
Campbell	28%	17%
Herchensohn	23%	21%
Bono	13%	16%
Someone else	1%	2%
Don't know	35%	44%

The announced Democrats running for this seat are Congresswoman **Barbara Boxer** (CA-6, San Francisco), Lieutenant Governor **Leo McCarthy**, and Congressman **Mel Levine** (CA-27, Santa Monica). **Levine** has \$5 million on hand and recently bought \$3.2 million of media statewide. **Levine's** recent barrage of TV commercials has proven to be very successful given his recent increase in the polls and name ID. **Boxer** could benefit greatly from her gender in an election year where women candidates are faring well nationwide. However, her recent involvement in the check bouncing scandal may hurt her early lead.

The most recent Los Angeles Times poll (4/23-26/92) for the Democrat candidates is as follows:

	4/92	12/91
Boxer	26%	21%
McCarthy	24%	39%
Levine	21%	5%
Someone else	-	2%
Don't know	29%	33%

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE FIVE

U.S. SENATE "B" RACE:

Senator John Seymour, Governor Wilson's appointee to serve the remainder of his term, faces a very tough race in 1992. Because the term expires in 1994, this seat will again be up for election that year. Republican Congressman Bill Dannemeyer (CA-39, Orange County) and conservative Bill Allen have announced they will challenge Seymour in the primary election. Dannemeyer has pledged to stay in the race for the duration, and is very serious about his challenge because he feels it is his "moral obligation" to represent the pro-life faction of the party.

The most recent Los Angeles Times poll (4/23-26/92) for Republican candidates is as follows:

	4/92	12/91
Seymour	31%	27%
Dannemeyer	14%	13%
Someone else	5%	4%
Don't know	50%	56%

Seymour will more than likely win the primary election, but will have a tough race in the general election largely due to his low name identification, switches to oppose off-shore drilling and support of pro-choice positions, and lack of a strong message.

Former San Francisco Mayor Dianne Feinstein, State Controller Gray Davis, and Joe Alioto, Jr., son of former Mayor Alioto are the announced Democrats challenging Seymour. The most recent Los Angeles Times poll (4/23-26/92) for the Democrat candidates is as follows:

	4/92	12/91
Feinstein	57%	58%
Davis	29%	29%
Someone else	-	2%
Don't know	14%	11%

Feinstein's lead over Davis is due largely to the high percentage of the women's vote which she expects to receive and her high statewide name ID. Since Alioto just entered the race he was not included in the survey.

This will be the first time a state will have a dual U.S. Senate election since 1978, when it occurred in Alabama and Minnesota.

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING
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REAPPORTIONMENT UPDATE

California gained seven new Congressional seats in 1992. Because Governor Wilson and the California State Legislature did not agree on a redistricting plan, the California Supreme Court became responsible for a fair plan. The Special Masters, a three judge panel (2 Republicans and 1 Democrat) appointed by the State Supreme Court announced their initial redistricting plan on December 2, 1991.

The plan was open to public comment until December 29, 1991. After hearing public testimony, the Supreme Court adopted the Masters Plan in its entirety except for adding a greater percentage of Asian voters in two Los Angeles Assembly districts. The Supreme Court announced their final plan on January 28, 1992.

Overall, the plan overwhelmingly favors Republicans in the State Assembly, State Senate, and U.S. Congressional districts. The following should be competitive races for the Republican Party in 1992: 6 to 8 Congressional seats, 6 State Senate seats, and 12 to 14 Assembly races.

Of the 7 new Congressional seats, 5 lean Republican because most of these seats are located in Republican growth areas. Republicans are expected to gain control of the State Assembly and have at least 26 of the 52 Congressional seats in 1992.

The plan creates numerous minority districts predominately in the Los Angeles area. This plan creates severe incumbent displacement, which will cause some Congressmen to be forced to run against each other. However, this displacement is far greater for Democrats than for Republicans.

Governor Wilson praised the Special Masters Plan for its fairness for both Republicans and Democrats.

1991 SPECIAL ELECTIONS RESULTS

California held special elections on May 14, 1991 and September 17, 1991.

On September 17, 1991, Republicans held onto both Assemblymen Tim Leslie (R-Carmichael) and John Lewis' (R-Orange County) seats, who were elected to the State Senate in the May 14 special election. In Assembly District 5, Republican B.T. Collins defeated Libertarian David McCann and in Assembly District 67, Republican Micky Conroy defeated Democrat Greg Ramsey. Collins

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING
PAGE SEVEN

1991 SPECIAL ELECTIONS RESULTS CONTINUED

was endorsed by Governor Wilson and the RNC contributed \$70,000 to his race during the primary election at the request of Governor Wilson.

On May 14, 1991, Republicans won three special elections. In Senate District 35 (Orange County), Republican Assemblyman **John Lewis** defeated Democrat **Francis Hoffman**. This seat was vacated by the appointment of John Seymour to the U.S. Senate. In Senate District 1 (Sacramento), Republican Assemblyman **Tim Leslie** defeated Democrat **Patti Mattingly**. The seat was previously held by John Doolittle (R), who was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives. In Assembly District 26 (Stockton), Republican **Dean Andal** defeated **Patti Garamandi**. Andal will succeed Patrick Johnston (D) who resigned after being elected to the State Senate.

1990 ELECTION RESULTS

GOVERNOR:

Perhaps the most important victory for Republicans nationwide in 1990 was the election of **Pete Wilson** as Governor of California. A massive GOTV effort combined with a successful TV advertising campaign assisted Wilson in defeating Democrat San Francisco Mayor **Dianne Feinstein**.

ATTORNEY GENERAL:

An important statewide victory for Republicans was RNC Committeeman and former Congressman **Dan Lungren** defeating Democrat incumbent Attorney General **Arlo Smith**. Although Lungren failed to win a majority of the votes cast on election day, his dominance of absentee ballots secured him the victory in this close race. Lungren's victory is evidence of how effective the absentee ballot program was during this election cycle in California.

U.S. CONGRESS:

Republicans had a net gain of one seat last election cycle in the U.S. Congress. Republican **Frank Riggs** defeated Democrat incumbent Congressman **Doug Bosco** (CA-1, Santa Rosa), and Republican **Randy Cunningham** defeated Democrat incumbent Congressman **Jim Bates** (CA-44, San Diego). Republican incumbent Congressman **Chip Pashayan** (CA-17, Fresno) was defeated by Democrat farmer **Cal Dooly**. This was the only Republican seat lost. Currently, the

CALIFORNIA POLITICAL BRIEFING . .
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1990 ELECTION RESULTS CONTINUED

U.S. CONGRESS:

California Congressional ratio is 19 Republicans and 26 Democrats.

BALLOT INITIATIVES:

Proposition 140, which limits the terms of state legislators and constitutional officers was accepted by California voters in 1990. California State Legislators filed a major lawsuit this past February 1991 to do away with this law. The California Supreme Court upheld Proposition 140 in October 1991.

	1	2	3
Alabama			
Heflin	73	26	74
Shelby	69	31	69
Alaska			
Murkowski	89	11	89
Stevens	83	14	86
Arizona			
DeConcini	41	54	43
McCain	86	14	86
Arkansas			
Bumpers	40	59	40
Pryor	19	31	38
California			
Cranston	23	53	31
Seymour	84	14	86
Colorado			
Wirth	36	58	38
Brown	75	23	76
Connecticut			
Dodd	49	49	50
Lieberman	49	46	52
Delaware			
Biden	33	65	34
Roth	83	16	84
Florida			
Graham	47	51	48
Mack	86	14	86
Georgia			
Fowler	44	54	45
Nunn	57	38	60
Hawaii			
Akaka	35	64	35
Inouye	51	47	52
Idaho			
Craig	91	9	91
Symms	91	9	91
Illinois			
Dixon	57	42	58
Simon	32	67	33
Indiana			
Coats	85	15	85
Lugar	93	7	93

	1	2	3
Iowa			
Harkin	19	62	23
Grassley	75	25	75
Kansas			
Dole	96	4	96
Kassebaum	79	20	80
Kentucky			
Ford	57	43	57
McConnell	93	7	93
Louisiana			
Breaux	65	33	66
Johnston	56	43	56
Maine			
Mitchell	35	65	35
Cohen	67	33	67
Maryland			
Mikulski	33	67	33
Sarbanes	30	70	30
Massachusetts			
Kennedy	31	67	32
Kerry	28	72	28
Michigan			
Levin	37	63	37
Riegle	33	67	33
Minnesota			
Wellstone	22	75	23
Durenberger	83	17	83
Mississippi			
Cochran	90	9	91
Leahy	88	10	90
Missouri			
Bond	85	11	88
Danforth	77	16	83
Montana			
Baucus	40	58	41
Burns	89	11	89
Nebraska			
Eaton	52	48	52
Kerry	32	52	38
Nevada			
Bryan	47	53	47
Reid	51	49	51

	1	2	3
New Hampshire			
Rudman	85	15	85
Smith	85	14	86
New Jersey			
Bradley	32	64	33
Lautenberg	31	69	31
New Mexico			
Bingaman	51	48	51
Domenici	93	6	94
New York			
Moynihan	35	65	35
D'Amato	79	21	79
North Carolina			
Sanford	33	65	34
Helms	84	11	88
North Dakota			
Burdick	37	62	38
Conrad	36	63	36
Ohio			
Glenn	41	56	42
Metzenbaum	27	69	28
Oklahoma			
Boren	60	40	60
Nickles	89	9	91
Oregon			
Hatfield	59	40	60
Packwood	68	31	69
Pennsylvania			
Wofford ¹	27	67	29
Specter	68	32	68
Rhode Island			
Pell	32	68	32
Chafee	62	35	64
South Carolina			
Hollings	56	44	56
Thurmond	88	10	90
South Dakota			
Daschle	27	73	27
Pressler	88	12	88
Tennessee			
Gore	46	54	46
Sasser	36	64	36

KEY

Democrats Republicans

	1	2	3
Texas			
Bentsen	56	42	57
Gramm	93	4	96
Utah			
Garn	85	7	92
Hatch	86	7	92
Vermont			
Leahy	28	72	28
Jeffords	54	43	56
Virginia			
Robb	59	41	59
Warner	89	11	89
Washington			
Adams	26	74	26
Gorton	86	14	86
West Virginia			
Byrd	49	51	49
Rockefeller	36	64	36
Wisconsin			
Kohl	41	59	41
Kasten	84	16	84
Wyoming			
Simpson	86	11	89
Wolcott	86	10	90

Presidential Support and Opposition: Senate

1. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 81 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

2. Bush Opposition Score, 1991. Percentage of 81 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

3. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 81 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a senator was present and voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. In this version of the study, absences are not counted; therefore, failures to vote did not lower support or opposition scores. Opposition scores, not listed here, are the inverse of the support score; i.e., the opposition score is equal to 100 percent minus the individual's support score.

¹ Sen. Harris Wofford, D-Pa., was sworn in May 9, 1991, to succeed John Heinz, R, who died in a plane crash April 4, 1991. Heinz was eligible for 19 presidential support votes in 1991. His presidential support score was 79 percent; his opposition score was 21 percent; and his support score, adjusted for absences, was 79 percent in 1991. Wofford was eligible for 60 of the 81 presidential support votes in 1991.

Presidential Support, Presidential Opposition: House

1. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 111 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

2. Bush Opposition Score, 1991. Percentage of 111 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in disagreement with the president's position. Failures to vote lowered both support and opposition scores.

3. Bush Support Score, 1991. Percentage of 111 recorded votes in 1991 on which President Bush took a position and on which a representative was present and voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the president's position. In this version of the study, absences were not counted; therefore, failures to vote did not lower support or opposition scores. Opposition scores, not listed here, are the inverse of the support score; i.e., the opposition score is equal to 100 percent minus the individual's support score.

* Ed Pastor, D-Ariz., was sworn in Oct. 3, 1991, to succeed Morris K. Udall, D, who resigned May 4, 1991. Udall was eligible for 29 presidential support votes in 1991. His presidential support score in 1991 was 0 percent; his opposition score was 100 percent, and his support score, adjusted for absences, was 0 percent in 1991. Pastor was eligible for 33 of the 111 presidential support votes in 1991.

* Thomas W. Ewing, R-Ill., was sworn in July 10, 1991, to succeed Edward Madigan, R, who resigned March 8, 1991, after being appointed secretary of Agriculture. Madigan was eligible for 16 presidential support votes in 1991. His presidential support score was 75 percent; his opposition score was 6 percent; and his support score, adjusted for absences, was 92 percent in 1991. Ewing was eligible for 49 presidential support votes in 1991.

* John Oliver, D-Mass., was sworn in June 18, 1991, to succeed Silvio O. Conte, R, who died Feb. 8, 1991. Conte was eligible for 10 presidential votes in 1991. His presidential support score was 60 percent; his opposition score was 40 percent; and his support score, adjusted for absences, was 60 percent in 1991. Oliver was eligible for 59 presidential votes in 1991.

* Lucien E. Blackwell, D-Pa., was sworn in Nov. 13, 1991, to succeed William H. Gray III, D, who resigned Sept. 11, 1991. Gray was eligible for 73 presidential support votes in 1991. His presidential support score was 23 percent; his opposition score was 56 percent; and his support score, adjusted for absences, was 29 percent in 1991. Blackwell was eligible for 16 presidential support votes in 1991.

* Sam Johnson, R-Texas, was sworn in May 22, 1991, to succeed Steve Bartlett, R, who resigned March 11, 1991. Bartlett was eligible for 16 presidential support votes in 1991. His presidential support score was 94 percent; his opposition score was 6 percent; and his support score, adjusted for absences, was 94 percent in 1991. Johnson was eligible for 76 presidential support votes in 1991.

* George F. Allen, R-Va., was sworn in Nov. 12, 1991, to succeed D. French Slaughter Jr., R, who resigned Nov. 5, 1991. Slaughter was eligible for 94 presidential support votes in 1991. His presidential support score was 68 percent; his opposition score was 12 percent; and his support score adjusted for absences was 85 percent in 1991. Allen was eligible for 16 presidential support votes in 1991.

* Thomas S. Foley, D-Wash., as Speaker of the House, voted at his discretion. Foley was eligible for eight presidential support votes in 1991.

KEY

† Not eligible for all votes or voted "present" to avoid conflict of interest on one or more votes in 1991. Ineligible votes are excluded from calculation of scores.

Democrats Republicans
Independent

	1	2	3
Alabama			
1 Callahan	65	25	72
2 Dickinson	72	23	75
3 Browder	41	58	41
4 Bevil	42	55	44
5 Cramer	38	61	38
6 Erdreich	40	60	40
7 Harris	41	59	41
Alaska			
AL Young	66	26	72
Arizona			
1 Rhodes	82	15	84
2 Pastor †	33	67	33
3 Stump	78	22	78
4 Kyl	81	19	81
5 Kolbe	76	21	79
Arkansas			
1 Alexander	37	54	41
2 Thorton	35	61	36
3 Hammerschmidt	71	19	79
4 Anthony	44	50	47
California			
1 Riggs	72	28	72
2 Heger	68	30	70
3 Matsui	28	60	32
4 Fazio	34	61	36
5 Pelosi	24	69	26
6 Boxer	21	66	24
7 Miller	23	73	24
8 DeLums	25	69	27
9 Stark	24	71	25
10 Edwards	26	71	27
11 Lantos	30	65	31
12 Campbell	61	28	69
13 Mineta	30	68	31
14 Doolittle	73	22	77
15 Condit	36	61	37
16 Panetta	35	64	35
17 Dooley	38	62	38
18 Lehman	38	59	39
19 Lagomarsino	85	14	85
20 Thomas	72	22	77
21 Gallegly	81	18	82
22 Moerhead	82	15	84
23 Berenson	32	66	33
24 Waxman	27	63	30
25 Roybal	29	65	31
26 Berman	32	63	33
27 Levine	18	44	29
28 Duxon	26	66	28
29 Waters	23	70	25
30 Martinez	31	52	37
31 Dymally	21	54	28
32 Anderson	41	59	41
33 Dreier	84	15	85
34 Torres	25	70	26
35 Lewis	81	16	83
36 Brown	38	59	39
37 McCandless	85	14	85
38 Dornan	76	17	82
39 Dannemeyer	71	21	77
40 Cox	77	23	77
41 Lowery	83	17	83

	1	2	3
42 Rohrabacher	70	30	70
43 Packard	83	17	83
44 Cunningham	78	22	78
45 Hunter	80	16	83
Colorado			
1 Schroeder	18	81	18
2 Skaggs	36	63	36
3 Campbell	34	56	38
4 Allard	80	20	80
5 Hefley	71	29	71
6 Schoefer	71	27	72
Connecticut			
1 Kennedy	30	70	30
2 Gejdenson	23	77	23
3 DeLauro	26	72	27
4 Shays	58	42	58
5 Franks	74	24	75
6 Johnson	63	35	64
Delaware			
AL Carper	37	63	37
Florida			
1 Hutto	59	40	60
2 Peterson	37	63	37
3 Bennett	33	67	33
4 James	66	34	66
5 McCollum	76	21	79
6 Stearns	71	29	71
7 Gibbons	41	59	41
8 Young	73	23	76
9 Bilirakis	78	19	81
10 Ireland	81	14	85
11 Bacchus	35	64	35
12 Lewis	73	25	74
13 Goss	86	14	86
14 Johnston	32	64	33
15 Shaw	80	17	82
16 Smith	29	67	30
17 Lehman	26	52	33
18 Ros-Lehtinen	67	32	67
19 Foscett	37	63	37
Georgia			
1 Thomas	51	49	51
2 Hatcher	43	41	51
3 Ray	60	37	62
4 Jones	27	73	27
5 Lewis	22	71	23
6 Gingrich	78	19	81
7 Darden	49	50	49
8 Rowland	50	47	51
9 Jenkins	45	50	47
10 Barnard	60	36	63
Hawaii			
1 Abercrombie	21	78	21
2 Mink	19	77	20
Idaho			
1 LaRocco	41	55	42
2 Stollings	50	47	52
Illinois			
1 Hayes	23	77	23
2 Savage	25	68	27
3 Russo	31	68	31
4 Sangmeister	24	64	28
5 Lipinski	38	59	39
6 Hyde	85	14	86
7 Collins	23	73	24
8 Rostenkowski	36	52	41
9 Yates	23	68	26
10 Porter	67	30	69
11 Annunzio	39	61	39
12 Crane	71	20	78
13 Fawell	75	22	78
14 Hastert	84	14	85
15 Ewing †	86	14	86
16 Cox	28	72	28
17 Evans	15	85	15
18 Michel	81	9	90
19 Bruce	30	70	30
20 Durbin	25	73	26
21 Costello	34	65	35
22 Poshard	30	70	30
Indiana			
1 Visclosky	29	71	29
2 Sharp	28	67	30
3 Roemer	43	56	44



THE PRESIDENT

May 6, 1992

Dear Jan,

Thanks for sending along the information on Al Hopkins and George McElroy -- two fine gentlemen.

I'll keep them both in mind as we struggle to find solutions to the devastating problem in our inner cities. I am leaving tonight for Los Angeles to get a firsthand look at the situation, and will be listening to members of the community for ideas on how we'll begin the work of rebuilding.

Once again, it was good to see you here.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Jan D. Norris
Kwik Kopy Corporation
22-R Town and Country Village
Houston, Texas 77024

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1-cc)

Jan Norris
suggestions for
Blacks who
might be helpful
to you with LA
situation Ref

From the desk of
George Bush

R2

Draft short
letter -
"Keep it in mind." etc



Wright Marketing Communications
Marketing management & advertising
50 Briar Hollow Lane, Suite 300 East
Houston, Texas 77027-9305
713/840-0840
Fax: 713/840-WFAX

To: Robin MacLear (202/456-2397)
& The White House

Job number:

Description:

From: Jan Norris FAX: 713/840-9329

Date/Time: May 5, 1992

Number of pages: 1
(including cover sheet)

Hello , Robin,

Al Hopkins, owner of Hopkins Drug Store in Acres Home, (President Bush spoke in their park regarding drugs two years ago.) worked for President Bush in 1966. He also was past president of the Texas Pharmaceutical Association.

Al has lived in the 4th Ward for over 50 years.

I taught with his first cousin, George McElroy, in the journalism department at the University of Houston.

George is Editor of The Informer, a minority newspaper. He wrote Black History for The Houston Post, is a World War II veteran and his father was a hero in the Spanish-American War.

I trust both of these gentlemen and they are good friends.

Please tell Rose I'll pay the developing costs for my oval office photos with the President.

Sincerely,

JN by MDM
Jan Norris

George McElroy, Editor
PO BOX 3086
HOUSTON TX 77253
713/527-8261

Al Hopkins
& Hopkins Drug Store
7808 MONTGOMERY RD
HOUSTON TX 77088
713/447-3406



THE PRESIDENT

May 6, 1992

Dear Payne:

The Vice President has just given me your thoughtful gift. Not only will my grandchildren love the elephant puppet but it may also come in handy during the campaign.

Thanks so much for your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Payne E. Palmer, III
8319 East Calle de Alegria
Scottsdale, Arizona 85255

Gift delivered by
V.P. 5/5.
Elephant puppet.
Given to V.P. at
political fundraiser
in Arizona.
Friend of V.P.'s.

CC

Rose Zamaria (1 cc)
Nikki Richnow

(Gift Unit -- pls.
return gift to
Rose Zamaria for
the President to
keep)



THE PRESIDENT

May 6, 1992

Dear Tom:

The Vice President has just given me your thoughtful gifts. I love the elephant tie and golf shirts, especially the patriotic one -- thanks so much!

It was good to see you and Jane at the State Dinner for President Weizsaecker. Barbara and I send our best to you both.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Tom Kelley
1819 South Calhoun Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

CC
Rose Zamaria (1c)
Nikki Richnow
Gift Unit --
Please return to
Rose Zamaria for
the President to
keep

Gift delivered by
V.P. on 5/5.
2 golf shirts from
Sycamore Hills Golf
Club- from owner
& 1 elephant tie.
attended State Dinner
w/ V.P. 4/29.

From the desk of
George Bush

5-6-92

1) Give cc of this
to Brent

2) Mail Pictures

Thurs 4 were in

today (BS took the 10 min
differs and followup action)

From the desk of
George Bush

R2

I need

5 send

Picture to each
=

L.A. trip

Called
Monday
10/25
5/16

MIAMI, MAY 6, 1992

HONORABLE PRESIDENT, MR. GEORGE BUSH

As you know, the agreement signed between the late President John Kennedy and the Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Krushchev in October 1962 on the missiles' crisis offered a guarantee to Moscow that the United States would not permit any attack against the dictatorship regime of Fidel Castro from the United States and/or this Continent.

In that accord the right of an enslaved people to fight for their freedom was abolished and our freedom was negotiated through other countries.

Those agreements were ratified once more by President Nixon's administration through the "Highjacking Treaty."

We the Cubans have been denied the right of belligerence in our endeavor for a free Cuba. The right used by other countries such as: the Nicaraguans to fight the Sandinistas; the Angolans to fight the communist troops under Castro's direction; the Mujaldines Afghans to battle the Soviet invaders, etc., etc., etc.....

Cubans deserve equal treatment by the United States.

Cubans have fought for democracy and freedom alongside Americans and as allies in wars involving the United States. And in 33 years of Castro's regime the help that we deserve has always been denied.

We the Cubans in exile as well as our brothers in Cuba want a peaceful transition to democracy. We the Cubans, as well as you Mr. President, hope and pray that there will be no bloodshed in our democratic changes in Cuba. It is He who orders the arrest of human rights activists, who has created the rapid response teams that brutally attack innocent Cubans. It is He who says Socialism or death as the only option for Cuba.

It is for this reason that this campaign, signed by 300,000 Cubans, has evolved. Our desire is the acknowledgement by the United States and the world to recognize the right of the Cuban people to openly fight in its continued struggle for freedom. Unencumbered by restraints previously imposed upon the Cuban people while under a most unfavorable predicament. Neither the Soviet Union nor Fidel Castro ever complied with their obligation not to export revolution to Latin America. In actuality, the supposed termination of the cold war, and the new conditions existing in Russia, do not justify the United States continued honoring of a covenant which protects its worst enemy, contributes to maintain the principal focus of subversion in the hemisphere and which is so contrary to its own tradition as the true defenders of liberty and freedom. The Kennedy-Krushchev pact converts Cuba to a Russian-North American protectorate.

We sincerely hope that you Mr. President comprehend our position as emissaries representing approximately 300,000 Cuban exiles. We also hope that you will give value and political clout which may at this time properly address your numerous Cubans constituents. It is our deepest and sincere aspiration that something positive, long overdue, will result from this historic interview.

ARMANDO PEREZ ROURA
AMANCIO VICTOR SUAREZ

DR. ANDRES VARGAS GOMEZ
DR. ANTONIO MACEO

On the occasion of your good
visit to the White House. Best wishes, C. B. A.

5-6-92

To Dr. Antonio Maceo



The President



To Dr. Andres Borgeas Gomez
I enjoyed your visit to the White House today
With Respect, Aug 13, 1962

May 6, '92



The President



The President



Amancio Victor Suarez

5-6-92

Thanks for a good visit in the White
House Today. Good Luck Ag Bnd

The President



5-6-92

Commando Rener Roura
with Warmest Regards. Your visit to the White
House today was a good one - Cy Paul

MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
May 6, 1992

ACTION

1. Waiver of Jackson-Vanik Amendment for Azerbaijan, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Moldova, Ukraine and Uzbekistan
2. Letter of Congratulations to Chilean President Alywin
3. Presidential Message requested by Nan Ellis for the 50th Anniversary of the Panamerican Agricultural School at El Zamarano
4. Mail Sample
5. Report to Congress on Cyprus

CLASSIFIED

1. Telephone Call from Chancellor Kohl of Germany.
2. Response to Letter from Brazilian President Collor

INFORMATION

1. Holiday Memo Attaching Kearns/Dellibovi Report on Los Angeles
2. Holiday Memo Attaching Report from Pat Saiki on Los Angeles
3. Kaufman Memo re North Carolina, Indiana and D.C. Primary Results

REMARKS

1. Video Scripts for 05/06
2. White House Correspondents Dinner
3. Redraft of ANPA Teleconference
4. Video Scripts for 5/6 - Reading Copy
5. Kravchuk Departure Statement - Cards
6. Arrival Remarks, Los Angeles

7. Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church, Los Angeles
8. Arrival Remarks, Los Angeles -- cards
9. Firefighters breakfast, Los Angeles
10. Military and Law Enforcement remarks, Los Angeles

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers for 05/06
2. Trip Notebook for 05/06, p.m., California
3. Trip Notebook for 05/07, California

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 6, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
THE CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE COMMITTEE
ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

May 6, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. Chairman:)

In accordance with Public Law 95-384 (22 U.S.C. 2373(c)), I am submitting to you this bimonthly report on progress toward a negotiated settlement of the Cyprus question. This report covers January and February and, for the sake of continuity, the first 10 days of March 1992.

As reported in my last letter to you on this subject, we were in contact with the U.N. Cyprus negotiators at the end of 1991 in preparation for the installation on January 1 of the new U.N. Secretary General, Mr. Boutros Ghali. On January 3, the first full U.N. workday in 1992, the U.S. Special Cyprus Coordinator, Nelson Ledsky, consulted in New York with the new Secretary General on how to proceed during Ambassador Ledsky's projected trip to Ankara, Nicosia, and Athens.

Ambassador Ledsky was in the Eastern Mediterranean from January 7 through January 17, and during that time he received assurances from Prime Minister Demirel of Turkey, the leadership of the two Cypriot communities, and Prime Minister Mitsotakis of Greece that the parties were committed to proceed with the U.N.-sponsored settlement process, taking up where it had left off in the late summer of 1991.

By the end of January, the U.N. negotiators had themselves returned to the area and began their first round of consultations in 1992 with the Governments of Greece and Turkey and the leadership of the two Cypriot communities. This round ended without progress when, due to the illness of Turkish Cypriot Leader Rauf Denktash, the Turkish Cypriots were unable to address substantively the issues contained in the Secretary General's "set of ideas" for a Cyprus settlement. Disappointed by this lack of progress, the Secretary General's negotiators returned to New York on February 7.

On February 10, I discussed the Cyprus issue with Prime Minister Demirel during his official visit to Washington. He repeated his assurances that Turkey wanted a Cyprus settlement and would work cooperatively in support of the U.N. Secretary General's good-offices mission in an effort to obtain such a solution. He gave similar assurances directly to Secretary General Boutros Ghali 3 days later in New York.

more

(OVER)

The Secretary General's Cyprus negotiators returned to Ankara on February 17. After meeting with representatives of the Government of Turkey, they expressed concern that Turkey appeared to be placing conditions on the continuation of the negotiation along lines put forward earlier by the Turkish Cypriots. Moreover, these conditions seemed to go beyond the mandate conferred on the Secretary General by the U.N. Security Council as reaffirmed in U.N. Security Council Resolutions 649 (1990) and 716 (1991).

On March 3, Under Secretary of State Arnold Kanter met with Prime Minister Demirel in Ankara. During their discussions of Cyprus, Under Secretary Kanter reiterated the desire of the United States for the success of the U.N. Secretary General's efforts to resolve peacefully, fairly, and permanently the Cyprus problem. Under Secretary Kanter had assured Greek Foreign Minister Samaras of the same commitment in Athens on February 29. Prime Minister Demirel told Under Secretary Kanter that he understood the U.S. position and that any impression that Turkey had reversed itself on the Secretary General's good-offices mission was a result of a misunderstanding by the U.N. negotiators of Turkey's position.

On March 10, at the meeting of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council in Brussels, Secretary of State Baker met separately with Foreign Minister Cetin of Turkey and Foreign Minister Samaras of Greece. He received assurances that Greece and Turkey are committed to support the Secretary General's Cyprus good-offices mission. Having received these assurances, Ambassador Ledsky travelled to the Eastern Mediterranean once again on March 17 to discuss with the parties in greater detail the U.N. Secretary General's "set of ideas" for a Cyprus settlement.

I continue to believe that the Secretary General's efforts provide the only peaceful means of reaching a permanent settlement of the Cyprus issue. Further, I believe that the Secretary General's "set of ideas" can and should be an appropriate basis for moving forward. It is my hope that the next few months will see progress in this worthwhile effort.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#



THE PRESIDENT

May 6, 1992

Dear Bill,

Thanks for the update. It sounds like you are pursuing all the right channels and making some headway. I'm sending your letter and technical package along to our folks at EPA.

Barbara and I hope all is well, and send our very best to you and Leveda.

Sincerely,

GEORGE

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C

Mr. William R. Glass
TL Offshore, Incorporated
Four Greenspoint Plaza
Suite 120
16945 North Chase Drive
Houston, Texas 77060

FYI

Action: EPA for direct response.

bc: The President's reading file.

8E

323586

TL OFFSHORE INC.

Four Greenspoint Plaza
16945 Northchase Drive, Suite 120
Houston, Texas 77060

Jan 1992

April 21, 1992

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
President of the United States of America
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear George:

In your note to me of February 3, 1992, enclosed, you asked that I keep you posted on our progress in financing our environmental project. To date we have had a favorable response from Senator Phil Gramm, which resulted in a letter from Mr. Michael R. Gale, acting Assistant Secretary from the Department of Commerce. In addition, Congressman Bill Archer has responded and forwarded our letter on to the EPA and the Department of Energy.

To give you a clearer picture of how our process works and the varied hazardous waste applications we are addressing, we have prepared, for your information, the enclosed summary of technical data. We have attempted, as briefly as possible, to explore how each variation of the process and equipment relates to the specific needs of the environment. We intend to send the same package along to Senator Gramm and Congressman Archer.

Recently our equipment was presented to Secretary of Defense, Dick Cheney, for use on the Fort Ord cleanup. It was also presented to a top environmental consulting company in line for the Presidio cleanup. We were told by the environmental consultants bidding the Presidio job that the going rate for soil cleanup for these two jobs would cost the country an average of \$400 to \$500 per ton using current methods. (The current method, by the way, is to dig up the contaminated dirt and haul it to a hazardous landfill, then to replace this soil with clean dirt hauled in from another area. This really accomplishes nothing.) With our equipment the task can be accomplished for half the price and the original soil placed directly back from where it came. Instead of using Defense, Super Fund and RTC funds in a hopeless cause, moving contaminated soil and other hazardous wastes from one hole to another, we can be solving the problems and putting them behind us. We can do this for you, but we need the funding to get this equipment where it is needed. These contracts are being let now and the money is quickly going down the drain.

The Honorable George H. W. Bush
President of the United States of America
April 21, 1992
Page 2

I know, as I am sure you do, that bank and private financing sources are almost non-existent today for the little guy. That is why so much American technology ends up being sold overseas for a song. We need the funds to build and put this equipment to work benefitting Texas and the United States. We can create jobs, protect the environment and save the country money at the same time. Perhaps some sort of Joint Venture with the RTC, DOE and/or Department of Defense would be the answer. What do you think?

Your continued assistance and advice in this matter is greatly appreciated, and as indicated, I know we can provide a good service with the needed funds.

Respectfully,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'W. R. Glass', written in a cursive style.

W. R. Glass

WRG/sar

Enclosures



THE PRESIDENT

February 3, 1992

Dear Bill,

Just a quick note to let you know that I did see your letter, and I'm glad you wrote.

I'm passing the information on Proto-Type I & II on to the appropriate office for handling.

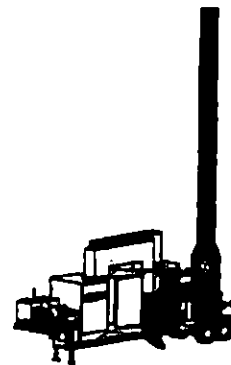
Good luck and keep me posted. In the meantime, Barbara joins me in sending warm regards to you and Leveda.

Sincerely,

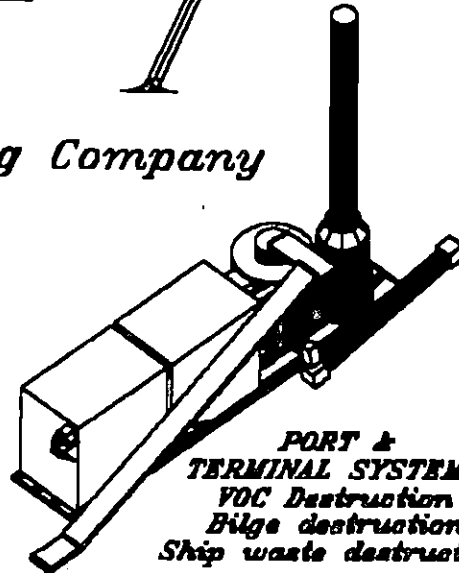
A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "G. Bush".

CPPI

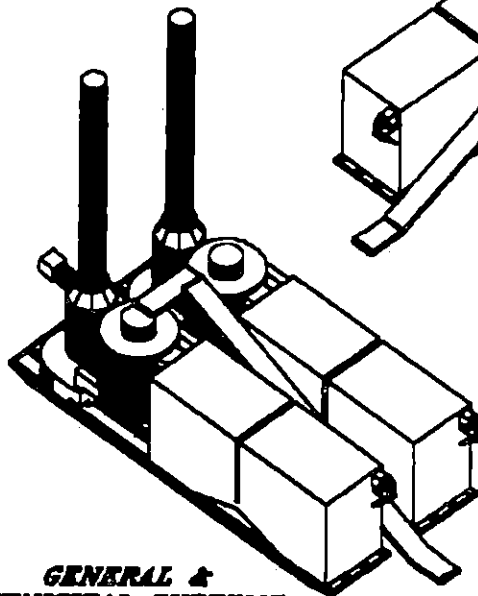
Manufacturing Company



MOBILE UNITS
*Oilfield reserve
pit clean-up,
soil remediation*

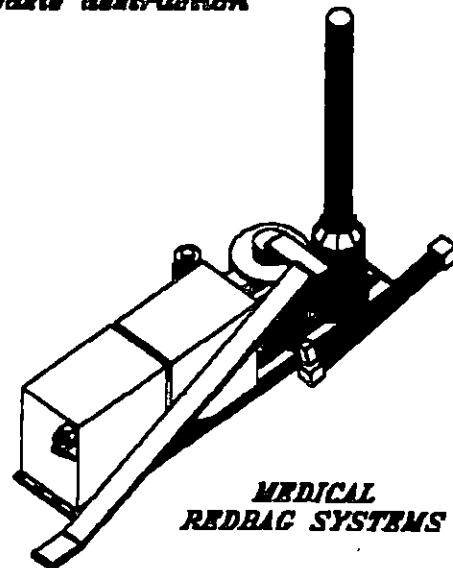


**PORT &
TERMINAL SYSTEMS**
*VOC Destruction
Bilge destruction
Ship waste destruction*



**GENERAL &
MUNICIPAL SYSTEMS**

**P. O. Box 1942
Bellaire, Texas 77401
(713) 661-7611**



**MEDICAL
REDBAC SYSTEMS**

***CPPI
MANUFACTURING***

P. O. Box 1942

Bellaire, Texas 77401

(713) 661-7611

HISTORY AND PURPOSE OF CPPI

Combustion Process Partners Incorporated is a company dedicated to disposing of medical, liquid and other hazardous types of waste in an environmentally sound method. This company, formed in July 1988 by A. Glen Edwards, Richard B. Dicks, and J.T. Edwards, is committed to solving the ecological problems caused by the current methods of waste disposition.

A hypothesis was formed that the predominant theory, which is the basis of most existing combustion technology used by current industrial incinerators, was inefficient and/or only partially effective with respect to the handling of both solids and gases. Current incinerators were not effectively addressing the goals of complete elimination of combustible solids and reduction of related emissions of stack gas. To this end a unique new theory of the incineration process was developed utilizing a combination of the starved air and enhanced air principles. In addition, to handle the emission problems caused by fluorides, chlorides, furans, dioxins, heavy metals, etc., and other particulate and gases more completely, a unique particulate extraction system was developed to make the process complete.

An initial prototype built by the group during the summer of 1990, was used to prove the validity of their theory and was tested by an EPA certified laboratory. The results to these tests verified the hypothesis and led to application for both a process and a mechanical patent. A patent search was conducted by Lieberman, Rudolf, and Nowak of New York, and it is their opinion that both a process and mechanical patent will be issued.

The medical waste application of the CPPI process offers unique new way of handling medical waste problems. The more complete incineration of the wastes, down to as little as 3% of the original mass, renders the residue totally non hazardous. In addition, the CPPI process allows for the recycling of certain glass and metal materials, which according to Dr. Daniel Watts, Deputy Director of the Hazardous Substance Management Research Center, principle consultants on new technology to the EPA, follows the newly released EPA guidelines. The water cooled stack can also provide a low cost source of steam for instrument autoclaving, building heat, preprocessing of certain waste, etc.

CPPI PROCESS

The CPPI process is applicable to disposing of waste in a wide variety of industries. For example, the process is used to dispose of oilfield reserve pits, soil remediation, destruction of medical waste, destruction of municipal waste, destruction of VOCs and general port or terminal waste. Figure 1 illustrates the general process. In actual practice, the temperatures may vary somewhat according to the waste being processed and the requirements for optimal destruction of that particular waste.

Briefly, the CPPI, patent pending, process utilizes a starved air in the primary burn chamber coupled with a controlled low temperature burn. This helps prevent formation of NO_x , and helps prevent thermal damage to recyclable materials. Recycling after the burn cycle is much easier and safer than attempting to sort out valuable metals and glass in a heap of unsanitary waste. After the burn, glass and metals can be easily sorted by sieves and screens due to the difference in densities and particle size of the. From the primary burn chamber, the gases pass to the particulate extraction and containment system (PECS unit). The PECS unit expands and cools the gases causing any particulate that escaped the primary burn chamber to be removed from the flow stream and trapped in the bottom of the PECS unit. Studies recently published indicate that NO_x , furans, dioxins and their precursors cling to particulate, thus, the CPPI system removes these and trap them in the PECS unit. From the PECS unit, the gases pass through a reheat chamber surrounding the primary burn chamber where waste heat it utilized to raise the temperature of the gases before they go to the secondary burn chamber. In the secondary burn chamber, the gases are heated to 1500 to 2000° Fahrenheit, in the presence of excess air. The gases then enter the double-walled stack where water is circulated between the walls to cool the gases, causing any particulate that may have escaped the system to fall harmlessly to the floor of the secondary burn chamber. Steam is produced by the circulating water that can be utilized in various ways, depending upon the site and requirements. For example, hospitals can burn medical redbag waste and utilize the steam for heating, instrument autoclaves; cities can sell the steam to nearby industries for process steam; and remediation units can use the steam to aid in cleaning up PCB contaminated soil.

Optimum emissions are obtained by properly controlling the CPPI process. Control is via a PC computer that monitors strategically located sensors and adjust the air, auxiliary fuel, and material feed rates to maintain optimum emissions. Emissions from the stack and other important data are stored on a WORM (Write Once Read Many) disc drive to provide a permanent record of emissions for regulatory purposes. Capacity of the WORM drive is sufficient to store seven years of data. The system contains a modem that permits CPPI technicians to access the heart of the operating system so that the system can be diagnosed and often corrected via telephone, without a service call.

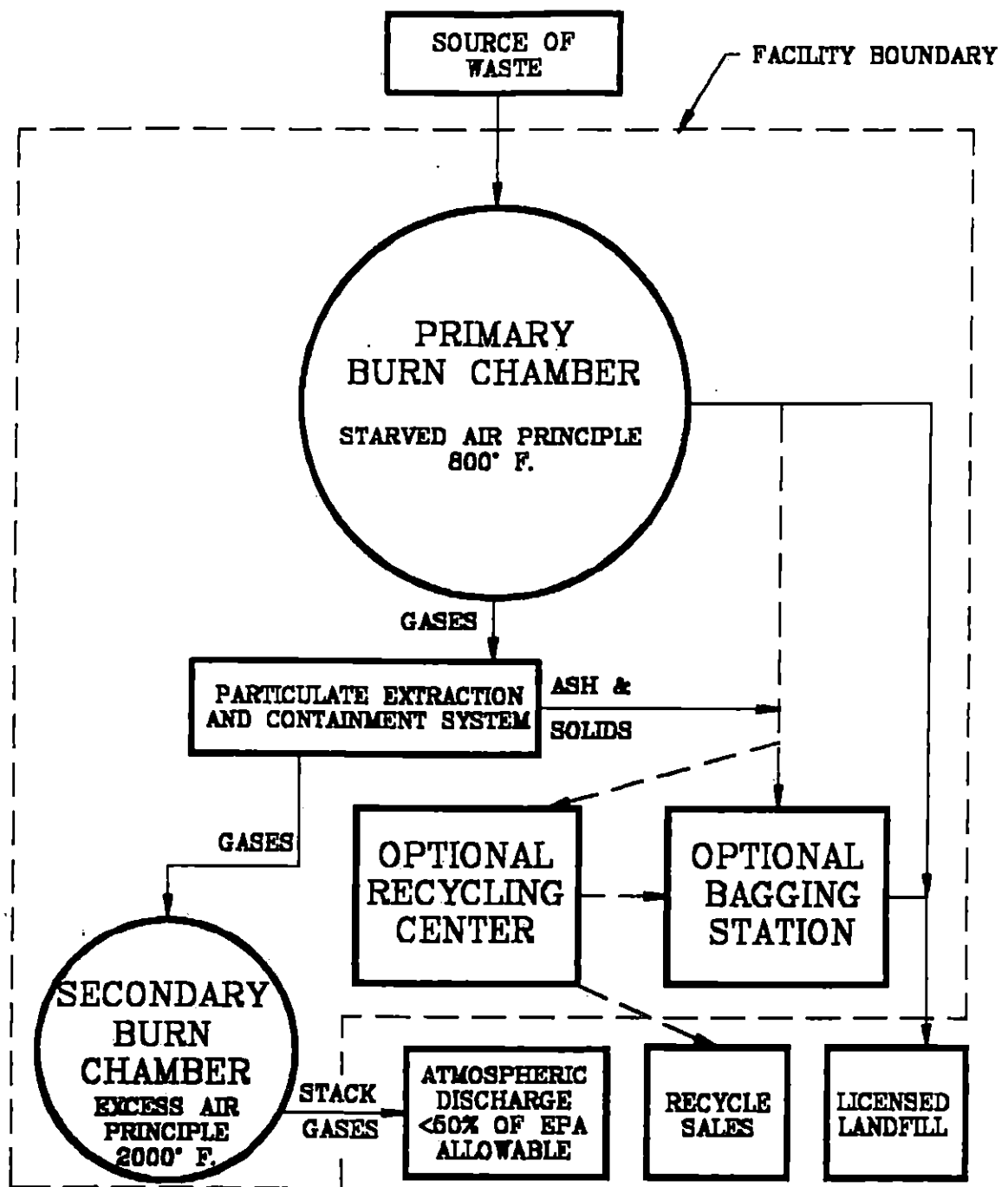


FIGURE 1: *GENERIC PROCESS FLOW DIAGRAM OF A TYPICAL CPPI INCINERATOR.*

APPLICATIONS OF CPPI TECHNOLOGY

As can be seen by careful analysis of the process illustrated in Figure 1, the CPPI process lends itself to a wide variety of applications, including clean-up of oilfield reserve pits, clean-up of hazardous waste, soil remediation, destruction of PCBs, destruction of redbag medical waste, destruction of municipal waste, VOC destruction, clean-up of port or terminal waste, just to name a few. The incinerator system can be mobile, movable or stationary, depending upon the size and intended use. The following illustrations show some of the CPPI equipment developed to perform a few of the operations mentioned above.

Depending on location, availability and costs, the CPPI system can operate on propane, natural gas, field gas, methane, and many other gaseous hydrocarbons as the auxiliary fuel.

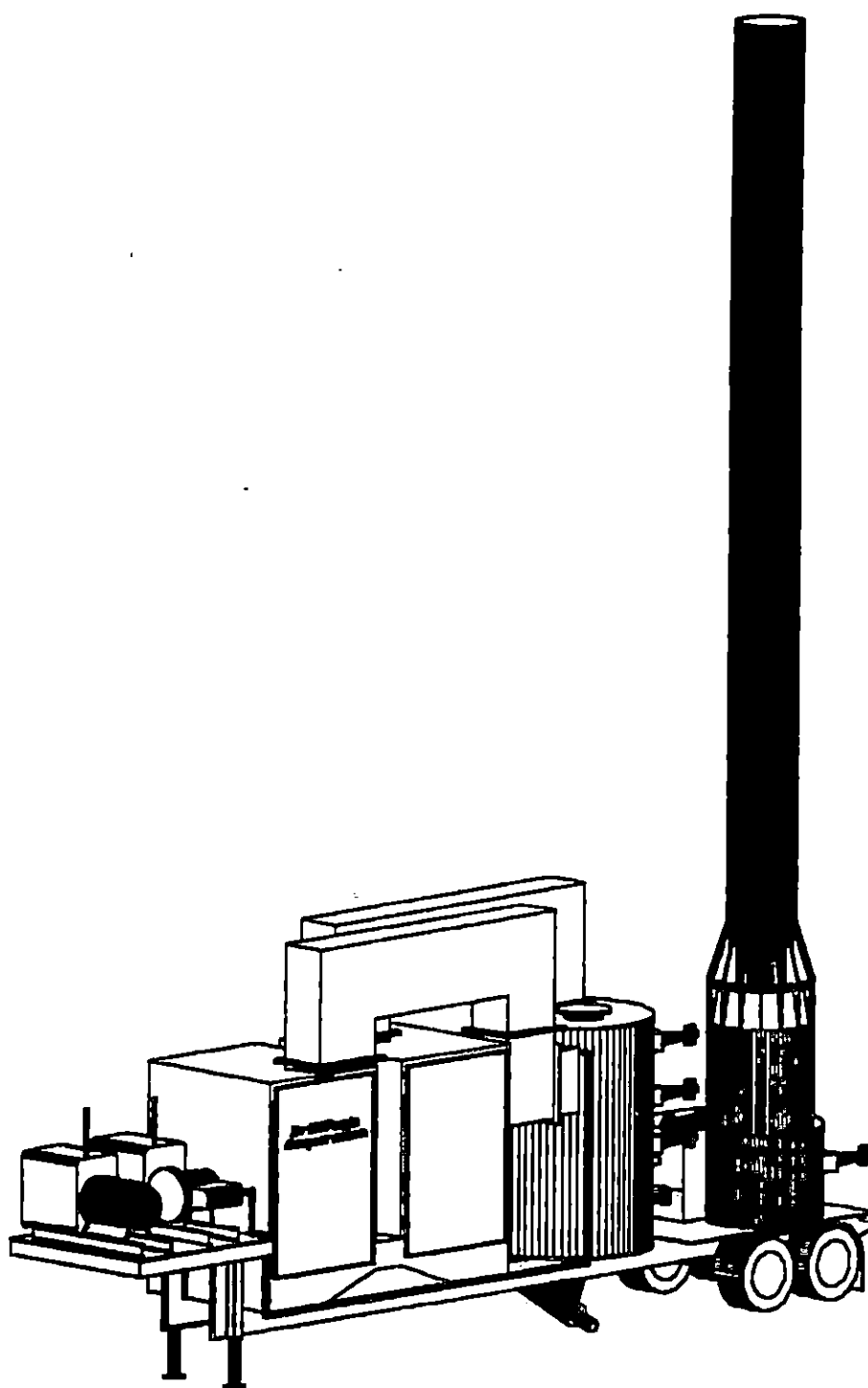


FIGURE 2: Model 9-L mobile incinerator system. This unit is the heart of the oilfield reserve pit clean-up, hazardous waste clean-up, and soil remediation operations. Many jobs where the material is mostly liquid, the Model 9-L is the only unit required. The Model 9-L is mounted on a road legal, 45' long trailer. The stack, upper duct work, and miscellaneous items are transported on a separate trailer. Maximum capacity is 80 barrels per hour, depending upon density of the liquid.

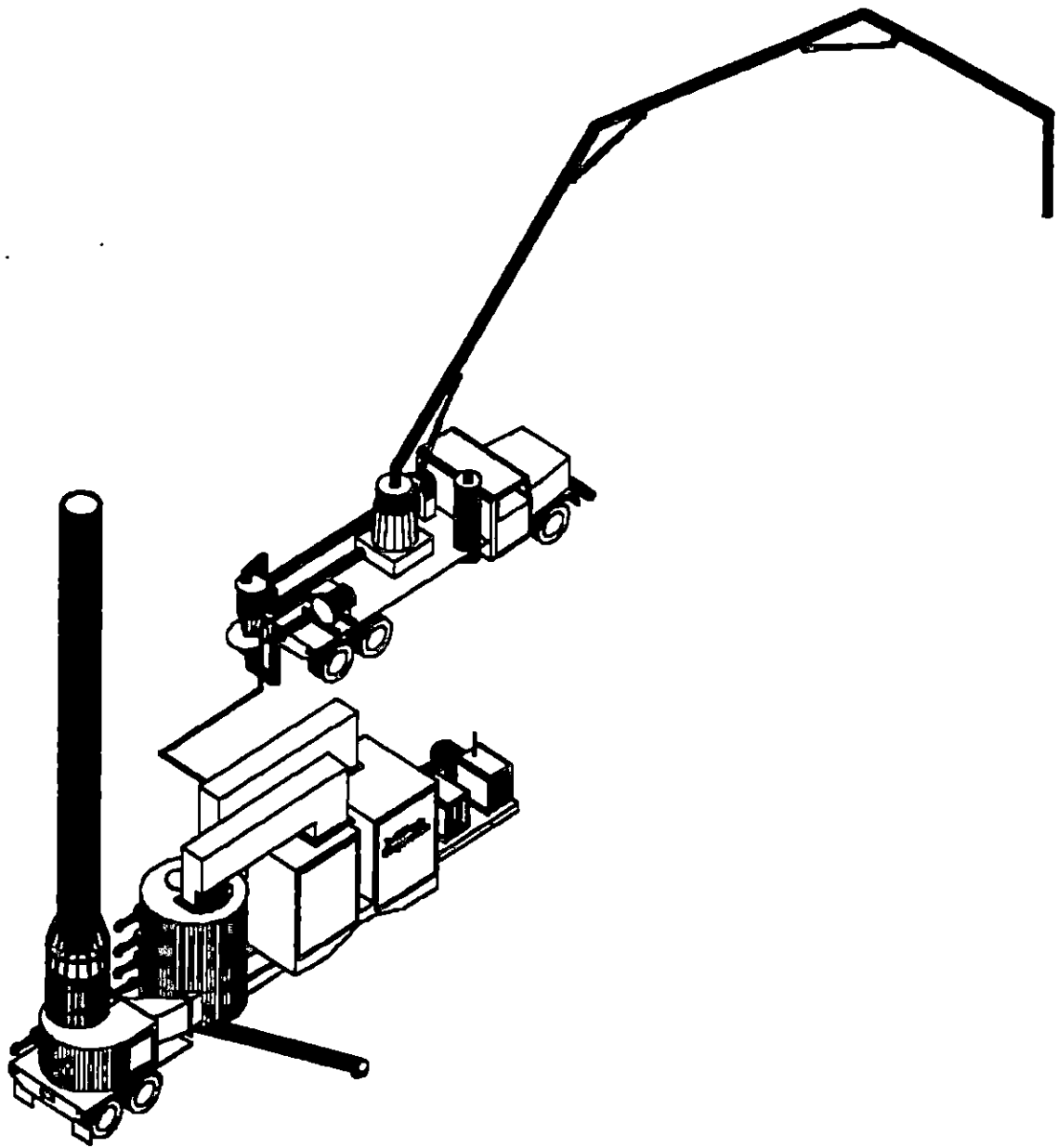


FIGURE 3: *Where pits, lagoons, tanks or lakes contain heavy concentrations of sludge, a Snorkel Truck is used with the Model 9-L mobile incinerator system. The Snorkel Truck can pick-up sludge in a 79' radius, with various hydraulically operated chopper/suction devices attached to the end of the boom. Maximum capacity is 80 barrels per hour, depending upon density of the liquid.*

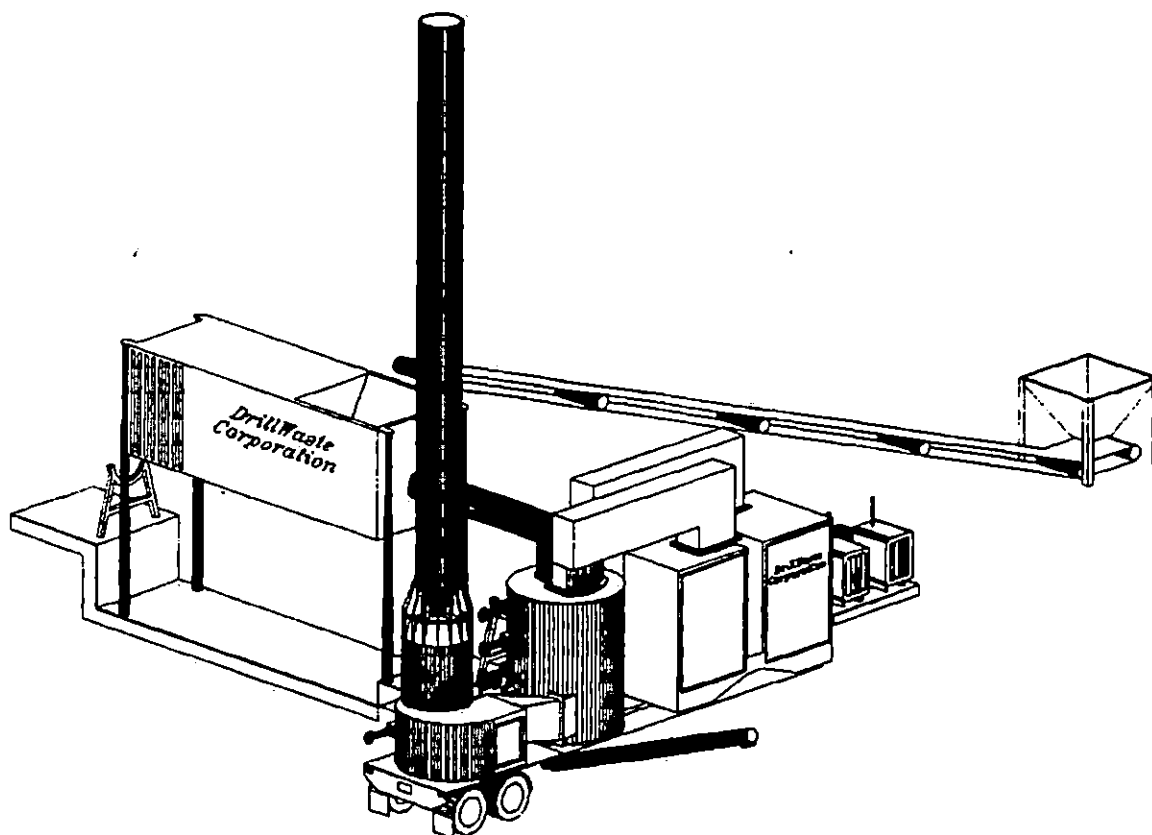


FIGURE 4: For small soil remediation jobs and clean-up of solid hazardous waste such as PCB contaminated sites, a grinder trailer is used with the Model 9-L mobile incinerator system. The grinder is capable of grinding rocks, concrete with rebar, clay and sand and feeding the material to the incinerator via an air lock system. Both units are mounted on 45' road legal trailers. The stack, upper duct works, conveyors and auxiliary equipment are carried on a third trailer. Maximum capacity of the combination is 35 tons per hour (70,000 pounds per hour), depending upon density of the solids.

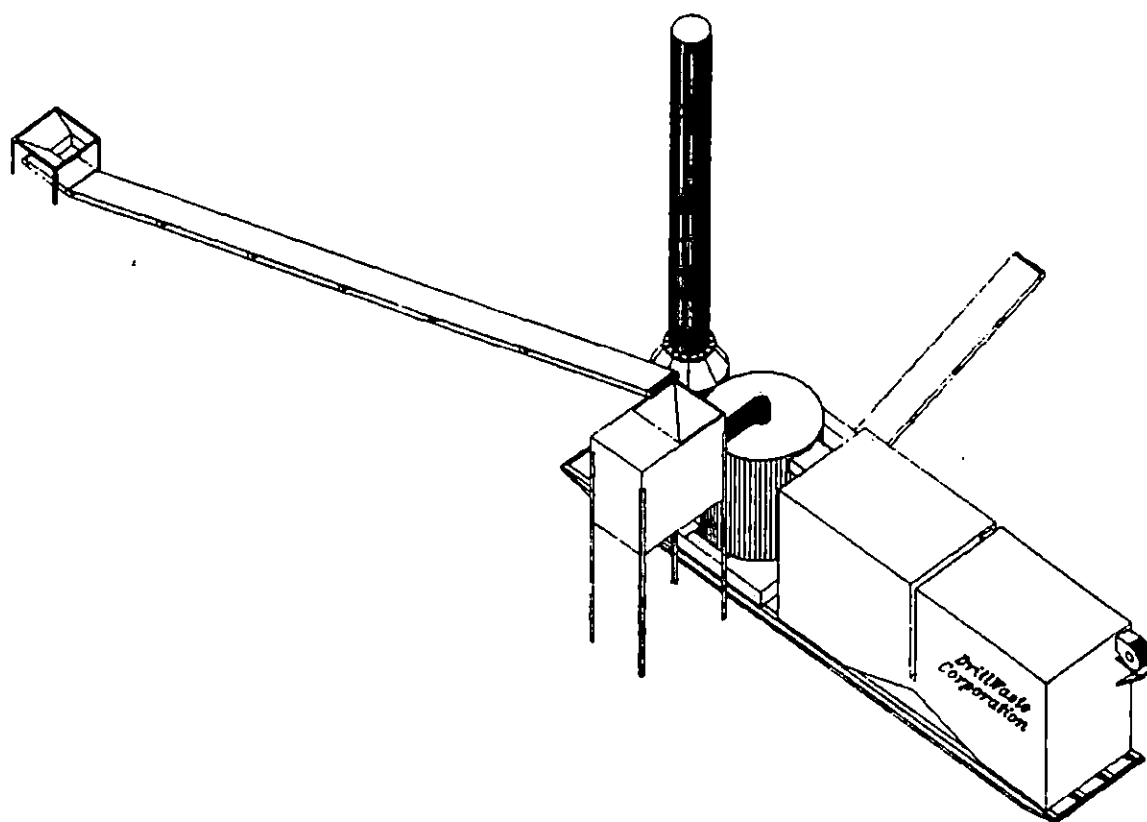


FIGURE 5: Large soil remediation jobs and clean-up of large volumes of hazardous waste require large systems such as the Model 66-S moveable incinerator system. This unit is moveable in several permit loads. Maximum capacity of the Model 66-S is 140 tons per hour (280,000 pounds per hour), depending upon density of the solids.

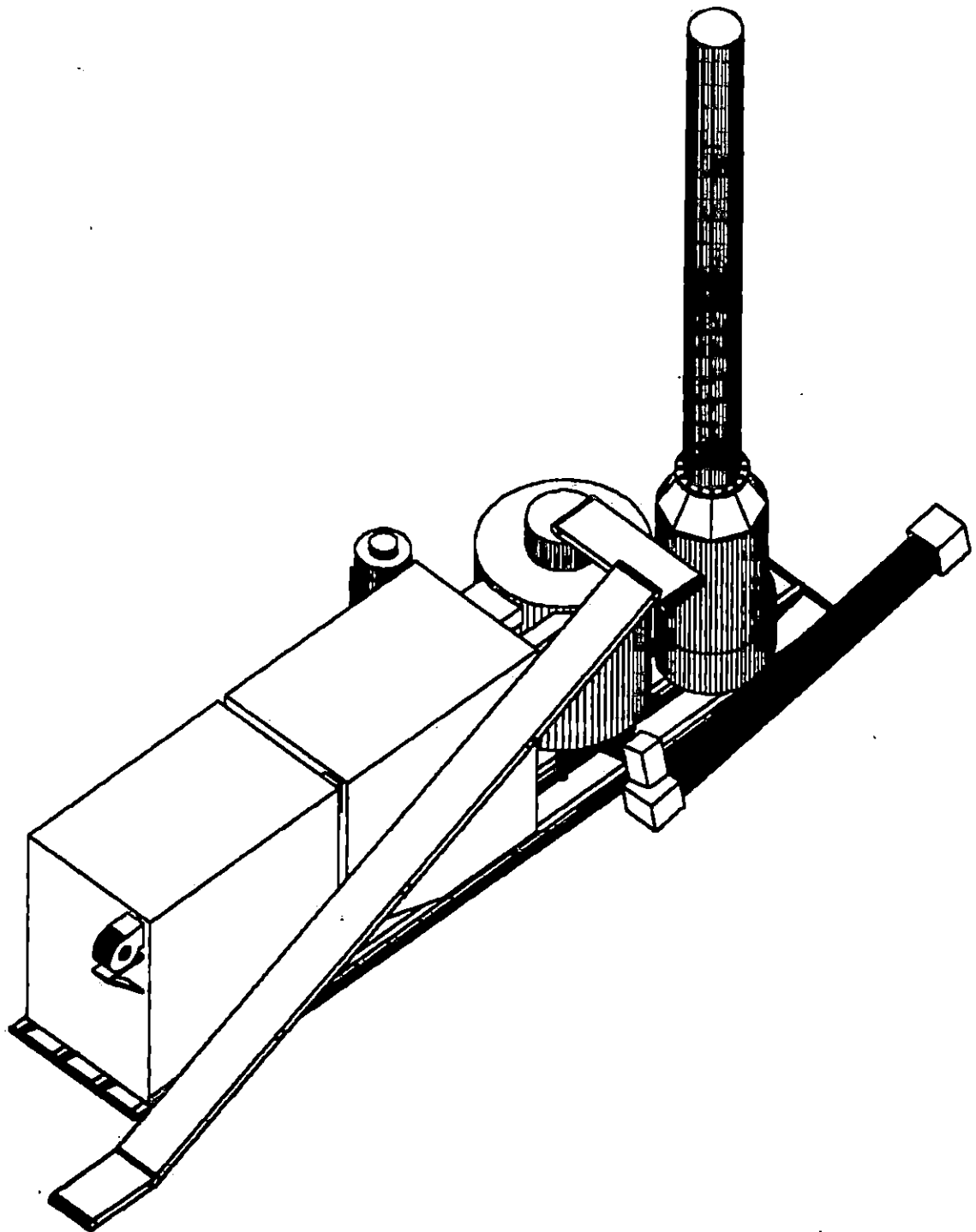


FIGURE 6: *Model 200-M redbag medical incinerators are available in batch burn units, as shown above, or as continuous burn units, using a air locked ram feed. Capacity of the primary burn chamber is 200 cubic yards per batch and two batches per day. Other sizes available in this style unit are: Model 9-M, Model 50-M, and Model 300-M with capacities of 9 cubic yards per batch, 50 cubic yards per batch, and 300 cubic yards per batch, respectively.*

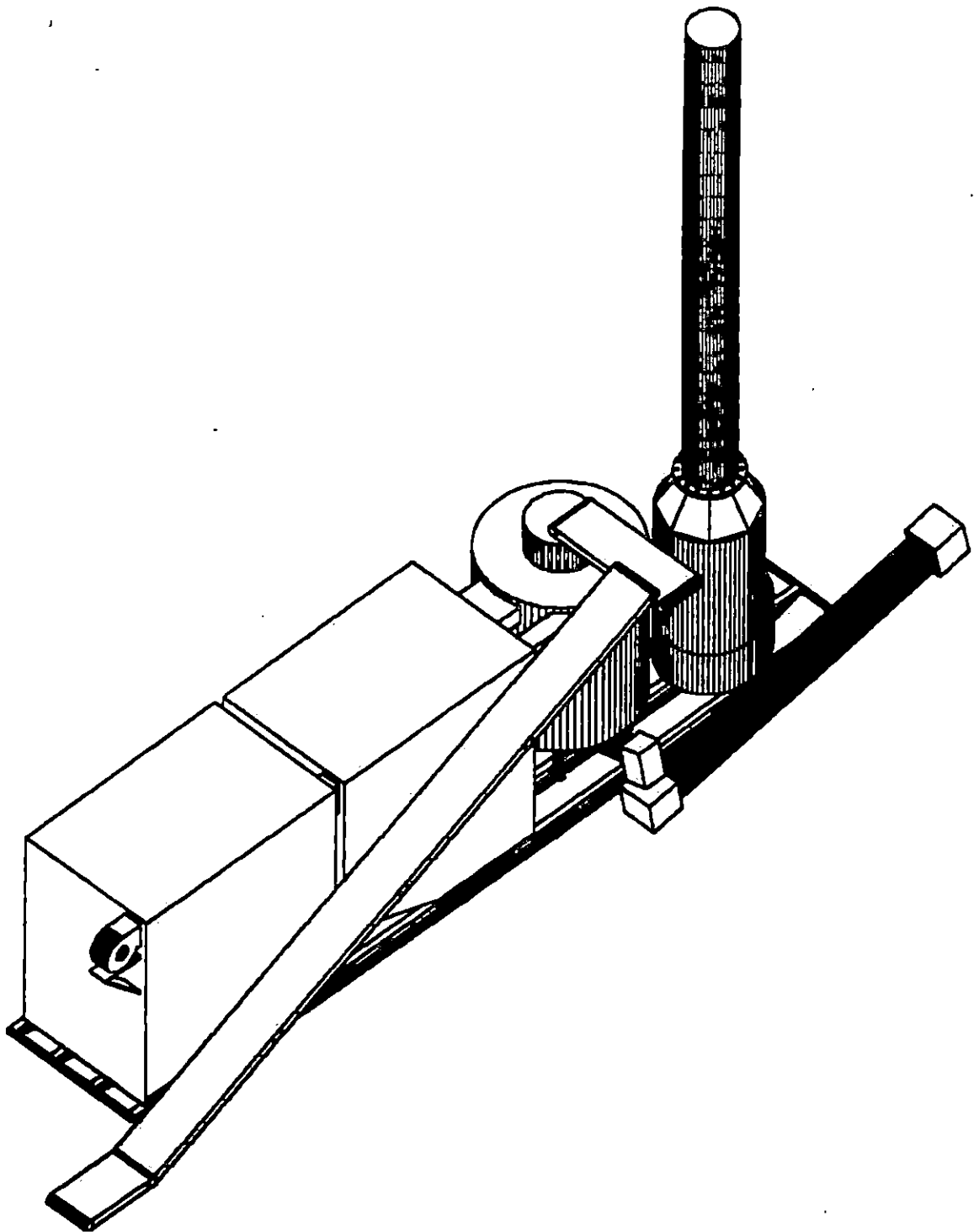


FIGURE 7: Model 200-G municipal incinerators are available in batch burn units, as shown above, or as continuous burn units. Capacity of the primary burn chamber is 200 cubic yards per batch and two batches per day. Other sizes available in this style unit are: Model 9-G, 50-G, and Model 300-G with capacities of 9 cubic yards per batch, 50 cubic yards per batch, and 300 cubic yards per batch, respectively.

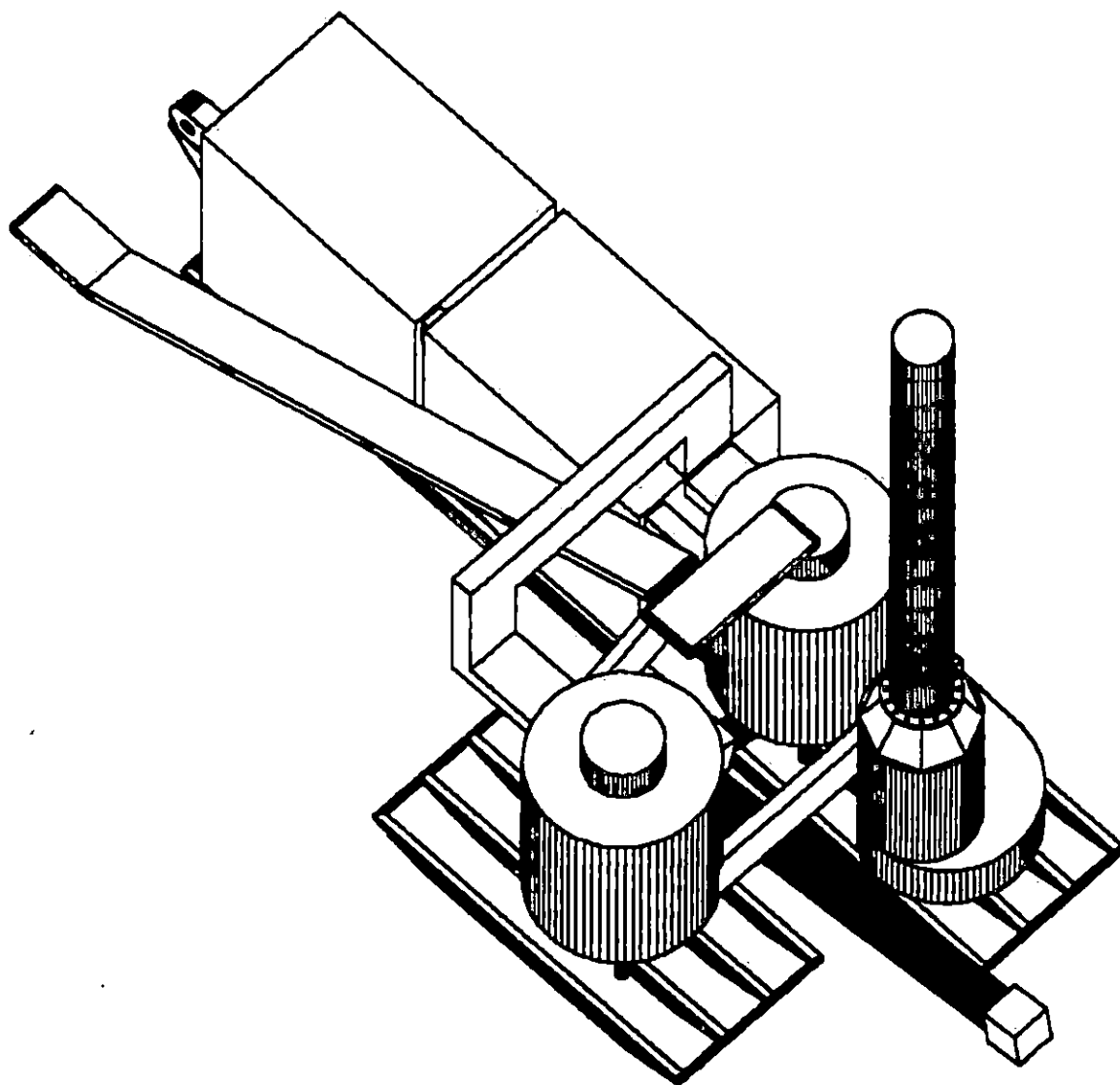
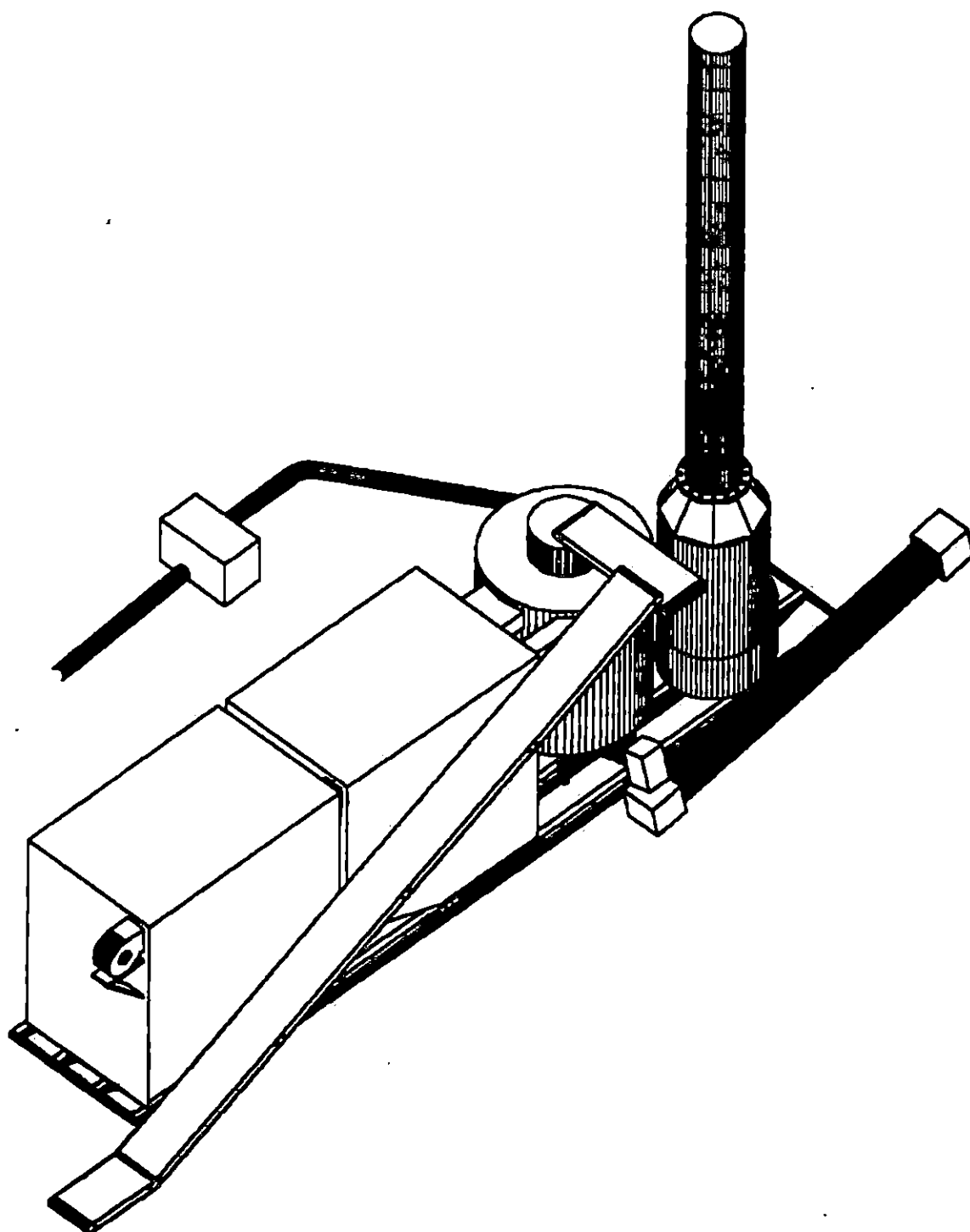


FIGURE 8: *The Model 400-G municipal incinerator is a batch burn unit that utilizes two 200 cubic yard primary burn chambers, operating alternately, to provide an around the clock operation with the advantages of batch burn capabilities. Maximum capacity of the Model 400-G is 800 cubic yards per day. Other sizes available in this style unit are: Model 18-M, Model 100-M, and Model 600-M with capacities of 36 cubic yards per day, 200 cubic yards per day, and 1200 cubic yards per day, respectively.*



MODEL 9: *Placed near old landfills that are creating a problem with methane, the CPPI municipal incinerator can solve two problems. First, it can use the methane as the auxiliary fuel, and second, the completeness of the CPPI processes burn will extend the life of the remaining landfill due to the small volume of ash remaining after burning the new waste coming in.*

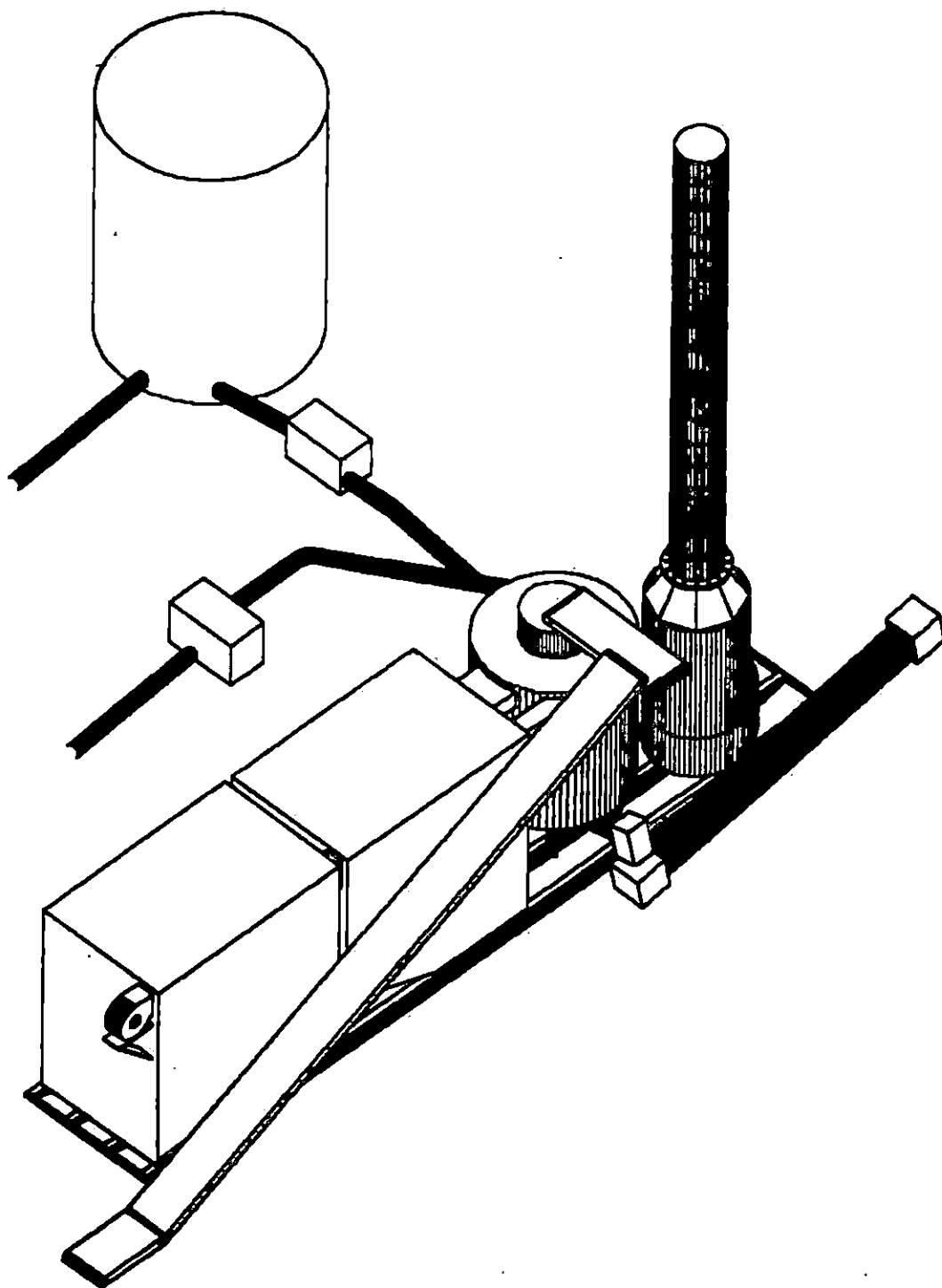


FIGURE 10: *This Model 200-P port/terminal incinerator system illustrates the flexibility of the CPPI process. Located at a port or shipping terminal this unit can process the ship bilge and ballast water, incinerate ship waste, destroy pallets and wood from overseas, and incinerate other port waste, while using VOCs (captured during the loading and unloading of hydrocarbons) as a portion of the auxiliary fuel.*

POOL REPORT # 2

5/6/92

print pool report--LAX

The President met at Los Angeles Airport with Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley, California Governor Pete Wilson and more than a dozen other community leaders. Bush said he was "going to the neighborhoods not to posture out there. {I} hope we can do it in a constructive way...to actually see with my own eyes what happened."

The pool was present for only about two or three minutes before the half hour meeting and the drive to the hotel through a city that a week after the riots began still smelled of fire.

"It's been a long arduous, grueling occasion," the president said, referring to the clean-up effort. "We're here to help, not try to do anything but supplement what the council is doing, others are doing."

The president added: "Before I leave I'll sum up what I think and maybe suggest the direction the country maybe should go--as much as I think Washington can do to add to what you're doing."

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 6, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT ARRIVAL IN LOS ANGELES

Los Angeles International Airport
Los Angeles, California

8:50 P.M. PDT

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I'm very pleased to be here in Los Angeles, and thankful to see that calm has returned to the city; glad to receive that report just now from the Mayor, members of the City Council and from the Governor. As I think back today to what I said last Friday evening, I do think of the oath that I took when I entered the office -- the Constitution's charge to every President, to "ensure domestic tranquility." This I know: We can never condone violence -- because without peace, there certainly can be no hope.

We cannot begin to move forward -- could not begin to rebuild -- until the violence had stopped and the order restored. We've met the first mission -- and I salute those who have participated in it. And now, the good people of South Central L.A. are free to come out from behind those closed doors to begin the difficult, but extremely important process of rebuilding the city.

Tomorrow, I'll be meeting with community leaders, with some citizens, to see and speak with the people who have firsthand knowledge of last week's tragic events. I will assure them, as I can assure all the citizens of Los Angeles, the federal government is committed to help this city -- help this city rebuild. Let me focus just for a moment on the actions that we're taking at the federal level to help.

Through my Presidential Disaster Declaration, FEMA -- that's the Federal Emergency Management Agency -- will make an estimated \$300 million in assistance available to individuals and families in the City and County of Los Angeles. I will make grants directly to people hit hardest by the violence -- personal grants up to \$11,500 to meet urgent needs like food and clothing and medicine. Now, these grants will also help with temporary housing -- money for repair to homes with minimal damage, and to provide shelter for those families who lost their homes. We're also helping with crisis counseling and disaster unemployment assistance for those who are now without jobs as a result of the disaster.

A disaster field office is already up and running, and FEMA's 800 assistance number is ready right now to receive calls in a wide array of languages: English, Spanish, Chinese, Thai, Korean, Vietnamese and Laotian.

In addition, FEMA will assist the public sector in repairing and restoring public utilities like water and electricity that are absolutely essential to everyday life.

And beyond these emergency grants, we will provide SBA loans -- disaster loans they're called -- up to \$500,000 for physical damage and lost inventory. Homeowners and renters are also eligible for assistance under SBA for programs up to \$100,000 for damage and losses. Preliminary estimates indicate that roughly \$300 million in loans will be made in this area.

All told, aid to speed the recovery process could total approximately \$600 million. This assistance will help get boarded-up and burned-out businesses open again -- up and running. It will help people clean up the streets; help the individuals and families who lost their home and all their belongings to cope with this most personal of tragedies.

And finally, the Department of Agriculture has arranged for delivery of over 2,000 cases of rice, cereal; over 2,000 cases of infant formula; nearly 250 cases of nonfat dry milk; and continues to assess the emergency food needs.

This is a good beginning. The urgent need for assistance must not obscure the magnitude of the larger challenge that we face. Beyond these short-term actions, we must bring hope and opportunity to our inner cities. And the aim must not simply be to recreate what we had, but to build something better in its place.

And there must be no return to the status quo. Too often in the past, we've measured our compassion the wrong way -- by budgets and bureaucracies instead of how many poor people have permanently escaped poverty. So this must end. And there's no question, the federal government has a terribly important -- a fundamental role in ending poverty and despair in our cities. But the time really has come to try a new way. So we need to let poor families take back control of their lives by making our commitment to end poverty and despair greater than ever before.

So this time, we've got to make certain to put the government on the side of opportunity, on the side of human dignity, on the side of hope. And anything less would really be a disservice to the people of Los Angeles who need our help. Anything less would be unworthy of our great country.

In five short days, Los Angeles has made great strides. And the number of people who deserve thanks runs up into the tens of thousands. The firefighters, the police officers who worked hours on end. There's this enormous corps of volunteers, I'm told -- the churches, the churchgoers; those out in the communities organizing; the many people known and unknown who came to the aid of people that were hurt, people in need, who stepped forward to stop the violence, to save a life.

Let me say something -- something I promised myself I'd say the moment we got here -- say this to every one of the people who reached out across the barriers of color and put their own safety at risk to help others: Thank God for what you did. You did more than simply save a life. You gave a nation great cause for hope. And you proved amidst the hate and the horror that this is still the City of the Angels.

I salute the local officials. I'm very grateful to the Mayor and the others who are here to greet me from the City Council, to our Governor. I've listed what the federal government can do, but we recognize this is a team effort. I understand that on the ground already is a fantastic volunteer operation, one to stimulate the volunteer sector. And we salute those who are working in that way, too.

So it's a pleasure to be here. I know I will learn a lot from what I see. And I salute those -- many of -- all of them standing right here with me, incidentally who have worked tirelessly night and day to restore order and to return the city to a city of hope. Thank you all very, very much. (Applause.)

END

8:57 P.M. PDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN MEETING WITH BLACK COMMUNITY LEADERS

Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church,
Los Angeles, California

9:15 A.M. PDT

REVEREND E.V. HILL: May I give the ground rules, please. The persons who are seated in this assembly have been selected across from young people to business people to leaders. The President wanted to meet just a few. He will not have an opportunity to hear a long question, but if you can make short your statement, the President of the United States would like to hear you.

Mr. President, we are honored again to have you.

THE PRESIDENT: Reverend Hill, let me -- I would never, ever correct E.V. Hill, especially in his own church in its centennial year, but rather than questions -- and I will be glad to answer them -- what I really would like to get is the heartbeat of the community, hear from you all as to what you think can best help, where matters stand.

It's hard on a short visit to get all this. I will assure you -- and I hope that Pete, sitting here, and Tom Bradley would agree -- that we have tried to bring federal resources to bear in a timely fashion. It's been done pretty low-key in the sense that the federal officers out here have been not seeking a limelight. But under David Kearns they've put together a good task force, and I've been very gratified that the leaders, both from City Council and the Mayor's Office, as well as the Governor's Office, feel the federal government is responding -- whether it's from FEMA, or whether it's from Jack Kemp's HUD, or whether it's from Lou Sullivan's HHS, or the Department of Education. Leading the fray was Pat Saiki out here very early for the SBA -- small business loans.

So I don't want to go into all these programs, although I'd be glad to have our experts respond to any questions on them at all. But what I'd like to do is, first, to say thank you; second, to let you know that justice will prevail, that we will follow through with my responsibilities under the law, and the Department of Justice is following through on the justice side of the equation to see that -- to examine to see if civil rights of anybody have been violated -- King or anybody, Rodney King or anyone else -- that there be fair play and equity there.

But having said all that, let me tell you something. And you know it better than I. There is no way, really, I guess, that the President can come here in an every four-year situation and not have it be accused by some of being political. I don't want it to be political. I want to get by this. We've got plenty of time later on in the year for the politics. I want to hear from you, just all the bark off as to what you think we can do. And please speak frankly about it.

If your comments have a political ring it will not offend because, as I say, it's a hard year to stay out of it. But we're here to help and we're here to learn. And that's it.

MR. JOHN MACK: Mr. President -- and obviously, this is not a political situation, even though I handled your campaign in South Central -- (laughter) -- a few years ago, and I may do it again. But it's under consideration, depending on a few things.

Let's get to the bottom line on this situation. There are going to be many resources that are brought into the Los Angeles area. We have, time and time again, seen resources come in and they not adequately benefit the community. I serve on a committee here that was put together by the federal government. It's called the Century Freeway Affirmative Action Committee.

What we do is we examine the dollars that come in to see to that at least a portion of that money, it goes to people who live in this corridor that are involved. It is important to understand that merely allocating resources, sending them in does not mean that we will not be excluded from the process of being able to help rebuild this community.

I encourage you to take a look at the Century Freeway Action program. It's been in existence now 10 years. It's a federal decree. And we will see to it that the dollar allocation is fair. We will not allow people from outside of the community to economically sweep all this money away.

That goes for you, too, Pete. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a good opening comment.

MR. ROD DAVIS: Good morning, Mr. President. My name is Rod Davis. I'm a small-businessman in the community and I have come here today not representing any organization, not looking for any political office, but asking for help. I spent nine years building a small business in South Central Los Angeles. My family and I gave it everything we had. We are now totally burned out. I don't know what resources I have to rebuild.

So I'm just here today thanking you for coming and asking that the help will come forward. We would like to stay in South Central Los Angeles. We have an investment in the community. But now it's time that someone has to come to my aid. I've never had a small business loan. I've never had to come to the government for anything. But now I don't know where to turn because I do not have the resources to put my business back together, put my family back together. And we appreciate you coming out.

THE PRESIDENT: May I make a comment on that, Reverend?

REVEREND HILL: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Because there are a lot of others like you and you're not here as a special pleader. But I -- the federal government can in a situation like this be of real assistance. It is largely through SBA, but perhaps other facilities, agencies can help, too.

Certainly this is one, this type of experience is one where the federal government has resources available, pumping them in now -- I outlined the programs last night; I won't go through them here, although Pat Saiki is here now. And to others like you, whose life has gone up in smoke, we can get assistance, no strings attached to it, largely through SBA, but not only SBA.

And so we can get, in your case obviously, somebody in touch with you. But others like you, the Small Business Administration and other federal agencies can help. I know that

Pete or Tom Bradley can speak for the city. But this is clearly one where we have the resources.

DR. CLYDE ODEN: Mr. President, I'm Dr. Clyde Oden, President of the Watts Health Foundation. We operate a community health center in the community. We operate a number of programs in the community.

One thing we would like to just impress upon you and the rest of the leaders, that in the building of Los Angeles there has to be ownership by the residents. Existing institutions need to see the resources come their way. The savings and loans, the banks -- we need not have Bank of America or any of the other -- Wells Fargo Bank -- see the federal monies come through their sources. They ought to come through local resources.

Local community people want to own in their community. They find that the walls are there. The walls need to be removed so that we can have ownership in our community, we can build our own jobs, and we can build our community back. We want to do it. And if you look and see the community, you'll see that by and large people want to protect what is theirs. When they have an investment in it they will make sure that it works and that it grows.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me comment on that one. I strongly agree with that concept and we will, again, push for the concept at the federal level. But I am told by city officials that you are absolutely correct, that where ownership has been involved, there has been much more respect for property. And certainly this concept of ownership in the community -- the businesses -- is something I strongly endorse. And we will find ways to implement that at the federal level, I promise you.

MS. LOIS HILL: My name is Lois Hill, and I'm a resident of South Central Los Angeles. I don't have a political axe to grind, but I do live in the heart of South Central Los Angeles. And in the rebuilding of Los Angeles I would like to be a part of -- I would like to see the number of unfavorable elements limited in my neighborhood.

I worked on the board of education; I am not a teacher, I'm a little person. Right now we need \$6 million or \$10 million to keep our after-school program together. Our children -- the safest place for the children in the community is in the after-school program. That's being cut. I work with the child development division -- one of the places that provide child care for children. Part of their program is being cut. The biggest component -- we have a feeding program where you are fed as a family-style feeding. It's being cut because there is no money to fund it.

We have got to lay aside politics, get to the root of the matter and come together and heal our community. I live in South Central Los Angeles. I don't want to move out of South Central Los Angeles. And I don't want the people living on the outskirts of South Central Los Angeles telling me what's necessary in South Central Los Angeles.

I live on 89th and Avalon. I cannot go to the park at -- because it's too dangerous. My grandkids come over to my house and say, can I go to the park? No, you can't. But the people from outside the community are going to tell me how my community is supposed to be run. I need to know what you're going to do for my community?

MR. JIM FLOURNOY: One of the things that I think is sorely needed is there are a lot of funds available, but the trouble is who knows where they are. We don't know where they

are. I think that it's critical that there be a communication network that will let -- like this man said -- I don't know where to go. There should be someplace where the people like that will know where to go to take advantage of those kinds of funds.

THE PRESIDENT: The things were trying to work out for the federal government is that kind of, like a what you call a one-stop shopping approach. And David Kearns, who is our number two in the Department of Education -- some may remember him through his work with the Urban League and others when he was the Chairman of Xerox, a very large company, but a great manager -- is working that problem right now. And it would include not just the kind of services that this lady talked about, but all of it, including what the private sector can do to help.

I know Peter Ueberroth's getting involved in that, and we have a national office on that. But I think that the plea here is a very good one for letting people know what's out there.

MR. WARREN VALDRY: Mr. President, my name is Warren Valdry, the President of the One Hundred Black Men of Los Angeles. Again, we're very pleased that you have taken the time to come here to validate the involvement of the federal government. Yet, on the other hand, we, the One Hundred Black Men, lost its building. And as you know, we have been working with the very model program called the Young Black Scholars --

THE PRESIDENT: I know it.

MR. VALDRY: -- putting kids in college and universities all around the country. Governor Wilson has been very supportive of that concept. And one of the things that we'd like to see, as these resources come forward that it begins to build a relationship, build a partnership whereby the community is empowered to become stakeholders in that process. The One Hundred Black Men building was burned to the ground. We spent seven years getting that building together. It was a mini-city hall for the community people -- the elderly, the young folk -- to come in there. There was a model room where they could come in and watch City Hall in action. It was bringing City Hall to the community.

The organization is ready to go again. We want to rebuild. And the organization stands ready to be a part of that collective group that you want to put together. And we just say thanks, again, for being here. We want to work. We want to mend the relationship of this community. We want to be part of it.

THE PRESIDENT: May I ask you a question before you sit down? And it may be an impossible one to answer. But here's One Hundred Black Men, a respected organization that has no enemies. Why would someone target -- no matter what the rage, why would somebody target that building? We've seen this -- gentlemen -- what's your name again?

MR. DEREKE CARR: Dereke.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Dereke. He was telling me this morning about -- he was the one I was referring to about who saw one of his own employees taking stuff out of the store. We went around and talked about the different -- the ownership and the different facilities there. One was a dentist's office. The dentist and his wife stood out there with a dog trying to keep people from coming in and taking --

Where is he -- Dr. Faulkner right here. An amazing story. But why -- maybe that one is messed up because it was next door to a supermarket where people can go and get food. But why the Hundred Black Men? Why would somebody destroy that building? Can you --

MR. VALDRY: The only thing that I think that it might have had, the city was leasing the building. It might have had the city emblem up there, I don't know. But I want to just conclude with the fact that, the Young Black Scholars, a model program that is really being modeled by the state now with Senate bill 1114; and it also reflects the Education 2000 vision that you are really pushing forward.

DR. LARRY KIRKLAND: I simply want to thank the President for coming and we're privileged that you've come. But to answer your question that you asked a minute ago, when people have been neglected and when people have been pressed down for so long, they do not think rationally. And that's why that building was burned. And that's a question I really wanted to encourage you to raise.

We need economic empowerment and we need educational opportunities. I'm sure the resources will be released that will restore this community. I know a lot of members who lost their businesses, and I'm sure that will be restored. But we need to more long-range planning. We're living in a postindustrial period and we are educating our people to deal with a bygone era. We need to look at how we train our people so that they can have the educational advantages, so that they can deal with the contemporary generation.

And that's what we need to look at today, Mr. President. I encourage you, hopefully, that we could look at training lab technicians. We can look at training physician assistants. We can look at training people for this contemporary society so they can meet the needs of that --

MR. BAXTER SINCLAIR: I'm Baxter Sinclair, owner of a pipeline company and we've come to hear you. And you're here to get some answers, how can you help? I think that's what you want.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

MR. SINCLAIR: I have been hearing about infrastructure. I think that the infrastructure, the sewer lines and the water lines are badly depleted. And this state just don't have the money. Pete just does not have the money. The federal government needs to place some money in there quickly. And along with that is that we devise some plans to see that the community works on these projects. What has happened here before has not been that way mounted the frustration.

Last question, you always said a kinder, gentler nation, okay? The people that have been arrested, it's wrong what they did, but if I were you, Governor, I'd put every one of them out there to clean the mess up that they did. It cost too much to keep them in prison. We cannot afford it no more. Just my suggestion, sir. Work, employment is the answer now, you see. The money in infrastructure certainly, surely would help. And I know the government can handle that.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, sir.

MR. CELES KING: Mr. President, fortunately, we had an opportunity to talk earlier. I won't repeat a number of things we already said. But I would like to just reiterate a couple of points that I think are absolutely essential; one has been touched upon by several people. As we go through this rebuilding process it's absolutely essential that additional ways and new and different kinds of ways be found to put more African Americans into business. There are problems of lack of access to capital, discrimination, and other kinds of problems -- but that's an important thing.

The question about why would people strike at their own --

THE PRESIDENT: A friendly building -- yes.

MR. KING: That's a good question -- one of the black men, Paul Hudson -- a savings and loan, an outstanding institution in our city, an outstanding man in our city. And I think that may be a reflection of the class problem we have here. One of the tragedies of this riot was that it was integration at its worst. Even though there's been an image that it was mainly African Americans, but across the board -- Latinos, whites. I think these were people who were alienated, disaffected. They had no stake in the process, in the system. They had no faith.

So we've got to provide training. We've got to provide jobs for these youth. And we have to have ownership and we have to develop some hope and some confidence. And I believe if we do that, we may be on our way.

REVEREND ALBERT NICHOLSON: Mr. President, I'm Pastor Albert Nicholson, St. Peter's Baptist Church of L.A. -- and we understand that there are at least 25 churches in the city that were also burned. And one of my churches was burned. We also understand that there will be low-interest rates coming through because of the \$600 million that you allocated from the federal government for small businesses. Will this also apply for the churches?

THE PRESIDENT: I think the answer would be yes, but do you know the answer to that, Pat, whether SBA can apply to the reconstruction of churches?

ADMINISTRATOR SAIKI: We'll look into it, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: She doesn't know offhand, but it ought to and we ought -- there's a place, if we need change, there's something we ought to change.

MR. LEON WATKINS: My name is Leon Watkins, and I'm with the Family Help-Line. The Help-Line is a counseling service that helps families in the inner city. We've been doing this for the past several years as a volunteer group.

I was in Washington with a HUD summit for youth in February. I'd like to commend Secretary Kemp for having the vision to understand that we've got to invest in our youth and public housing -- I know we're talking about rebuilding the buildings, but we've got to begin to rebuild our young people, the ones who have slipped through the cracks.

Right now, today, there are thousands of people who have just gotten out of jail. We talk about the Crips and the Bloods, but we have got to invest in these people. God loves these people. But we don't know how to deal with them. We've got to put out positive programs. I don't expect you to do it, but to enforce the Governor and the Mayor.

And the last thing I'd like to say that the Crips and the Bloods had a peace treaty yesterday. We need to take advantage of that and try to go to them and try to reach out to them and give them some kind of hope that we are capable of dealing with their problems.

DR. THELMA EATON: Mr. President, I'm Dr. Thelma Eaton, and I'm President of the Coalition of 100 Black Women. Three points: One, I think we need to take a comprehensive approach to these problems; that is a bio-psycho-social approach, because when one quantity or body is damaged and you don't have service to the other parts, that part cannot heal properly. So we need to have a comprehensive approach -- housing, health, economics empowerment, et cetera. So we have to deal with these needs from a very comprehensive perspective.

Second point: We need to approach these needs from a preventive -- this is long-term preventive -- rather than residual because what we do is we have a Band-Aid approach. We wait for it to happen then we go in and we try to fix it.

Third comment: The Coalition has a mentoring program and the Governor is promoting a comprehensive mentoring program. And I think that kind of effort also, in addition to what has been said, can be very helpful. The one-to-one, one-to-one kind of effort, along with the wider institution, can be meaningful to meet these needs.

REVEREND HILL: I'd like to point out, Mr. President, the first Afro-American queen of USC.

MS. CHERYL WALKER: Good morning, my name of Cheryl Walker, and I'm a marketing representative from the Quiet Storm radio station. And my comment is that throughout the pages of history we see disenfranchisement on both sides, when there have been Democrats in power and also when there have been Republicans. The Democrats have poured in a lot of programs that make -- continue to make blacks to be dependent, while Republicans say pull yourselves up by your boot straps -- and then we say we have no boot straps.

My challenge to you today is that instead of having partisan politics that we have people politics. With a program like welfare, rather than making people dependent and constantly just giving them money, if there was a set limit of time, say three years in which they would receive monies while they're going to school or while they're training so that they could be dependent upon themselves and that they would be progressing and be able to use the resources that we have. And that's my challenge to you this morning. And I thank you for being here.

MR. WALTER GOODMAN: My name is Walter Goodman. I think I'm one of the few who is an unemployed construction worker that has worked in the metrorail. And us men, we take a lot of pride in what we do. And I would like for you, Mr. President, to understand that we -- I don't think you know of the discrimination that has been done to us in that department, because there are very few blacks that are able to get into that kind of work, and we'd like to see if somebody can help us get that taken care of. Because there's a lot of work there.

I've been out of work for over a year. I know I'm qualified. I've tried to get a job on the freeway, and it just won't happen. I think we need to look at that.

MR. LESLIE SMALL: Mr. President, my name is Leslie Small, and I grew up on the streets of Los Angeles. I was in a program when I was in high school that took me off the streets of Los Angeles. It was a program that allowed me to go to college in 10th grade and to experience college life as a youth, and then paid us \$400 every two months in order to stay in college. And this program has given me the foresight and the ability to look past the dregs of Los Angeles and try to build a solid foundation.

And I would appeal to the government, instead of putting together programs for survival in the black community, we need programs of development -- the kind of development that allows us as black youths and young people looking for a positive future to see a brighter light at the end of the tunnel. And the program that I came up under in high school is no longer there. And I would see if those kinds of programs could be instituted that allows us not only -- we're not saying give us a handout, not a handout, but give us the opportunity to develop -- not just to survive, but to develop educationally and economically

MS. META CHAMBERLAIN: I'm Meta Chamberlain, National Council of Negro Women. And I would like to comment, Mr. President, on family strength, because there's an old saying that money is the root of all evil, but fairly, it is the destruction of the future. So what I would like to suggest is that we need programs where the family is educating the child. We need change in attitudes. We have a goal in this town, we have a program, Education 2000. And what we say, Family Education 2000, because the family comes along with the child. And you would be surprised, it will develop better rapport with family and child.

It also -- sometimes you hear kids say, mother, they're not doing it that way anymore. They're really are not because we're in a changing world. But if the child -- the family goes on with the child and mentors come in, you'd be surprised at the change in the relationship.

MR. ALLEN STINSON: Yes, Mr. President, my name is Allen Stinson. I'm a mortgage banker in the area. And I'd like to assist some of the businessmen like the gentlemen here that was devastated with his building being burned down through the SBA. Will we be able to work with the SBA and acquire some loans for these people in an expeditious manner? Is it going to be a long, drawn-out process that it normally is with the SBA? Or are we going to be able to work with them a little faster?

THE PRESIDENT: No, we can get instructions to Pat Saiki, who is here, to speed this process up. Now, I hope we're successful. We will keep on it to see that we are. You might ask her just on this one specific -- right behind you -- because that is the underlying as to what we're trying to do here and it is very, very important in the reconstruction.

REVEREND HILL: All have not spoken and I think you'll understand. We are honored to have the Governor and I would like for him to be the last speaker.

GOVERNOR WILSON: Thank you, Reverend Hill.

Mr. President, I think you've heard that this is a community that cherishes not only its roots, but the future of this entire city. What you heard today are people who want to be part of the solution. They believe, as Jack Kemp believes, that ownership is part of that future. They believe that not just educational opportunity, but real opportunity in an economic way has to be an underpinning.

I think that Dr. Thelma and Warren have spoken to another kind of rebuilding that has to occur, and that is we have to see to it that young men can no longer casually father children and walk away. We have to see to it that the family does give the kind of support and kind of values that would prevent someone from pulling out of the cab of a truck and beating them senseless.

I think Reverend Hill has provided us with a forum that is remarkable in many respects. What you've seen is infinite goodwill, infinite desire to see a future for this community in which white, black are disregarded as anything but individuals who should be valued upon what they do, upon who they are.

I think, Reverend Hill, that this is a beginning. It may be the centennial for Mt. Zion, but I think it is a new beginning for Los Angeles.

REVEREND KIRKLAND: I think Dr. Hill is owed a rising vote of thanks. (Applause.)

REVEREND HILL: Let me just say, Mr. President, again, we'd like to be of help to you. One of my strong

recommendations was and is -- and I think these people here will back it -- that if the drug situation in this country demanded a czar and a commission to find a solution, to flush out where it is, to punish those; if every other major crisis in this world you appoint a czar, a commission to find the solution and to bring it to you; race relations in the United States today is potentially more dangerous than drugs. (Applause.)

And I urge you as I did last week, to appoint a top blue ribbon committee. Our people, if they knew where all of this was that's available, would use it. We don't know. And I'll give you a joke and I'm through. There was a Negro down in Alabama who had never used a telephone before. And she picked it up and she said, "Number, please." He said, "What do you mean, number?" She said, "What number do you want?" He said, "Don't get smart with me. What numbers do you have?" (Laughter.)

Throughout this nation we have the equipment to find the problem and support what's already on the books. Some of it's no new money, we just don't know it's there. Some of it is no new laws, they just need to be enforced.

For instance, for civil rights, if somebody had explained thoroughly two weeks ago that there's another step, that if this court situation didn't go over, we still can go through the civil rights bill -- the streets didn't have that knowledge. They felt that they had hit a blank wall and nothing else could happen.

We need a blue ribbon committee to help you to point out -- and we have the minds throughout this country -- to point out what does Jack Kemp have. They think he has just trillions of dollars and he's sitting on and won't let go. They think Sullivan has a total gold mine and won't let the lever up. And that creates tension. We need a top nonpolitical blue ribbon committee to address -- the number one issue, besides salvation, in this nation right now is race relations. And I don't see it getting better until something gigantic speaks to it and show that we probably have enough laws, we probably have enough money, we probably have enough of this, but we've got to see that it's there and get it out.

And I just reiterate that again. And thank you for coming to Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church. (Applause.)

END

9:45 A.M. PDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Los Angeles, California)

For Immediate Release

May 7, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN MEETING WITH BLACK COMMUNITY LEADERS

Mt. Zion Missionary Baptist Church
Los Angeles, California

9:15 A.M. PDT

REVEREND E.V. HILL: May I give the ground rules, please. The persons who are seated in this assembly have been selected across from young people to business people to leaders. The President wanted to meet just a few. He will not have an opportunity to hear a long question, but if you can make short your statement, the President of the United States would like to hear you.

Mr. President, we are honored again to have you.

THE PRESIDENT: Reverend Hill, let me -- I would never, ever correct E.V. Hill, especially in his own church in its centennial year, but rather than questions -- and I will be glad to answer them -- what I really would like to get is the heartbeat of the community, hear from you all as to what you think can best help, where matters stand.

It's hard on a short visit to get all this. I will assure you -- and I hope that Pete, sitting here, and Tom Bradley would agree -- that we have tried to bring federal resources to bear in a timely fashion. It's been done pretty low-key in the sense that the federal officers out here have been not seeking a limelight. But under David Kearns they've put together a good task force, and I've been very gratified that the leaders, both from City Council and the Mayor's Office, as well as the Governor's Office, feel the federal government is responding -- whether it's from FEMA, or whether it's from Jack Kemp's HUD, or whether it's from Lou Sullivan's HHS, or the Department of Education. Leading the fray was Pat Saiki out here very early for the SBA -- small business loans.

So I don't want to go into all these programs, although I'd be glad to have our experts respond to any questions on them at all. But what I'd like to do is, first, to say thank you; second, to let you know that justice will prevail, that we will follow through with my responsibilities under the law, and the Department of Justice is following through on the justice side of the equation to see that -- to examine to see if civil rights of anybody have been violated -- King or anybody, Rodney King or anyone else -- that there be fair play and equity there.

But having said all that, let me tell you something. And you know it better than I. There is no way, really, I guess, that the President can come here in an every four-year situation and not have it be accused by some of being political. I don't want it to be political. I want to get by this. We've got plenty of time later on in the year for the politics. I want to hear from you, just all the bark off as to what you think we can do. And please speak frankly about it.

If your comments have a political ring it will not offend because, as I say, it's a hard year to stay out of it. But we're here to help and we're here to learn. And that's it.

MR. JOHN MACK: Mr. President -- and obviously, this is not a political situation, even though I handled your campaign in South Central -- (laughter) -- a few years ago, and I may do it again. But it's under consideration, depending on a few things.

Let's get to the bottom line on this situation. There are going to be many resources that are brought into the Los Angeles area. We have, time and time again, seen resources come in and they not adequately benefit the community. I serve on a committee here that was put together by the federal government. It's called the Century Freeway Affirmative Action Committee.

What we do is we examine the dollars that come in to see to that at least a portion of that money, it goes to people who live in this corridor that are involved. It is important to understand that merely allocating resources, sending them in does not mean that we will not be excluded from the process of being able to help rebuild this community.

I encourage you to take a look at the Century Freeway Action program. It's been in existence now 10 years. It's a federal decree. And we will see to it that the dollar allocation is fair. We will not allow people from outside of the community to economically sweep all this money away.

That goes for you, too, Pete. (Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: That's a good opening comment.

MR. ROD DAVIS: Good morning, Mr. President. My name is Rod Davis. I'm a small-businessman in the community and I have come here today not representing any organization, not looking for any political office, but asking for help. I spent nine years building a small business in South Central Los Angeles. My family and I gave it everything we had. We are now totally burned out. I don't know what resources I have to rebuild.

So I'm just here today thanking you for coming and asking that the help will come forward. We would like to stay in South Central Los Angeles. We have an investment in the community. But now it's time that someone has to come to my aid. I've never had a small business loan. I've never had to come to the government for anything. But now I don't know where to turn because I do not have the resources to put my business back together, put my family back together. And we appreciate you coming out.

THE PRESIDENT: May I make a comment on that, Reverend?

REVEREND HILL: Yes.

THE PRESIDENT: Because there are a lot of others like you and you're not here as a special pleader. But I -- the federal government can in a situation like this be of real assistance. It is largely through SBA, but perhaps other facilities, agencies can help, too.

Certainly this is one, this type of experience is one where the federal government has resources available, pumping them in now -- I outlined the programs last night; I won't go through them here, although Pat Saiki is here now. And to others like you, whose life has gone up in smoke, we can get assistance, no strings attached to it, largely through SBA, but not only SBA.

And so we can get, in your case obviously, somebody in touch with you. But others like you, the Small Business Administration and other federal agencies can help. I know that

Pete or Tom Bradley can speak for the city. But this is clearly one where we have the resources.

DR. CLYDE ODEN: Mr. President, I'm Dr. Clyde Oden, President of the Watts Health Foundation. We operate a community health center in the community. We operate a number of programs in the community.

One thing we would like to just impress upon you and the rest of the leaders, that in the building of Los Angeles there has to be ownership by the residents. Existing institutions need to see the resources come their way. The savings and loans, the banks -- we need not have Bank of America or any of the other -- Wells Fargo Bank -- see the federal monies come through their sources. They ought to come through local resources.

Local community people want to own in their community. They find that the walls are there. The walls need to be removed so that we can have ownership in our community, we can build our own jobs, and we can build our community back. We want to do it. And if you look and see the community, you'll see that by and large people want to protect what is theirs. When they have an investment in it they will make sure that it works and that it grows.

Thank you, Mr. President.

THE PRESIDENT: Let me comment on that one. I strongly agree with that concept and we will, again, push for the concept at the federal level. But I am told by city officials that you are absolutely correct, that where ownership has been involved, there has been much more respect for property. And certainly this concept of ownership in the community -- the businesses -- is something I strongly endorse. And we will find ways to implement that at the federal level, I promise you.

MS. LOIS HILL: My name is Lois Hill, and I'm a resident of South Central Los Angeles. I don't have a political axe to grind, but I do live in the heart of South Central Los Angeles. And in the rebuilding of Los Angeles I would like to be a part of -- I would like to see the number of unfavorable elements limited in my neighborhood.

I worked on the board of education; I am not a teacher, I'm a little person. Right now we need \$6 million or \$10 million to keep our after-school program together. Our children -- the safest place for the children in the community is in the after-school program. That's being cut. I work with the child development division -- one of the places that provide child care for children. Part of their program is being cut. The biggest component -- we have a feeding program where you are fed as a family-style feeding. It's being cut because there is no money to fund it.

We have got to lay aside politics, get to the root of the matter and come together and heal our community. I live in South Central Los Angeles. I don't want to move out of South Central Los Angeles. And I don't want the people living on the outskirts of South Central Los Angeles telling me what's necessary in South Central Los Angeles.

I live on 89th and Avalon. I cannot go to the park at -- because it's too dangerous. My grandkids come over to my house and say, can I go to the park? No, you can't. But the people from outside the community are going to tell me how my community is supposed to be run. I need to know what you're going to do for my community?

MR. JIM FLOURNOY: One of the things that I think is sorely needed is there are a lot of funds available, but the trouble is who knows where they are. We don't know where they

are. I think that it's critical that there be a communication network that will let -- like this man said -- I don't know where to go. There should be someplace where the people like that will know where to go to take advantage of those kinds of funds.

THE PRESIDENT: The things were trying to work out for the federal government is that kind of, like a what you call a one-stop shopping approach. And David Kearns, who is our number two in the Department of Education -- some may remember him through his work with the Urban League and others when he was the Chairman of Xerox, a very large company, but a great manager -- is working that problem right now. And it would include not just the kind of services that this lady talked about, but all of it, including what the private sector can do to help.

I know Peter Ueberroth's getting involved in that, and we have a national office on that. But I think that the plea here is a very good one for letting people know what's out there.

MR. WARREN VALDRY: Mr. President, my name is Warren Valdry, the President of the One Hundred Black Men of Los Angeles. Again, we're very pleased that you have taken the time to come here to validate the involvement of the federal government. Yet, on the other hand, we, the One Hundred Black Men, lost its building. And as you know, we have been working with the very model program called the Young Black Scholars --

THE PRESIDENT: I know it.

MR. VALDRY: -- putting kids in college and universities all around the country. Governor Wilson has been very supportive of that concept. And one of the things that we'd like to see, as these resources come forward that it begins to build a relationship, build a partnership whereby the community is empowered to become stakeholders in that process. The One Hundred Black Men building was burned to the ground. We spent seven years getting that building together. It was a mini-city hall for the community people -- the elderly, the young folk -- to come in there. There was a model room where they could come in and watch City Hall in action. It was bringing City Hall to the community.

The organization is ready to go again. We want to rebuild. And the organization stands ready to be a part of that collective group that you want to put together. And we just say thanks, again, for being here. We want to work. We want to mend the relationship of this community. We want to be part of it.

THE PRESIDENT: May I ask you a question before you sit down? And it may be an impossible one to answer. But here's One Hundred Black Men, a respected organization that has no enemies. Why would someone target -- no matter what the rage, why would somebody target that building? We've seen this -- gentlemen -- what's your name again?

MR. DEREKE CARR: Dereke.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Dereke. He was telling me this morning about -- he was the one I was referring to about who saw one of his own employees taking stuff out of the store. We went around and talked about the different -- the ownership and the different facilities there. One was a dentist's office. The dentist and his wife stood out there with a dog trying to keep people from coming in and taking --

Where is he -- Dr. Faulkner right here. An amazing story. But why -- maybe that one is messed up because it was next door to a supermarket where people can go and get food. But why the Hundred Black Men? Why would somebody destroy that building? Can you --

MORE

MR. VALDRY: The only thing that I think that it might have had, the city was leasing the building. It might have had the city emblem up there, I don't know. But I want to just conclude with the fact that, the Young Black Scholars, a model program that is really being modeled by the state now with Senate bill 1114; and it also reflects the Education 2000 vision that you are really pushing forward.

DR. LARRY KIRKLAND: I simply want to thank the President for coming and we're privileged that you've come. But to answer your question that you asked a minute ago, when people have been neglected and when people have been pressed down for so long, they do not think rationally. And that's why that building was burned. And that's a question I really wanted to encourage you to raise.

We need economic empowerment and we need educational opportunities. I'm sure the resources will be released that will restore this community. I know a lot of members who lost their businesses, and I'm sure that will be restored. But we need to more long-range planning. We're living in a postindustrial period and we are educating our people to deal with a bygone era. We need to look at how we train our people so that they can have the educational advantages, so that they can deal with the contemporary generation.

And that's what we need to look at today, Mr. President. I encourage you, hopefully, that we could look at training lab technicians. We can look at training physician assistants. We can look at training people for this contemporary society so they can meet the needs of that --

MR. BAXTER SINCLAIR: I'm Baxter Sinclair, owner of a pipeline company and we've come to hear you. And you're here to get some answers, how can you help? I think that's what you want.

THE PRESIDENT: Yes, sir.

MR. SINCLAIR: I have been hearing about infrastructure. I think that the infrastructure, the sewer lines and the water lines are badly depleted. And this state just don't have the money. Pete just does not have the money. The federal government needs to place some money in there quickly. And along with that is that we devise some plans to see that the community works on these projects. What has happened here before has not been that way mounted the frustration.

Last question, you always said a kinder, gentler nation, okay? The people that have been arrested, it's wrong what they did, but if I were you, Governor, I'd put every one of them out there to clean the mess up that they did. It cost too much to keep them in prison. We cannot afford it no more. Just my suggestion, sir. Work, employment is the answer now, you see. The money in infrastructure certainly, surely would help. And I know the government can handle that.

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, sir.

MR. CELES KING: Mr. President, fortunately, we had an opportunity to talk earlier. I won't repeat a number of things we already said. But I would like to just reiterate a couple of points that I think are absolutely essential; one has been touched upon by several people. As we go through this rebuilding process it's absolutely essential that additional ways and new and different kinds of ways be found to put more African Americans into business. There are problems of lack of access to capital, discrimination, and other kinds of problems -- but that's an important thing.

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So we've got to provide training. We've got to provide jobs for these youth. And we have to have ownership and we have to develop some hope and some confidence. And I believe if we do that, we may be on our way.

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MR. LEON WATKINS: My name is Leon Watkins, and I'm with the Family Help-Line. The Help-Line is a counseling service that helps families in the inner city. We've been doing this for the past several years as a volunteer group.

I was in Washington with a HUD summit for youth in February. I'd like to commend Secretary Kemp for having the vision to understand that we've got to invest in our youth and public housing -- I know we're talking about rebuilding the buildings, but we've got to begin to rebuild our young people, the ones who have slipped through the cracks.

Right now, today, there are thousands of people who have just gotten out of jail. We talk about the Crips and the Bloods, but we have got to invest in these people. God loves these people. But we don't know how to deal with them. We've got to put out positive programs. I don't expect you to do it, but to enforce the Governor and the Mayor.

And the last thing I'd like to say that the Crips and the Bloods had a peace treaty yesterday. We need to take advantage of that and try to go to them and try to reach out to them and give them some kind of hope that we are capable of dealing with their problems.

DR. THELMA EATON: Mr. President, I'm Dr. Thelma Eaton, and I'm President of the Coalition of 100 Black Women. Three points: One, I think we need to take a comprehensive approach to these problems; that is a bio-psycho-social approach, because when one quantity or body is damaged and you don't have service to the other parts, that part cannot heal properly. So we need to have a comprehensive approach -- housing, health, economics empowerment, et cetera. So we have to deal with these needs from a very comprehensive perspective.

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Third comment: The Coalition has a mentoring program and the Governor is promoting a comprehensive mentoring program. And I think that kind of effort also, in addition to what has been said, can be very helpful. The one-to-one, one-to-one kind of effort, along with the wider institution, can be meaningful to meet these needs.

REVEREND HILL: I'd like to point out, Mr. President, the first Afro-American queen of USC.

MS. CHERYL WALKER: Good morning, my name is Cheryl Walker, and I'm a marketing representative from the Quiet Storm radio station. And my comment is that throughout the pages of history we see disenfranchisement on both sides, when there have been Democrats in power and also when there have been Republicans. The Democrats have poured in a lot of programs that make -- continue to make blacks to be dependent, while Republicans say pull yourselves up by your boot straps -- and then we say we have no boot straps.

My challenge to you today is that instead of having partisan politics that we have people politics. With a program like welfare, rather than making people dependent and constantly just giving them money, if there was a set limit of time, say three years in which they would receive monies while they're going to school or while they're training so that they could be dependent upon themselves and that they would be progressing and be able to use the resources that we have. And that's my challenge to you this morning. And I thank you for being here.

MR. WALTER GOODMAN: My name is Walter Goodman. I think I'm one of the few who is an unemployed construction worker that has worked in the metrorail. And us men, we take a lot of pride in what we do. And I would like for you, Mr. President, to understand that we -- I don't think you know of the discrimination that has been done to us in that department, because there are very few blacks that are able to get into that kind of work, and we'd like to see if somebody can help us get that taken care of. Because there's a lot of work there.

I've been out of work for over a year. I know I'm qualified. I've tried to get a job on the freeway, and it just won't happen. I think we need to look at that.

MR. LESLIE SMALL: Mr. President, my name is Leslie Small, and I grew up on the streets of Los Angeles. I was in a program when I was in high school that took me off the streets of Los Angeles. It was a program that allowed me to go to college in 10th grade and to experience college life as a youth, and then paid us \$400 every two months in order to stay in college. And this program has given me the foresight and the ability to look past the dregs of Los Angeles and try to build a solid foundation.

And I would appeal to the government, instead of putting together programs for survival in the black community, we need programs of development -- the kind of development that allows us as black youths and young people looking for a positive future to see a brighter light at the end of the tunnel. And the program that I came up under in high school is no longer there. And I would see if those kinds of programs could be instituted that allows us not only -- we're not saying give us a handout, not a handout, but give us the opportunity to develop -- not just to survive, but to develop educationally and economically

MS. META CHAMBERLAIN: I'm Meta Chamberlain, National Council of Negro Women. And I would like to comment, Mr. President, on family strength, because there's an old saying that money is the root of all evil, but fairly, it is the destruction of the future. So what I would like to suggest is that we need programs where the family is educating the child. We need change in attitudes. We have a goal in this town, we have a program, Education 2000. And what we say, Family Education 2000, because the family comes along with the child. And you would be surprised, it will develop better rapport with family and child.

It also -- sometimes you hear kids say, mother, they're not doing it that way anymore. They're really are not because we're in a changing world. But if the child -- the family goes on with the child and mentors come in, you'd be surprised at the change in the relationship.

MR. ALLEN STINSON: Yes, Mr. President, my name is Allen Stinson. I'm a mortgage banker in the area. And I'd like to assist some of the businessmen like the gentlemen here that was devastated with his building being burned down through the SBA. Will we be able to work with the SBA and acquire some loans for these people in an expeditious manner? Is it going to be a long, drawn-out process that it normally is with the SBA? Or are we going to be able to work with them a little faster?

THE PRESIDENT: No, we can get instructions to Pat Saiki, who is here, to speed this process up. Now, I hope we're successful. We will keep on it to see that we are. You might ask her just on this one specific -- right behind you -- because that is the underlying as to what we're trying to do here and it is very, very important in the reconstruction.

REVEREND HILL: All have not spoken and I think you'll understand. We are honored to have the Governor and I would like for him to be the last speaker.

GOVERNOR WILSON: Thank you, Reverend Hill.

Mr. President, I think you've heard that this is a community that cherishes not only its roots, but the future of this entire city. What you heard today are people who want to be part of the solution. They believe, as Jack Kemp believes, that ownership is part of that future. They believe that not just educational opportunity, but real opportunity in an economic way has to be an underpinning.

I think that Dr. Thelma and Warren have spoken to another kind of rebuilding that has to occur, and that is we have to see to it that young men can no longer casually father children and walk away. We have to see to it that the family does give the kind of support and kind of values that would prevent someone from pulling out of the cab of a truck and beating them senseless.

I think Reverend Hill has provided us with a forum that is remarkable in many respects. What you've seen is infinite goodwill, infinite desire to see a future for this community in which white, black are disregarded as anything but individuals who should be valued upon what they do, upon who they are.

I think, Reverend Hill, that this is a beginning. It may be the centennial for Mt. Zion, but I think it is a new beginning for Los Angeles.

REVEREND KIRKLAND: I think Dr. Hill is owed a rising vote of thanks. (Applause.)

REVEREND HILL: Let me just say, Mr. President, again, we'd like to be of help to you. One of my strong

recommendations was and is -- and I think these people here will back it -- that if the drug situation in this country demanded a czar and a commission to find a solution, to flush out where it is, to punish those; if every other major crisis in this world you appoint a czar, a commission to find the solution and to bring it to you; race relations in the United States today is potentially more dangerous than drugs. (Applause.)

And I urge you as I did last week, to appoint a top blue ribbon committee. Our people, if they knew where all of this was that's available, would use it. We don't know. And I'll give you a joke and I'm through. There was a Negro down in Alabama who had never used a telephone before. And she picked it up and she said, "Number, please." He said, "What do you mean, number?" She said, "What number do you want?" He said, "Don't get smart with me. What numbers do you have?" (Laughter.)

Throughout this nation we have the equipment to find the problem and support what's already on the books. Some of it's no new money, we just don't know it's there. Some of it is no new laws, they just need to be enforced.

For instance, for civil rights, if somebody had explained thoroughly two weeks ago that there's another step, that if this court situation didn't go over, we still can go through the civil rights bill -- the streets didn't have that knowledge. They felt that they had hit a blank wall and nothing else could happen.

We need a blue ribbon committee to help you to point out -- and we have the minds throughout this country -- to point out what does Jack Kemp have. They think he has just trillions of dollars and he's sitting on and won't let go. They think Sullivan has a total gold mine and won't let the lever up. And that creates tension. We need a top nonpolitical blue ribbon committee to address -- the number one issue, besides salvation, in this nation right now is race relations. And I don't see it getting better until something gigantic speaks to it and show that we probably have enough laws, we probably have enough money, we probably have enough of this, but we've got to see that it's there and get it out.

And I just reiterate that again. And thank you for coming to Mount Zion Missionary Baptist Church. (Applause.)

END

9:45 A.M. PDT

file

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MAY 6, 1992

MR. PRESIDENT:

I UNDERSTAND YOU HAVE AGREED TO SIGN ~~1200 PHOTOS~~
FOR THE GATHERING OF THE EAGLES -- REQUESTED
BY GENERAL SCOWCROFT.

YOU SHOULD KNOW THAT COUNSEL IS ADAMANTLY
OPPOSED TO YOUR DOING THIS, AS IS PHIL BRADY
AND I. THE ORGANIZATION WILL BE SELLING THEM.
THIS IS A BAD PRECEDENT TO ESTABLISH.

PLEASE, PLEASE DON'T DO IT

HUMBLY,

ROSE

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

R2
6-6 Did you
talk?

convinced them Pres. should
not personally sign photos



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
HEADQUARTERS AIR UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE AL 36112-5001

23 JAN 1992

Honorable Brent Scowcroft
Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
The White House
Washington DC 20500-0001

Dear General Scowcroft

On behalf of the men and women of Air University, and particularly the Air Command and Staff College (ACSC) Class of 1992, I would like to cordially invite President Bush to participate in our eleventh annual "Gathering of Eagles" on June 13, 1992.

The "Gathering of Eagles" is the capstone event of ACSC's academic year. It brings our Air Force, Army, Navy, Marine, and Department of Defense students face to face with people who shaped their aviation heritage. This year the class wishes to honor the President's contributions as a naval aviator during World War II, highlighting his service as an Avenger pilot flying from the USS San Jacinto.

A key feature of the "Gathering of Eagles" is a collage depicting an aircraft flown by each of the honored participants. Our program sparked the idea for Captain Robert Rasmussen's painting commemorating the seventy-fifth anniversary of naval aviation. As with the Navy painting, we also make prints of the collage, similar to the ones the President signed for Captain Rasmussen in 1986. Over the past 10 years, more than 150 distinguished aviators have signed our prints. Profits from the sales of prints support the "Gathering of Eagles" and other college programs. Our 1991 print hangs in General Trefry's outer office should you or the President wish to see a sample.

I think the President might enjoy an evening of fellowship with other aviators while the ACSC Class of 1992 honors them as "Eagles." Thank you for your consideration and assistance with this request.

Very respectfully

Charles G. Boyd

CHARLES G. BOYD
Lieutenant General, USAF
Commander

*Navy - VP -
new Hanger*

TENTATIVE LIST OF PARTICIPANTS
FOR
GATHERING OF EAGLES 1992

1. EDNA GARDNER WHYTE - Pioneer aviatrix and race pilot.
2. WILLIAM REID - Victoria Cross winner in Lancaster bombers.
3. LT GEN BENJAMIN DAVIS - First black to solo USAAF aircraft.
4. AIR MARSHAL ALEXANDER SILANTIEV - WW II ace and Sov AF/CV.
5. MAJ GEN DAVID JONES - Doolittle Raider (50th Anniv).
6. RICHARD BEST - USN dive bomber Sq/CC Midway (50th Anniv).
7. GENERALMAJOR DIETRICH PELTZ - WW II Luftwaffe general.
8. MAJ GEN THOMAS HAYES - Double ace in P-51/357th FG/CC.
9. PRESIDENT GEORGE BUSH - WW II naval aviator.
10. MAJ GEN FREDERICK ASCANI - B-17 Sq/CC WW II and test pilot.
11. MAJ GEN MARION CARL - USMC's most famous test pilot/ace.
12. BRIG GEN CHARLES YEAGER - Double ace and test pilot.
13. LT GEN CHARLES CLEVELAND - Korean War MiG-killer.
14. COL C. E. ANDERSON - Triple ace and test pilot.
15. COL GEORGE DAY - Medal of Honor in Southeast Asia.
16. JACQUELINE AURIOL - French test pilot and record setter.
17. BRIG GEN CHARLES DUKE - Test pilot and Apollo moon walker.
18. MAJ GEN CECIL POWELL - Test pilot in lifting body.
19. CONGRESSMAN RANDY CUNNINGHAM - USN ace in Southeast Asia.
20. COL RICHARD CODY - USA Helicopter Pilot in Gulf War.



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
HEADQUARTERS AIR UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE AL 36112-5001

210071
DCF HAS SEEN

13 March 1992

Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue NW
Washington DC 20500-0001

Dear Mr Skinner

Meeting you last Saturday on the ramp at Maxwell AFB was a pleasure. All of your party, particularly the President, seemed to be in a good mood when you departed so I assume the fishing was satisfactory.

By way of follow up to our conversation with regard to the President's possible participation as an "Eagle" in the annual "Gathering of Eagles," I would offer the following additional information. In essence, this event is a gathering of famous aviators from around the world for the purpose of providing inspiration for our young students and helping them maintain a tie with their own heritage. While it is under the aegis of, and the crowning event of the year for, our Air Command and Staff College (ACSC), it is such a popular occasion it subsumes most of the attention of the rest of Air University and a good bit of the community as well.

The "Eagles" we choose each year are for the most part notable combatants and in all cases significant in their aerospace achievements. The attached list of this year's invitees (all have accepted except for our President) will give you a sense of the genre.

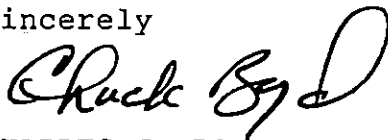
The final event of the week-long gathering, and the only one we would think appropriate for the President's participation, is on 13 June. We hope to bring in a TBM Avenger with markings identical to the one he flew, as well as a number of other symbols of America's airpower success from WWII through Desert Storm. Showcasing our Commander in Chief, not just as the Commander in Chief, but as a member of an elite group of combatants--fighter pilot--would do something magic for his young aviator subordinates and, I think, it would do something very positive for the American people as well.

Montgomery Mayor Emory Folmar, the State Campaign Chairman, can of course put together additional functions of any scope you choose. That's out of my area, but I know he's anxious to help in that or any other way he can.

If you think the President might be interested, please have your people contact me directly for more information or work the details directly with Brigadier General James Savarda, Commandant of ACSC, (205) 953-2295.

Again, it was a pleasure to meet you. Hope we can work together soon.

Sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Charles G. Boyd".

CHARLES G. BOYD
Lieutenant General, USAF
Commander

1 Atch
List of Invitees

GATHERING OF EAGLES 1992

1. DAVID "TEX" HILL Carrier pilot on *Saratoga* and *Ranger* 1939 to 1941. Original Flying Tiger with over 12 victories. Later Group Commander in China under General Chennault. Post-war Air Guard and Reserve career.
2. WILLIAM REID, VC WWII RAF Lancaster pilot. Received Victoria Cross for bringing crippled Lancaster home during Battle of Berlin. Later member of 617 Squadron, Dambusters. POW at Stalag Luft III.
3. DIETRICH PELTZ Outstanding Luftwaffe bomber pilot. Rose from staffelkapitan in Stukas, to gruppe kommandeur in Ju 88's, to "Attack Leader England." Ended war as youngest major general. Holds Knight's Cross with Oak Leaves and Swords.
4. BENJAMIN O. DAVIS, JR First USAF black general officer. First black to solo an Army aircraft. Combat commander of 99th Pursuit Squadron and later 332d Fighter Group. Assistant Secretary of Transportation during Nixon presidency.
5. ALEKSANDR SILANTIEV Twice "Hero of the Soviet Union." In first 6 months flew 203 combat sorties and shot down 8 enemy aircraft in 35 air battles. Air Marshal in 1976, Deputy to Chief of Soviet Air Force in 1978. Now President, Russian War Veterans Committee.
6. GEORGE BUSH Youngest naval aviator at time of the Okinawa and Ryukyu Islands campaign. Shot down attacking communications facility on Chichi Jima. Rescued by submarine just off shore. Distinguished career in many areas of government.
7. FREDERICK ASCANI WWII 15th Air Force B-17 squadron commander. Landed behind German lines in Slovakia to supply partisans and bring out USAAF evadees. Test pilot, racing pilot, later F-86 Fighter Group Commander.

8. CHARLES CLEVELAND Flight leader in F-86s as lieutenant in Korean War. Four confirmed aerial victories, plus two damaged, and two probable. Distinguished career in Air Force. Director, Health and Human Services in Hunt administration in Alabama.
9. CHARLES YEAGER Premier American test pilot. First man to break "sound barrier." Awarded special Congressional Medal of Honor. Flown over 275 different types of aircraft. Double ace in Europe during WWII.
10. JACQUELINE AURIOL French woman test pilot. Three-time recipient of America's Harmon Trophy. Held women's world speed record on five different occasions. Daughter-in-law of French Premier Vincent Auriol.
11. RICHARD BEST Early USN carrier pilot. As dive bomber squadron commander at Midway, led successful attacks on Japanese carriers *Akagi* and *Hiryu*. Later with RAND Corporation for over 30 years.
12. THOMAS HAYES World War II double ace in P-51s. Aerial victories in both Pacific and European theater. Commanded 357th Fighter Group, one of the first and most successful P-51 groups in the European Theater of WWII.
13. GEORGE DAY Misty Super Fac commander with 66 combat missions. Medal of Honor recipient as escapee in North Vietnam. POW leader in Hanoi. Highest decorated officer since Douglas MacArthur.
14. C.E. ANDERSON WWII triple ace in the P-51. Distinguished test pilot. Wing Commander flying F-105's in Southeast Asia. Served as Director of Flight Test for McDonnell Douglas at Edwards AFB. Author of To Fly and Fight.
15. CECIL POWELL Test pilot in the "Lifting Body" program. Flew M2F3 to obtain data for subsequent space shuttle program. Flew 104 combat missions in F-105 in SE Asia. Distinguished Air Force career.

16. CHARLES DUKE

Naval Academy graduate, took commission in USAF. Test pilot and astronaut. Apollo 16 moonwalker. Longest and most wide-ranging mission on the moon. Successful business career--now President, Duke Ministry for Christ.

17. MARION CARL

USMC's first ace. Most distinguished USMC or USN test pilot. First USMC helicopter pilot. Commanded first USMC jet squadron. Held speed and altitude records in Douglas rocket planes. Air Group Commander in Vietnam.

18. RICHARD CODY

Led Special Ops mission to attack radars deep in Iraq as opening shot of air war in the Gulf. Army test pilot in early 1980's. Currently on active duty.

19. DAVID JONES

B-25 aircraft commander and Doolittle raider. Later shot down during combat in Mediterranean Theater, then POW in Germany. Distinguished career in bombers. Ran operational tests on B-58. Worked in/with NASA on space shots.

20. RANDY CUNNINGHAM

Only Navy ace in Vietnam. Three victories on one mission, including shoot-down of Colonel Toon, North Vietnam's leading ace. Commanded special Navy Aggressor Squadron. Currently US Congressman from San Diego.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE PROPOSAL

February 3, 1992

TO: Katherine L. Super
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Appointments and Scheduling

FROM: Timothy J. McBride *J. McBride*
Assistant to the President for
Management and Administration

REQUEST: The President participate as an "Eagle"
in the 1992 "Gathering of the Eagles" at
the Air Command and Staff College
(ACSC).

BACKGROUND: This gathering will bring together
members of the ACSC class with
international aviation pioneers and
combat leaders.

PREVIOUS
PARTICIPATION: None

DATE AND TIME: June 9-14; Open
June 13, 1992; evening (recommended
date)

LOCATION: Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama

PARTICIPANTS: The President
1992 ACSC graduating class and twenty
international aviation pioneers and
combat leaders.

SEQUENCE OF EVENTS: To be determined by the advance office.

REMARKS: Yes, to be prepared by the speech
writers.

MEDIA COVERAGE: Open

Attachment



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
HEADQUARTERS AIR UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE AL 36112-5001

23 JAN 1992

Lieutenant General Richard G. Trefry,
USA, Retired
Military Assistant to the President
White House Military Office
Washington DC 20500-0001

Dear General Trefry

Every year, just prior to graduation, Air Command and Staff College (ACSC) hosts the "Gathering of Eagles," bringing together members of the class with international aviation pioneers and combat leaders. Twenty men and women, who have shaped our aviation heritage, are honored by the graduating class. These "Eagles" inspire our students to meet future challenges.

Air University, on behalf of the ACSC Class of 1992, wishes to invite President Bush to participate as an "Eagle" in the 1992 "Gathering of Eagles." The President would be honored for his service as a naval aviator in the Pacific during World War II.

The "Gathering of Eagles" occurs 9-14 June 1992, highlighted with a formal dinner on 13 June. Given the President's full schedule, this would be the best day for his participation. I solicit your support in extending our invitation to the President.

I have enclosed background materials on the "Gathering of Eagles." If you have any questions, please feel free to contact me or Major Pat Burbank, ACSC/EDWH, DSN 493-2385.

This program, now in its eleventh year, is a great tradition and an outstanding way to teach "living history" to our students. I appreciate your personal support of Air University and thank you for your assistance in this matter.

Sincerely

CHARLES G. BOYD
Lieutenant General, USAF
Commander

- 4 Atch
1. 1983 Airman
2. 1991 Airman
3. 1991 GOE Booklet
4. 1992 Tentative
"Eagle" List



DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
HEADQUARTERS AIR UNIVERSITY
OFFICE OF THE COMMANDER
MAXWELL AIR FORCE BASE AL 36112-5001

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Sincerely

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Chuck", is written over the word "Sincerely".

CHARLES G. BOYD
Lieutenant General, USAF
Commander

- 4 Atch
1. 1983 Airman
2. 1991 Airman
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"Eagle" List

April 8, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR PHIL BRADY

FROM: TERRY GOOD
RE: AUTOPEN REQUEST

I understand that General Scowcroft may soon discuss with the President a request from a non-profit organization composed of WWII pilots. The organization raises money to support itself through the sale of memorabilia.

For this year it is considering the sale of a large framed three panel visual display, the center panel containing drawings of WWII aircraft, the two side panels each containing signed photographs of 20 pilots. It would like to include a signed photograph of the then Lieutenant (jg.) Bush.

The organization is contemplating printing 1,000 of these with the hope that each of the pilots will sign each print. The signatures are to be in pencil.

Mike Gould, the Air Force Aide asked me today if we could autopen these in pencil, assuming that all the appropriate approvals are granted. I have experimented with a pencil in the autopen machine and am attaching a sample. I would caution that the paper used in this experiment does not match the much coarser surface of the display material. However, it is possible to do this although it would take considerably more time due to the need to frequently change and adjust the pencils.

Bill Farish has last year's framed print in his office.

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

JUNE 6, 7, and 8, 1992

SATURDAY, SUNDAY, AND MONDAY

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
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
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)

Bush's secret pals network

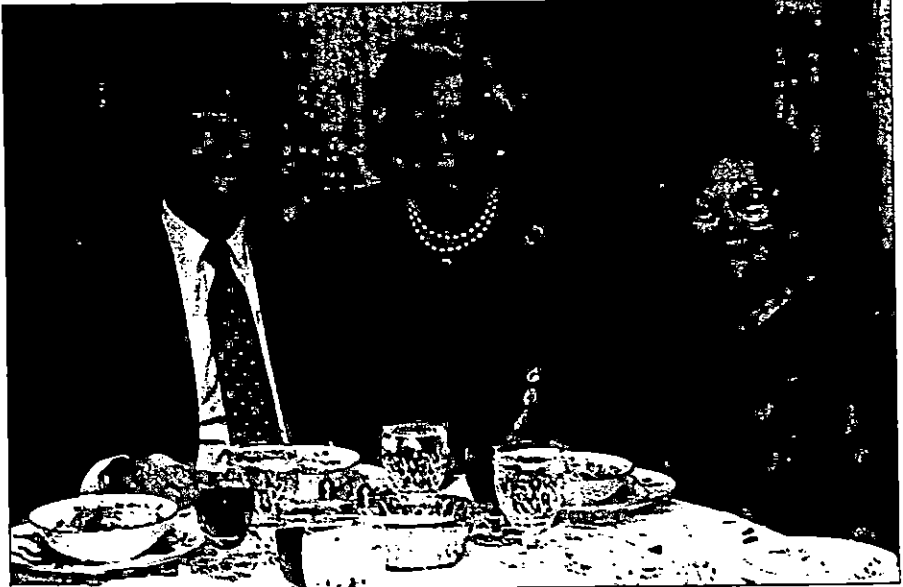
His outreach is extraordinary, but he doesn't know how best to use it

George Bush told aides just after his election that he was determined not to become "trapped in the White House," as he felt Ronald Reagan had been. That is why, during the height of concern about the riots in Los Angeles, he hosted a small luncheon for black, Hispanic and Asian aides to discuss racial attitudes. Carvel Lewis, a young White House assistant, said whenever a crime is committed in his apartment building, he is always a suspect simply because he is black. Bush was appalled. The next night, Bush got another dose of reality over dinner with a dozen women staffers who told him of their fear of crime and the need for safe streets.

The sessions highlighted the essential George Bush: decent, concerned, empathetic and surprisingly engaged with his fellow citizens. No president in the modern era has so energetically reached out to citizens of all walks of life. One of the most important—and little noticed—aspects of his presidency is his regular contact with 50 or 60 intimates and informal advisers outside government. Incredibly, aides say he keeps in touch with more than 4,000 friends through periodic phone calls and letters.

The mystery is why, with all that input from outsiders, Bush still has such trouble connecting with the public at large. Some 61 percent of those surveyed by ABC News in April said Bush does not understand their problems. His friends say that it's not that he is isolated or does not care about domestic problems but that he is not particularly well equipped to assess and act on the countless bits and pieces of information he receives. Without firm ideological moorings or direct experience outside his own Brahmin background, he doesn't know what to make of all the disparate voices he hears.

Longtime associates say that, to Bush, making contact seems to be the point of his ceaseless outreach—not acquiring insight, drawing conclusions or taking action. One intimate says that during a briefing after the Los Angeles riots, Bush was eager to hear everyone's views on urban-policy options and seriously questioned his briefers. But he also agreed



Pasta, no politics. DeAngelis (right, in 1988) wants to give Bush cavarelli next time.

with everyone and did not see the inherent incompatibility of certain positions. In the following days, he first adopted a tough law-and-order stance, then a compassionate stance, then a law-and-order stance once again. That contrasts, says the associate, with Bush's steadiness on foreign policy, his capacity to weigh options and judge the accuracy of briefers' insights, then act on them.

Bush's outreach has also failed to sensitize him to the depth of the recession.



No bull. Dagostino doesn't pull punches.

Friends say he ignored the advice of small-business people and others who told him repeatedly of the economic pain they were seeing in their communities beginning last fall. Instead, Bush listened to chief economic adviser Michael Boskin and budget director Richard Darman, who insisted that the downturn would be mild and short-lived. Bush finally realized something was desperately wrong when Republican challenger Patrick Buchanan started surging in New Hampshire polls and took 37 percent of the primary vote in that recession-racked state in mid-February. By then, however, Bush had created the lasting impression that he didn't care about domestic issues.

Big Z. Not that he doesn't try. But often, his contacts with "real America" are so pleasant and amicable that he could be misled about the true state of public sentiment. Bush seems attracted in particular to people without pretense, ordinary folks with whom he can relax and who have no axes to grind. One of his personal favorites is Terry DeAngelis, a 68-year-old housewife from Norristown, Pa., known as "Big Z," her CB radio nickname. Big Z, whose family owns an auto-repair shop, met Bush in 1980 when Republican aides persuaded her to invite the then obscure presidential candidate





JOANNA B. PINNEO—US&W



His happy diversions. Bush's many sporting pals provide him with low-pressure good times. The president enjoys hunting in Texas with Will Farish, pitching horseshoes at a fund-raiser in Westchester, N.Y., with Spike Heminway and fishing near Kennebunkport, Maine, with local golf pro Ken Raynor.

to a spaghetti dinner at her home. Bush, it seemed, had expressed a desire to talk with a working-class family. He has returned to the modest DeAngelis residence for lunch or dinner four times since then. He enjoys chatting with Big Z about their families and their health, but she is reluctant to discuss politics.

A more outspoken pal is Mike Dagostino, a 76-year-old retired florist in Exeter, N.H., whom Bush met in 1979 in his first presidential campaign. Dagostino always greets the president when he arrives at New Hampshire's Pease airfield en route to the family retreat in nearby Kennebunkport. Sometimes, if Bush seems interested, the crusty Dagostino will pass on his political views. "If the government would get the hell out of people's business, we'd be OK," Dagostino says. "It's getting to be like a welfare country."

Just as important as the regular folks are Bush's political cronies. The president regularly invites Washington-area pals to the White House for lunch or dinner, and politics is always on the menu. Among them are Bush biographer and friend Vic Gold; former Press Secretary Pete Teeley, whom Bush recently named ambassador to Canada; Republican National Chairman Rich Bond; Craig Fuller, his former chief of staff;

Sheila Tate, his former press secretary; Thomas "Lud" Ashley, a friend and former Democratic congressman from Ohio, and a variety of legislators including Sen. Alan Simpson of Wyoming and Rep. Sonny Montgomery of Mississippi.

Not like LBJ. Some of Bush's friends admit privately they are reluctant to speak their minds because they don't want to add to his burdens. Bush's problem is the reverse of the famous unwillingness of Lyndon Johnson's aides to tell him the truth for fear he'd fly into a rage and cut them off. In Bush's case, his friends concede they pull their punches because they like him so much they don't want to upset him at times of high stress.

Yet some Republican strategists fear Bush's enormous paligarchy is too homogeneous. Few of his pen pals and phone pals are nonwhite, female, working class or poor. Bush tries to make up for those omissions by hosting periodic sessions with people normally not in his orbit and by reading four to six letters a day randomly selected by his staff to give him a sense of the country's mood.

Still, the president's most consistently unvarnished counsel comes from family members, especially his five children. George W. Bush, the president's eldest son and managing partner of the Texas Rangers baseball team, is an adviser to

the president's re-election campaign. He sounded early alarms that Ross Perot wasn't being taken seriously enough by the president's senior advisers. Jeb Bush, a Florida real-estate developer, often discusses regional politics with his father. Jeb also provided a personal lesson in the recession's impact. The president invited him and his family to a recent state dinner, but Jeb sent his regrets. When the president asked why, Jeb reminded him of what was happening in the depressed commercial real-estate market and said he couldn't afford to take time off from his business. But it is Barbara Bush who, aides say, is the president's best conduit to the "real world." Friends say she realized far earlier than the president or his advisers that the public was deeply discontented with the status quo.

In the end, no amount of outreach, however laudable, can replace a sense of direction from the White House. "A president can't always say, 'on the other hand,'" says political scientist Stephen Hess of the Brookings Institution. "At some point, he's got to settle on a program. That's what leadership is all about." Americans, after all, define their president not by what he hears but by what he does. ■

BY KENNETH T. WALSH

THE PRESIDENT

Taking Aim at the Bush Rumors

One of the most gossiped-about political stories of the year will surface later this month in *Spy* magazine, a satirical monthly with a reputation for outrageousness. In a lengthy but not especially convincing cover story, *Spy* says George Bush has had at least three extramarital affairs. Two of the women Bush is alleged to have been involved with (before he became president) have held high-level jobs in his administration. None of the women (*Spy* names only one) admits to having had an affair with the president.

Numerous sources are quoted in the story, but none of them goes on the record. Still, combined with Hillary Clin-



Writing the A-word: Spy

ton's quote in *Vanity Fair* about an alleged Bush affair, the *Spy* article may force into the open a topic that has until now been the subject mostly of unsubstantiated whispering among journalists and political insiders.

Spy (circulation 150,000) editor Kurt Andersen says the previous scrutiny of Gary Hart and Bill Clinton—Democrats accused of infidelity—justifies the story. Many journalists agree that Bush's championing of family values opens his private life to closer examination. White House Deputy Press Secretary Judy Smith's response to *NEWSWEEK*: "I can't believe you'd print such trash."



A decision is near: Anti-abortion demonstrators in Washington

SUPREME COURT

Muddled on Abortion?

With only three weeks left in the Supreme Court term, the pressure is on to reach a decision in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, the Pennsylvania case that could reverse the 1973 landmark *Roe v. Wade* decision that legalized abortion. *NEWSWEEK* has learned that the justices have not yet begun the process of circulating opinions to each other for comment and review. But sources say at least three of the nine justices are planning to draft opinions in *Casey*. That suggests the possibility of a murky, perhaps inconclusive, decision. No matter

what the outcome, sources at the court expect the decision will be handed down the last day of the term. According to clerks, the justices are pushing to release all opinions by June 29. Moreover, the abortion decision will come during a particularly frenetic period for the court. It still has 38 other cases to decide—about one third of the court's nine-month total. Expect an onslaught of decisions in coming weeks on such subjects as bans on offensive speech and the constitutionality of having clergy speak at public schools.

CONVENTIONAL WISDOM WATCH

Women in Power Edition

With California on the brink of having two women senators, the CW looks back on its long, strong support for women's rights. You've come a long way, baby. (Oh, shut up.)

PLAYERS

Conventional Wisdom

B. Boxer	↑ Anita Hill trumps rubber checks. See you in Wash. with Di Fi, Lynn Y. and Carol M.B.
M. Perot	↑ Strong pro-choice views, but more comfortable in kitchen than cabinet. Ross is boss.
M. Reagan	↓ Father knows best: you shouldn't have run for Congress. Get a talk show.
Kirkpatrick	↓ Dooms chances by nominating self to be Perot VP. Is he authoritarian or totalitarian?
Madonna	↓ Nude in <i>Playboy</i> and nobody cares. Warner overpaid: the empress has no clothes.
P. Diana	↑ Pills in the palace. Cry for help—or leaks to win sympathy if she ever chucks Chuck?

WASHINGTON FAX

'Real People'

Aside from winning the election, perhaps the biggest challenge for Democrats this year is to make their July convention at least remotely interesting. Because the usual parade of boring speeches could be political suicide, Democrats want to make the event more "television savvy." Instead of party elders, they will showcase "real people": an unemployed steelworker, a person who is HIV-positive, an author. Politicians, quips an aide, will be relegated to "the time slot after sermonette." Democrats will have to fight for the spotlight, especially since the networks will cover only "highlights," leaving the gavel-to-gavel show to CNN and C-Span.

CAMPAIGN '92

Mudslinger?

Here's one reason why Ed Rollins should feel right at home now that he's been named Ross Perot's co-campaign chairman: they both fancy covert operations. *NEWSWEEK* has learned that in 1986, when Rollins handled Republican Linda Chavez's bid for a Maryland senate seat, he suggested hiring an investigator to delve into opponent Barbara Mikulski's private life. Chavez said no. A proposal by Rollins's firm for a TV ad featuring an image of a closet—a veiled and unsubstantiated reference to Mikulski's sexuality—was also turned down by the Chavez campaign (Chavez did call Mikulski "anti-male"). Mikulski won overwhelmingly and is expected to be re-elected in November.



Rollins



CHATTER

by Kim Cunningham

FAMILY VALUES

Dan Quayle's meddling in the affairs of fictitious characters such as Murphy Brown did not extend to those in his wife's mystery novel. *Embrace the Serpent*. "He had no input into the content of the book whatsoever," says Marilyn Quayle, 42, who cowrote the thriller with her sister, Nancy Northcott, 47. "He stayed so far away from that. [but] we asked him to read the book early on so that he'd know what he was getting into. So if it truly were going to be embarrassing, he could say, 'Hey, I think maybe this isn't a very good idea.' But he said, 'Go, great!'" Would Mrs. Quayle ever consider running for President someday? "I have absolutely no desire to be President! I want to write best-selling novels," says Mrs. Quayle, adding, "I'd say one politician in the Quayle family is plenty."



◀ Marilyn Quayle says her Danforth is no lit crit.

PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY AROCH

Give Hillary a Break

By Letty Cottin Pogrebin

I don't get this Hillary-bashing. Why should 1992 be the Year of the Woman but not of the wife?

Clearly something extraordinary is happening to women in politics. People everywhere are excited about candidates like Barbara Boxer and Dianne Feinstein, the winners in California's Democratic Senate primaries; Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, an African-American; Pennsylvania's Lynn Yeakel, who comes out of grass-roots feminism rather than ward politics or senatorial widowhood, and New York's Geraldine Ferraro, who has attracted 57,000 contributions from all 50 states.

Why are we not seeing similar enthusiasm for Hillary Clinton, who represents the same values, perspectives and positions, and is as smart, articulate, experienced and attractive?

She would be the first First Lady who — like most of today's wives and mothers — has been a wage earner and family woman and who understands exactly what the rest of us are up against. Why isn't she benefiting from the same groundswell?

O.K., she's not running for office, but as a spouse she compares more than favorably with the many political wives who are come-lately proponents of good causes or who adopt an issue, usually something noncontroversial, when it suits their husbands' agenda. Hillary Clinton has a 20-year record of advocacy for social justice and chil-

dren's welfare. That should be a plus. But I've heard her criticized as too strong, too strident, too substantive.

Maybe people forget that in 1973, when Hillary graduated from law school, a woman had to be twice as good as a man to go half as far; verbal skills and assertiveness were essential to surmount sex discrimination. But why bad-mouth a female achiever in 1992 when most parents have high aspirations for their daughters and most women want for themselves the balance among family, work and service she embodies?

Perhaps such criticism illuminates society's ambivalence toward changing roles in this backlash era. Men may be projecting on to Mrs. Clinton their hostility toward feminism, while women, overwhelmed by their multi-

Why is she different from Barbara Boxer?

ple responsibilities, may be projecting their frustrations.

Others call her ambitious and self-serving. In fact, she could more accurately be called self-sacrificing. Although she had her pick of prestigious positions, she followed Bill Clinton to Fayetteville, Ark., and built a life there for the sake of his career. Years later, to help his re-election campaign, she gave up her name.

Why attack such a woman — unless the problem relates not to women but to wives? Many voters who can ac-



Ruth Marten

cept female accomplishments in the public sphere still invest emotionally in the image of wife as subordinate to her husband. Margot Perot told Barbara Walters she cares only about making "a happy home for Ross" and cannot imagine wanting to sit in on a Cabinet meeting — and some viewers warmed to her. She admitted to being pro-choice but reassured America that her husband "doesn't need my advice.... And, no, I would not be breathing down his neck."

A woman can get away with plenty of self-assertion so long as she establishes herself as the good wife. Hillary Clinton won her highest approval ratings just after she appeared on TV sitting at her husband's side defending him against the Other Woman. In this situation, her assertive style was perceived positively because she used it for her man and her marriage.

The female candidates have managed to detach themselves from their families, but a candidate's wife cam-

paigns as a wife. And many voters, rather than judge her on her potential as a partner in public service, still use the old-fashioned yardstick of "charm" and looks.

When we elect a President we get a governing couple; more precisely, when we elect a man we give his wife power. Nancy Reagan was the iron fist inside her husband's velvet glove. Rosalynn Carter sat in on Cabinet meetings, and so what? Barbara Bush has spoken as the President's surrogate. Every Administration uses its First Lady to win friends and influence voters.

Because of this power, visibility and access, I frankly prefer that the next First Lady be cast in the mold of Eleanor Roosevelt. I count a smart First Lady as a bonus, not a burden. She advertises her husband's ability to live with a female equal — and that for me is a character issue.

Letty Cottin Pogrebin is a writer and a founding editor of Ms. magazine.

A project to tackle education

A study puts U.S. at the bottom of world charts. The Edison Project aims to change that.

By Michael Vitez
and Steve Stecklow
INQUIRER STAFF WRITERS

Yet another depressing example of how America's public schools are not making the grade:

A recent study of 13-year-olds from 15 countries found that the United States finished 14th in mathematics in a standardized test — behind Hungary, Ireland, Slovenia and Spain, among others. Only Jordan did worse.

The United States did only slightly better in science, nosing out only Jordan and Ireland to finish 13th.

"Nationwide, if you take a look at the achievement of American students, you'd have to say it's pretty mediocre overall," said Gregory R. Anrig, president of the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, which conducted the study. "Our youngsters are not working hard enough or doing well enough to meet what lies ahead of them in their adult years."

The big question now is, can a slick and highly successful ad salesman from Tennessee rescue America's youngsters and schools?

Late last month, with all the hype and hoopla of a presidential campaign, marketing whiz Chris Whittle announced that he had hired Benno Schmidt Jr., president of Yale University, to serve as chief executive of the Edison Project — Whittle's scheme to create a nationwide chain of radically different private schools.

Whittle is the man behind Channel One, a controversial 12-minute television program combining news shows with commercials for junk food and sneakers that is now shown in 11,000 schools. He and his partners predict that the Edison Project schools will prove so successful, appealing and affordable that public schools eventually will copy them. In fact, they say, they will have failed if they don't achieve that goal.

Education experts have a tough time defending public schools today, what with high rates of dropouts, absenteeism and declining test scores, particularly among poorer students. Most public schools are still based on 19th-century models.

See **SCHOOLS** on A11

SCHOOLS from A1

with pupils essentially passive. They are "grotesquely inefficient," said Theodore R.Sizer, who heads the Coalition of Essential Schools, a nationwide network of innovative public and private schools.

Nevertheless, Sizer and many other prominent educators have their doubts that Whittle & Co. can succeed in revamping public schools.

"The fact is, we have never had any difficulty whatsoever creating model schools that look exactly the way we want education to look," said Richard Elmore, who teaches at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. "In a way, this idea that this is a brand-new thing and it has never been done before is just absurd."

The trouble is, Elmore continued, "we have had enormous difficulty making anything of the experiments that we've been able to run, getting them widely adopted, having them have a broad-scale influence on teaching and learning for the average student."

What will Whittle's revolutionary new schools look like? At the moment, figuring that out is like guessing where Ross Perot stands on the major political issues.

The architects of the Edison Project, the seven members of the design team, have made no decisions yet. In fact, they've met as a group only a few times. None of them has even moved to Knoxville, where Whittle and the Edison Project are based.

Whittle has set the basic tenets: He wants 200 schools to open by the fall of 1996, and as many as 1,000 schools with two million students to be opened by the year 2010. He says he will have to raise at least \$2.5 billion from investors to get the project off the ground. He promises them a profit in return. He already has promised to pump in \$60 million from his company, Whittle Communications, whose partners include Time Warner Inc. and Philips Electronics.

Whittle also insists that overall, 20 percent of those schoolchildren should come from poor families and receive full scholarships. (It's possible that inner-city schools would have all scholarship pupils, while affluent suburban schools would have none.) In addition, tuition can be no higher than that spent by public schools to educate students — on average today, about \$3,500 per year per student. Finally, if more children wish to enroll than there are slots available, admission will be based on a lottery — not background, pedigree or influence.

Based on interviews with five of the seven members of the design team, as well as Schmidt and Whittle, a somewhat foggy vision of how the Edison Project schools might look slowly emerges:

These schools probably will be more like community centers, open from early morning until late at night, year-round, home to children of all ages, from toddlers to teenagers. Students will not sit all day in classrooms, but spend a great deal of their time working on community projects, involved with local institutions and businesses, rather than isolated in cinder-block buildings.

"Schools have gotten out of touch with the basic concerns of parents and local communities," said John E. Chubb, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution and one of the seven core members, "and they aren't well enough integrated with communities and parents. And we would like to restore that."

In addition, said core team member Lee Eisenberg, a former editor of *Esquire*, "We very strongly feel that the schools have to conform to the living patterns of the places they exist in. Kids can learn from factories and museums and things that exist in their communities. And they ought to give back. This involvement teaches civics and accountability and patriotism and responsibility. There will be lots of out-of-the-classroom activities."

The core team isn't sure at all that it even needs to build new schools. Some members have suggested using empty Catholic schools or military bases scheduled for closing, or operating the schools out of libraries or other community institutions.

The designers do agree that the Edison Project schools must follow in a liberal arts tradition, teaching math and science, literature and the arts. They will encourage critical thinking — concentrating more on getting students to ask questions than to memorize answers.

Technology, they say, will play a large role. They envision every child carrying around a lap-top computer that will contain lessons, texts, homework, and communications between parent and teacher.

The schools also will use interactive computers, with students talking via computer with mayors, professors and area professionals. With all the Edison Project schools interconnected, in theory one teacher could lecture one million students at a time.

Teachers will include parents, public officials, local professionals and older students. Their compensation could be based in large part on their performance.

"We absolutely need to provide teachers with the respect they deserve and with the feeling that they're owners, they're entrepreneurs with a great mission," said Nancy Hechinger, a specialist in interactive media and another core team member.

"For example," she added, "if they create some new and exciting curriculum, then we should publish it and they get royalties."

But all of this, the designers stress, will take time. They predict the first schools will open in 1996 with only preschoolers or a few elementary grades, and gradually grow as these children rise through the system.

In the meantime, critics say anything Whittle proposes needs to be viewed with suspicion. Among his current business ventures is a series of books that include advertisements.

"This is a guy who has specialized in appearing to be in one business when he happens to be in another," said Harvard's Elmore. "And everyone is waiting to see what business he's in this time."

But Anrig, of the Educational Testing Service, said educators should hold their fire just yet.

"The important thing is that kids are not learning as well as they should, and if Mr. Whittle or anybody else can come along and do a better job, then blessings to him," Anrig said.

More Students Falling Behind in Grade Levels, Study Says

By JEAN MERL
TIMES EDUCATION WRITER

More than one-third of all Americans between 15 and 17 years of age either have become high school dropouts or are at least one grade level behind, according to a Census Bureau report to be released today.

Furthermore, there is a gap between white students and those in two large minority groups—blacks and Latinos—that begins in middle childhood and widens as students get older. And more boys than girls fall into the dropout-or-behind group at all ages and for all races, according to the report, "School Enrollment—Social and Economic Characteristics of Students."

Although the report offers glimpses of good news—such as a declining dropout rate—it mostly provides troubling signs of continuing problems despite nearly a decade of education reform efforts. And it provides further evidence of a link between early childhood education and school success, some experts said.

By 1990, 34.8% of all students between 15 and 17 had dropped out or had been placed in classes at least one year below their age group, up from 29.1% in 1980, the report found. About 32% of white students fell into that category, while for blacks and Latinos the proportions were 48% and 48.6%, respectively. About 29.4% of girls and 39.9% of boys were represented in that group.

All three racial groups studied in the report were virtually even in primary school years—about 22% in each group was one grade level or more behind among 6- to 8-year-olds. But dramatic differences began appearing with the 9- to 11-year-olds and continued through high school, the report found. White youths who were behind increased to 27% but the proportion of blacks climbed to 33% and Latinos to 35%.

Yet the dropout rate has declined. About 4% of all students dropped out of high school between fall 1989 and fall 1990. (It was 3.8% for whites, 5.1% for blacks and 8% for Latinos.) A decade ago, the overall rate was 6%. The improvement was cited by the Census Bureau's Robert Kominski as an indication that the situation is not all bad.

The greater proportion of students kept behind may be a reflection of schools' tougher academic standards as well as such recent trends giving youngsters an extra year of kindergarten, Kominski said. Coupled

with the lower dropout rate, he said, "it may be that students who have failed [or been kept back] a grade early on are more likely to stay in school, therefore lowering the dropout rate in any given year."

"If students stay in school, even if for another year, it's better than having them out on the streets," Kominski said.

Albert Shanker, president of the American Federation of Teachers and a vocal advocate of the reform movement that began in the mid-1980s, said the report provides no information about how much students are learning. He suspects the increase in students who are a grade level or more behind is a reflection of toughening standards and the move away from "social promotion"—pushing a child onto the next grade regardless of achievement—a practice in vogue in the 1960s and 1970s.

"This doesn't tell us anything about whether our students know more or less than they did a decade ago, nor does it tell us anything about what our standards are [at given grade levels] or how they compare

with the standards in any other country," Shanker said.

But an official of the rival National Education Assn., the nation's largest teachers union, said the report reflects the importance of early childhood education and noted that a major expansion of such programs has been missing from education reform efforts.

"This report tells us fairly clearly, once again, the importance of early childhood programs," said Bob Chase, NEA vice president. "These figures cry out for ensuring there are programs available for all students to get a good start in their educational careers. . . . This is particularly true among minority students, who unfortunately often find themselves in the poorer population and don't have the opportunities" to attend preschool, Chase said.

He referred to statistics in the report that showed only 49% of Latino children ages 3 to 5 were enrolled in a preschool or kindergarten (not required in many states), compared to 57.8% of black children and 60% of whites.

Whether a child of any race attended a preschool was linked strongly with family income. Among families earning less than \$20,000 a year, only 30% of children ages 3 to 4 were enrolled in preschool; for children of families earning \$40,000 or more, the number jumped to 59%. Only about 35% of preschoolers attended a publicly funded program, such as Head Start.

Michael A. Resnick of the National School Boards Assn. saw the report as a sign of the failure to provide adequate funding to schools, which enroll increasing numbers of poor and disadvantaged children.

"We know that the number of children living below the poverty line has been going up and these children are experiencing at least some of the conditions of poverty that present barriers to learning."

The NEA's Chase agrees. "Some folks say spending more money isn't the answer. I agree it's not the *only* answer, but [education reform efforts] are not going to succeed if the proper financial support to meet these students' needs is not there."

EDUCATION

Underground High School Papers Thrive As Teen-Agers Rebel Against Censorship

By JAMES S. HIRSCH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Jennifer Wertz, 16 years old, says her high school newspaper provides a milquetoast image of the world she lives in. "There's no drugs, there's no sex, kids don't get pregnant, and everyone gets good grades," the frustrated junior says.

Jennifer knows better. Cocaine has joined LSD and marijuana at parties in her small western Pennsylvania town. Five students at Hollidaysburg High School are pregnant, and Jennifer knows two teen-agers who have had abortions and 10 who are already mothers.

Last year, Jennifer started Tell All, an underground newspaper whose premier issue criticized the principal and recent school elections. The paper got Jennifer and her fellow editors labeled as propagandists and suspended for five days. Gary D. Robinson, the principal, says of Tell All: "It was a rather blasphemous and arrogant slap at the administration."

Starting with Thomas Paine, underground journalists in this country have almost always caused a stir. Renegade publications, often associated with the anti-Vietnam War movement, boomed in the 1960s. Now, in the disaffected 1990s, they're having a renaissance in high schools. Personal computers — and hunger for information on controversial subjects — have turned teen-agers into instant publishers.

"For the most part, our educational system does not respect the views of students," says Ruby Takanishi, executive director of the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development in Washington. "The voices of adolescents tend to be neglected or marginalized." Because of that, she says, underground newspapers play an important role in letting teens vent their feelings and frustrations.

In some of these publications, student writers simply shoot from the hip, blasting principals and teachers. But others tackle thorny problems that their readers and



A selection of underground high-school newspapers

staffers face daily, such as the AIDS epidemic, suicide, broken families, racial tensions or homophobia.

Pravda, an underground newspaper at Mount Si High School in Snoqualmie, Wash., jarred readers last October when it published an anguished letter by Dan W. Martin. "I think to kill myself," the letter began under the byline Beattie. "What hurts me most is seeing someone

... make fun of you. I'm no mutt or varmint." Dan, who has had problems adjusting to his parents' divorce and is something of a loner, finished the letter by asking students to write back to "Beattie."

Many did, offering the 17-year-old encouragement. Dan saw a counselor and made friends with people on the paper. In Please Turn to Page B8, Column 1

Continued From Page B1

Pravda's most recent edition, he stopped using his alias. His mother, Gail Twenten, says writing has helped Dan work out his problems. "It's a lot harder for teen-agers now," she says.

By their nature, underground papers are difficult to track. But the Student Press Law Center in Washington, an advocacy organization, says the number of alternative high school papers has risen since a 1988 Supreme Court decision gave administrators greater censorship powers over school-sponsored publications.

Some underground journalists bankroll their ventures by selling ads. Others raise money with bake sales and car washes. Costs vary, but printing 1,000 copies of a four-page paper runs around \$300.

Administrators rarely welcome the rebel publications. They say schools already teem with racial tensions, gang violence, vandalism and alienated children and that mixing inflammatory papers into that brew could be a disaster.

"These papers are not in the spirit of Tom Paine and the Revolutionary War," says Kyle Thrasher, principal of Francis Howell North High School in St. Charles, Mo., where two alternative papers surfaced this school year. He suspended the editors of one of them after their publication attacked a black student for writing an article about Black History Month in the school-sponsored paper.

Mark Kubiacyzk, the principal of Tigard High School near Portland, Ore., says his school has been beset by racial unrest. In January, an assembly in honor of Martin Luther King Jr. was marred by students who shouted obscenities. The volatile environment helps explain, Mr. Kubiacyzk says, why he banned two underground papers, censored an editorial in the school-sponsored paper that supported them and threatened suspensions.

Jonathan Hoffman, a Portland attorney, has filed suit against Mr. Kubiacyzk on behalf of several student journalists at Tigard. "In our type of society," he says, "citizens should be entitled to communicate freely as long as they don't create an imminent danger." (High schools have broad authority to censor school-sponsored papers, legal experts say, but it's unclear whether officials have similar rights over independent papers.)

Child development experts tend to frown on stifling free expression, however reckless. "More control is not what we need," says Anne Petersen, professor of adolescent development and pediatrics at the University of Minnesota. Unless given the chance, young people "don't learn how to be responsible," she says. "All they learn is that they're nothing."

Dr. Petersen and other experts advise school officials to work with student journalists while letting them retain their independence. That's pretty much how they've done things at Clayton High School in St. Louis. At the beginning of the school year, principal Don Hugo approached two seniors who planned to put out an underground paper called Twitch. "Our reaction was, 'How can we help shape it into a positive experience?'" Mr. Hugo says.

As a result, the editors consult regularly with Chris Holmes, a faculty adviser for the school-sponsored paper. For instance, when they received an anonymous essay about a student's apparent bisexual-

ity, Mr. Holmes advised them to make sure it was true before they printed it.

In the next issue, a sophomore wrote an article thanking the writer for her openness, then described his experience living with a homosexual father. "Adults are very shocked, and maybe they don't want to know about it," says Mr. Holmes, "but this is public high school these days."

Like administrators, parents differ in their opinions about underground high school newspapers. Mike Kearney, for example, says he taught his 17-year-old son, Karl, to challenge authority the way he himself did during the Vietnam War. Mr. Kearney, a writer who lives in Seattle, is proud of his son's underground paper at Evergreen High School. Called Subterrestrial, it's a hodgepodge of protest and satire. One issue was distributed with condoms attached. "That really got [administrators'] attention," Karl says.

Karl was suspended for three days; some underground editors have faced stiffer punishments. At Eleanor Roosevelt High School in Greenbelt, Md., five students who put out an unauthorized paper last fall were suspended for 14 school days. The six-page paper included a front-page farce describing the fictitious arrest of the principal for indecent exposure.

"I am just outraged that the school has taken something as innocent as this and put it in the same category as violent crime, vandalism, drugs or inciting a riot," says Teddi Snell, whose 16-year-old daughter was suspended. The principal declined to return calls seeking comment.

The editors of Pravda in Snoqualmie, Wash., had sought to remain anonymous, fearing such reprisals. But they printed a post office box number. The principal, David Humphrey, was able to pay \$1 under public disclosure laws and find out whose name the box was in. "Schools aren't democracies," Mr. Humphrey says.

Often, attempts to rein in underground newspapers inspire editors to work that much harder. Pravda has been banned on campus, but three issues have been surreptitiously disseminated to students. At Huron High School in Ann Arbor, Mich., 17-year-old Jeff Redding has appealed a daylong suspension. His offense? Selling Skittles candy to raise money for his paper, the Independent Emery, and hanging up unauthorized posters to recruit staff members.

"I thought the rules were unfair as well as unconstitutional," says Jeff. The principal says only school-sponsored organizations are allowed to sell candy. She declines to elaborate further.

Recently, Jeff and about a half-dozen other Independent Emery staff members gathered in the basement of sophomore Jimmy Huang's house to put out another issue. They toiled past midnight on Friday and Saturday, typing and laying out articles on a Macintosh, calling advertisers for payment and arguing over the editorial cartoon. Jimmy was reviewing his article on why he's an atheist at the same time that his parents were conducting a Bible study meeting on the floor above.

Another article detailed a betting pool among teachers on the NCAA basketball tournament. There's a double standard, the article charged, because school policy prohibits students from betting. "Teachers are public servants," says Jeff. "They have to be held accountable."

Life Without Father

Why More and More Dads Are Drifting Away, Leaving the Kids in Poverty and Violence

By Paul Taylor

NOW THAT everybody else has weighed in, let's hear from the experts on the subject of absent fatherhood:

- "It's not my kid."
- "She's got a new boyfriend."
- "When I give her money for the kid, she buys jewelry."
- "I don't have any money."
- "She won't let me see my kid."
- "How come the court decides how much I should spend on my kid every month? What do they know?"

This is the tangle of lame excuses and legitimate gripes that absent fathers serve up when pressed to explain why they don't raise or support the babies they make. For all its banality, the list offers an important insight. The heart of

Paul Taylor has been covering social welfare issues for The Washington Post.

the breakdown here isn't between fathers and children. It's not between mothers and children. It is between fathers and mothers.

"For most men, a wife and a child are sort of a package deal, and once the marriage breaks up—or if there was never a marriage, once the relationship breaks up—most men find it difficult to stay actively involved in their children's lives," said Frank F. Furstenberg, a University of Pennsylvania sociologist. "Some men don't even try. Others make an effort and are rebuffed by the mother. Some succeed. There is no single story to tell, except that it isn't easy."

The numbers bear him out. Fathers have been drifting toward the periphery of the family orbit ever since colonial times, but in the span of a single generation, *absent* fatherhood has become pandemic.

Some 35 percent of all children now live apart from their biological father, double the percent who did so as recently as 1970. A white child born today has roughly one chance in two of living continuously with a biological father through

age 18. A black child has roughly one chance in 12.

Father absence may not be the sole cause of urban riots or welfare dependence, but as a catch-all explanation for social rot, you could do a lot worse.

Fatherlessness consigns children to poverty; children in father-absent households are six times more likely to be poor than children whose homes are headed by a father. Anthropological studies have suggested that it may lead boys, in particular, to become hypermasculine and violence-prone. It deprives inner-city neighborhoods of the quasi-policing function played by good family men. And it leaves the absent fathers without moorings or motivation to pursue lives of hard work and productive citizenship.

Of all juveniles currently serving in long-term correctional facilities, 70 percent did not live with their fathers while growing up, says Secretary of Health and Human Services Louis Sullivan, who was a town crier on the subject long before Vice

See FAMILIES, C4, Col. 1

FAMILIES. From CI

resident Quayle ponticized the issue. Sullivan adds, dolefully: "We are raising a generation of young males who measure their manhood by the caliber of their gun and by the number of children they have fathered—a generation for whom the camaraderie of a gang has replaced the love of a family."

When did it get so bad? Family disintegration in the black community, where the problem is most acute, is not the legacy of slavery or Jim Crow. The black out-of-wedlock birthrate was roughly 20 percent in 1900 and 20 percent in 1950. In 1989, the last year for which statistics are available, it was 66 percent.

The white out-of-wedlock birthrate, while starting from a far lower base, has exploded in the past generation as well—from 5 percent in 1965 to 19 percent now.

There is no shortage of theories about who or what is the culprit. The problem is sorting through a crowd of cultural, economic and legal suspects and assigning the right mix of culpability to each—an exercise apt to bog down in ideological grandstanding (see Quayle, Dan, and Brown, Murphy).

So let's simply stipulate a mob of mutually reinforcing causes: the erosion of good-paying, low-skill entry-level jobs, the evolution of the social welfare state, the sexual revolution, the widespread availability of abortion, the movement of women into the workforce and the increasing gender role convergence in modern culture. All have conspired to make it more difficult to pull off what anthropologists believe is a critical task for any civilized society—to harness the male into the role of husband and father.

"Human progress depends decisively on the socialization of the male," writes political scientist James Q. Wilson. "[but] for biological and evolutionary reasons this socialization is not easily achieved, and some substantial part of what is called the underclass problem arises from the incomplete—and increasingly more difficult—task of socializing some males."

In popular mythology, the villains of family non-formation in the ghetto are welfare mothers who prefer the regularity of a check to the uncertainty of a marriage and wayward fathers whose stunted notion of child-rearing begins with sexual conquest and ends with birth.

No doubt there are real cads who measure up to this stereotype. But as with most stark sociological phenomena, this one is more complicated than it seems.

Recently researchers for the Manpower Demonstration Research Corp. (MDRC), a New York-based social research group, interviewed young absent fathers who live in Harlem and Brownsville, Tex. Many had children by more than one woman, and most of the mothers and children were on welfare. Some of the men had low-paying jobs, others were unemployed. Few were paying formal child support.

Virtually all of the men interviewed expressed strong feelings of responsibility toward their children. Said one: "I don't know my pops so I always wanted my son to be with his, to know his father."

But these men were involved with their children on only a sporadic basis. The gatekeeper to their parenting role was their children's mother, and their relationship with her had typically foundered over money, or over the other men and women in each of their lives.

Said one: "If you don't got money, they don't want to deal with you."

Another said: "Another man might be there to take care of your child and get the money."

The MDRC researchers also interviewed inner-city mothers. Their perspective was quite different. They depicted absent fathers as lazy, selfish, spoiled and frightened.

Chelsea: They're scared.

What scares them?

Chelsea: I guess failing, maybe failing the child or not standing up to the mother's standards or something. It takes too much for them.

Amy: Not being able to—when the child come to you specifically and ask for something—they're scared because they might not be able to get it to them.

Tom Henry, a social worker who works in a program for unwed fathers in Philadelphia, said the young men and women who grow up in the inner city have no idea what it takes to keep a father-mother relationship going over the long haul. They've never been exposed to one. "I tell them that when I get in an argument with my wife, that doesn't mean I run out to be with another woman," he said. "A lot of the guys don't quite seem to know what to make of that."

Elijah Anderson, a sociologist at the University of Pennsylvania who has spent years studying inner-city lifestyles, is more inclined to see the fundamental problem as economic.

A lot of young men in the inner city would like to play house, but they just don't have the money A lot of women consider these men a burden. They don't want them around as fathers. I heard one conversation where a young mother was saying to her girlfriend that her child's father wanted to come over and 'do' her that night, which was fine with her, but she just didn't want him sticking around and sleeping over.

"The men in these situations find it is easier to hang in there with their mom, who does the laundry and provides the food, and have several ladies on the side."

Anderson believes that males who grow up this way—fatherless as children, virtually childless as fathers—are prime candidates for violent behavior. Anthropological studies reveal that tribes in which the father is most loosely connected to the family tend to be the most violent.

"This whole business of being 'dissed' so easily, that is something kids today really do worry about," Anderson said. "They are incredibly thin-skinned, ready to go to blows over any perceived slight. And I have to believe it has to do with the absence of any male role model in their lives, someone who could teach them how to be men, how to be civil to other people. If you don't have a man in the house who is himself civil, it becomes a dog-eat-dog world."

To be sure, many inner-city neighborhoods have church and civic groups with mentoring programs. No matter how laudable, these programs don't replace a father. The heart of the fathering role is constancy, reliability, predictability. Fathers protect, they provide, they initiate into adulthood, they bring the standards of the outside world to bear on their children. All of these roles work best when dad is a day-in, day-out presence in his children's lives—not a once a week mentor.

HHS Secretary Sullivan, whose real-life family profile outshines even the sainted Huxtables of television fame—he is a black doctor married to a black lawyer, and they have one son who is a doctor, another son who is a Harvard Law School student and a daughter who works as a television producer—says he learned all he ever needed to know about fathering from his father.

Walter Sullivan, a funeral home director in the black section of Blakely, Ga., was a small, tender man who did not much care for disciplining his children ("We'd much rather get spanked by him than by my mom," says Sullivan). But he knew when to draw the line.

Sullivan tells the story of the white sheriff in town—"a real moron, who used to get his

kicks driving through the black section and shooting stray dogs." One afternoon, he shot young Sullivan's dog. "Being young and foolish, I yelled at him," Sullivan recalled, "and the sheriff pointed the BB gun at me and said, 'Maybe you'd like some too?'"

That afternoon, the teary-eyed Sullivan told the story to his father. "He didn't say a word. He just said, 'Walter [addressing Sullivan's older brother], you come with me.'"

As the family legend goes, Walter Sullivan Sr., all 5'5" of him, strutted up to the sheriff's office, oldest son in tow, pulled out a gun and placed it right between the sheriff's eyes, touching his skin. "If you ever do something like that again, I'll blow your brains out, you understand?" the elder Sullivan said.

"I understand," the sheriff said.

"Okay, Walter, let's go," the father said.

Most of what the elder Sullivan did for his sons was more prosaic. His funeral home was right next to the family house, so he could teach Sullivan about embalming and kindle an interest in medicine.

Fatherhood—as poet Robert Bly has made a mint pointing out—used to be like this in agrarian times. Fathers were the on-the-job supervisors, moral overseers and primary care-givers of their children. Child-rearing advice manuals were aimed at colonial fathers, and in the unusual cases of divorce, the father was routinely awarded custody of the children.

When the Industrial Revolution separated the workplace from the household, the father's role began to atrophy. He became the distant provider, the mother the in-home nurturer and household manager.

—That arrangement prevailed until the upheavals of the 1960s, when the feminist movement diminished the father's role as sole breadwinner, and the sexual revolution undermined the monogamy-for-sexual-access bargain implicit in traditional marriages. In addition, as Wilson has written, the legalization of abortion altered a man's calculus upon learning he has impregnated a woman out of wedlock. It shifted from one of moral obligation—she's having my kid; I must marry her—to one of utilitarian self-interest—if she wants a kid when she doesn't have to have it, then it's her problem.

On top of all this, Aid to Families With Dependent Children (AFDC) makes it costly to marry—depending on the state, women on welfare face a marriage penalty of as much as 60 or 70 percent of their benefits if the husband has a minimum-wage job.

If the man has only a high school diploma or is a high school dropout, there's less chance he will even have a job. In the past 20 years, such

men have seen their earnings drop by 40 percent, in inflation-adjusted dollars. "They simply don't earn enough to support a family," says Gordon Berlin, a senior researcher at MDRC.

Economic factors are only a part of the equation, however. Among blacks, marriage rates declined more for employed males than for unemployed males between 1970 and 1988. Among whites, divorce rates have skyrocketed among the wealthy, middle class and poor alike; and though fathers remain more involved with their children post-divorce than they do following out-of-wedlock births, the track record is still no cause for celebration.

Mothers are awarded sole custody of the children in 90 percent of divorces, and Furstenburg estimates that 40 percent of all children do not see their father at all in a typical year post-divorce.

There are some countervailing trends, as well: a small increase in the past five years in single-parent households headed by fathers, and a broader increase in the cultural type of the involved, nurturant father—the man who is more inclined than the emotionally distant dad of a generation ago to change a baby's diaper or have a heart-to-heart talk with a child.

But some takers of the cultural pulse worry that this emergence of a "new age" dad is a mixed blessing for fatherhood.

"We don't have a compelling cultural script for fatherhood," says David Blankenhorn, president of the Institute for American Values, a think tank devoted to family matters. He believes that as the new model of the "good father" becomes feminized, a dwindling number of men will find it appealing.

Blankenhorn's worry may or may not be on target, but his larger point is surely right. The vitality of fatherhood depends as much on cultural cues as on economic constraints. The trouble with blaming social ills on cultural forces is that a culture is a notoriously difficult thing to change. One result, says James Wilson, is that analysts tend to overestimate the importance of incentives. At least they can be changed.

By all means, let's fiddle with the incentives in the inner city. Let's Weed and Seed, let's give HOPE a chance, let's get rid of the marriage tax built into AFDC, let's build a better jobs program, let's do more to collect child support.

But at the end of the day, unless the whole society also learns how to revalue marriage and restigmatize broken relations between mothers and fathers, none of the rest will matter much. The empirical evidence is in: When marriage atrophies, so does fatherhood. And so does society.



JAMES D. WILSON—NEWSWEEK

Filling a need: Tech tips in San Francisco

AGING

Never Too Old to Go On Line

Computers go gray

When JoAnn Oakes's husband died, six years ago, she found that evenings were the loneliest time. That was before she put an IBM-compatible next to her bed and joined SeniorNet, a national computer network for people 55 and over. Now when Oakes wakes up at 1:30 a.m., she can log on and engage in lively electronic discussions on everything from health problems to abortion, grandparenting to Ross Perot. She's made fast friends and rekindled her love life over the computer line. "Many of us feel left out of the world," says the 63-year-old resident of Bainbridge Island, Wash. "The computer fills a social need—it's a major part of my life."

Forget that myth about older people being technology-phobic. Growing numbers of senior citizens are logging on and discovering that computers provide an ideal means to stay active and informed, even if their physical abilities can't keep up with their inquiring minds. To date, more than 15,000 people have joined SeniorNet, a six-year-old San Francisco-based organization. For \$25 a year, members get free software and discounts on equipment, and can learn basic computer skills at any of 42 SeniorNet learning centers nationwide. There or at home, they can also tap into SeniorNet's on-line service; just \$9.95 a month buys unlimited access during evenings and on weekends. Members can download databases or visit any of 30 or more "forums," exchanging comments on

topics from arthritis to gardening, caregiving to tie-dyeing. Some members trade bawdy limericks; others are group-writing a novel. There are also nightly "cocktail" parties for group chatter and jokes. "It's an on-line 'Cheers' for older adults," says SeniorNet president Mary Furlong, who started the nonprofit group as a research project for the University of San Francisco. "But in this world, you don't know who has gray hair. You only know if they are funny, supportive or have a strong intellect."

Love poems: Beyond companionship, computers are enabling seniors to engage in a wide variety of community-service projects. "Older people are a powerful resource, and once you empower them with technology, they think of a thousand ways to enhance their lives and the lives of others," says Furlong. Warren Herrigel, 66, is one of many SeniorNet members displaying their projects at the group's annual conference this week in Washington, D.C. The retired New Jersey judge could barely type when he first sat down at a Macintosh, in 1987. Now, using a desktop-publishing program, he distributes a newsletter for 52 relatives several times a year—complete with homemade cartoons, book reviews, installments of his autobiography and a family tree traced back to 1525. When the San Francisco earthquake in 1989 forced many of her neighbors to evacuate their homes, Rosemary Brandon, 64, put out a newsletter tracking their whereabouts and news on federal disaster relief. After the Los Angeles riots, a SeniorNet group in El Segundo, Calif., used their PCs to create fliers notifying residents how to collect diapers and formula for babies in South-Central L.A.

Computers also help nursing-home residents stay linked to the world. At Independence Village, in Peoria, Ill., 79-year-old Harold Prather communicates with a 14-year-old "pen pal" in New Zealand over SeniorNet. Confined to a wheelchair, 69-year-old Gerry Ohrt still practices his former profession—designing industrial tools—on his Tandy at the Park Hill Medical Center, in Chillicothe, Ill. "I've seen people sit here all day long and decay," says Ohrt. "This makes life tolerable for me."

Romances have blossomed over SeniorNet. JoAnn Oakes first "met" Mayer Solen, a 76-year-old widower from Carson City, Nev., during an on-line discussion about the problems of widowhood. "I liked what he said, and he liked what I said," says Oakes. They began talking on screen every night from 8 p.m. to midnight. Solen leaves love poems for her in her private electronic mailbox. They've met several times, and plan to travel to Chicago together this month. Says Oakes, "He touched my soul, on line."

MELINDA BECK with NADINE JOSEPH
in San Francisco

Children in the Danger Zone

For black youngsters, it is often a short trip from cradle to grave

RESEARCHERS HAVE WORKED FOR YEARS TO FIGURE out why it is so dangerous to be born black in America; two new medical studies reveal the extent of the devastation. Writing in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, Dr. Kenneth Schoendorf, a medical epidemiologist at the National Center for Health Statistics, reported that black babies suffered twice the mortality rate of white infants even when both parents had completed college. Based on U.S. birth and infant death certificates that were filed from 1983 to 1985, a determination was made by Schoendorf and his colleagues that the gap was due entirely to the fact that more black infants were underweight at birth.

Although more black women than white women in the study received late or no prenatal care, that discrepancy alone was not great enough to account completely for the twofold gap in mortality rates. Schoendorf points to several possible reasons. Among them: the cumulative effects of a lifetime of inadequate access to health care, and the chronic stress associated with being black in America. One piece of good news in the report: black and white infants of normal birth weight enjoyed identical chances for good health.

The other study, from the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, documented skyrocketing violence in the inner city. Dr. Leland Ropp and his colleagues in Detroit found that the overall rate of childhood death for all races in their city had risen 50% from 1980 to 1988. Tragically, almost the entire increase was linked to a jump of 250% in the rate of murder, usually by handguns, of black boys ages 10 to 14 and of black teenagers of both sexes, ages 15 to 18.

TIME, JUNE 15, 1992

Preliminary figures show that the epidemic of murder—fueled by access to cheap, powerful weapons—spread to other large cities in 1989 and began moving to smaller cities this year. Says Ropp: "We're beginning to see children's homicides and gunshot wounds in places like Minneapolis and Pittsburgh, where we've never seen them before." ■

NATION BRIEFS



Black Baby Deaths

Black babies are almost twice as likely as whites to die in their first year of life, even among college-educated parents, according to a study published today.

The greater prevalence of poverty and poor education among blacks has long been considered important in explaining the difference in infant mortality rates. However, the study in the New England Journal of Medicine suggests the reasons are much more complicated. Experts said they are at a loss to fully explain the difference.

Dr. Kenneth C. Schoendorf, a researcher at the National Center for Health Statistics who was part of the study, said most people would expect that racial differences in infant mortality would be much smaller among well-educated parents.

Black babies died more often because they were more likely to be smaller at birth, whether premature or full term, the researchers said.

Prescription for controversy

By Judith Colp
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Clinton health czar takes shots over teen pregnancy

MITTLE ROCK, Ark. — Meet the woman Bill Clinton wants to be your next secretary of health and human services.

Her name is Joycelyn Elders. She became health director of Arkansas five years ago, the first black woman ever in that post.

Dr. Elders is a pediatrician and political ally of the Arkansas gov-

ernor, the Democrats' all-but-certain nominee for president. She also is the state's most controversial public official — largely because of her feisty, uncompromising stand against teen-age pregnancy.

To her opponents in this Bible Belt region, she is dangerously and immorally encouraging teen sex by pushing condoms in high schools. To her admirers, she is heroically battling a slow-footed bureaucracy on behalf of children.

The daughter of sharecroppers (she wasn't even examined by a doc-

■ *For a look at other possible Clinton nominees, see D2.*

tor herself until she was a freshman in college), Dr. Elders knows she tops many political observers' lists of Arkansans likely to make up a Clinton Cabinet in Washington.

What would her national agenda be as head of the Department of Health and Human Services? Universal health care, comprehensive health education in kindergarten through 12th grade and widespread

availability of contraceptives.

"I'm not sure how we would pay for all this," she concedes. "But I feel sure it would pay for itself. Right now, we spend all of our money on dying."

While Bill Clinton campaigns for the White House, Joycelyn Elders, 58, also travels the nation. She preaches — sometimes literally in churches — that government spends too little on children's health. At home, presiding over the state's second-largest department, she takes credit for increasing both the

number of children screened annually and the number of senior citizens receiving home health care.

"She's been a great spokesperson for the types of change Arkansas needs to undergo," says state Sen. Vic Snyder, a Little Rock Democrat who is himself a family physician.

David Rickard, a research analyst with a non-profit group called Arkansas Advocates for Children and Families, says Dr. Elders is responsible for both an improvement in nutrition and a decline in communicable diseases among children.

"She's the best thing that's hap-

see ELDERS, page D2

pened to children's health in this state since [former Arkansas first lady] Betty Bumpers brought us immunization in the mid-1970s," Mr. Rickard says. "She demands that issues be addressed and not swept under the rug. She reminds me of [Children's Defense Fund President] Marian Wright Edelman: someone who is deeply concerned about children."

Doing something

Joycelyn Elders has become best known for battling the teen-pregnancy rate in Arkansas, the second-highest nationwide after neighboring Mississippi.

Among blacks, the state ranks first nationwide in teen pregnancies, Dr. Elders says, with 30 percent of all black babies born to teen-agers.

"This is the greatest cause of black children growing up in poverty, ignorance and enslavement," she says. "We can't continue to sit, hold our hands and moralize about the issue. We've got to do something."

According to the Arkansas Department of Health, condoms and contraceptive foam are dispensed at 19 school-based clinics (two in junior highs, the rest in high schools). Counselors also advise teens on birth-control options, but not abortion, Dr. Elders says.

Local school districts approve the clinics, which can be used only by those students who have parental permission. The results, Dr. Elders says, have been dramatic.

In 1985, there was a 30 percent pregnancy rate among students at Lincoln High School in northwest Arkansas. The following year, after a clinic was established there, only one pregnancy was reported.

This year, the school nurse wrote a letter to the health department saying she didn't consider teen pregnancy to be a problem anymore at the school.

Values vs. insurance

But state Rep. Albert "Tbm" Collier, a Democrat from Newport, says a strong-willed principal was the real cause of that dramatic decrease, not the health clinics.

"The clinics don't work," Mr. Collier says. "And what we're telling children is 'Have sex, but be careful.'"

Despite Dr. Elders' statements to the contrary, the school clinics have become "centers for abortion counseling and referrals," charges Anne Dierks, director of the Respect Life program of the Catholic Diocese of Little Rock.

"With these clinics, we're saying we can teach our children to say 'no' to drugs and alcohol, but not to sex," Mrs. Dierks says. "We're going to have to go back and instill more values in our children and strengthen the family."

Dr. Elders counters: "I always tell people that just because they have insurance on their car doesn't mean they go out and have a wreck. So why if they have contraceptives does it mean they'll go out and have sex?"

"I want teen-agers to be abstinent," she says. "But if they aren't abstinent, I certainly want them to be responsible."

In flight

Joycelyn Elders lives in a well-appointed ranch house on 15 acres outside Little Rock. Her husband, Oliver Elders, is a high school basketball coach.

The couple met when, as a medical school student she was sent to give checkups to his players. They were married in 1960, during her last semester. Now, she faithfully attends her husband's games Tuesday and Friday nights at Little Rock's Hall High School (where there is no health clinic).

With their youngest son, Kevin, 27, the Elderses also run a real estate business that rents 48 townhouse and apartment units in Little Rock.

Dr. Elders typically wakes up at 3 a.m. for a bustling schedule that includes nationwide speeches to such organizations as Planned Parenthood, the State Conference on Family Life Education and the Association of Home Economists.

"She's in flight constantly," Mr. Elders says. "She's always en route to another state, and I wonder how she has the energy to keep focused. But she's also an incredibly sound sleeper."

Her passions include real estate sales, where she hunts for items for the collection of Chinese and Japanese art that fills the Elderses' living room.

She decorated the room herself, "so that if you move one piece, Mom

knows," explains Kevin, who wears a "Clinton for President" T-shirt. (The couple's other son, Eric, 29, is a high school teacher in Pine Bluff.)

On a recent weekday evening, Dr. Elders breezes into her living room dressed in a brown, country-style corduroy jumper. She gives her husband a kiss and apologizes to a reporter for being 15 minutes late.

Short and stocky to her husband's tall and slim, she talks quickly with a girlish Arkansas accent. But there is also something calmly and single-mindedly determined about Joycelyn Elders.

Making it

Asked about personal encounters with racism or sexism, Dr. Elders says she can recall only one time: When she was a resident at the University of Arkansas Medical School, a doctor, instructing her about some patients, referred to them as "good-old cotton patch niggers."

If there were other such incidents, she chose to ignore them as she pursued her goals.

"I was from a poor family, always feeling I was an overachiever," she says. "I was focused on being there, staying there and making it. None of the other things that went on could get in my way."

She was the eldest of eight children born to Curtis and Haller Jones in the tiny farm town of Schaal in southwest Arkansas. (A sister, Patricia Jackson, who taught linguistics at Howard University, was killed in a car crash in North Carolina about five years ago.)

While her mother worked in the fields and her father trapped raccoons, young Joycelyn cleaned house, cooked and mothered her siblings.

A pivotal experience would influence her later career decisions. A younger brother, suffering from appendicitis, was taken to the doctor on the family mule. A drain was put in his abdomen; he almost died from the primitive treatment.

After graduating from high school, Joycelyn earned a scholarship to Philander Smith, a small black Methodist college in Little Rock. Her family worked overtime to scrape up her \$3 bus fare.

As she cleaned the dormitories for pay and cracked the biology and chemistry books, Joycelyn aspired to become a lab technician. She thought that would be as far as a black woman could go. But during her first year of college, she heard a speech by Edith Irby Jones, the first black female graduate of the University of Arkansas Medical School. Joycelyn decided she wanted to be just like her.

Into the Jell-O

After graduating from college in 1956 Joycelyn enlisted in the Army, where she studied to become a physical therapist. Four years later, she entered the University of Arkansas Medical School on the GI Bill, hoping to become a pediatric surgeon. She won a prestigious internship to the University of Minnesota.

She returned to the University of Arkansas hospital as chief pediatric resident, the first black woman to hold that job. She became an academic pediatric endocrinologist at the medical school, studying children with diabetes, and is now the author or co-author of some 150 articles on the subject.

But although she spent much of her time behind a microscope, Joycelyn Elders was becoming a public figure as she served on health and women's committees in Little Rock. There, she became friendly with the governor's wife, Hillary Clinton, with whom she shares an interest in children's issues.

In 1987, when Mr. Clinton offered her the \$87,000-a-year job of state health director during his third term in office, Dr. Elders accepted. But with two conditions: that she be allowed to keep her academic appointment and that she be allowed to speak her mind.

"I said, if you let me be the health director, you have to let me decide rational health policy, not you decide by what's politically expedient," she says.

The first test occurred three weeks into the job. At a conference on "at-risk" youth in Washington, a reporter asked what issue would top her agenda. Teen pregnancy, she replied.

And would she make contraceptives available in the high schools? Yes.

"Suddenly I looked, and the governor was the color of red. And I realized that I had dropped my governor into an ocean of Jell-O," Dr. Elders recalls. "The press turned around and said, 'Dr. Elders said you're going to offer contraceptives.'"

"He swallowed and said, 'Dr. Elders told me what she was about when I appointed her and I support Dr. Elders.'"

"Bill Clinton has been out with me on the ocean of Jell-O ever since," she says, "and he's always stood behind the things I've been about."

The memory

It's a bit of hyperbole. The Arkansas press has reported the health officer's clashes with the governor over what she considered skimping on the health department budget.

But Joycelyn Elders doesn't expect to waver in her mission. She says she is haunted by the memory of a 13-year-old girl she met as a pediatric resident in the early '60s.

After treating the girl for a thyroid problem, Dr. Elders told her she could go home. The girl started crying. She said she didn't want to go home. Her daddy and uncle, the girl explained, had sex with her on Saturday nights, after getting drunk.

"I didn't do anything, I just sent her home," Dr. Elders recalls. "I feel I should have tried to do something."

"Anything I can do to make life better for young women to reach their potential," she adds, "is what I have to be about."

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

THE BOSTON GLOBE

Domestic violence: Roots go deep

By Alison Bass
GLOBE STAFF

The sharp escalation in the number of women being murdered by men they had dated or married is the legacy of three converging trends, specialists say, warning that the violence will probably get worse before it gets better.

Noting that a woman is being killed every eight days in Mass-

achusetts, compared to every 22 days two years ago, researchers who specialize in domestic violence point to three long-term trends:

- Decades-long neglect of services aimed at helping children who come from abusive and chaotic family environments.

- A long-lasting recession that has left many young men without a secure livelihood, locking them into a permanent cycle of poverty and

frustration.

- An unconscious backlash on the part of many men against recent successes in women's efforts to attain better treatment in a male-dominated society.

Given the intractability of these complex trends and the fact that the Weld administration is making further budget cuts in services for troubled children, several researchers warned, the level of do-

mestic violence is not likely to peak any time soon.

"You cannot ignore something for decades and then expect to turn it around suddenly," said Angela Browne, an assistant professor of psychiatry at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center and a recognized authority on battered women.

The irony, Browne and other
VIOLENCE, Page 11

specialists say, is that much of the violence against women could have been prevented. Kristin Lardner, the 21-year-old woman who was gunned down in Allston by her ex-boyfriend last weekend, is one of a number of women who might be alive today if their killers had received adequate attention and treatment as children, they said.

Like most men who abuse and kill their partners, Lardner's murderer, Michael Cartier, had a chaotic and abusive childhood. Cartier, who took his own life shortly after killing Lardner, was abandoned by his parents early in life, became a ward of the state at age seven and spent his formative years first at the New England Home for Little Wanderers and then bouncing from one foster home to another. He also spent time at a state-funded residential home as a young teen-ager.

According to a mental health professional who treated him there, Cartier was violent as a child and in desperate need of intensive therapeutic care, which he never received.

"I knew him when he was 12 or 13 and he was a very violent kid even then, always assaulting people and having to be restrained," said the professional, who asked not to be identified. "I remember saying to myself, 'This kid was going to grow up and kill someone.' But there was no money for the kind of services this kid needed."

The majority of men arrested this year for killing wives or girlfriends had similar histories of frequent violence and abuse against women. Like Cartier, they were walking timebombs ready to explode, specialists said - young men living on the margin in communities too strapped by severe budget cuts in education, social services and police to heed the warning signs.

Child, spouse abuse related

The link between exposure to violence in childhood and later spouse abuse is well-documented. Studies have shown that the strongest predictor that a man will abuse his wife and/or children is his having witnessed physical or sexual abuse of his mother or siblings, or having been abused himself as a child.

Men who grow up in violent homes learn two things, researchers say: that the woman or child being battered is often helpless against such abuse, and that the abuser is the most powerful person in the household and the least vulnerable to attacks and humiliation. So even though young boys may hate the abuser, they identify with him and later use violence themselves to assert control over any volatile and threatening situation.

The research also shows that boys exposed to repeated violence often become excessively anxious and insecure, harboring a tremendous fear of rejection and abandonment. This psychological profile explains not only why they become abusers but why their violence often turns lethal when their female partners attempt to leave.

Several studies have found that one-half to three-quarters of severe domestic assaults take place after

the woman has left.

"The reason most often given by men for the killing of their wives was their 'inability to accept what they perceived to be a rejection of them or their role of dominance' over their victim," wrote Browne in a soon-to-be published paper. "A walkout or a threat of separation was taken by the men to represent intolerable desertion, rejection or abandonment."

See themselves as victims

Even after they are arrested for assaulting or killing a partner, many men see themselves as victims, not victimizers.

This distorted perception may also explain why women who have dated an assaultive partner for a few months or less are just as much at risk - if not more. The "very openness" of dating relationships is highly threatening to such men, Browne said.

One new study, by Browne and a sociologist at the University of Colorado, has found that while the incidence of domestic violence by married men reached a plateau between 1976 and 1987 (the last year national statistics were available), the incidence of violence between unmarried partners has been escalating sharply from 1976 on. The study will be published in the journal *Gender and Society* sometime this year.

In Massachusetts, 9 of the 12 women killed in domestic disputes this year were done in by boyfriends or live-in mates, or by a daughter's boyfriend or mother's boyfriend. Three died at their husbands' hands.

"Some of this escalation is due to lifestyle changes - Americans delaying marriage and the decline in the number of formal marriages," said Browne. "Much of our focus up till now has been around helping married couples, and there has been very little intervention, except on college campuses, for unmarried couples."

Premise becoming myth

Many of the social-legal safeguards that have been built up over the past decade to protect women from abusive men have been based upon the premise that once a woman leaves the abuser, she is safe. But that is turning out to be a myth. Restraining orders can only do so much.

As a result, specialists said, there is an urgent need to do more than just build shelters to harbor battered women and tighten the legal system to prevent violent men like Michael Cartier from running amok until they kill a woman.

"What these men clearly need is treatment - at the earliest stage possible," said Theoharis Seghorn, psychologist and founder of the New England Forensic Associates, a private agency that treats aggressive and violent men. "We also have to change the broader cultural attitudes in our society that glorify male aggressiveness and violence."

Some specialists suggest that intervention begin as soon as a mother reports that she is being abused. Children in these violent households should be immediately matched with a nurturing adult chosen to play a positive, long-term role in their lives. Browne suggested, something like a

Big Brother/Big Sister program.

Browne is one of many researchers who believe American society is now reaping a decades-old legacy of neglecting services for children exposed to violence in the home. They are concerned that recent Weld administration cutbacks in social services (including foster care and residential treatment) and mental health services will only exacerbate the problem.

"If you don't treat violent people when they are kids, you're going to wind up with a very violent society, and that's what we're seeing now," said James Wenhold, director of the Child and Adult Resource Enrichment program in Worcester, who has treated troubled children and men who batter for 20 years. "I think this recent escalation in domestic violence is the result of severe cutbacks in services to children from earlier Republican administrations."

Job loss linked

But lack of services is not the only reason. Sociologists said whenever the economy goes bad and men already struggling with self-esteem problems lose their jobs, they see an increase in spouse and child abuse 2 to 3 years later.

"The national violent crime rate has gone up in the last 18 months, as has the rate for domestic violence, and it's almost certainly the economy," said Richard Gelles, a sociologist and anthropologist who directs the Family Violence Research program at the University of Rhode Island. "The last time I saw blips like this in the domestic violence rate was right after the engineering recession of the early 70s, and to a lesser degree, the recession of the late 70s and early 80s."

"The futility and frustration of not being able to find a job doesn't sink in for several years," Gelles said, explaining why the increase shows up a few years after recession hits.

Gelles and other researchers said some domestic crimes may also reflect a backlash against recent gains in women's rights.

"This is a male-female thing and is an issue of control between the sexes," Gelles said. "Every time women in the aggregate appear to take a step forward in the battle of the sexes - witness the political gains women are making in the wake of the Anita Hill case or the rape verdict against Mike Tyson - it seems men want to beat them two steps backwards, figuratively and literally. Young marginalized men are the most threatened by these advances and may become even more obsessive about control in their own relationships."

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6/19/92

TO: The President

FROM: ROSE ZAMARIA
Deputy Assistant to the President

The Press is asking questions on
Willard Hemmingway, whom you appointed
to Olympics Delegation. Who he is?
etc. What do you want them to say.

*close friend
businessman*

*very interested in sports
Active ^{often} in Seniors
Golf Assoc.*

MEMORANDUM
OF CALL

Previous editions usable

TO:

☐ YOU WERE CALLED BY-- ☐ YOU WERE VISITED BY--

*called Lisa gave
6/28 her info.*
Lisa Coldwell

OF (Organization)

PPO

☐ PLEASE PHONE ☐ FTS ☐ AUTOVON

7510

☐ WILL CALL AGAIN ☐ IS WAITING TO SEE YOU
☐ RETURNED YOUR CALL ☐ WISHES AN APPOINTMENT

MESSAGE

Re: Willard Heminway
on Delegation to Olympics.
Media affairs wants more
information on him - who
is he?

RECEIVED BY	DATE	TIME

- May 12/12

trickster
Daily 5/6

~~Mr. President~~
Deadline May 15
(next Friday)
Any further
thoughts?



March 31, 1992

Connie Horner

Re: Olympic Delegation.

These all look fine.

I have numbered the possible additions in order of preference. Let's hold up a little on this one. I will try to come up with other names, then we can decide with finality.

GB

UP

But put in
Willard Hennerway
(spike)
Greenwich Conn
as #1

CC: Connie Horner
(ACTION)

FROM THE PRESIDENT

FILED IN 15 SEP 92
3/31/92

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON
March 27, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: CONSTANCE HORNER *CH*
Director of Presidential Personnel

SUBJECT: 1992 Summer Olympics Delegation

You have already decided on the following people to represent you at the Summer Olympics in Barcelona:

HEAD OF DELEGATION:

ARNOLD SCHWARZENEGGER

DELEGATES:

MARVIN BUSH
MARGARET BUSH

It would be appropriate to send an additional two or three delegates. I haven't talked with any of the following candidates, pending your thoughts. Do you have any preferences or other ideas? (The closing date for accreditation for delegations to the Olympics is May 15, 1992.)

- ① JOE PATERNO, head coach of Penn State football team, Bush '88 "All Star"
- ④ PAM SHRIVER, professional tennis player, Bush '88 "All Star"
- ② MARY LOU RETTON, Olympic gold medalist, Bush '88 "All Star"
- ③ SAMMY LEE, Olympic gold medalist in diving, Bush '88 "All Star"

Spide/Henraway A+

THAT'S ALL, VOLKS!

Hurrah for your new column "Who's Who," in which you wrote about the American Volkssport Association. As newlyweds, my husband and I loved to walk in nearby parks, but as the family came along we walked less and less. After 23 years of marriage, we decided to try a volksmarch, and I will never forget the pride I had in completing my first 10K walk. Since then, we've headed for every event we can. Walking really does change one's life!

SANDRA SCOTT
Cupertino, Calif.

BREATHING EASY

I was interested in your answer to a reader's inquiry about breathing exercises during walking ("Breathing Lessons," February 1992, p7). I agree with the initial comments regarding diaphragmatic breathing and breathing in rhythm with the walker's stride; however, I disagree with the concept of breathing in through the nose and out through the mouth. As a cardiologist who has evaluated thousands of patients with all sorts of chest pain, I have come across a number of people who have developed chest pain syndromes doing exactly this—trying to move large quantities of air through the nose when the maneuver was meant to be done through the mouth.

Forcefully inspiring during aerobic exercise through the high-resistance nasal passages results in a recurring stress on the joints between the ribs and sternum during each forced inhalation. Do this often enough and an arthralgia or even arthritis results, causing worrisome chest pain during aerobic exercise. People think nasal inhalation during exercise is helpful—especially during cold weather—because it warms the inspired air. It does; but the mouth, pharynx, and upper airway do an adequate job on their own. Ambient air reaches body temperature by the time it gets to the first branch point of the bronchial tree, no matter how vigorously one inhales cold air through the mouth. There is no need to use the nasal structures to try to preheat it. Moving air during exercise fits the adage "If it feels right, do it!"

JAMES A. PANTANO, M.D.
Allentown, Pa.

CLIMB ANY MOUNTAIN

I conquered a mountain. Actually, I conquered three, on my vacation to Yellowstone National Park—and I thank you for the inspiration. Without your magazine, I would never have found the courage. I am especially proud of a

climb in Estes Park, Colo. I've been trying to climb this one for three years. I felt on top of the world as I reached the 12,000-foot marker. As I looked across the mountains and into the valleys, for a fleeting moment I owned that mountain.

STACY PENN
Broken Arrow, Okla.



He'd be better off Bushwalking.

HAIL FROM THE CHIEF

Many thanks for your kind words. I appreciate your concern for my health (August 1991, p4). As much as I'd like to slow down, I am always reluctant to do so. I've been jogging for many years, and you undoubtedly know how addicting that can be. I do have a physician, Burt Lee, who monitors my activities and who just gave me an excellent bill of health. If he thinks that I should cut back, walking will be among the first alternatives that I'll consider. For now, though, I feel great.

GEORGE BUSH
The White House
Washington, D.C.

LONE STAR STEAMERS

Re: walking in hot, humid weather (August 1991, p14). Last summer was not as bad as some here in Houston, but with frequent thundershowers the humidity was 95% to 100%, while temperatures were in the 95° to 98°F range all summer long. Your table did not show the heat index for these conditions. How should it be figured?

MICHELE THOMAS
Houston, Tex.

The conditions you describe are off the chart, in the lower right-hand corner of the table. A National Weather Service equation gives approximate "apparent temperatures" for your Houston summer ranging between 153° and 182°F. Heat stroke is highly likely at any apparent temperature above 130°F. If you exercise outdoors, do so in the coolest part of the day, drink plenty of fluids, and wear appropriate clothing.

COLD COMFORT

I read "The Big Chill" (December 1991, p16) with interest. If your readers would like more information about Raynaud's phenomenon, they may write for our free booklet to: The Arthritis Foundation, Southwestern Ohio Chapter, 7811 Laurel Ave., Cincinnati, OH 45243, or call (513) 271-4545.

RUTH ERHARDT
Cincinnati, Ohio

I enjoyed your article on Raynaud's phenomenon. Six years ago I was a Raynaud's sufferer, diagnosed by a doctor who told me there was no cure and who led me to expect the problem would only get worse. I was living in Tennessee at the time. I then moved to Iowa—a much colder climate—and have not had any symptoms for five years. I feel I was cured by acupuncture used by a chiropractor at a clinical kinesiology school here. Maybe some of your readers would benefit from this information.

CAM VAUGHAN
Fairfield, Iowa

DISCOVER THE DIVIDE

Re: "A Divide to Conquer" (February 1992, p58), we invite walkers who wish to discover—not "conquer"—the Continental Divide to join our organization. The Continental Divide Trail Society's newsletters and other publications will assist them in planning trips.

JAMES R. WOLF, Director
Bethesda, Md.

The Continental Divide Trail Society, founded in 1978, is dedicated to the planning, development, and maintenance of the Continental Divide Trail as a silent trail. Currently 200 members, the society offers guidebooks to the trail, and publishes a semiannual newsletter. Annual membership dues of \$7.50 (\$9.00 outside the U.S. and Canada) include a subscription to the newsletter, which otherwise costs \$5.00 (\$7.00 outside the U.S. and Canada) annually. For more information, write to the Continental Divide Trail Society, P.O. Box 30002, Bethesda, MD 20824.

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Jennifer and Joe
Montana



Chancellor Kohl
phone call





Ukrainian President
Leonid Kravchuk

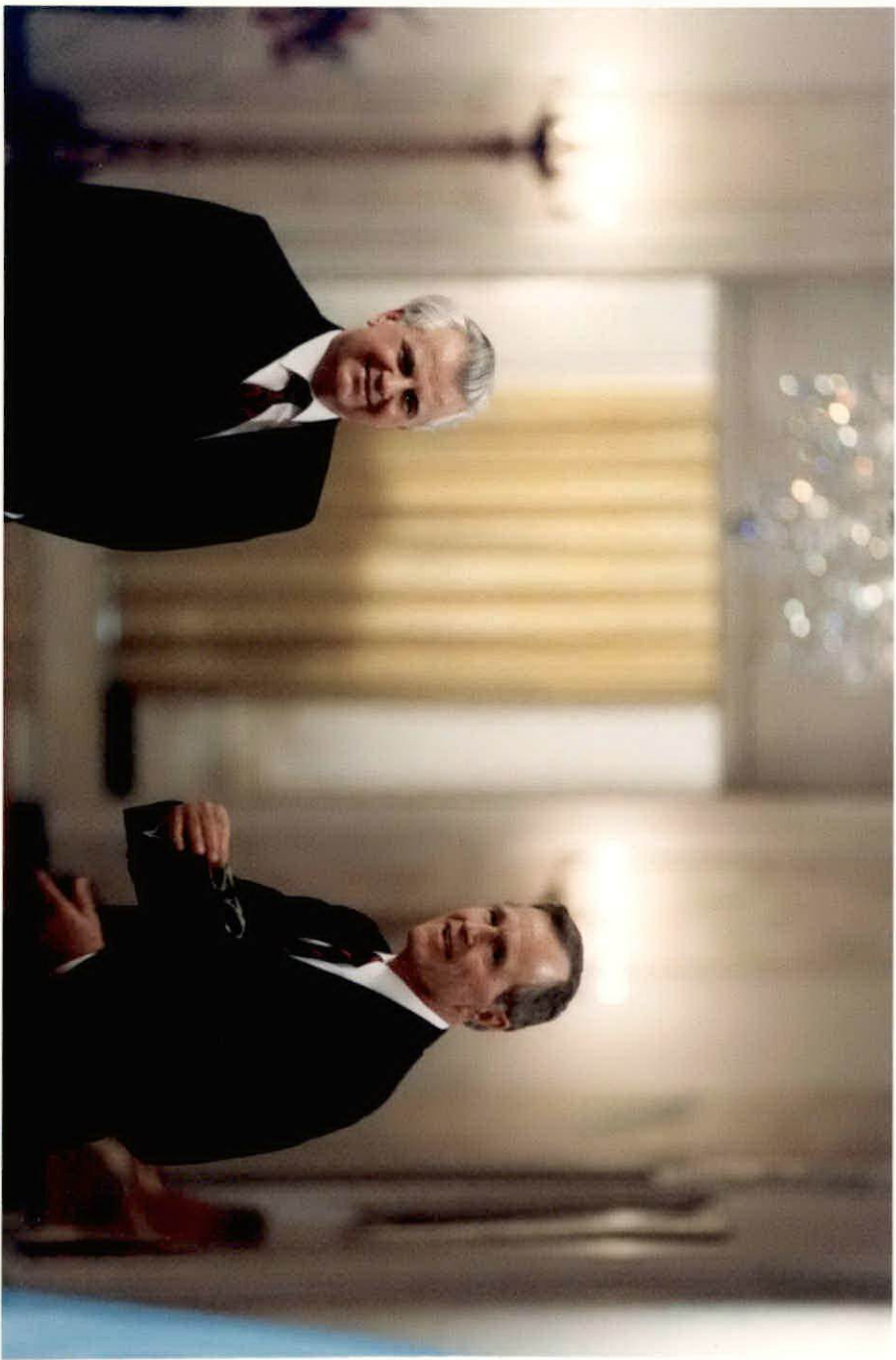




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of 100







OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 05 MAY 92 P31387-09 38





President of
Ukraine
at Camp David



DATE: May 6 '92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Clinton, Bush Add 3 More to Win Columns

Results in North Carolina, Indiana and D.C. Show Weakening of Brown and Buchanan Drives

By Thomas B. Edsall
and Maralee Schwartz
Washington Post Staff Writers

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton continued his march toward the Democratic presidential nomination yesterday, winning the North Carolina, Indiana and District of Columbia primaries by decisive margins.

President Bush, who has locked up his renomination, easily won all three Republican contests, including one of his best showings to date in Indiana, the home of Vice President Quayle.

The results undercut what little credibility was left in the fading presidential campaigns of Democrat Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr., who has lost every major state to Clinton, and of Republican challenger Patrick J. Buchanan, who has been losing to Bush by steadily wider margins.

In North Carolina, Brown, a former governor of California, came in well behind "No preference," which is a choice voters can make there. In Indiana, Brown was running only 9 percentage points ahead of former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who remained on the ballot despite his suspension of campaigning, and was 43 points behind Clinton.

With 94 percent of the Democratic vote counted in Indiana, Clinton had 64 percent, Brown 21 and Tsongas 12 percent. With 94 percent of the GOP ballots counted, Bush had 80 percent and Buchanan 20 percent.

In North Carolina, with 98 percent of the Democratic vote in, Clinton had 64 percent, Brown 10 and "No preference" 15 percent. On the GOP side, with 99 percent counted, Bush had 70 percent, Buchanan 20 and "No preference" 10 percent. Buchanan spent a week campaigning in North Carolina where voters in past elections have boosted conservative opponents, including Ronald Reagan's challenge to President Gerald R. Ford in 1976.

Bush campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke said the president's huge victory margins showed "there is very little of a protest vote left."

Anticipating defeat, Brown earlier this week said, "I understand and can calculate the numbers as they roll on for Governor Clinton. . . . I continue not just to count up delegates, I continue to bring the truth that our party must stay in form in its tradition."

Last night, Brown, whose last victory was the Vermont caucuses on March 31, renewed his vow to remain in the race until the Democratic National Convention in July.

Clinton told a victory party in Charlotte, N.C., last night that all



In New York, Clinton shakes hands with Jewell Jackson McCabe, who, with Gloria Steinem, left, served as co-chairwoman of Women's Power Lunch.

Candidate	INDIANA			NORTH CAROLINA		
	Votes	%	Delg.	Votes	%	Delg.
DEMOCRATS				98% of precincts		
				94% of precincts		
Brown	93,530	21	20	69,661	10	0
Clinton	284,562	64	57	426,565	64	72
Tsongas	54,051	12	0	55,723	8	0
No Preference				98,863	15	12
REPUBLICANS				99% of precincts		
				94% of precincts		
Buchanan	89,635	20	0	55,100	20	12
Bush	361,577	80	30	199,524	70	45
No Preference				26,738	10	0

* Not on ballot.

SOURCE: Associated Press

three primaries yesterday had produced "great victories . . . for our campaign for the cause of change."

As he had done earlier yesterday, Clinton criticized the Bush administration's most recent response to the Los Angeles riots, saying its effort to blame the devastation on the social programs of the 1960s was an example of "what this race cannot be about." He added, "This White House ought to be looking for someone to help, not someone to blame."

Clinton strengthened his grip on the nomination yesterday when he received the formal endorsement of the AFL-CIO, the principal arm of organized labor, which had leaned toward the failed bid of Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa).

"Now it's official," said William Bywater, vice president of the na-

tion's largest labor confederation, the 14-million-member AFL-CIO, news services reported. "The entire labor movement will stand behind Governor Clinton's presidential candidacy," Bywater said. Clinton, who is governor of a right-to-work state, had faced hostility from segments of organized labor.

Clinton's fight for the nomination is all but over. Before any votes were counted yesterday, he had nearly 75 percent of the 2,145 convention delegates he needs to win the nomination. Sixteen Democratic delegates were at stake in the District, 77 in Indiana and 84 in North Carolina.

Bush had won 1,122 delegates, slightly more than the 1,105 needed for nomination, without counting the support picked up yesterday. On the Republican side, the District had 14 delegates at stake in yesterday's primary, with 51 in Indiana and 57 in North Carolina.

Television exit polls suggested that in recent weeks Clinton has been able to mend some of the damage to his public image resulting from allegations of infidelity, continued controversy over his draft status in the late 1960s and his use of marijuana in the same period.

More than a month ago, pluralities, and sometimes absolute majorities, of voters in exit polls said Clinton did not have enough honesty and integrity to be president.

Yesterday, CNN said interviews with voters leaving their polling places showed about two-thirds of Democratic voters said Clinton had the honesty to serve as president.

Clinton and Bush have substantial problems with their core constituencies: 44 percent of the North Carolina Democratic vote and 43 percent of the Indiana Democratic electorate said Clinton does not understand the needs and problems of average Americans, according to ABC News exit polls. Among Republican voters, 42 percent in North Carolina and 35 percent in Indiana said Bush does not understand people's needs and problems.

The exit polls showed roughly a quarter of the voters in both states and in both parties said they would support Texan Ross Perot if he runs as an independent in the fall.

In key state races, former North Carolina governor Jim Hunt easily defeated Attorney General Lacy Thornburg for the Democratic gubernatorial nomination. Hunt, who lost a 1984 Senate bid to incumbent Jesse Helms (R), will face Lt. Gov. Jim Gardner, who had two lesser-known opponents in his bid for the GOP gubernatorial nomination.

In the battle for the GOP Senate nomination in North Carolina, businessman Lauch Faircloth, an ally of Helms, defeated former Charlotte mayor Sue Myrick and former House member Gene Johnston for the chance to take on Sen. Terry Sanford (D-N.C.) in November.

One of the most closely watched elections in the nation took place in North Carolina's 1st Congressional District, which had been carefully redrawn to boost the likelihood of electing a black.

Three black candidates appeared to be splitting the majority African-American vote, with the result that Walter Jones Jr., son of the retiring white incumbent, was leading the race for the Democratic nomination, with 36 percent. Any candidate winning with 40 percent or more does not have to face a runoff.

A white candidate, Ted Tyler, was unopposed for the GOP nomination.

In the 12th District, also newly created to elect a minority candidate, all four Democratic candidates are black. Melvin Watt, a Charlotte lawyer, won the nomination. In the five-way GOP race, Barbara Washington, one of three black candidates, led with 33 percent.

Democrats are favored to win in both districts in the fall.

Four-term Labor Commissioner John Brooks lost his reelection bid to state Rep. Harry Payne. Brooks had been criticized over safety violations at the chicken processing plant in Hamlet, where 25 people died in a fire last September. On the Republican side, Nelson Dollar defeated Henry McKoy.

In Indiana, Gov. Evan Bayh was unchallenged in his bid for renomination on the Democratic ticket. Republican Attorney General Linley E. Pearson defeated H. Dean Evans, superintendent of public schools, and John A. Johnson, a businessman, in the contest for the GOP gubernatorial nomination.

Staff writer Dan Bels in Charlotte, N.C., contributed to this report.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Senate Preserves Funding for Two Seawolf Submarines Opposed by Bush

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Senate voted yesterday to preserve funding for two nuclear-powered Seawolf attack submarines that President Bush wants to scrap as part of his plan to cut \$7.8 billion in "pork barrel" spending to reduce the deficit.

The vote marked a victory for Sens. Christopher J. Dodd and Joseph I. Lieberman (D-Conn.), who have lobbied vigorously to save the submarine construction, which provides thousands of jobs at General Dynamics Corp.'s Electric Boat Division in Groton, Conn. But the 52 to 46 vote is far smaller than the two-thirds majority required to override a threatened presidential veto.

Electric Boat is constructing the first of the SSN-21 class, which has received funding. The Navy planned more than 20 of the

\$2 billion attack boats. The vote also underscores the growing reluctance of Congress to reduce the military despite the end of the Cold War because of its fear of killing more jobs or giving up any military technological advantages.

"This is more than a Connecticut issue," Dodd said during floor debate. "I would never make the argument to my colleagues [to save the submarines] if jobs were the only argument."

Six weeks ago, Bush challenged Congress to cut \$7.8 billion of what he called largely pork barrel spending in a number of areas in the current budget. Among these so-called rescissions were nearly \$3 billion in the defense portion of the budget to complete two of the three planned Seawolf submarines. The administration says the submarines have become unnecessary since the breakup of the Soviet Union.

The Senate Appropriations Committee responded last week with its package of such cuts that would reduce overall spending by about \$425 million more than the president proposed. But the package would preserve the two submarines by ordering cuts in spending for the B-2 "stealth" bomber and the Strategic Defense Initiative.

The White House warned yesterday that the president would veto the legislation unless Congress goes along with his proposed defense cuts, a point underscored by Bush during an hour-long meeting yesterday on Capitol Hill with Senate Republicans.

"Cutting critical programs in not a viable alternative to eliminating unnecessary programs such as the Seawolf submarine, M-1 tank conversion, F-14 aircraft modification and reducing unnecessary National Guard and Reserve equipment funding," the Office

of Management and Budget said in a letter to Senate leaders.

The House's \$5.8 billion version of the rescissions bill, which awaits action later this week, would save one of the two submarines the president wants to eliminate.

House and Senate critics of the president's plan contend that it would cost the government an estimated \$500 million to \$1 billion more to cancel production of the two submarines than to complete them. Moreover, critics warned, cancellation of the submarines would force the closing of Electric Boat, one of the nation's two submarine builders.

Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.) led the effort to kill the two submarines, arguing that they have become unnecessary in the post-Cold War era and that whatever economic benefit enjoyed by Connecticut would come at the expense of other states with defense

contracts that would be cut to preserve Seawolf spending.

However, Sen. Daniel K. Inouye (D-Hawaii) warned that canceling the project would jeopardize the jobs of 21,000 workers at Electric Boat and would impair the military's capability of responding to unforeseen military conflicts, such as the Persian Gulf War.

"Yes, it's true the Soviet Union is no more and the Warsaw Pact is no more, but we have regional conflict," said Inouye, chairman of the Appropriations defense subcommittee. "We thought that [Iraqi President] Saddam Hussein was our threat in 1990, and look where it led us."

Forty-five Democrats and seven Republicans voted against McCain's amendment to kill all funding for the two submarines. Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.) was the only area senator to vote to kill the funding.

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9 a.m.

Committees:

Appropriations—9:30 a.m. Labor, HHS, Education & related agencies subc. Erosion of domestic funding. 192 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Appropriations—10 a.m. Foreign operations subc. & Senate Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry Committee. Aid to former Soviet Union. 628 DOB.

Appropriations—10 a.m. Transportation & related agencies subc. FY93 approps. for U.S. Coast Guard. 138 DOB.

Armed Services—10 a.m. Readiness, sustainability & support subc. Logistics programs. 222 Russell Office Bldg.

Armed Services—2 p.m. May close. Energy Dept. national security programs. Energy Sec. Watkins. 222 ROB.

Commerce, Science & Transportation—9:30 a.m. Science, technology & space subc. Land Remote Sensing Policy Act of '92 & other Landsat issues. 253 ROB.

Energy & Natural Resources—9:30 a.m. Science concerning global climate change. 365 DOB.

Environment & Public Works—10 a.m. Nuclear regulation subc. Nuclear waste & nuclear power plant safety in Russia. 406 DOB.

Environment & Public Works—12:15 p.m. Nomination of Kenneth Rogers as member of Nuclear Regulatory Commission. 406 DOB.

Finance—10 a.m. Health care reform, focusing on an overview of proposals. 215 DOB.

Foreign Relations—10 a.m. European affairs subc. Role of children's educational television in transformation of former Soviet Union. 419 DOB.

Foreign Relations—2 p.m. Treaty between United States & Republic of Panama on mutual assistance in criminal matters. 419 DOB.

Judiciary—10:30 a.m. Antitrust, monopolies & business rights subc. Anticompetitive practices in retail gasoline market. 226 DOB.

Labor & Human Resources—10 a.m. Workplace health & safety & need to reform Occupational Safety & Health Act. 430 DOB.

Labor & Human Resources—2 p.m. Employment & productivity subc. Live Performing Arts Labor Relations Amendments Act to permit collective bargaining for performing artists. 430 DOB.

Rules & Administration—9:30 a.m. Appointments of Hanna Gray & Wesley Williams as Smithsonian Institution citizen regents. 301 ROB.

Select Indian Affairs—9:30 a.m. Implementation of Indian Gaming Regulatory Act. 216 Hart Office Bldg.

Select Intelligence—2 p.m. Closed. Intelligence matters. 219 HOB.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—10 a.m. Forests, family farms & energy subc. Establish Old-Growth Forest Reserve. 1300 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Appropriations—10 a.m. Closed. Defense subc. FY93 approps. on nuclear weapons control & destruction. H-140 Capitol.

Appropriations—1:30 p.m. Closed. Defense subc. FY93 approps. on DOD space programs. H-140 Cap.

Appropriations—10 a.m. Interior subc. FY93 approps. for Minerals Management Service. B-308 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Appropriations—1:30 p.m. Interior subc. FY93 approps. for U.S. Holocaust Memorial Council. B-308 RHOB.

Appropriations—10 a.m.

Labor-HHS-Education subc. FY93 approps. 2358 RHOB.

Armed Services—9:30 a.m. May close. Research & development subc. FY93 defense auth. request focusing on Strategic Defense Initiative. 2118 RHOB.

Armed Services—10:30 a.m. Military installations & facilities subc. Civil defense portion of FY93 defense auth. request. 2212 RHOB.

Armed Services—2 p.m. May close. Research & development subc. FY93 defense auth. request focusing on theater missile defense. 2118 RHOB.

Armed Services—2 p.m. May close. Energy Dept. defense nuclear facilities panel. Recommendations for procurement & military nuclear systems subc. relating to DOE defense programs portion of FY93 defense auth. 2212 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. Policy research & insurance subc. Development of secondary market for commercial real estate loans. 2222 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. International development, finance, trade & monetary policy subc. Export-Import Bank charter renewal. 2220 RHOB.

Budget—10 a.m./2 p.m. Economic & budgetary implications of balanced budget constitutional amendment. 210 Cannon House Office Bldg.

Education & Labor—10 a.m. Employment opportunities subc. School-to-work transition. 2261 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—9:30 a.m. U.S. post-Cold War foreign policy. 2172 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—2 p.m. Arms control, international security & science subc. On-Site Inspection Agency. 2200 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—2 p.m. International economic policy & trade subc. Jobs Through Exports Act of '92. 2255 RHOB.

Government Operations—9:30 a.m. Legislation & national security subc. Defense Contract Audit Agency. 2154 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Intellectual property & judicial administration subc. Technology Transfer Improvements Act of '91. 2226 RHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Crime & criminal justice subc. Clinic blockades & federal intervention. 2237 RHOB.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries—10 a.m. Coast Guard & navigation subc. Mark up fees for merchant mariners' documents, licenses or certificates of registry. Coast Guard Auth. Act for '93. 1334 LHOB.

Merchant Marine & Fisheries—2 p.m. Fisheries & wildlife conservation & the environment subc. National Wildlife Refuge System Act & National Wildlife System Management & Policy Act. 1334 LHOB.

Post Office & Civil Service—10 a.m. Compensation & employee benefits subc. & human resources subc. Displaced Federal Employees Assistance Act of '92. 311 CHOB.

Veterans' Affairs—9 a.m. Oversight & investigations subc. Community-based veterans service organizations. 334 CHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Trade subc. Markup of Customs Modernization & Informed Compliance Act. 1100 LHOB.

Ways & Means—1 p.m. Human resources. Mark up Unemployment Compensation Amendments of '92. B-318 RHOB.

Select Hunger—9:30 a.m. Drought conditions in Southern Africa. 2200 RHOB.

Permanent Select Intelligence—10:15 a.m. Closed. Program & budget auth. subc. Mark up FY93 intelligence budget. H-405 Cap.

Select Narcotics Abuse & Control—10 a.m. High-Intensity Drug Trafficking Area Program. 2203 RHOB.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992



President meets in White House Cabinet Room with Louis W. Sullivan of HHS, left, Jack Kemp of HUD and Barbara Franklin of Commerce.

Urban Unrest Spills Over to Political Debate

Amid Democratic Blasts, Bush Aides Backpedal From Attack on Great Society

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A White House statement linking the Los Angeles riots to the social programs of the 1960s and 1970s unleashed an angry debate yesterday as politicians in both parties predicted that the new wave of urban disorder would alter the tone and content of the 1992 election campaign.

Stung by charges that the administration was politicizing its response to the riots, Bush Cabinet officials insisted they were not trying to shift the blame to Democrats for social problems.

Housing and Urban Development Secretary Jack Kemp, Labor Secretary Lynn

Martin and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan all reformulated the Monday statement by White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater to be an attack on large 1960s programs that did not work and not an assault on every aspect of Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society.

"No matter how well-meaning they were, they did not all work," Martin said of the Great Society programs during a luncheon with Washington Post reporters and editors yesterday. "Obviously, everything is not fixed."

Fitzwater himself seemed to back away from his remarks, saying they "played more harshly than I intended" and his "message was meant to be there will not be big new

spending programs by government because we think that approach does not work."

The scrambling by the White House reflected the hesitation and uncertainty that has gripped politicians in both parties as they have weighed the claims of conflicting constituencies and revisited long-simmering disputes over the relative contributions of racism, family breakdown, crime and unemployment to urban decay.

Over the last week, President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic nominee, have issued a flood of statements on racism, crime and social breakdown—issues that had taken a back seat to economics for most of this year.

See DEBATE, A9, Col. 4

■ Tape shows police retreating from site where riot began; scholars and policy experts react to Fitzwater remarks. Pages A8, A27

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992 A9

Unrest Spills Over to Political Debate

DEBATE, From A1

The balancing act has been especially difficult for Bush, long criticized for alleged indifference to domestic issues, and Democrats seized on Fitzwater's comments as an opportunity to accuse the administration of evading responsibility.

On the House floor, Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) invoked memories of the Kennedy brothers, President Johnson and the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. to accuse Bush of perfecting "the art of blame-shifting."

"A president who preaches to others about personal responsibility rarely accepts any for himself," Gephardt said. "The president who governs by running negative campaigns is now running against the past. Yesterday it was Willie Horton. Today, his negative campaign is against Jack, Bobby, Lyndon and Martin."

Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.) said at a news conference that "when domestic problems become too visible to ignore, all this administration does is look for somebody else to blame. First, it was Jimmy Carter. Today, it's Lyndon Johnson. Who's next? Grover Cleveland? Maybe."

Even Republicans were uneasy with the statement. While saying he was "very much" satisfied with Bush's response to the riots, Sen. John Seymour (R-Calif.) said "it's the time for finger-pointing to be set aside" and added that he did not blame Johnson for the riots.

Rep. Thomas E. Petri (R-Wis.) said the riots "can be blamed on all kinds of things and that's certainly not the whole story."

But Clinton, who joined in the attack on Fitzwater's statement in a New York speech, has not escaped from the political uncertainties created by the riots. In the immediate aftermath, Clinton moved from a strong statement condemning the virtual exoneration of four white police officers on charges of beating Rodney G. King to a strong condemnation of the riots as "savage behavior" involving "lawless vandals."

Clinton's aides noted that he made his first comments before he knew how extensive and violent the riots were. They argued that because Clinton has made calls for racial unity part of his standard oratory since the beginning of the campaign, he was uniquely well-placed to respond.

Clinton's statements since the end of last week have sought to balance calls for getting tougher on crime and expressions of concern

for the effects of family breakdown on inner-city neighborhoods with proposals for more federal action in the areas of prenatal care, education and job training.

Several members of Congress, including Petri, Rep. William J. Jefferson (D-La.) and Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.), said the incidents in Los Angeles were certain to make issues surrounding race central through November's elections. "I think it's going to put it in for keeps," Espy said. "The riots themselves might be over, but the tension is going to increase."

The difficulties politicians have had in coming to terms with the riots, racial tensions and the impact of 1960s programs reflect the devilishly complicated politics of race and the difficulties defining just what the Great Society was about.

Stanley Greenberg, Clinton's poll-taker and an academic by training who has written widely about racial politics, said the conventional view would see any increased emphasis on issues like race and crime as benefiting the Republicans, because "law and order pushes Democratic defectors to remember why they flirted with the Republicans in the first place."

But this year might be different, became the riots happened after almost 12 years of GOP presidencies. "The riots make people focus on unaddressed problems and the sense that many things went unintended in the Reagan-Bush years," Greenberg said. "Perhaps L.A. is not a symbol of race, but of a nation adrift that leaves big problems unattended and addresses them with rhetoric."

Greenberg's formulation reflects Democratic hopes and Republican fears—one reason the administration has been so divided internally.

Just yesterday, two administration officials involved in the president's political strategy offered radically different accounts of what Bush's imperatives should be.

"It will backfire on us if Bush in any way seems to show sympathy for these looters and murderers," said one. "Law and order is the best Republican issue. If we lose that by pandering to these creeps, we really are in trouble."

But the other said: "This is the time for the president to show some heart and soul, to show that he understands and cares about these problems that are rending the country."

The policy debate is as tricky as the political debate. The attack on programs of the 1960s is rooted in a

conservative argument, made most notably by Charles Murray in his book "Losing Ground," that the expansion of welfare benefits—especially through food stamps and Medicaid—increased the incentives for young women to have children out of wedlock and for the children's fathers to avoid responsibility for them. Such programs, Murray said in an interview, "masked the long-term consequences of behavior by masking the short-term pain."

Murray's argument has come under fierce attack from liberals. Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-N.Y.), who warned of the social costs of family dissolution in a report issued in the wake of the Watts riots in 1965, said in an interview yesterday that illegitimacy rates had grown in Canada at about the same rate as in the United States. "Something's going on in the world that I don't understand, but it certainly wasn't the Jobs Corps or Youth Opportunities Unlimited" that caused the problem, Moynihan said.

Moynihan, who served in the Nixon administration, said the attack on Democratic programs was hard for Republicans to make, as President Richard M. Nixon signed into law many programs now associated with the 1960s. "The Nixon administration," he said, "was an extension of the Great Society."

But if liberals still defend aspects of the Great Society, they have increasingly joined with conservatives in seeing the breakdown of social institutions in the inner city, especially the family, as lying at the heart of urban problems.

This argument has long been congenial to conservatives, as it stresses individual behavior over economic factors. But Rep. Charles E. Schumer (D-N.Y.), echoing many liberal colleagues, said, "Most people now agree that the family is the central issue. . . . We're not certain what to do about it, but we have to open the discussion to figure out what to do."

Still, even the debate over the family is complicated by an argument widely advanced among liberals that it is the decline in the number of well-paying jobs in inner-city areas that promoted family dissolution in the first place—and that pushes inner-city residents, especially young black men, to society's margins. "Jobs," said Roger Wilkins, a professor of history at George Mason University, "are still the best social program."

Staff writers Ann Devroy, John E. Yang, Helen Dewar and Kenneth J. Cooper contributed to this report.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

U.S., Russia Disagree Over Missile Sale to India

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

U.S. and Russian officials disagreed publicly yesterday over the propriety of Russia's planned sale of booster rocket engines to India, with the Bush administration threatening to impose economic sanctions against the state-owned Indian and Russian companies involved in the deal.

U.S. officials say the \$200 million sale of Russian rocket technology will violate Moscow's pledges to adhere to the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), an agreement reached several years ago mostly by Western nations to block the spread of technology for ballistic missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads.

"It is absolutely clear from their performance characteristics that these rocket engines are covered by MTCR guidelines," a U.S. official said of the proposed sale under a contract signed last year by representatives of the Indian Space Re-

search Organization and the Russian space agency Glavkosmos.

The deal involves engines powered by cryogenic fuel with greater thrust than rockets India possesses, potentially giving India the capability to propel larger payloads a greater distance. India claims that the engines are intended strictly for launching commercial satellites.

The U.S. official said that months of protests had not yielded any sign that the cash-starved Russian government will cancel the deal, making it "hard to see how we will not impose sanctions."

Yesterday, following reports of the sanctions threat, Russian first deputy prime minister Gennadi Burbulis reiterated his nation's commitment to fulfill the contract. Speaking in New Delhi, he said "our position remains firm," according to Reuter.

Burbulis also implicitly criticized the United States as attempting "to be a rule-maker on the global scale without taking into the account the interests of its partners." Indian officials similarly have protested what

Minister of Parliamentary Affairs Ghulam Nabi Azad has called unwarranted pressure from the United States to cancel the deal.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler confirmed that the issue has been raised with the Indians and the Russians "at the highest levels of our government."

U.S. law requires that trade be halted with any foreign company or companies that transfer or even conspire to transfer missile gear covered by the MTCR, subject only to a presidential waiver. That means sanctions can be imposed before the deal is consummated, and Tutwiler confirmed that a U.S. announcement is imminent.

Burbulis also told the Indian government that Russia would renew its supplies of military equipment to

New Delhi after a hiatus caused by political turmoil in Moscow, Reuter reported.

The administration last year imposed economic sanctions on Chinese companies for selling missile technology to Pakistan and against South Africa for obtaining missile technology from Israel. But it waived sanctions against an Israeli firm and suspended the sanctions involving China in exchange for a government pledge to adhere to the MTCR in the future.

A Chairmanship Uncertain



Capitol Hill has been humming with speculation that Jamie Whitten, the longest-serving House member in history and chairman of the powerful Appropriations Committee, will either step down or announce

intentions not to seek reelection.

A spokesman for Whitten (D-Miss.) said yesterday that there are no such plans "at this time." But the talk started last week, when the 81-year-old ailing legislator appeared disoriented as he chaired his first full committee hearing following a prolonged illness. "It was clear to his colleagues that he did not have the energy to handle this bill," said one senior Hill aide, referring to a complicated \$5.5 billion budget trimming measure.

"It was very uncomfortable," said a source at the hearing, adding that Whitten seemed to be getting an unusual amount of staff assistance.

Appropriations is a citadel of the Hill seniority system, with the top four seats filled by members in their seventies and eighties. This has led to further speculation that the intellectual and outspoken Dave



Reps. Jamie Whitten and, left, Dave Obey.

Obey of Wisconsin, 53 years old and fourth in line to the throne, is paying very close attention to Whitten's plans. "The last I looked, Mr. [William] Natcher was the ranking member of the committee," responded an Obey spokesman.

Meanwhile, friends of Whitten have reportedly urged the octogenarian to take it easy, rethink his future and let others manage the appropriations measure when it moves on to the floor this week.



■ A dog's dream! Redwood shingle, complete with deck, Jacuzzi, fireplace and much, much more.

Unfortunately, to get it, you have to buy the matching five-bedroom monster house, the three-bedroom caretaker's quarters, the five-car garage and the three heated swimming pools connected by waterfalls on 9.4 acres in Great Falls.

For \$5.3 million, it's certainly understandable that after one year on the market, it hasn't found the perfect owner. Or dog.

SALE

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Loudoun Judge Stops School Panel Shakeup

Supervisors Want to Create GOP Majority

By Steve Bates
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Circuit Court judge yesterday temporarily blocked an effort by Loudoun County supervisors to engineer a Republican takeover of the School Board, agreeing to consider complaints that the supervisors violated state law in trying to add two members to the education panel.

The temporary restraining order issued by Judge Thomas D. Horne is the latest development in a feud that began in November when Republicans took control of the Board of Supervisors and vowed to cut education spending. After objections by School Board members—most of whom were appointed when the Board of Supervisors was controlled by Democrats—the Republicans decided to ensure themselves a majority on the education panel by adding two seats.

In court papers filed yesterday, Democratic activist John Lewis, a Sterling resident, argued that the Board of Supervisors violated Virginia's Freedom of Information Act by proposing and approving a public hearing for School Board candidates without public notice, and at the end of a 10-hour meeting.

The papers also allege that the supervisors cannot fill the two posts without first passing an ordinance to create the new seats.

Lewis said he sought the injunction because of "the way our county government has been operated Something has to be done at some point to bring them into line."

Loudoun board members would not comment on Horne's restraining order, which will be the subject of a hearing in June.

However, after it was issued yesterday they nominated—but did not confirm—Sterling resident James K. Martin and Leesburg resident Dennis E. Gallus for the new positions, pending the outcome of the court case.

"It's really not a ruling on the merits of the case," County Attorney Jack Roberts said of Horne's order. "It freezes everything at the status quo."

The Virginia General Assembly recently voted to allow elected school boards in jurisdictions that approve them by referendums. But such an election cannot take place in Loudoun until November 1995, when the Board of Supervisors next stands for election.



CHAIRMAN GEORGE BARTON
... proposed two new seats

The rancorous fight over school spending in Loudoun began after Republicans captured eight of nine seats on the Board of Supervisors in November, and several School Board members responded to the new board's call for cuts by demanding more money for teacher salaries and other education programs.

Though School Board members were not surprised when supervisors cut \$5.6 million from the school system's proposed \$98.9 million budget, they were stunned on March 3 when County Board Chairman George Barton (R-At Large) proposed adding two seats to the School Board.

Besides being a Democratic activist, Lewis is president of the Sugarland Run Homeowners Association. His attorney, Doug Cole, was an unsuccessful Democratic candidate for a supervisor seat last fall. Both men and a Loudoun Democratic Party official said the suit was not authorized by the party.

Republican supervisors also have been criticized by residents for holding informal discussions that appeared to result in key budget decisions. Barton has defended the private talks, saying that the supervisors "see eye-to-eye on many issues" and don't need lengthy policy discussions in public meetings. "It's just an attempt to move expeditiously on matters," he said.

Staff writer Stephen Turnham contributed to this report.

Clinton, Bush Win Decisively In D.C. Primary

Top Vote-Getters Also Prevail In North Carolina, Indiana

By Nell Henderson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and President Bush won resounding victories in yesterday's presidential primaries in the District of Columbia, North Carolina and Indiana.

Democratic contender Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. and Patrick J. Buchanan, Bush's Republican rival, trailed far behind. [Details on Page A13.]

Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly and D.C. Council Chairman John A. Wilson, the District's top two local elected officials, also prevailed in intraparty contests yesterday.

Kelly was easily elected to a fifth term as Democratic national committeewoman in a contest her critics hoped would show voters' anger at Kelly's first 15 months in office. Kelly defeated former D.C. Office of Aging director E. Veronica Pace by a 3 to 2 ratio.

Wilson put his prestige on the line by challenging John Hechinger Sr. for Democratic national committeeman, a post Hechinger has held for two decades.

With 100 percent of the returns counted last night, Wilson was ahead by 262 votes of nearly 54,000 votes cast. Election officials said, however, that about 2,100 absentee and special ballots had been cast. Those will not be counted until May 15.

Only 25.5 percent of the District's 261,829 registered members of the Democratic, Republican and D.C. Statehood parties cast votes yesterday—the lowest for a presidential primary since 1976, elections officials said.

Some voters at one large precinct in the Michigan Park section of Northeast Washington told a reporter yesterday that none of the presidential candidates excited them. [Details on Page B1.] Such apparent lack of interest, however, failed to dampen the enthusiasm of yesterday's winners.

"I'm very pleased, very appreciative of the people of the District of Columbia, very grateful that they con-

See PRIMARIES, A13, Col. 1

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Clinton, Bush Win in D.C.; Wilson Defeats Hechinger

PRIMARIES, From A1

tinue to have faith in me," Kelly said last night at a victory party at the Sheraton Washington Hotel.

Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton (D-D.C.) was unopposed in the primary and no Republican is slated to run against her in November.

"It feels awfully good," Norton said. "I hope it reflects the job I've done."

D.C. Republicans yesterday elected Harry E. Singleton, an assistant secretary of education under President Reagan, as their first black national committeeman.

With all of the ballots counted in the District, Clinton got 44,602 votes, or 74 percent.

That was about seven times as many as the next highest vote-getter, former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas, who suspended his campaign but left his name on the ballot and drew 6,314 votes (10.5 percent).

A slate of uncommitted delegates

drew 5,161 votes, about 8.5 percent.

Former California governor Brown, Clinton's only active challenger, got 4,334, or 7.2 percent.

Bush swamped Buchanan in the District, 4,157 to 950 votes, the returns showed.

Clinton had been heavily favored in the primary, having collected endorsements from most of the city's top politicians and labor leaders, including Kelly, Norton, most of the D.C. Council and the Metropolitan Washington Council of the AFL-CIO.

Council member Charlene Drew Jarvis, (D-Ward 4), co-chair of Clinton's campaign and a Clinton delegate to the Democratic convention at Madison Square Garden in August, said, "I have my bags packed for New York and he ought to have his bags packed for the White House."

Norton said she endorsed Clinton because he is a friend of the District's, supports D.C. statehood and has "done something the president hasn't done; he's thought about what he wants to do as president."

Local representatives of the Bush-Quayle campaign issued no statement after the primary, but Ann F. Heuer, chairwoman of the local party, attributed the president's strong showing in part to the organizational efforts of the local GOP.

Among the reasons cited for the low turnout was that Jesse L. Jackson—the winner in the District's last two presidential primaries—did not appear on this year's ballot, and there were no major local contests.

Norton said the turnout reflected the fact that "folks think Clinton is perceived already to have won the election."

But Dorothy Brizill, who led the slate of uncommitted delegates, interpreted the vote yesterday as showing that local Democrats are dissatisfied with their choices and with the party's nominating process.

D.C. PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY



DEMOCRATS

Precincts reporting: 140 of 140

✓ Bill Clinton	44,602	74%
Paul E. Tsongas	6,314	10%
Uncommitted	5,161	9%
Edmund G. Brown Jr.	4,334	7%



REPUBLICANS

Precincts reporting: 140 of 140

✓ George Bush	4,157	81%
Patrick J. Buchanan	950	19%

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Clinton Rips White House's Riot Response *Social Programs Not At Fault, He Says*

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, May 5—Calling for racial harmony after the Los Angeles riots, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton said today it was "almost unbelievable" that the Bush administration would blame the devastation on the Great Society programs of the 1960s and said seeking scapegoats will not solve the underlying problems.

After seeking to restore order and aid burned-out businesses in Los Angeles, Clinton said, the administration has "turned to blaming these riots on the social programs and liberal approaches of the 1960s, which is clearly mere posturing and almost unbelievable after they have held the White House for 11½ years in a row and their party has governed for 20 of the last 24 years."

He was referring to comments made Monday by White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater. "The question of this White House, according to the morning papers, is not what are we going to do, but who are we going to blame," Clinton said.

In a subdued appeal to the nation's collective conscience, Clinton said that, unless there is a restoration of a sense of community in this country, there will be no way to attack the underlying economic problems and divisions evident in the aftermath of the verdict in the Rodney G. King police beating case.

"This is going to tear this country down," Clinton said of the racial divisions. "We cannot restore economic leadership of America until we are one community again."

The Arkansas governor, who addressed the American Newspaper Publishers Association today after touring the burned-out buildings and riot-torn neighborhoods in Los Angeles on Monday, said the country is "paying for the denial and neglect of the last decade and more."

But he added that neither he nor those most directly affected by the burning and rioting are asking for "top-down, government" programs as the solution.



Clinton addresses the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York.

The likely Democratic nominee said he supported the administration's efforts to restore order and assist businesses that were destroyed during the rioting. But he said rather than seeking scapegoats for the cause of the deaths and destruction in Los Angeles, the country needed action to cure the problems that helped cause them.

Clinton said that his tour of Los Angeles reminded him that underneath the reaction to the King case verdict and the "outrageous burning, killing and looting," there are "still profound divisions in this country . . . that present a threat to our common way of life and our efforts to revitalize the American economy, and they cannot be ignored."

Calling the disturbances in Los Angeles "a fire bell in the night," Clinton said the solution "starts with facing the racial issue more squarely than we have" in the past and said Americans who do not want the president to do that "should vote for someone else" in November.

Acknowledging economic and political progress on the part of many black Americans since the Watts riots of 1965, Clinton said the country now suffers from a "permanent underclass" of citizens in urban America who are disconnected from the life and values of the rest of the country.

He recounted conversations with political and community leaders in Los Angeles and said they were not

looking for a "free ride" from government. "They want opportunity and empowerment," he said. And he added, "And they want safe streets like you and I do."

Clinton offered a series of recommendations for addressing the problems of the cities, most of which he has spoken about in the past.

Those solutions begin, he said, with private investment in cities, not a continuation of the kinds of lending practices that have put many inner-city areas off limits to capital. He said either a new community investment act or a network of urban development banks patterned after the South Shore Development Bank in Chicago could work.

In addition, Clinton advocated new public-private partnerships for housing development, patterned after existing programs in several major cities. To make the streets safer, Clinton advocated community-based police patrols and more police officers assigned to the beat in city neighborhoods.

Two ways to find additional police officers, he said, are a national service program that would let college graduates pay off their student loans by serving for a year or two as policemen or women or by allowing military personnel to leave the armed services after 15 years and build up their retirement benefits with five years of civilian police work. This program has been advocated by Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.).

JUDY MANN

The Willie Horton Riot

With all the speculation about the meaning of the Los Angeles riot, it remained for Ross Perot to put his finger on the central reality of it. President Bush's "reprehensible" (Perot's word) use of the Willie Horton race card in his 1988 campaign divided this nation into racial zones of mutual distrust and suspicion, and now it has cost us billions.

Property damage arising from the riot has been estimated at close to \$800 million. Add to that the cost of fighting 4,500 fires and of sending in 22,000 riot control troops. Then there is the cost of arresting and prosecuting more than 11,700 people and presumably incarcerating some of them. There is the health-care costs for the more than 2,300 people who were injured, at least 226 of them critically. Those are just the immediate costs, of course. There is no way to calculate the cost in lost jobs or businesses that will never reopen, or in lost lives.

My practically minded 12-year-old daughter, watching television coverage of cleanup efforts, asked, "Who is going to pay for all this?" The answer is that she and her generation will. My generation will be cold in the ground long before there is a dent in the federal debt we had accumulated even before the riots. So when Perot, on Sunday's "Meet the Press," called Bush's use of those racist Willie Horton ads "reprehensible," he wasn't exaggerating with the usual rhetoric of politicians. The attack ads against Democratic presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis—who had the misfortune to be governor when the furloughed black murderer raped a white woman—were cynical and dangerous politics. The ads helped create the environment in which an all-white jury in Simi Valley, Calif., could look at a videotaped beating of a black man by four white cops and see nothing wrong. Ultimately, the cost of this is going to come out of the American standard of living.

But let's not be stingy in allocating responsibility for the volcano that erupted Wednesday night. Although Bush has aggressively pursued the racist vote with his incessant references to quotas in civil rights bills where no quotas exist, his predecessor, Ronald Reagan, simply ignored the plight of urban blacks for eight years. During that time, the United States developed the most uneven distribution of income of any Western industrialized nation.

The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities reported last July that the average after-tax income of

the richest 1 percent of Americans rose 122 percent from 1977 to 1988 while the income of the poorest fifth of all households dropped 10 percent. "Put another way," the center reported, "the richest 2.5 million Americans had nearly as much income in 1988 as the 100 million with the lowest incomes."

The average capital gains income of the wealthiest 1 percent rose from \$72,000 to \$156,000 a year during that same period. The maximum benefit that a family of three could receive from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program declined 42 percent from 1970 to 1991.

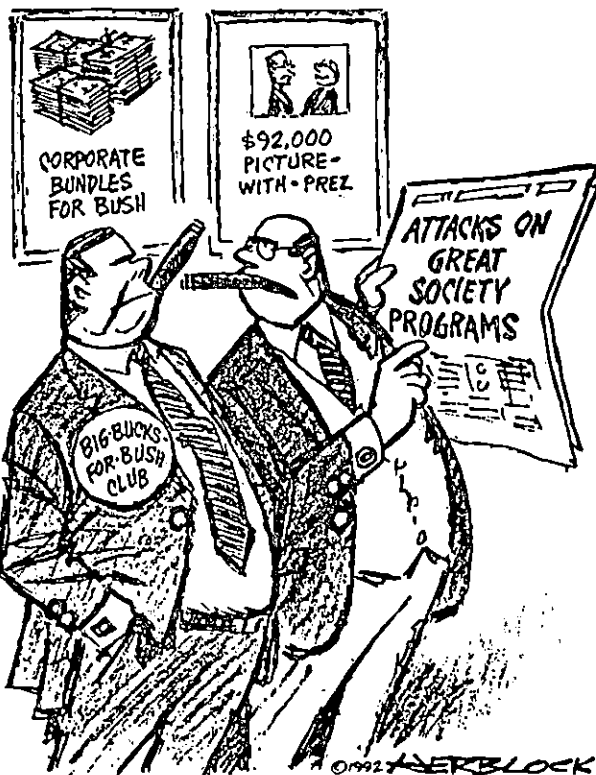
Those are the statistics of public policy that translated into the collective despair of the inner cities that erupted Wednesday. Look at the faces of the rioters and looters and, yes, they were strikingly young—much younger than the rioters I covered in Washington in 1968. These are the children of neglect and despair, and they have their statistics too: 20 percent of all children are growing up in poverty, a number that has increased 21 percent since 1970. Economist Sylvia Ann Hewlett makes the point in her book "When the Bough Breaks" that in many inner-city neighborhoods, more than 40 percent of the youngsters fail to graduate from high school, "making them virtually unemployable in the modern workplace."

Sooner or later, Marian Wright Edelman, executive director of the Children's Defense Fund, has repeatedly warned, the rage and pain of poor, alienated black children will explode in the faces of communities all across America. We have turned them into rioters instead of resources, looters instead of leaders.

We have a choice to make: We can build a solid black middle class that believes the political and economic process works as well for them as it does for whites, or we can have anarchy. Democracy cannot survive the destruction of cities. It cannot survive the inflammatory, polarizing politics of racism and distrust, in which white people are frightened of blacks, and gangs of redneck thugs in uniforms think they can get away with beating the hell out of a black drunk.

Perot was absolutely right to put the blame at the top. This was the Willie Horton riot. If you sprinkle gasoline through a crowded building, it's academic who throws in the match.

"BUSH IS RIGHT—WHAT WAS BAD WAS WHEN THE GOVERNMENT WAS DOING THINGS FOR THE COMMON PEOPLE"



For the Record

From remarks by George Gallup Jr. May 4 at the National Press Club in Washington:

Unlike the situation just two decades ago, the state of the environment is no longer an exotic, elitist issue, a periphery issue in the minds of most people, but an issue of real concern to people in developing nations, as well as developed nations, and to people in upscale groups within nations, as well as to people in downscale groups. It is becoming a truly global concern, reaching all levels of society and nations around the world.

Citizens in both developing and developed nations accept a share of responsibility for environmental problems, so the situation appears to be much less polarized than perhaps is assumed. . . . [W]e were surprised to discover the high level of concern in all nations surveyed to date, as well as a relatively high rate of awareness of environmental problems.

If we had uncovered mass ignorance and indifference, those concerned with the future health of the planet could understandably be overwhelmed by pessimism. The fact is, however, in the nations we surveyed, people see environmental problems as a serious and growing threat to people's health. The threat is greater today than it was 10 years ago—this is the view of many people—and even larger numbers, and indeed, large majorities see their children and grandchildren threatened by environmental problems.

People around the world appear ready to shift from short-term thinking to long-term thinking regarding the environment and economic growth. In addition, populations seem to be becoming more aware of the need for individuals to take some responsibility for the environment, and they're ready to see themselves as part of the problem.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

The Washington Post

AN INDEPENDENT NEWSPAPER

Response to Los Angeles (Cont'd)

THE PRESIDENT and the Republicans keep wanting to have it both ways on "the social welfare policies of the '60s and '70s," which the White House has elevated into a cause of the Los Angeles riots. They endorse the programs in fact even as they denounce them in history. The practice is immemorial; the motto comes from Orwell: "All that was needed was an unending series of victories over your own memory," he warned in "1984."

"We're now paying a price" for the failure of these programs of the past in the big cities, the president's spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said as instructed on Monday. But he carefully didn't say which efforts, which is probably just as well, because the president in other contexts presents himself as a leading supporter of many of them. The list that George Bush likes would have gladdened Lyndon Johnson's heart; it runs from Head Start through Medicare and Medicaid to the Job Corps.

The programs of the '60s and '70s, the spokesman said on Monday, were distinguished by "direct handouts" as distinct from the Bush administration's supposed "conservative agenda," whose worthier goal is self-help. That too does a small injustice to the record. In the 1960s and 1970s it was Republicans who argued that the problem with these programs was that they were *not* handouts.

The great objection then was that the programs were too interventionist, that they tried to reform the poor and restructure their neighborhoods rather than simply give them the money that by definition would end their poverty, if not quite cure it. The great rallying cry of conservatives then (as in some quarters still) was that these programs should be "cashed out." The objection was the opposite of what it is now. Among opponents of these efforts, the objection is always the opposite to whatever the form the effort is taking.

A third small problem with the historical record as Mr. Fitzwater renders it is that for part of the '60s and '70s his own party was in power. Some of the largest symbols of the era that the Reagan and Bush administrations together have

killed or cut were products of the Nixon and Ford administrations. In their day they in turn were efforts to kill or cut the supposedly liberal programs that preceded *them*. You do these things in stages.

There were three great advances in federal aid to education in the 1960s: Head Start, the compensatory elementary and secondary education program now called Chapter I, and the present framework of college student grants and loans. The president calls himself a supporter of all three. The two great advances in health care were Medicare and Medicaid. The president describes himself as a supporter of these as well, even as he tries with cause to cut their cost.

In job training, the distinctive program from the '60s and '70s was a Nixon construct, the so-called CETA program, a consolidation of its predecessors; this Ronald Reagan killed as excessive and unworkable. In housing the distinctive undertaking was the so-called Section 8 program, another consolidation from the Nixon-Ford years, which the Reagan administration also stalled in part on grounds of cost. In the name of federalism the Nixon administration also lumped together and increased local control over federal aid to cities by introducing revenue-sharing and community development block grants. Revenue-sharing was killed in the Reagan-Bush years, and the CDBG program curbed. Are these the heavy-handed programs whose revival the president fears?

The Bush administration does, too, have an urban policy, Mr. Fitzwater says. It is to defend the cities, and the poor and black who increasingly inhabit them, against the policies of the past; a negative becomes a positive. Some of the policies the president caricatures (but supports) were effective, and some were not—but as a group they were not as the White House portrays them. The president's version of an urban policy is the warding off of a myth. Back to Orwell: "And if all others accepted the lie which the Party imposed," he wrote, "if all records told the same tale—then the lie passed into history and became truth." But it isn't true.

Strike-Bound Germany

IN GERMANY, the long peace between labor and the government has suddenly exploded in dramatically disruptive strikes in the public services. The issue is clear: Who is to pay for the unification of the country?

The old East German economy having collapsed, the East Germans are living mainly on social benefits and investment from the west. The funds being poured into the east by the German government this year alone will run well over \$5,000 for each of Eastern Germany's 16 million people. In Western Germany that has meant sharply higher taxes, a big federal budget deficit and an inflation rate approaching a very un-German 5 percent.

Karl Otto Poehl, the former head of Germany's central bank, observed this week that financing unification will be manageable—but only if Western Germans are willing to get along for a while with no increase in real wages. That's what the strikes are challenging. Germany's federal and state governments offered the public sector employees a raise that would keep them just even with inflation. But the unions are demanding compensation for the tax increases as well, plus a real increase on top of that. It would mean more inflation than ever, with an impact well beyond Germany alone.

The European Community is now about two-

thirds of the way to economic union and a common European currency. That currency is being based on the rock-solid German mark. But if Germany begins to suffer an attack of high inflation and the mark becomes less solid, the whole enterprise might fall into question. Similarly, Germany has become by far the largest source of foreign aid for Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics. If Germany's immensely strong economy should stumble, some of that aid would also be in doubt.

The strikes are part of the slow process through which Germans are coming to terms with their unexpected new status in the world—and their new responsibilities. In a world of two superpowers, in which they lived for four decades, they were a middle-sized country sheltered under the military umbrella of one of them. But with the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Germans are uneasily beginning to realize that events have abruptly redefined national strength. Now the world has three great powers, of which they—along with Japan and this country—are one. That status confers certain privileges, but as Americans can tell them, it also exacts a substantial economic price. The strikes aren't over trash pickups or airline service to Frankfurt. They are over the price of national unity and world power.

U.N. Earth Summit Marred by Corruption Charges

By Julia Preston
Special to The Washington Post

RIO DE JANEIRO, May 5—With only one month left before the opening of a major United Nations conference on the environment, preparations have been clouded by corruption allegations, and security problems in the city are on the rise.

On Monday a federal judge in Rio de Janeiro issued a restraining order suspending construction work at the convention center where the meeting is to be held. The judge found that the contracts between the Brazilian government agency in charge of organizing the huge U.N. event, popularly known as the Earth Summit, and the firm that oversees work at the site may have violated

bidding regulations and illegally favored a former government official.

An appeals court ruled late today that work at the site could continue.

The official, Luiz Octavio Themudo, resigned in March from his job as a conference organizer for the Brazilian government after a public relations company he owns was embroiled in a separate legal dispute.

The corruption allegations emerged in a suit brought against the government agency in charge of the conference by a federal congresswoman, Regina Gordilho, who accused Themudo of favoring his business associates with contracts for the construction work.

The 12-day Earth Summit, which opens here on June 3, will be the largest conference the United Na-

tions has ever held. Brazil spent \$33 million to outfit an enormous convention center in a beach suburb west of Rio de Janeiro to handle the 8,500 expected participants, including more than 100 heads of state. Construction work at the site had been running a few days ahead of schedule.

Flavio Perri, a top official in charge of conference preparations, denied that Themudo had influenced the construction contracts. "The services he provided here were unimportant," Perri said.

Meanwhile, Rio de Janeiro, troubled by an acute unemployment crisis, has been hit by a wave of looting raids on supermarkets. Since April 7, bands of dozens of looters, some armed with clubs and pistols,

have broken into 12 supermarkets around the city, including two early today. Police or security guards frustrated six other raids.

The lootings appear to have been partly acts of desperation by people in need and partly organized vandalism. Police have said they suspect that cocaine traffickers who control many of Rio's hillside slums may be instigating some of the raids.

A band some 200 people swept down a main avenue in the Riachuelo neighborhood before dawn today chanting "We want food!" before crashing through the glass windows of the Paes Mendonca supermarket. A similar crowd raided the same market the night before.

On Monday night the looters took

mainly staples such as rice and beans. This morning, however, they stole luxury items such as whiskey, fine cheeses and salted fish, apparently to sell.

Simone Ribeiro, a young mother of four children who was arrested during one of the April raids, shouted at reporters: "Taking food from a supermarket isn't stealing! If I'm stealing, it's from the rich!"

But Antenor Telles, the manager of the supermarket looted this morning, said: "There's more to this than just hunger. There's hunger in my house too, because the minimum wage doesn't pay for anything. But if it were only hunger, all of Brazil would be raiding supermarkets."

Leonel Brizola, the governor of the state of Rio de Janeiro, said police cannot fully control the raids. "There is a limit to what the state can do to control a situation of complete misery," Brizola said.

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Antitrust Goes to College

FOR DECADES some of the most prestigious colleges and universities in the Northeast had a pact: Each would admit students on the basis of merit but help to support them on the basis of need. Scholarships would go only to those unable to afford the high cost of tuition, room and board. By removing one of the major barriers to admission, the colleges diversified student populations that were once solidly white and upper-middle-class.

But to stick to the pact, the schools had to agree on the definition of "need." They devised a common formula for determining what a student could afford to pay, and met twice a year to check each other's notes and to discuss particular case histories of students admitted to two or more of the schools—not at all uncommon. Their aim was to ensure that the financial aid packages offered to the same student were roughly similar. There were to be no "bidding wars."

The Justice Department has now forbidden nine of the top-flight schools to share financial-aid information, seeing the practice as a vast price-fixing conspiracy. The universities, it argues, are big businesses selling a product called higher education. The agreement to "fix" financial aid essentially fixed the price of going to college. Of all the schools involved in the so-called Overlap meetings, only the Massachusetts Institute of Technology decided to contest the government's case—the others didn't want to incur any more legal expenses. Its argument is compelling. The universities were intent on distributing charitable dollars equitably, and that's apparently fine.

The Justice Department looked the other way at the merger mania of the 1980s only to scrutinize the practices among universities—with extraordinary effort and at high cost. It's not that universities are inviolable—in fact, they deserve much of the criticism they've received, whether it's over galloping tuition, research overhead or hiring and admissions policies. But antitrust law has never been applied to a case like this one. The case against the Ivy League and its friends may be good sport, but it's bad policy.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

'Freedom Is Not Enough'

The Great Society is back in the news. The White House says the programs it spawned a quarter of a century ago helped cause the Los Angeles riots. Others cite the opposite cause—in recent years a turning-away from such programs. Here, as a reminder of what the Great Society was about, and of how another president approached the issues that recurred last week in Los Angeles, are extensive excerpts from a commencement speech entitled "To Fulfill These Rights," which Lyndon Johnson delivered at Howard University on June 4, 1965.

In far too many ways American Negroes have been another nation: deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred, the doors of opportunity closed to hope.

In our time change has come to this Nation, too. The American Negro, acting with impressive restraint, has peacefully protested and marched, entered the courtrooms and the seats of government, demanding a justice that has long been denied. The voice of the Negro was the call to action. But it is a tribute to America that, once aroused, the courts and the Congress, the president and most of the people, have been the allies of progress.

Thus we have seen the high court of the country declare that discrimination based on race was repugnant to the Constitution, and therefore void. We have seen in 1957, and 1960, and again in 1964, the first civil rights legislation in this Nation in almost an entire century...

And now very soon we will have... a new law guaranteeing every American the right to vote...

The voting rights bill will be the latest, and among the most important, in a long series of victories. But this victory—as Winston Churchill said of another triumph for freedom—"is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end. But it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning."

That beginning is freedom; and the barriers to that freedom are tumbling down. Freedom is the right to share, share fully and equally in American society—to vote, to hold a job, to enter a public place, to go to school. It is the right to be treated in every part of our national life as a person equal in dignity and promise to all others.

But freedom is not enough. You do not wipe away the scars of centuries by saying: Now you are free to go where you want, and do as you desire, and choose the leaders you please.

You do not take a person who, for years, has been hobbled by chains and liberate him by bringing him up to the starting line of a race and then say, "you are free to compete with all the others"...

This is the next and the more profound stage of the battle for civil rights. We seek not just freedom but opportunity. We seek not just legal equity but human ability, not just equality as a right and a theory but equality as a fact and equality as a result.

For the task is to give 20 million Negroes the same chance as every other American to learn and grow, to work and share in society, to develop their abilities—physical, mental and spiritual—and to pursue their individual happiness.

To this end equal opportunity is essential, but not enough, not enough. Men and women of all races are born with the same range of abilities. But ability is not just the product of birth. Ability is stretched or stunted by the family that you live with, and the neighborhood you live in—by the school you go to and the poverty or the richness of your surroundings. It is the product of a hundred unseen forces playing upon the little infant, the child, and finally the man.

Thirty-five years ago the rate of unemployment for Negroes and whites was about the same. Tonight the Negro rate is twice as high.

In 1948 the 8 percent unemployment rate for Negro teenage boys was actually less than that of whites. By last year that rate had grown to 23 percent, as against 13 percent for whites unemployed.

Between 1949 and 1959, the income of Negro men relative to white men declined in every section of this country. From 1952 to 1963 the median income of Negro families compared to white actually dropped from 57 percent to 53 percent...

The infant mortality of nonwhites in 1940 was 70 percent greater than whites. Twenty-two years later it was 90 percent greater.

Moreover the isolation of Negro from white communities is increasing rather than decreasing as Negroes crowd into the central cities and become a city within a city.

Of course Negro Americans as well as white Americans have shared in our rising national abundance. But the harsh fact of the matter is that in the battle for true equality too many—far too many—are losing ground very day.

We are not completely sure why this is. We know the causes are complex and subtle. But we do know the two broad basic reasons. And we do know that we have to act.

First, Negroes are trapped—as many whites are trapped—in inherited, gateless poverty. They lack training and skills. They are shut in, in slums, without decent medical care. Private and public poverty combine to cripple their capacities.

We are trying to attack these evils through our poverty program, through our education program, through our medical care and our other health programs, and a dozen more of the Great Society programs that are aimed at the root causes of this poverty.

We will increase, and we will accelerate, and we will broaden this attack in years to come until this most enduring of foes finally yields to our unyielding will.

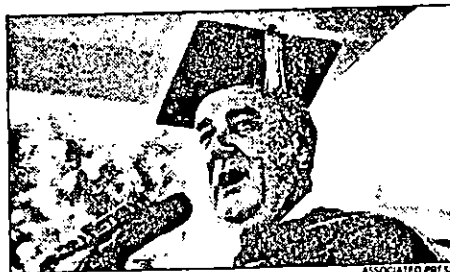
But there is a second cause—much more difficult to explain, more deeply grounded, more desperate in its force. It is the devastating heritage of long years of slavery, and a century of oppression, hatred and injustice.

For Negro poverty is not white poverty. Many of its causes and many of its cures are the same. But there are differences—deep, corrosive, obstinate differences—radiating painful roots into the community, and into the family, and the nature of the individual.

These differences are not racial differences. They are solely and simply the consequence of ancient brutality, past injustice, and present prejudice. They are anguishing to observe. For the Negro they are a constant reminder of oppression. For the white they are a constant reminder of guilt. But they must be faced and they must be dealt with.

... Nor can we find a complete answer in the experience of other American minorities. They made a valiant and a largely successful effort to emerge from poverty and prejudice.

The Negro, like these others, will have to rely mostly upon his own efforts. But he just cannot do it alone. For they did not have the heritage of centuries to overcome, and they did not have a cultural tradition which had been twisted and battered by endless years of hatred and hopelessness, nor were they excluded—these others—because of race or



color—a feeling whose dark intensity is matched by no other prejudice in our society.

Nor can these differences be understood as isolated infirmities. They are a seamless web. They cause each other. They result from each other. They reinforce each other.

Much of the Negro community is buried under a blanket of history and circumstance. It is not a lasting solution to lift just one corner of that blanket. We must stand on all sides, and we must raise the entire cover if we are to liberate our fellow citizens.

One of the differences is the increased concentration of Negroes in our cities. More than 73 percent of all Negroes live in urban areas compared with less than 70 percent of the whites. Most of these Negroes live in slums. Most of these Negroes live together—a separated people.

Men are shaped by their world. When it is a world of decay, ringed by an invisible wall, when escape is arduous and uncertain, and the saving pressures of a more hopeful society are unknown, it can cripple the youth and it can desolate the men.

There is also the burden that a dark skin can add to the search for a productive place in our society. Unemployment strikes most swiftly and broadly at the Negro, and this burden erodes hope. Blighted hope breeds despair. Despair brings indifference to the learning which offers a way out. And despair, coupled with indifference, is often the source of destructive rebellion against the fabric of society.

There is also the lacerating hurt of early collision with white hatred or prejudice, distaste or condescension. Other groups have felt similar intolerance. But success and achievement could wipe it away. They do not change the color of a man's skin...

Perhaps most important—its influence radiating to every part of life—is the breakdown of the Negro family structure. For this, most of all, white America must accept responsibility. It flows from centuries of oppression and persecution of the Negro man. It flows from the long years of degradation and discrimination which have attacked his dignity and assaulted his ability to produce for his family.

This, too, is not pleasant to look upon. But it must be faced by those whose serious intent is to improve the life of all Americans...

The family is the cornerstone of our society. More than any other force it shapes the attitude, the hopes, the ambitions, and the values of the child. And when the family collapses it is the children that are usually damaged. When it happens on a massive scale the community itself is crippled...

There is no single easy answer to all of these problems.

Jobs are part of the answer. They bring the income which permits a man to provide for his family.

Decent homes in decent surroundings and a chance to learn—an equal chance to learn—are part of the answer.

Welfare and social programs better designed to hold families together are part of the answer.

Care for the sick is part of the answer.

An understanding heart by all Americans is another big part of the answer.

And to all of these fronts—and a dozen more—I will dedicate the expanding efforts of the the Johnson administration.

But there are other answers that are still to be found...

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS

FEDERAL OUTLAYS IN BILLIONS OF CONSTANT 1991 DOLLARS

The programs created in the broadly defined Great Society era, spanning the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson and the early White House years of Richard M. Nixon, represented the greatest expansion of welfare and social services since the 1935 Social Security Act.

One of the first major Great Society bills was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, the cornerstone of Johnson's so-called War on Poverty. The act had 10 major components. Among them, it authorized creation of the Job Corps to help train young people for work in both rural and urban training centers; work-study programs for students from low-income families; VISTA (Volunteers in Service to America, a sort of domestic Peace Corps); additional work training programs; and the community action program, which funded community organizations and nonprofit groups' local development programs.

Total spending on these initial War on Poverty programs was not very great—about \$1 billion was authorized the first year. Funding for these programs was then dwarfed by funding for housing, medical and Social Security programs that usually are considered part of the Great Society legacy.

Ironically, the program often most sharply criticized as harming the poor by discouraging them from working—welfare for low-income families with children (Aid to Families with Dependent Children)—was created in the 1935 Social Security

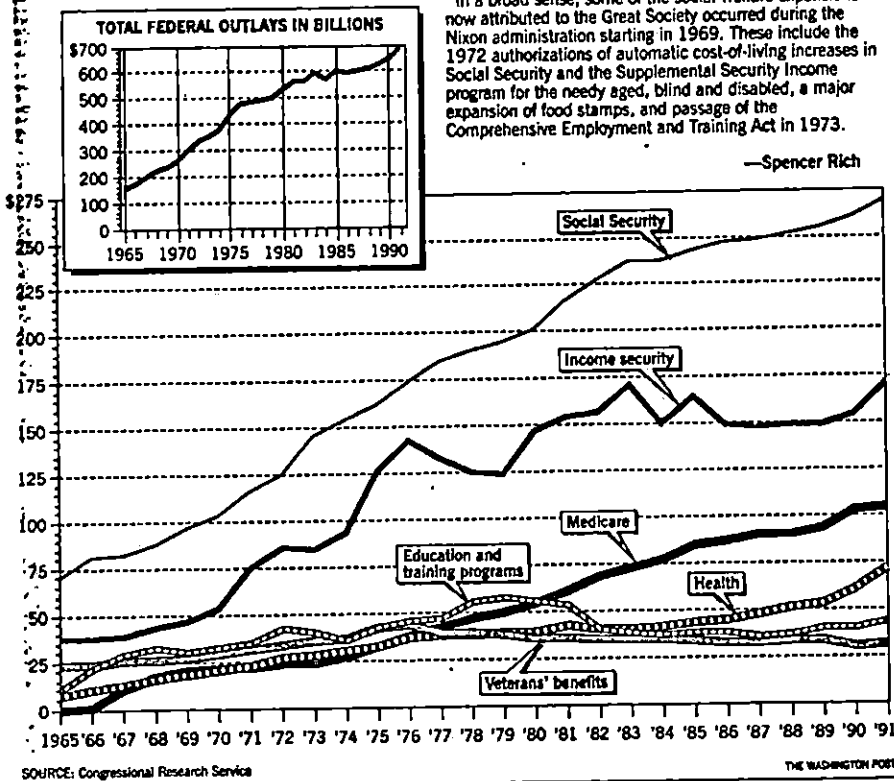
Act. Its expansion was not radically broadened by federal legislation.

The Johnson era also saw the expansion of the pilot food stamp program (1964) into a general benefit program. It was enlarged substantially during the Nixon presidency. Other Johnson initiatives included a 1965 housing program that provided rent supplements for the poor and two 1965 education programs: aid to elementary and secondary schools targeted at improving instruction for disadvantaged children, now called Chapter 1; and the Higher Education Act, which provided federal scholarships for needy children and authorized low-interest guaranteed loans for middle-income college students.

Fiscally, the most significant social welfare expansion involved Social Security and the creation of Medicare and Medicaid in 1965. There were seven Social Security raises between 1965 and 1975, plus the addition of an automatic cost-of-living feature in 1972. Of the \$689 billion in total social welfare spending shown below for 1991, Medicare for the elderly accounts for \$104.4 billion, federal Medicaid outlays for the poor most of which are matched by the states) total \$52.5 billion and Social Security as a whole is \$269 billion.

In a broad sense, some of the social welfare expansions now attributed to the Great Society occurred during the Nixon administration starting in 1969. These include the 1972 authorizations of automatic cost-of-living increases in Social Security and the Supplemental Security Income program for the needy aged, blind and disabled, a major expansion of food stamps, and passage of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act in 1973.

—Spencer Rich



THEN AND NOW

among social scientists about what has been the preoccupation of the Great Society health and welfare programs of the 1960s. That issue has spawned dozens of books, countless articles and heated exchanges that started soon after the programs began. Yesterday, Eisenhower's advisers drew a variety of reactions from public policy experts and scholars of all political persuasions.

I would say that it's a mistake to imply that problems of the 1960s have much to do with what happened here [in Los Angeles]. I doubt that federal programs changed us enough to make a difference for

and for there to be a divorce between income and responsibility was simply not responsible work. But that didn't begin in the 1960s, but with Hoover designed the welfare programs that preceded the 1960s by several decades.

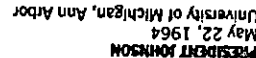
...and much to do with that change. It is a change that

and author of a forthcoming book, "The End of

Glenn Loury, professor of economics, Boston University: "I understand [Fitzwater's statement] as political rhetoric. Viewed as a social science proposition, it's

... If Mr. Fitzwater is trying to avoid the administration's responsibility to take these issues

...and the ...



PRESIDENT JOHNSON
 May 22, 1964
 University of Michigan, Ann Arbor



WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY
MARTIN FITZWATER
May 4, 1992
THE WASHINGTON POST

exists among blacks now did in the 1960s, then to that [just think it's absurd to try and associate the riot with the Great Society programs. Once again we see glaring lack of positive leadership on the part of the administration. I think, and I'm not exaggerating]

There has been time that of standard argument
example of a lack of moral leadership.

that they deserve more than the research doesn't support that. . . . I'm not to say that welfare have an adverse effect, but to say that it is the cause of riots is ridiculous.

... I wouldn't say that
on liberals or Democrats or on
the government should do

"No, I don't agree [with Fitzwater] but I don't disagree either. This far, neither liberal or conservative policy has completely worked. . . . Neither the policies of the Great Society nor those that followed have been successful in significantly reducing the complex kinds of problems that we see in the lower echelons of the Negro communities nationally.

spending, and conservatives act as though federal spending is wrong unless it is used to pay for the S&L crisis; Joseph A. Callano Jr., secretary of health,

to blame the inner-city problems that led to the
 the Great Society programs]. . . [i]t's like
 Thomas Jefferson because he had slaves. Those programs gave people in difficult
 situations what we really need, but it's not

What they can do, not for people to lash out. What Martin Luther said doesn't make any sense, most of those programs gave people a hand up, and most of the kids on the streets [of Los Angeles] are very young.

...caused the riots. What he was saying was... that 2.5 trillion that have been spent on social welfare programs since, say, 1965, have really empowered a bureaucracy instead of empowering people. It's

"So I think it was a fair criticism. I don't think it was right to suggest, and I don't think he said it actually," says the president.

What programs does he want to repair Medicaid/Medicare? Head Start? The 1968 Housing Act? The Fair Housing Act?

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Post-Riot Politics

LOS ANGELES—Riot fallout on the California elections is clearly understood, though not publicly stated, by politicians of both parties: Law-and-order replaces jobs as the watchword of '92.

"What the people want to talk about is crime," a Democratic candidate handler told us. A Republican campaign operative echoed: "I'm telling all my candidates to forget about everything else but a hard line against violence."

The substitution of public safety for economic security as the political goal of whites, Asians and many blacks in the most populous state had better be fully appreciated by President Bush and his advisers. The state's electoral votes and two Senate seats may hinge on who best catches the new public mood born out of death and devastation.

That mood diminishes the jury's stunning acquittal of four Los Angeles policemen accused of beating Rodney King. The new attitude celebrates the "thin blue line" of the Los Angeles Police Department shielding the citizenry.

This climate change is bad news for liberals and for incumbents, for Bill Clinton but also for George Bush. Democratic politicians privately considered Clinton as missing the point when he rushed here this week to call the riots a product of neglect. Although Bush will not make that

mistake, as an incumbent he faces the charge that any mess in America is traced to those in office, particularly at the top. But the crisis gives Bush as president what it denies Clinton: a chance to act.

Even before Los Angeles erupted in flames, the two major party nominees were being eclipsed by Ross Perot. The latest Los Angeles Times state poll shows Perot ahead of Clinton and only one point behind Bush, but politicians think he actually has passed them both.

At the recent Frontier Days celebration in the Republican redoubt of Redondo Beach, a long line gathered before the Perot table to sign ballot petitions. GOP registration workers report voters who sign up as Republicans but say they will vote for Perot. As for Democrats, a party source told us that "everybody I know—and they are all Democrats—says they are voting for Perot."

The possibility Perot might get the best of the post-riot anger was raised on NBC's "Meet the Press" when he came out against the Brady gun registration bill and, unlike Clinton and Bush, said it was good that Koreatown shop owners (unprotected by the LAPD) had guns to defend themselves.

The new climate ought to help TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn in his Republican Senate primary against Rep. Tom Campbell. Herschensohn is a law-and-order hard-liner who criticizes Perot and Campbell (though not Bush) for attacking the King jury verdict, and calls Mayor Tom Bradley's denunciation of the acquittals preceding the riots "a terrible mistake."

However, California politics is a peculiar game played out almost entirely by television advertising, which requires big money. Herschensohn has raised \$1 million, but will be outspent at least 2-to-1 by Campbell, who masks a liberal Republican voting record by avoiding debates and describing himself in TV spots as a conservative. Both candidates are expected to cut tough anti-riot commercials.

In the Democratic primary for that Senate seat, Rep. Mel Levine has deep pockets and the willingness to target money against what a supporter calls "the failure of liberalism." Dubbed the "stealth candidate" because he was invisible while his opponents moved far ahead, Levine instantly pulled himself closer, with his first burst of TV commercials, to Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy and Rep. Barbara Boxer.

Left-leaning Boxer reflexively followed the riots with calls for more government spending, while McCarthy symbolizes old-line San Francisco liberalism. Levine's TV spots attempt to isolate him from other Democratic politicians by praising his vote for Desert Storm and noting he never even had a House Bank account. His next step: assuming the role of protector against the mob.

Although the riots may produce a larger turnout of black voters, many of them are as anxious for police protection as whites and Asians. Thus, the burning of Los Angeles blunts the cliché that the three great issues of '92 were jobs, jobs and jobs. Now that physical safety comes first, victory awaits those candidates who most convincingly pose as preservers of the public order.

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...



Former hostage Terry Anderson hugging sister Peggy Say after his release.

■ Barbra Streisand has committed \$100,000 hard cash to help rebuild riot-torn Los Angeles in the wake of the Rodney King verdict. Fifty thousand dollars has already been donated to the First AME Church Emergency Relief Fund/Women's Missionary Society, and the remaining contribution will be disbursed in the next 24 hours.

■ Former hostage Terry Anderson told the annual meeting of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York Monday that only his Catholic religion kept him from attempting suicide during the nearly seven years he was kept captive in the Middle East.

■ At an unveiling of a portrait of House Minority Leader Bob Michel Monday, George Bush joked: "It took

me a while to convince Bob that it's an honor to be framed in Washington and hung in the Capitol."

■ A collection of memorabilia and other items from the career of the late choreographer and film director Bob Fosse is being donated to the Library of Congress by his wife, actress Gwen Verdon.

■ Poet John Ashberry yesterday received this year's \$25,000 Ruth Lilly Poetry Prize, one of the nation's largest poetry awards.

■ Activist-actress Susan Sarandon and her beau, "The Player" star Tim Robbins, are the proud parents of a 7-pound 8-ounce boy, born Monday in New York. The unnamed son is their second child together.



Barbra Streisand, helping out.

Two for the Cure



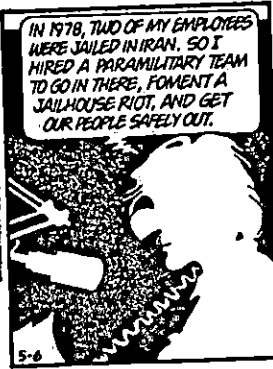
■ Marilyn Quayle donned her running clothes. And Sharon Pratt Kelly didn't. But the women nonetheless showed up together on the Mall yesterday morning to announce that this year's Washington National Race for the Cure will take place June 20. The third annual five-kilometer race, which raised more than \$700,000 last year for breast cancer research, has become a special interest of Quayle, who lost her 56-year-old mother to the disease.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



YOU SEE, MY FRIEND, PEOPLE EXPECT ACTION FROM ROSS PEROT! THAT'S WHAT MY LIFE'S BEEN ALL ABOUT! LET ME GIVE YOU AN EXAMPLE...



IN 1978, TWO OF MY EMPLOYEES WERE JAILED IN IRAN, SO I HIRED A PARAMILITARY TEAM TO GO IN THERE, FOMENT A JAILHOUSE RIOT, AND GET OUR PEOPLE SAFELY OUT.



THE OPERATION WAS A BIG SUCCESS! AND YOU KNOW WHAT LESSON I DREW FROM THAT EXPERIENCE?



BUSINESSMEN SHOULD HAVE THEIR OWN ARMIES?

CORRECT. I'D OFFER TAX CREDITS TO CEOs.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

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Senate Probe Fails to Identify Leakers

Sources in Hill-Thomas, 'Keating Five' Cases Elude Special Counsel

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Senate special counsel said yesterday he was unable to identify sources who leaked confidential information on sexual harassment charges against Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas despite an intensive four-month inquiry and an abortive attempt to require journalists to reveal their sources.

In a highly detailed but inconclusive 171-page report to the Senate, special counsel Peter E. Fleming Jr. also said he could not identify sources of stories about the Senate ethics committee's investigation of five senators' ties to former savings and loan executive Charles H. Keating Jr., who has been convicted of securities fraud by a California court and is under indictment in federal court.

"We reach no conclusions as to the source or sources of the many leaks in the Keating inquiry," Fleming said. "Partisanship appears to provide motive for the disclosures" of preliminary recommendations of a special counsel to the ethics committee and the panel's final recommendations, he added.

Fleming, a prominent New York attorney, was hired by the Senate to investigate leaks in the two cases in the angry aftermath of the furor over the harassment charges by former Thomas aide Anita F. Hill during the jurist's confirmation proceedings last fall.

Thomas was confirmed by the unusually close vote of 52 to 48 after hearings were resumed during which Hill testified in graphic detail about her charges before a rapt television audience of millions. The Senate drew sharp criticism from women's groups for its slowness to respond to her allegations.

When Republicans demanded a probe of leaks in the Hill-Thomas controversy, Democrats countered with a demand for a broader inquiry that would include an investigation of leaks of derogatory information against the four Democrats and one Republican involved in the "Keating Five" case.

But when Fleming sought to compel the testimony of National Public Radio's Nina Totenberg and Newsday reporter Timothy M. Phelps, the two journalists who broke the original story about Hill's

charges, the Senate rules committee upheld the reporters' objections to revealing their sources. Many senators said they had no stomach for a constitutional confrontation with the news media.

In his report, Fleming defended his decision to subpoena the reporters and characterized the news media's response as "swift, universal, exaggerated, inaccurate and unfair to the Senate," which he said had a vital interest in rooting out leakers. The news media, he contended, are "addicted to leaks."

"A Senate in which leaking is tolerated, and even approved, will inevitably become a Senate within which free speech truly is inhibited," Fleming said. "We believed—and continue to believe—that the

**Special counsel
Fleming defended
his decision to
subpoena reporters
and criticized news
media response.**

interests of this institution and the public interest required that all lawful means be employed to lift that cloud and determine truth," he added.

Senators said yesterday they believed the inquiry cost at least several hundred thousand dollars. A spokesman for Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) said it was not possible to determine the cost at this time.

While unable to identify any of the leakers, Fleming concluded that the document obtained by Totenberg, which contained the contents of Hill's affidavit to the Judiciary Committee on the sexual harassment charges, originated in the Senate. He said Phelps's source was "a person who had seen Hill's statement to the Senate."

Fleming said neither Phelps nor Totenberg had obtained a copy of the FBI report on Hill's charges, despite some initial reports to the contrary.

He concluded that Hill was not the leaker and did not point a finger

at any senator on the Judiciary Committee, to which Hill sent two copies of her affidavit.

Fleming said a third copy was sent to James J. Brudney, chief counsel to a Labor subcommittee headed by Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), who was also a member of the Judiciary Committee and a foe of Thomas's nomination. But Fleming said Brudney denied giving a copy of the document to anyone and added, "We have no evidence of communication between Brudney and Totenberg or any other journalist."

Fleming also said he could "find no basis for criticizing the procedures of the Judiciary Committee or otherwise attributing the Hill disclosures to any shortcomings in its internal practices."

But he said it "may be worthwhile for all committees to review their existing procedures in handling confidential materials and to consider the utility of written guidelines."

Most of Fleming's report consisted of a detailed chronology of phone calls and other communications involving Hill, senators, staff members and outside groups, none of it apparently conclusive enough to justify identification of a probable leaker.

The report also contained hints of the lengths to which Fleming went during the probe, including a search of records of the Federal Express overnight service used by the University of Oklahoma Law School, where Hill teaches, and the telephone records for every phone at the law school.

Fleming said earlier that more than 200 individuals were interviewed during the probe.

Mitchell and Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) said they will review the report to determine whether further action is required.

"Now, perhaps, the Senate's role on 'Saturday Night Live' [which did a satirical skit on the Thomas-Hill hearings] and Mr. Fleming's report will convince us at long last that it is intolerable for judicial nominations to be handled as if they were political campaigns," said Sen. John C. Danforth (R-Mo.). Thomas's chief backer in the Senate.

Totenberg viewed Fleming's inquiry differently. "It was a fool's errand to begin with," she said. "They were nowhere near knowing what really went on . . ." she added.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Acting Arts Chief Vows to Keep It Clean

House Testimony by Anne-Imelda Radice Seen Reversing Frohnmayer

By Kim Masters
Washington Post Staff Writer

The acting chairman of the National Endowment for the Arts, told Congress yesterday that she is prepared to veto grants for sexually explicit art and other projects that deal with "difficult subject matter."

"If we find a proposal that does not have the widest audience ... even though it may have been done very sincerely and with the highest intentions, we just can't afford to fund that," Anne-Imelda Radice told the House subcommittee on interior

appropriations. "The concerns of the taxpayers, the concerns of the Congress ... have as much weight" as artistic merit, she said.

Radice's testimony signals a fundamental shift in the workings of the endowment. Her predecessor, John Frohnmayer, defended NEA grant-review procedures and insisted that he would not become a "decency czar." He was reluctant to reject grants that had won approval from the NEA's peer-review panels and its advisory council. Conservatives attacked him for approving sexually explicit grants and he was forced

from his job in February after Patrick Buchanan began to exploit the issue in his presidential campaign.

Radice, who served as Frohnmayer's senior deputy for a year, stands ready to absorb charges from some in the arts community that she is abrogating freedom of expression by rejecting potentially controversial grants. "The title 'decency czar' is a sad way to describe the role of the chairman of the arts endowment," she said yesterday. "[But] when a decision has to be made by the chairman, the decision will be made."

See RADICE, A6, Col. 1



ANNE-IMELDA RADICE
...taxpayers will be heeded

■ National Gallery curator Charles Moffett is expected to be named to head the Phillips Collection. Page C1

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Radice Vows to Veto 'Difficult' Grants

RADICE, From A1

Her remarks won praise from Rep. Ralph Regula (R-Ohio), an influential subcommittee member who has criticized the endowment for some of its grants. Regula said he approves of Radice's theme that federally funded projects should have broad appeal. "It's the broad-appeal people that are paying the bills," he said.

Rep. Sid Yates (D-Ill.), a staunch endowment supporter, seemed prepared to accept Radice's approach. "This would seem to mark a change from the freedom and openness of John Frohnmayer and his predecessors to a restrictiveness," Yates said. "It may be necessary in view of the temper of the times."

Radice is now considering more

than a thousand grants, totaling \$66 million, that were recommended by the advisory council last week. One grant is for a potentially controversial exhibit, "Corporal Politics," planned by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology's List Visual Arts Center. The exhibit will include depictions of genitalia.

Radice declined to say whether she would veto the grant but said she is "troubled" by its sexual content.

Radice said she wants to consider grants on a case-by-case basis but offered clues to the standards she will apply. The homoerotic photographs by Robert Mapplethorpe that helped kindle the NEA controversy are unsuitable for federal support, she said. While the endowment might fund an exhibit of some Mapplethorpe por-

traits and still-lives, she said, his "highly autobiographical" photographs of homosexual and sadomasochistic activities should have been displayed in "an archival addendum to that show [financed] with private funds."

She said she would not have been inclined to approve a grant for the publication of "Wild Thing," a poem that uses graphic language in an attempt to express the thoughts of a teenager who participated in the rape of the Central Park jogger. Frohnmayer was ousted in part because of his decision to support the journal that published the poem. Radice said the poem was not accessible "to the American public."

In an interview with The Washington Post, Radice elaborated on

See RADICE, A7, Col. 1

Testimony Signals Shift at Arts Fund

RADICE, From A6

her views. "There's a difference between nude and naked," she said. "To me, when the obvious sexual nature, sexual message, is the only thing you see or the first thing you see or the overwhelming thing that you experience, the American public has given us a lot of guidance on this, and Congress has given us a lot of guidance, saying they don't want us to spend money on that particular type of art."

Radice, 44, former director of the National Museum of Women in the Arts, came to the NEA from the U.S. Information Agency, where she served as an adviser on cultural and arts affairs. She also has been archi-

tectural historian in the office of the Architect of the U.S. Capitol.

Radice said the NEA could help cutting-edge artists find private funding for their work. "We can't act as a shield or an advertiser, but we can help people know that there are places they can go and apply" for funding, she said. An applicant rejected for work that "a lot of people might find upsetting and not acceptable for federal money" could apply for "another project that deals with a difficult topic ... in a way that is not so in-your-face."

Asked whether she would oppose congressional attempts to impose restrictions on the type of art that may be funded, Radice said such legislation is unnecessary. "We have the tools in place" to prevent funding of offensive grants, she said.

The arts community, not known for unity in the political battle over the endowment, had mixed reactions to Radice's testimony. Olive Mosier of the National Association of Local Arts Agencies said Radice will do "a great job." Lee Kessler of the American Arts Alliance said Radice's testimony "raised a lot of questions," but said her group will reserve judgment.

Charlotte Murphy of the National Association of Artists Organizations, which represents presenters of cutting-edge artwork, said Radice's testimony is "outrageous" and signals that controversial work will be in "a no man's land of funding."

"Clearly, she is sacrificing challenging work, the First Amendment and the future of the arts to supposedly save the endowment," she said.

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William Raspberry

Change One Tax

President Bush, through his spokesman Martin Fitzwater, has blamed the Los Angeles riots on the "social welfare policies of the '60s and '70s." It's a low blow, crassly political (by Fitzwater's own admission), and it overlooks the contributions of a dozen Reagan-Bush years to the despair and anger that exploded last week.

But even the champions of the policies the White House castigates as "failed" have to admit they didn't quite work as billed. Both they and Bush ought to be thinking of ways to use the immediate crisis to fashion effective new policies. Paul Pryde, a Washington economic consultant, suggests a possibility.

"The easiest thing in the world is call for more government spending, more government action," says Pryde, "and I won't say that the government doesn't need to be involved. What I will say is that we need to figure out what are the key things we want to accomplish and then put our minds to figuring out the best way of accomplishing those things."

The first part is easy: jobs. Creating gainful employment for the residents of South Central Los Angeles and inner cities across America is more important than getting white people to acknowledge their racism, getting Korean shopkeepers to be more respectful of their black customers or getting Bush to find some spark of humanity to moderate his political calculations in the aftermath of the Rodney King verdict.

It isn't failed social policies but failed economics—the removal of jobs to the suburbs or out of the country—that accounts for so much of the hopelessness in America's ghettos. It is the lack of jobs that makes it more profitable for a pregnant teenager to marry the welfare department than the father of her child. The result: thousands upon thousands of single-family households, impoverished not just by loss of a husband's income but also by the loss of a father's presence.

Even the violence played out on TV last week (and before the eyes of inner-city residents every week) is, in my opinion, at least partly a result of the absence of fathers to moderate their sons' behavior, and that absence is tied directly to joblessness.

So, yes: Whatever we do to rebuild Los Angeles, let's do it in a way that maximizes the creation of jobs.

And how do you do that? Don't look to Pryde for the usual nostrums of government money thrown around to create pretend jobs, although he would agree that the jobs created by the building itself ought to go preferentially to the residents of the affected neighborhoods. Pryde is talking about something else:

"For once, why can't we build on what we know about job creation? The first thing we know is that most new jobs come not from the corporate giants but from the creation and expansion of small local firms. The second thing we know is that businesses form, locate and expand on their ability to attract risk capital. The problem for black would-be entrepreneurs is their inability to attract private capital."

And the cure, says Pryde, is incentive. "The only incentive in the entire tax code for investing in minority enterprise is the rule that gives broadcast owners a tax benefit for selling to minorities, and as a result there's been a significant increase in the number of broadcast properties owned by blacks. How might we do the same thing for other types of entrepreneurial activity?"

"One simple change in the tax code would do it: If you invest in a company in the riot area [or in officially established enterprise zones] you can deduct the amount of the investment from your taxable income. That would immediately spark investment. And if you also don't pay taxes on the gains from these investments for a time . . . well, you see what would happen."

What would happen, Pryde is convinced, is that people with money to invest would shift to these favored investments. Investment brokers would form pools—limited partnerships and other arrangements—to handle the investments and, because they would earn a percentage of the profits, they would be motivated to put together sound deals.

"The interesting thing," says Pryde, "is that once you made the change in the tax code, the government wouldn't have to be involved. The arrangements would be between private citizens. There'd be no observable change—except that deals would start to get done."

And banks, prompted by the increase in inner-city equity, would modify their lending policies; jobs and business opportunities would increase, and residents, at last perceiving "the system" as reasonably fair, would reduce the level of their rage.

The problem with Pryde's scheme is not that it is poorly conceived, but that it is dull. It is not the stuff of rallies and political slogans, he acknowledges. "If somebody proposed spending a billion and a half dollars for a Department of Black Entrepreneurship, everybody would sing Hosanna. Here is something that could be done primarily within the market place and without huge amounts of government money. Shouldn't we at least be thinking about it?"

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Robert J. Samuelson

The Bored Billionaire?

Frankly, my first reaction to Ross Perot as a serious contender for the presidency was that he's an impostor. Perot is posing as an antipolitician: Someone who (unlike all other politicians) will tell us the truth and deal candidly with difficult problems. This is the core of his appeal and of his promise to provide leadership. And yet, everything about his informal campaign reflects the clever evasions and convenient deceptions that he deplores in others.

We start with the charade that this man is waiting to be called by a spontaneous explosion of public support, which will get him on the ballot in all states. Come on: The man is eagerly running for president. He's pouring his money into a highly organized effort to comply with state election laws. He's made himself available for interviews with "60 Minutes," David Frost, Newsweek and the New York Times, among others. You can't get away from the guy. It's preposterous to pretend that Perot's biggest booster for president isn't Perot.

Next and more serious is his determined refusal to talk in detail about the major issues he would face as president. For starters, how is he going to close the budget deficit? After that, what should we do about the health care system? His standard reply to this sort of question is: Hey, I'm not even a candidate; you can't expect me to have a position on every two-bit government program; if I become a candidate, I'll let you know.

Sorry, this won't wash. No one (not me at least) expects Perot to know exactly where he stands on every governmental

activity, from the national parks to the Superfund. No would-be president does. Fine. But we can expect him to have a broad vision of where government should move and how it should get there: a vision detailed enough to say generally which programs should be curbed (or expanded) and which taxes should be raised (or cut). Perot's budget program consists so far of eliminating fraud and waste, collecting uncollected taxes and having the Germans and Japanese pick up more of the cost of our troops. There's not much pain here, but neither is there much easy money.

If Perot doesn't have realistic answers, he's not qualified to be president. In this respect, he's being much less candid than either George Bush or Bill Clinton. To put it mildly, Bush's positions tend to be slippery. But Bush has been president. People can judge him on his record or lack of it. As for Clinton, he has a record as governor and positions galore. Some of them may be impractical or undesirable. But people have a basis for judgment. By contrast, Perot's views and inclinations are mostly a mystery.

Of course, the ambiguity is calculated. Discussing details might puncture the aura of his candidacy. He fashions himself a populist man of action, who's close to "real people." ("I would be the people's servant," he said on CBS. The trouble with this is that "the people" want contradictory things.) Once he talks details, he collides with a dilemma. Proposals that sound too much like everyone else's would make him look ordinary, and therefore less appealing. But proposals that are genuinely different

risk antagonizing supporters, because they involve sacrifices or seem nutty.

What's ultimately at stake here is the value of a Perot candidacy. If we are to take him seriously—and I think we should—we should treat him as someone who might occupy the Oval Office. The power of the president, political scientist Richard Neustadt long ago observed, is the power to persuade. If Perot can't frame an agenda and persuade others—first the public, then Congress—to go along, a Perot presidency would be worthless.

Unfortunately, his record in the persuasion department isn't impressive. After selling his company (EDS) to General Motors, he was a GM director and urged, quite correctly, that the company overhaul itself radically. Persuading GM's board of directors isn't much of a job compared with persuading the American public or Congress. But Perot failed. "Why was I not successful at General Motors?" he asked himself in the David Frost interview. "I was just one person and surrounded by people who wanted the status quo." That's lame.

The point is that it isn't enough simply to devise solutions. If it were, half of America's academics and almost all of its pundits (gulp) could run for president. Political competence involves the ability to convince, conciliate and craft constructive compromise. Precisely because Perot's political competence is unknown, we should expect him to demonstrate it in the campaign. For an amateur aspiring to the nation's highest office, "Trust me" is not an adequate platform. Perot proposes "electronic town halls" once he becomes

president to congeal public consensus, as if this scheme eliminates the need to present ideas now about where the consensus should form.

There could be value in a forthright Perot, even if he isn't elected. He might raise the level of debate. He might force Bush and Clinton to discuss issues that they'd rather avoid. He might help mold public opinion in a way that would make it easier for the next president, whoever he is, to govern effectively. But so far, Perot is doing none of these things.

As I said, that's my first reaction. But personally, I'm suspending judgment, because—as a politician—Perot is a work in progress. He obviously has great talents. He is articulate and can be decisive. He speaks with great conviction about his belief in America and in individual rights. On the basis of his record, he's capable of inspiring confidence. Maybe he needs time to get his thoughts together and develop a legitimate political message.

If not, he looks like a bored billionaire who's cranking up a candidacy to keep his life interesting. The trouble is that his egotistical hobby would be a destructive distraction for the nation. At worst, it could trigger a constitutional crisis by forcing the election into the House of Representatives (because no candidate gets a majority of electoral votes). At best, he would become a wealthy protest candidate, dispensing folksy criticisms of Washington and deepening the public's already-deep cynicism toward government. This would qualify Perot as a talk-show host, not president.

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WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

John H. Buchanan Jr.

Sign the Campaign Finance Bill

In the midst of chaos and upheaval, Congress has passed historic campaign finance reform legislation. This legislation is long overdue. Campaign finance reform is essential to reverse the public's perception that the institution has fallen to the wolves of special interests and corruption. Unfortunately, President Bush has threatened to veto the bill—the Congressional Campaign Spending and Election Reform Act of 1992. If the president follows through on this ill-advised threat at this crucial juncture, Congress will be further damaged—leaving democracy hanging in the balance.

As a former Republican member of the House of Representatives, I've joined with Hugh Scott, Robert Stafford, Thomas Rainsback and 15 other distinguished Republican alumni of Congress to urge President Bush to sign this reform package. Republican challengers from more than 20 states have also called the president to endorse this landmark initiative so that they can begin to compete on a level playing field against well-funded incumbents.

In the 11 years since I left Congress, I've watched at a distance as public respect for the institution I served faithfully has plummeted. The nation has looked on in frustration at Congress's inability to grapple with the budget deficit, the savings and loans crisis, health care and other pressing issues. Our electorate's traditional skepticism has turned to dangerous cynicism. As well, a number of members are retiring, citing their frustration at being unable to accomplish legislative goals. Further evidence of the deepening discord between the public and government, particularly elected officials, can be seen most notably in the decline in voter turnout and civic participation.

In short, the current system has muted the competition as well as discourse on issues. A growing number of incumbents run unopposed or face challengers with negligible resources to mount effective campaigns. Moreover, each successive federal election shows a marked increase in campaign spending. The average cost of running and winning in a House race has more than doubled since I won election in 1980, when the cost was almost \$170,000 compared with more than \$400,000 in 1990. On average, House members must now raise \$4,000 per week, and senators must raise \$12,000 per week to garner the resources needed to win reelection. The current system returned incumbents to office at a rate of 96 percent in 1990 even in the face of that year's alleged anti-incumbent sentiment—giving challengers little incentive to compete. And six of every seven PAC dollars go to incumbents. Our system desperately needs reforms that will level the playing field for challengers.

I firmly believe that the reforms being proposed by Congress are a significant step toward limiting the influence of money on the political process. Fundamental changes to the current campaign finance system are necessary to jumpstart our democracy by restoring credibility and respect to our democratic institutions.

Similar reforms in the presidential campaign system restored public confidence in the presidency following the Watergate scandals. With a system of voluntary spending limits, partial public financing, limits on contributions from political action committees, prohibitions on bundling practices and restrictions on the flow of soft money through the political party system, this reform package could forever transform the political landscape. In particular, the combination of voluntary spending limits and public financing will provide balance between private (interested) and public (disinterested) sources of campaign funds. This balance is requisite to lessen the negative impact of special interests on the electoral and legislative processes.

For challengers, the reforms contained in S.3 will mean that all credible congressional candidates will be positioned to join the political debate. For incumbents, these reforms will mean an end to the degrading money chase that detracts from their ability to respond to concerns of constituents and the nation's business. Campaign finance reform will provide a welcome boost for Republicans and Democrats alike who want to challenge the status quo.

A presidential veto would be especially painful. I know that Republicans can win under the system of reforms proposed in S.3. The Republican Party cannot continue to enjoy success in winning the presidency under a system of spending limits and voluntary public financing and losing Congress because the current rules are tilted squarely in favor of Democratic incumbents.

This legislation comes at a time of anger, frustration and disappointment in our political system. To its credit, Congress, albeit reluctantly, has responded to popular discontent by moving forward on these reforms. As the leader of our nation, President Bush can set the standard for change by approving this measure. The true beneficiaries of the reforms embodied in S.3 will be voters who are tired of political maneuvering. Together, Congress and the president can erase the public perception that voter participation in the electoral process is meaningless because democratic institutions have been sacrificed to the highest bidder.

The writer is the national vice-chairman of the Republican Mainstream Committee. He was a Republican member of Congress from Alabama from 1965 to 1981.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Clinton Rips White House's Riot Response

*Social Programs Not
At Fault, He Says*

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, May 5—Calling for racial harmony after the Los Angeles riots, Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton said today it was "almost unbelievable" that the Bush administration would blame the devastation on the Great Society programs of the 1960s and said seeking scapegoats will not solve the underlying problems.

After seeking to restore order and aid burned-out businesses in Los Angeles, Clinton said, the administration has "turned to blaming these riots on the social programs and liberal approaches of the 1960s, which is clearly mere posturing and almost unbelievable after they have held the White House for 11½ years, in a row and their party has governed for 20 of the last 24 years."

He was referring to comments made Monday by White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater. "The question of this White House, according to the morning papers, is not what are we going to do, but who are we going to blame," Clinton said.

In a subdued appeal to the nation's collective conscience, Clinton said that, unless there is a restoration of a sense of community in this country, there will be no way to attack the underlying economic problems and divisions evident in the aftermath of the verdict in the Rodney G. King police beating case.

"This is going to tear this country down," Clinton said of the racial divisions. "We cannot restore economic leadership of America until we are one community again."

The Arkansas governor, who addressed the American Newspaper Publishers Association today after touring the burned-out buildings and riot-torn neighborhoods in Los Angeles on Monday, said the country is "paying for the denial and neglect of the last decade and more."

But he added that neither he nor those most directly affected by the burning and rioting are asking for "top-down, government" programs as the solution.



Clinton addresses the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York.

The likely Democratic nominee said he supported the administration's efforts to restore order and assist businesses that were destroyed during the rioting. But he said rather than seeking scapegoats for the cause of the deaths and destruction in Los Angeles, the country needed action to cure the problems that helped cause them.

Clinton said that his tour of Los Angeles reminded him that underneath the reaction to the King case verdict and the "outrageous burning, killing and looting," there are "still profound divisions in this country . . . that present a threat to our common way of life and our efforts to revitalize the American economy, and they cannot be ignored."

Calling the disturbances in Los Angeles "a fire bell in the night," Clinton said the solution "starts with facing the racial issue more squarely than we have" in the past and said Americans who do not want the president to do that "should vote for someone else" in November.

Acknowledging economic and political progress on the part of many black Americans since the Watts riots of 1965, Clinton said the country now suffers from a "permanent underclass" of citizens in urban America who are disconnected from the life and values of the rest of the country.

He recounted conversations with political and community leaders in Los Angeles and said they were not

looking for a "free ride" from government. "They want opportunity and empowerment," he said. And he added, "And they want safe streets like you and I do."

Clinton offered a series of recommendations for addressing the problems of the cities, most of which he has spoken about in the past.

Those solutions begin, he said, with private investment in cities, not a continuation of the kinds of lending practices that have put many inner-city areas off limits to capital. He said either a new community investment act or a network of urban development banks patterned after the South Shore Development Bank in Chicago could work.

In addition, Clinton advocated new public-private partnerships for housing development, patterned after existing programs in several major cities. To make the streets safer, Clinton advocated community-based police patrols and more police officers assigned to the beat in city neighborhoods.

Two ways to find additional police officers, he said, are a national service program that would let college graduates pay off their student loans by serving for a year or two as policemen or women or by allowing military personnel to leave the armed services after 15 years and build up their retirement benefits with five years of civilian police work. This program has been advocated by Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.).

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992



Texas billionaire Ross Perot, asked by reporters when he might formally enter presidential race, laughingly responds, "Watch my lips."

Perot Says He'll Cut Back On Interviews, Speeches

Focus Will Shift to Strategy, Platform

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, May 5—Texas businessman Ross Perot, under pressure to detail his plans for solving the country's problems, said today he would cut back on press interviews and public appearances while he gets ready for a possible independent campaign for president.

Speaking before the American Newspaper Publishers Association convention here, Perot said he would spend the coming weeks working on a campaign strategy and ironing out the specifics of a platform for addressing such issues as reducing the federal budget deficit.

"I will cut back on interviews, television appearances and speeches and spend all my time building an organization, finalizing a strategy and developing carefully thought-out positions on each of the major issues," Perot said.

Perot remained cagey about running for president, but continued to give strong signals that he intends to challenge President Bush and likely Democratic nominee Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton. A new Times Mirror poll shows him in a virtual dead heat with Bush and Clinton, and several recent statewide polls show him leading the two.

In newspaper and television interviews recently, Perot has been pressed to go beyond the generalities he has offered on the budget, Social Security and Medicare cuts and other issues. His advisers in Texas have urged him to reduce his public appearances until he has had more time to study the issues.

"Night and day, there is saturation bombing," he told the publishers. "There are Patriot missiles going down air shafts in

my office from all your good reporters wanting to know my position on everything from mosquitoes to ants."

On NBC's "Meet the Press" Sunday, Perot acknowledged that his deficit-reduction plan, which he has described repeatedly over the past two months, was flawed and needed additional study. When confronted with evidence that he would have to eliminate Social Security and Medicare for everyone making more than \$40,000 to save \$20 billion, Perot said, "Well, if your numbers are correct, then, you know, basically I got bad information from a man whose name is a household word."

Perot has said he was told by a prominent economist that eliminating Social Security and Medicare for "people like me" could save \$100 billion annually.

Today Perot was pressed for details of how he would revamp the nation's health care system, but simply described the process for coming up with a solution.

Asked whether he would cut federal entitlements, Perot replied, "See me in 60 days."

After his appearance, he told reporters that he spent "the past two months supporting the volunteers. Now I'm burying myself on this. I'll be back to see you."

Perot was well received by the publishers. "We will do it, do it, do it, do it," he said of his approach to governing. "What about Rose Garden ceremonies? Forget it, don't have time for it. We've got work to do. You'll see me wandering around in old clothes and a shovel . . . because there's a lot that needs to be shoveled out."

Later, Clinton told the publishers he understood why Perot had struck a chord with the public and said that if Perot decides to run he should be included in presidential debates.

The TV Column

5/6/92

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Despite viewer interest in the L.A. riots, network news ratings last week were not up dramatically from the previous week's, in part because all three news shows were not carried in L.A., the nation's second largest market, on strife-torn Thursday night...

For the week "ABC World News Tonight With Peter Jennings" averaged a 10.3/22 (up 7 percent from the previous week), compared with a 9.3/19 (+4) for "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather" and an 8.3/17 (+3) for "NBC Nightly News With Tom Brokaw." Audiences for all three were up 1.4 million TV homes over the previous week...

At the request of Rep. Martin Frost (D-Tex.)—who says a couple of members have been "playing to the cameras"—C-SPAN's cameras were banned from a House Rules Committee hearing yesterday...

Bruce Collins, C-SPAN vice president and general counsel, yesterday wrote Rules Chairman Joe Moakley (D-Mass.) to register the public affairs cable network's "strong protest" of the decision...

"The committee," wrote Collins, "compounded the injustice by permitting the print press to remain even as the electronic press were instructed to dismantle and leave the room"...

Frost, a committee member for 14 years, said yesterday, "We've almost routinely permitted C-SPAN cameras, but frankly for some time we've had a couple of members who have been playing to the cameras and sometimes dragged things out two or three times longer than necessary"...

Frost, who declined to name the showoffs, said he notified Moakley some time ago that "I was going to raise an objection" about the cameras if the committee hadn't had a chance to discuss the problem...

"I have no intention of shutting anybody out; I was a reporter myself once," Frost said. "I think C-SPAN should give us reasonable notice and the committee will be polled in advance on whether to permit cameras for any particular session"...

Viewers didn't miss much, apparently. Frost said yesterday's hearings—on President Bush's rescission request regarding the fiscal '93 budget—"was very technical stuff"...

CNN will air Mikhail Gorbachev's speech, "The River of Time and the Imperative of Action," live from Westminster College in Fulton, Mo., at 4 p.m. today. C-SPAN will air a tape at 8 p.m....

Add to President Bush's Washington audience on Friday a 7.1/11 on Channel 5 at 9 p.m. That increases his cumulative ratings in D.C. that night to at least a 49.0/77, with each ratings point representing 18,199 TV homes...

The Iraqi government, apparently angered by correspondent Richard Blystone's recent report out of London on Iraqi human rights violations, has booted correspondent Christiane Amanpour and other CNN employees from Baghdad...

What's in those NBC News water coolers? "Sunday Today" co-anchor Mary Alice Williams has been told she's pregnant with twins, due in the fall (just last week we told you both Ann Curry of "NBC at Sunrise" and Margaret Larson of "Today" are also preppers)...

CBS had no trouble winning Monday night, averaging a 16.9 rating and a 27 share. "Designing Women's" last episode of the season averaged a 17.7/27, "Murphy Brown" did a 19.6/29, "Northern Exposure" a 17.1/28...

NBC was second, with a 13.3/21. The season finale of "Fresh Prince of Bel-Air" did a 13.6/23. The conclusion of "Trial: The Price of Passion," starring old droopy drawers Peter Strauss, averaged a 13.2/21...

ABC finished third. "Stormy Weathers," which starred Cybill Shepherd, slogged through with a 10.2/15. Down the stormy drain with those numbers went speculation that "Weathers" might have become a Perry Mason-like series of specials that show up during the big ratingzzz sweeps months...

Now This

The emotions inspired by the Los Angeles riots spilled over on last weekend's edition of "The McLaughlin Group" as Newsweek's Eleanor Clift and the New Republic's Fred Barnes went at it for most of the Friday taping...

The pair renewed the sniping on Saturday when the McLaughlin crew flew to Amelia Island, Fla., to appear before a conference of Merrill Lynch executives for a discussion of the political impact of the riots...

Yesterday, both Barnes and Clift said they remain friends...

The heated exchanges began when Barnes spoke approvingly of Pat Buchanan's "decisive"

he would have moved with maximum force on the rioters from the outset...

Clift injected that "Hitler was decisive too." That, she recalled yesterday, set Barnes off...

Barnes said yesterday he resents it when "people throw around Hitler; I was talking about Pat Buchanan"...

"I hate to get mad at Eleanor," he said yesterday. "Eleanor and I are friends and we will continue to be"...

He said he was so upset at the exchange he refused to watch the program when it aired Saturday night. "Those heated shows are not my favorite"...

Barnes, who writes about the White House and politics for the New Republic, describes himself as a conservative. Clift says that, politically, on rival "Inside Washington," "I'd be in the middle, but 'McLaughlin' tips to the right, so I'm liberal"...

Between Barnes and herself, she said yesterday, "there are a couple of hot buttons—and race and abortion are two of them. But I was actually stunned when he turned on me" during the Friday taping...

"The show was taped in the passion of the riot discussions. Fred and I come at the subject differently and we both got worked up about it. I thought it was wrong to focus on Buchanan's incendiary 'law and order' remarks"...

She said there were also disagreements over Barnes's support for the Rodney King jury verdict...

"We really are friends," Clift said yesterday. "Each of us gets under the other's skin. He's a hell of a debater but he says everything with such certainty he gets everybody's back up, certainly mine..."

"But wasn't that good TV?"...

Host John McLaughlin yesterday said the Friday ruckus was a "microcosm of what America was feeling" about the riots in Los Angeles that day. "Fred was law and order; Eleanor was civil rights. They were passionate about their beliefs and their values. There was an incredible outlay of emotions..."

"I think they respect each other's professional opinion and recognize there's truth on both sides of the issue. There were no grudges. From my perspective it was an honest show of passion. I let it run; it was a hard call; it was cathartic. When the taping was over Friday they both walked off rattled, they were shaking"...

He said the pair tangled over politics again at the Florida appearance, and "I had to tell them we're not here to resolve the social or policy issue"...

McLaughlin said that after the show 33 calls were received that were mostly critical of "her and Fred"...

"The McLaughlin Group," which aired at 7:30 on Saturday on WRC, averaged a 9.5/22 that night, compared with a 6.5/15 for "Inside Washington" on WUSA...

The Group also averaged a 5.1/14 at 9 a.m. Sunday on KNBC, the NBC-owned station in Los Angeles, considerably above its usual numbers...

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network prime-time shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 28.0	45	NBC
2 21.6	33	ABC
3 19.8	30	NBC
4 19.1	37	CBS
5 19.0	29	CBS
6 18.7	30	ABC
7 18.0	27	ABC
8 17.9	28	ABC
9 16.9	25	CBS
10 16.6	26	CBS
11 16.5	28	CBS
12 16.3	26	CBS
13 16.0	25	NBC
14 15.6	28	ABC
15 15.5	25	CBS
16 15.4	27	ABC
17 15.3	23	NBC
18 15.2	24	CBS
19 14.9	24	NBC
20 14.4	24	NBC

Despite the strong showing from the final episode of "The Cosby Show," CBS won the week with a 12.6 rating and a 21 share, compared with a 12.0/20 for ABC, an 11.5/20 for NBC and a 7.3/13 for FOX...

In other highlights, "Back to the Future II" on ABC was 21st. NBC's "L.A. Law," tied for 13th during the regular season, finished 29th last week; Part I of "Trial" on NBC was 35th; and CBS's "The House on Sycamore Street" tied for 39th...

A CBS News special on the riots, "Beyond the Rage," was 53rd, an NBC News special, "City Under Fire," was 67th among 82 programs from the week ending May 3...

WEDNESDAY, MAY 6, 1992

Energy Department Begins Test Of Restarting Weapons Reactor

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Five months after its attempt to restart a crippled nuclear reactor at the Savannah River, S.C., nuclear weapons plant was aborted by a leak of radioactive gas, the Energy Department is ready to try again.

Energy Secretary James D. Watkins announced yesterday that he has authorized Savannah River officials to restart the facility known as the K reactor, the nation's only source of tritium, a radioactive gas used to increase explosive power of nuclear weapons.

The 40-year-old reactor has been shut down since 1988 for safety reasons. The Energy Department has spent more than \$2 billion overhauling it.

In December, the Energy Department proclaimed K reactor ready to resume operations at low power and invited reporters to tour the once-secret facility. But within a few days, water tests revealed that tritium was leaking from one of the reactor's heat exchangers.

That embarrassing episode prompted a new round of technical studies, safety analyses and equipment upgrades, which Watkins said have reduced the likelihood of another leak by more than 90 percent.

Antinuclear groups, environmentalists and some members of Congress have criticized Watkins's insistence on restarting the reactor when the end of the Cold War and the breakup of the Soviet Union have led to steep declines in the nation's stockpile of nuclear weapons.

But Watkins has made restart of K reactor one of the highest priorities in his three years in office. Because tritium decays at the rate of 5.5 percent a year, the supply must be replenished constantly.

Assistant Energy Secretary Richard A. Claytor told a House Armed Services subcommittee last month that "the current tritium inventory, without additional reactor production, will be sufficient to maintain the reduced [weapons] stockpile until the 2005-2010 timeframe." But because it will be at least 10 years before a proposed new tritium production reactor can operate, it is necessary to show that K reactor can be operated in case tritium is needed, he said.

Even after its overhaul, K reactor still needs new safety rods, which drop down into the fuel core to control the nuclear reaction, because the ones it has might melt in an accident.

Members of a panel created by Congress to monitor weapons plants have questioned the wisdom of restarting K reactor before the new rods are in place, but department officials say the power levels of the test, which began yesterday, will be so low that there is no cause for concern.

After two months of test operation, Watkins said, K reactor will be shut down while the new rods are installed and the reactor is hooked up to a new cooling tower for its discharged water. After that it will be operated for "about one year to demonstrate its capability as a reliable production source of tritium," then placed on standby.

Spelman College Given \$37 Million

Reader's Digest Fund Aids Black Women's School

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

A fund established by the founder of Reader's Digest has given \$37 million to Spelman College in Atlanta, one of the largest gifts ever to a college, the school announced yesterday.

The entire endowment of Spelman, a historically black college for women, is only \$51 million and its annual operating budget of \$30 million is less than the gift.

The award from a fund established by DeWitt Wallace comes on the heels of a widely publicized \$20 million gift from Bill and Camille Cosby, and gives a huge boost to the 111-year-old college that is consistently ranked as one of the best schools in the South. The college has 1,700 students.

"We clearly have a running start with our long-range plan to become one of the lead-

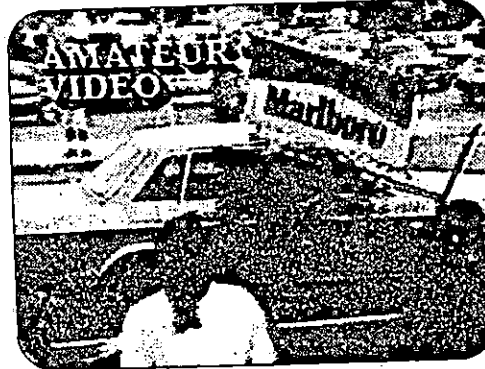
ing liberal arts institutions in our nation," said Robert Holland Jr., chairman of Spelman's board of trustees. About \$8 million of the gift is to finance a curriculum development program for honor students; \$29 million is for merit-based scholarships.

"It's truly a historic moment for all of us," said William H. Gray III, president of the United Negro College Fund, who said the gift—the largest ever given to a predominantly black college—"gives new impetus to the growing support for historically black colleges."

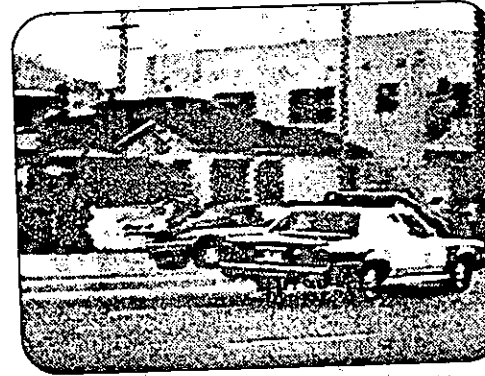
Spelman is to receive the \$37 million from the DeWitt Wallace/Spelman College Fund by the end of this year. The fund was set up in 1981, the year Wallace died, but its proceeds were not to be released until this year. Since 1971, Wallace had funded an endowed scholarship program at the college.



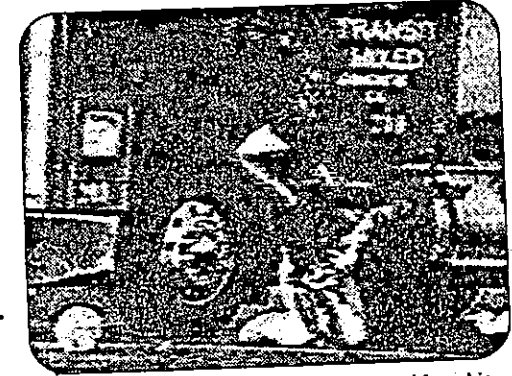
About 5 p.m. last Wednesday, two hours after the Rodney King verdict: About 20 police respond to a disturbance involving several dozen residents of south-central Los Angeles and make several arrests. Outnumbered, the police pull back.
SOURCE: Amateur video broadcast by ABC News



Minutes later: Crowd drifts to Florence and Normandie avenues. A man smashes a sign against a passing vehicle, before a Hispanic man is dragged from his car, beaten and chased.



By 6:25 p.m.: Last police presence noted on videotape. Police cars streak through the intersection past the Hispanic's abandoned car.



By 6:40 p.m.: Reginald Denny is dragged from his truck. A rioter runs past and kicks him in the head.

Juror Says She Prayed, Argued for at Least 1 Conviction

By Linda Deutsch
Associated Press

SIMI VALLEY, Calif., May 5—Virginia Loya, a juror in the Rodney G. King beating trial, said today that she prayed, wept and fasted during deliberations and hoped to sway other jurors to reach at least one guilty verdict.

"I fasted for a day and a half, and I asked God to help me get out of this," Loya said in a tearful interview at her Ventura County home.

"The people's [jurors] eyes weren't open, and I said to God, 'If you could give me one more person on my side, I would know,'" she said.

The next morning, on the last day of deliberations, Loya said one juror joined her and two others holding out for conviction of Officer Laurence M. Powell on a charge of assault under color of authority. "I knew then . . . I was going home," she said.

Jurors returned 10 not-guilty verdicts last Wednesday against the four white Los Angeles police officers charged in beating of King March 3, 1991. They deadlocked on the one charge against Powell.

By achieving that deadlock, Loya said she felt she had won a point. Before that, she said, other jurors



Virginia Loya said other jurors in King case "already had their minds made up."

mocked her when she repeatedly asked to have the videotaped beating replayed. "They would say, 'Oh, Virginia wants to see the tape again,'" she recalled. Others said they had seen it enough, she said.

Loya said she felt that most jurors had made up their minds before deliberations. At the beginning, "I said, 'You people can't make me go along,'" she recalled. But the pressure was enormous,

she said, and tears were shed before the final decisions.

Loya, the jury's lone Hispanic, displayed a thick stack of notes she took during the trial. On them were seven points on which she argued that Powell should be convicted.

They included Powell's "Gorillas in the Mist" comment from the police computer transcript after dealing with a black family, his laughter on an audiotape as he called an ambulance

for King and his taunting of King at the hospital where he said police had played "hardball" with him.

Loya said the majority of jurors, who included no blacks and one Asian, explained away each of her points. In arguing with them, she again urged them to look at the videotape.

"It's like they wanted to see what they wanted to see," she said. "They already had their minds made up."

One night, as deliberations ground on and she was under pressure to agree, Loya said, she stayed in her room as the others went to dinner.

"I took a shower, and I put a towel over my face and I cried into it because I didn't want anyone to hear me," she said. "At 10 o'clock, I made a phone call to my husband. I told him I was fine, but my voice was crying. My husband said, 'Do what you have to do.'"

Loya, a member of a fundamentalist church and mother of three, said she turned to the Bible, read a calming psalm and prayed for help.

After the verdict and after riots erupted in Los Angeles, Loya said, her doctor sent her to a counselor to relieve her anguish.

"I couldn't sleep the next day," said Loya, who is in her forties. "I watched TV until 3 the next morning, and the next day I was just talking and talking."

She said she wanted it known that someone in the jury room had argued for at least one conviction.

"They keep saying all the jurors are this way," she said. "It was not all the jurors." If she could do it over, she said, she would have held out longer for Powell's conviction on the one count.

She said she also would have convicted Sgt. Stacey C. Koon, commander at the beating scene. But she said she was convinced from the outset of reasonable doubt as to the guilt of Officers Timothy E. Wind and Theodore J. Briseno.

"I've always heard that, when you're called for a jury, it's like an honor," she said. "Now, I don't know."

Anderson: 'I'm defining the rest of my life'

INTERVIEW

Terry Anderson talks about his painful past and his future hopes. 'I enjoy my life right now in a way I never could have before.'

Q: You've had five months of freedom after seven years of captivity. Can you ever be the same person you were when all this began?

A: I don't want to go back to being that Terry Anderson. Whatever changes have been made to me or I've made, I'd like to keep, because most of them are good changes. Defining the rest of my life, yes, that's what we're doing now. We're defining the rest of our lives, and not just in the sense of what are we going to do. Am I going to go back to being a foreign correspondent? Am I going to remain a journalist? Am I going to do something else? That, I think, is important. But it is less important.

Q: What's more important to you now?

A: How are we going to live? How are we going to be Christians? How are we going to be good parents? I enjoy my life right now in a way I never could have before. I find the world a fascinating and very good place, despite all the bad things that happened. And I'd like to keep that sense of freshness and brightness and focus that I have now. I hope I'm not going to lose it.

Q: This week is the first time you've started to give interviews. Was the story too painful to tell until now?

A: My first priority when I got out was that we needed time by ourselves just to get away, to get to know each other, to reconnect, to connect with my daughter. I was not ready to simply try to go about my daily life, especially when that daily life was going to be

the kind of life that I have to live now. I'm not just a daily, ordinary journalist anymore.

Q: Is it difficult to walk out of captivity and step back into routine family life?

A: The second I walked over in the embassy in Damascus and put my arms around Madeleine, seven years was gone. Yes, there have been adjustments to make. Madeleine had seven years in which she had to run her own life completely, to be really self-reliant, and some of the adjustments we've made have been on both sides of that. Staying and consulting with each other, doing things together. Not making independent decisions and things like that.

Q: And for you, there must be incredible adjustments on a day-to-day basis. Is it like stepping into another world?

A: There are lots of skills ordinary people have about managing their day. Where's my tie? Remembering to put your wallet in your trousers. Things like that I had a lot of problems with at the beginning. I was just totally disorganized. I couldn't get anywhere on time. I lost my passport the day I got it. It takes awhile to remember to do things in the right order. I've become almost compulsive about writing things down.

Q: Has life turned out as you imagined it would when you thought about being released?

A: We all tried to picture it. We all wrote little scenarios in our heads, sometimes aloud, about what we would do. What we would say in that little press conference at Damascus. None of them, of course, approached reality. When I walked into a roomful of press, it all went out of my head. I absolutely had no idea what to say. The only

Terry Anderson was interviewed in New York by USA TODAY's Lee Michael Katz.

VOICES FROM ACROSS THE USA

Question: What do you think of claims about the Reagans in Patti Davis' book?

In a new book, *The Way I See It*, Patti Davis says her mother, Nancy Reagan, took vengeance and emotionally abused her as a child. Davis said her mother must be every day for a while. Nancy and Ronald Reagan's responses: "We hope the day will come when [Patti] expresses our family." USA TODAY asked readers their opinions.



Elan Leisin, 26
TV producer
Tulsa, Okla.



Jarvis Marshall, 26
Customer service rep.
Madison, Tenn.



Corbie Shison, 45
Barber, stylist
Laverie, Mass.



Russ Schimmel, 69
Retired sales rep.
Houston, Texas



Dominick Cataldo, 35
Publisher, editor
Mount Morris, Ill.

I always question the motives behind why anyone would go public with negative claims about their own family. I can't say that the incident Davis wrote about didn't happen, because there are a lot of skeletons in people's closets. But the motive is what worries me.

I don't know. It's possible that it did happen. But I don't think she should be writing a book about it. It's really a family thing. It's really private.

A lot of parents spanked — I wouldn't call it abused — a child back then. Now it is coming out that they should not have done that. The younger generation is jumping on the bandwagon. If they have something against their parents, they're using it in the wrong way.

I don't think all of it is true, but where there's smoke, there's fire — and she is selling a book. She feels she really has a grudge against the family and is in a position to vent it — and she's taking advantage of that. Later, she'll probably regret and say she's sorry.

I tend to think she's just doing this for publicity. She keeps bringing the same things up, but each time she tells the story, she makes her family situation sound worse. Even if it were true, there would have been more constructive ways to handle it.



ANDERSON SAGA: Clockwise from above, how Anderson looked after kidnapping March 16, 1985; sister Peggy Say met with Yasser Arafat and other Mideast leaders over the years in attempt to free her brother; her wish came true last Dec. 5 at U.S. hospital in Wiesbaden, Germany; and daughter Solome, who was born during his captivity, and her mother, Madeleine Bassil, listen with Anderson to Christmas carols at Wiesbaden.



It was like, the beatings?

A: They would come sit on my chest, a couple of them. They're rather small men. They'd put guns in my ear, in my neck, scream and threaten and say, "We're going to kill you now," and all that. At that time, things were pretty bad. I used to tell them: "OK, you want to, go ahead. You kill me, my problems are over."

Q: Were there times you wished they would kill you?

A: There were times when I thought I wanted to die. There were times when I thought I just couldn't continue for very long that way. But never to the point where it actually became a possibility. I always rejected it. You just, as I said before, somehow, somewhere, find what you need to go on for another few hours, another day.

Q: Can you talk about what

with your captors evolve, or was it always —

A: No, we were never friends. Some were more sympathetic than others. Some of them were nicer than others. Some of them were even people you could say, "If I met them in another place, I would like him." But you don't become friends with somebody who chains you up to a wall.

Q: How does freedom taste? Is it bittersweet or what you'd thought it would be?

A: There's no bitter about it. It's marvelous. Everything has gone so well. There have been adjustments to make, and there have been problems here and there, but far fewer than I expected. We've handled them well. My life is wonderful now.

► Iran-contra a 'mistake,' 2A

Hostages were afraid rescue would be tried

Here is what Terry Anderson had to say on:

A U.S. rescue attempt

It wouldn't have been practical and, at times, we actually feared a rescue attempt. The guards were ready. There were drills, alarms when they would come rushing into the room with a grenade in their hand. Their orders were to kill us if anybody tried to rescue us. I think people would've gotten killed. You also have to remember, the hostages were never all in one place. They were scattered around, which would've meant coordinating raids to get everybody at the same time because, of course, anybody you don't get is dead. It would've been far too dangerous and unlikely to have been successful. That's my guess.

Awaiting his release

It was very strange. I had been told I would be released that night. I had my clothes. I had been hemming the trousers, which were too long as always. I had a needle and thread and was hemming the trousers and sitting there by candlelight, playing cards and listening to the radio. I was playing solitaire. I was the only one left.

Journalism and cynicism

We all sound cynical sometimes. There is a balance between feeling the pain and violence that we see, things that happen to people, and feeling it too much or not at all. There has to be some kind of a limit. It's difficult to keep the balance. Those things that I saw in places like Beirut and South Africa and South Korea and Vietnam, they affected me very strongly. Sometimes too strongly. Whether I want to go back and do that kind of thing again, I don't know. I was overseas for 20 of the last 25 years. I don't know.

USA
TODAY
5/5

COMMENT

In L.A., no justice, no peace

It's a sad irony. Last week, thousands spilled into the streets of Los Angeles to protest a jury's decision to free four white cops accused of brutally beating Rodney King. "A black man can't get any justice," some complained as rage gave way to riot.

Six days later, in the wake of the worst rioting of this century, more than 12,000 people, most of them black, were under arrest. They now are caught up in the slow grind of a legal system they have good reason to fear.

Why? Because it was this city's judiciary, not the mob that took to the streets, which sparked the widespread death and destruction.

Sure, the rioters must be held accountable for their actions, but true justice also demands that the judge who transferred the King case from Los Angeles to Simi Valley also be held accountable.

In granting the change of venue request, Judge Stanley Weisberg could have sent the case to any other jurisdiction in California. That he chose Simi Valley — a largely white bedroom community for area law enforcement officers — tilted the scales of justice heavily in favor of the accused.

What Weisberg did was an act of judicial violence, the kind of Jim Crow lawmaking that Ku Kluxers once relished.

Last year, after a jury convicted Korean grocer Soon Ja Du of manslaughter for fatally shooting Latasha Harlins, a 14-year-old black girl, in the back of the head after wrongly accusing her of stealing a bottle of orange juice, Judge Joyce Karlin trampled over the spirit, if not the letter, of the law by setting the killer free.

Society does not need to be protected from the grocer, Karlin said, because she is not likely to kill again. Instead of sending her to prison, the judge gave her five years' probation and a 10-year suspended sentence.

Judicial violence of this kind gives license to the mob.

"Both of these cases are indications of what is going on in the criminal justice system," says Rachel Young, president of L.A.'s black bar association. Her organization is backing an effort to defeat Karlin, who stands for election next month.

On Sunday, with the deadline just a day away, hundreds of blacks were lined up along a sidewalk on Crenshaw Boulevard registering to vote.

All around were people carrying signs urging them to vote against Karlin.

"Remember Latasha Harlins," one of the sign carriers called out to a man nearby.

His response was chilling — as much an omen for the future as a mantra of the past few days: "No justice, no peace," he said.



By DeWayne Wickham, a columnist for Gannett News Service and USA TODAY.



By David Seavey, USA TODAY

LETTERS

Quit pandering to voters

Why do I get this uneasy feeling that USA TODAY and the rest of the "legitimate" press have it in for Bill Clinton?

I am a concerned voter who believes this country has chronic problems that need to be addressed immediately. I know who George Bush is, but I don't know much about Bill Clinton beyond what the press has written about his so-called character issues.

All of the articles I read reference only the negative things people say about him, not about where he stands on issues like abortion, health care and the resuscitation of our economy. Why don't I ever see quotes by his supporters?

People who vote look to the media to provide us with the information we need to make an intelligent decision about who should lead our country. We need facts and information, not opinions and rumors.

I implore you to act responsibly and devote your efforts to informing the public, not pandering to us.

Charles S. Gervais
Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

Ask about POW/MIAs

I am amazed that the national media have failed to question any of the presidential candidates regarding the actions they will take to win the release of American prisoners of war and missing in action in Southeast Asia. After all, President Bush has stated that this issue is the highest national priority and it certainly is a big issue to the American people.

I, along with many others, want the living POWs returned from Southeast Asia. And I am opposed to improvement in our relations with Vietnam until all the POWs in both Vietnam and Laos are returned.

Furthermore, I think all the POW/MIA files maintained in the Pentagon and other government offices should be

Proud daughter clarifies dad's retirement

I was disappointed to read your write-up April 22 regarding my father's retirement from Congress.

My dad, Rep. William S. Broomfield, R-Mich., has been in Congress all of my life. He is serving his 18th term to total 36 years in public office representing his suburban Detroit district.

What is disturbing to me is that your information linked his decision to retire with the banking scandal now plaguing Congress. While it may be true that many are not running again for that reason, my father has never bounced a check, and his career has never been touched by scandal.

He may be in the minority on the Hill. But had your announcement been cited correctly, you would have noted his reason, stated in *The Washington Post*, was displeasure with "the bitter partisanship that has prevented Congress from dealing with inequities in the health-care system and balancing the budget."

You can understand, I hope, that as a proud daughter who has spent my life in admiration of the most honest politician, I feel compelled to correct any misunderstanding your readers may have had from reading about his retirement.

Nancy Broomfield Aiken
Bethesda, Md.



NO CHECK BOUNCER: Nancy Aiken says her dad's decision has nothing to do with scandal.

made public immediately.

I suggest your organization be the one to speak out boldly and get the candidates to declare their intentions regarding resolution of the POW/MIA issue. Surely there is one media organization that refuses to be stifled and is courageous enough to exercise the right to free speech in regard to the issue of the POW/MIAs.

I hope that organization is yours.

Cathy Pierce
Sevierville, Tenn.

Real affairs of state

Thanks to George Thompson for showing that there are still at least a few journalists in the USA who have the integrity and insight to denounce the media's obsession with "peccadilloes" vs. the real issues dur-

ing this political campaign season ("Forget peccadilloes, get on to the issues," Comment, April 21).

I have become so disgusted with the media's recent coverage that I have resorted to relying on PBS for credible journalistic coverage of pertinent social and political events. In fact, I have been so disappointed with USA TODAY's coverage, in some cases, that I have considered no longer reading the paper.

Thompson has restored some of my faith in the free press, and I hope his wise words will have some resounding impact on "McPapers" like USA TODAY to let them know readers and voters like me demand better.

Sharon Nelms
Atlanta, Ga.

► Cover story, 1A

Today's debate is on **UNWANTED PHONE CALLS** and how far government should go to protect people from them.

Don't turn Uncle Sam into a junk-call cop

OUR VIEW With autodialers hung up, consumers don't need a federal nanny to turn down a phone sales pitch.

Weary of answering your telephone only to get a recorded sales pitch?

Fearful of having your line tied up by a tape that goes on after you hang up?

Well, some relief is at hand. This month, the Federal Communications Commission is taking comments on rules to implement the Telephone Consumer Protection Act by this fall.

The much-needed rules will ban autodialed calls to emergency lines and require autodialers to free your line within five seconds after you hang up. And commercial autodialed calls to your home will need your consent.

Such recorded calls now generate 90% of FCC telemarketing complaints.

But some privacy advocates want to make a federal case out of the other 10%.

They want to curb live calls through a federal "don't call me list" or by corraling the USA's 300,000 telemarketers into a single exchange which consumers could block — at their own expense.

The FCC shouldn't waste taxpayers'

money pursuing those options. If we want cheaper government, we can't demand protection from every annoyance.

Unwanted sales calls can be that. Wanted ones are a service, as \$435 billion worth of annual phone sales show.

Either way, the phone's ring is no worse than one aggravation it has pretty much replaced — the knock at the door by door-to-door salesmen.

Consumers can protect themselves without turning Uncle Sam into a junk-call cop.

They can ask their phone companies not to sell their number to telemarketers. Many will do it on request.

They can be placed on a "don't call list" of the largest telemarketing association by writing:

Telephone Preference Service
c/o Direct Marketing Association
11 W. 42nd St.
P.O. Box 3861
New York, N.Y. 10163-3861

And they can say no.

No one called the cops to close the door when the Avon lady or Fuller Brush man knocked.

We can more easily say no to telemarketers by just hanging up.

Support the junk-call law

OPPOSING VIEW Don't let the FCC gut the law and deprive you of an easy way to avoid unwanted calls.

The phone rings. You dash from the shower, dripping wet, hoping it's that important call you've been expecting. Instead, a computer's voice screams, "Congratulations, you have a chance to win an all-expense-paid trip to Cowabunga."

Or, the kids are finally asleep. You're ready to enjoy an ever-so-brief evening moment of tranquility. The phone rings and wakes the baby, who starts crying. Who is it? A salesman from the XYZ Waterproofing Co.

Many Americans consider such calls an annoying invasion of privacy and want them stopped. By December, the Telephone Consumer Protection Act is supposed to guarantee you the choice of no more phone-sales intrusions.



By Evan Hendricks, editor/publisher of *Privacy Times*.

Unfortunately, the Federal Communications Commission is trying to deprive you of that choice by gutting the law. Instead of proposing an easy, low-cost system for you to opt out of receiving unsolicited calls, the FCC would leave the telemarketers in charge — like asking the fox to guard the chicken coop!

Moreover, the FCC wants an exemption that would leave automatic dialers free to smoke out your unlisted phone number; an exemption for local boiler rooms; and an exemption for businesses that have a "relationship" with you, so future phone harassment could be channeled through your bank or department store. If the FCC has its way, the law will have so many gaping loopholes that it will make swiss cheese look like solid oak!

But we can preserve our newfound privacy by mobilizing quickly against the FCC's bid to subvert the law. You can write the FCC directly; or you can dial 1-800-NO-CALLS and, for \$9.95, you will receive a "privacy care package," including a preprinted post card with critical comments for the FCC that you only need sign and mail in.

Why execute the insane?

On another subject, USA TODAY says capital punishment for those who are mentally ill is inhumane.

Some killers are just not healthy enough to be put to death — Florida's Nollie Lee Martin, for one.

Martin was 13 hours from electrocution Tuesday when a federal judge intervened, offering a new chance for compassion. He will hear Martin's appeal Thursday.

Why spare Martin, when he had kidnapped, raped, choked and stabbed a 19-year-old pre-law student in 1977? Why be lenient after he had set an apartment building fire that killed three people?

Martin's sorry life deserved saving because he was out of his mind, unable to relate his punishment to his crime.

The Supreme Court says that can be reason enough to spare a condemned life. Yet, until Tuesday, passion for punishment prevailed.

According to doctors, Martin suffered brain damage, apparently from childhood abuse, and was an innocent victim. He had a family history of schizophrenia. He twice attempted suicide in jail.

Martin's lawyers circulated a videotape of the inmate rocking violently in a chair, rambling about the murder and picking at scabs on his skin. They said he beat his head against the cell wall to relieve his mental torment.

A prosecutor who had interrogated Martin saw the tape and wrote Florida Gov. Lawton Chiles that Martin's state was "so grossly diminished that ... we cannot hold him culpable to the same degree as would otherwise be justified."

Chiles was unmoved. He refused to halt the execution Tuesday. Thankfully, a judge chose a wiser course.

Somewhere in law may lie the technical, legalistic, narrow justification for executing Nollie Lee Martin. But that's a puny basis for taking a life.

Clinton wins handily in 3 more primaries

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

Bill Clinton continued his march on the Democratic presidential nomination Tuesday, easily winning primaries in Indiana, North Carolina and Washington, D.C.

Clinton swamped his only remaining rival, former California governor Jerry Brown.

Former candidate Paul Tsongas also was ahead of Brown in D.C.

Clinton also was endorsed by the 14-million member AFL-CIO, which includes the Teamsters — who backed President Bush four years ago.

The Arkansas governor has now won 80% of the 2,214 convention delegates he needs.

President Bush, who already clinched the GOP nomination, easily won all three races.

North Carolina businessman Lauch Faircloth beat ex-Charlotte mayor Sue Myrick in the GOP primary to face Democratic Sen. Terry Sanford.

Myrick had hoped to be this year's third female Senate nominee. Two others won Democratic primary upsets in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

► Primary results, 4A

Platforms 'coming,' Perot says

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Texas billionaire Ross Perot will cut back TV interviews and public appearances in the next few weeks to develop "carefully thought-out" positions on major issues as he mulls an independent White House run.

Perot, facing criticism he's offering simplistic solutions to complex problems, told the American Newspaper Publishers Association convention Tuesday that it takes time to develop detailed proposals.

He also took a shot at reporters who "want to know my position on everything from mosquitoes to ants."

Democrats, he said, "don't have platforms until their conventions. But if you're an odd little duck waddling across from a strange place, you need one from Day One. It's coming. It's coming."

With a new Times Mirror poll showing him in a virtual tie with President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton, Perot said he's not letting it go to his head. "It's a long, long time from May to November," he said.

He impressed many publishers with his folksy candor and homespun wit. He said his support is due to "people wanting to reassert their ownership of



By Richard Drew, AP
BILLION-DOLLAR SMILE: Ross Perot, asked when he plans to formally enter the presidential race, said, 'Watch my lips.' He addressed the American Newspaper Publishers Association Tuesday.

the country, and having little or nothing to do with me."

Jules Plangere, chairman of the Asbury Park (N.J.) Press, said: "He has a way of cutting through the verbiage and getting to the political points he wants to deliver."

The publishers laughed

when he stopped and told photographers clicking away, "I understand I'm a monkey in the cage up here, but if you all would get what you need and quit, I'd appreciate it."

They applauded when he said that if elected president he'd be too busy for Rose Gar-

den ceremonies: "You'll just see me in old clothes wandering around with a shovel in my hand because there's a lot that needs to be shoveled out."

They laughed when he was asked if he had credentials to be president and he replied, "Compared to whom?"

"I give millions of dollars a year for medical research. I don't think I could get a house call."

— Ross Perot, criticizing USA's health-care system

And there was more applause when he criticized the health-care system, noting, "I give millions of dollars a year for medical research. I don't think I could get a house call."

Later, he denied he's "thinskinny," and accused Republicans of "dirty tricks."

One such "trick," he said, was planting rumors with reporters that his Texas home is modeled after Monticello, the Virginia home of Thomas Jefferson. After fielding several questions on it, he said he began saying his home is patterned after Graceland — Elvis Presley's old mansion.

"And Elvis is there every Saturday night," he quipped.

► Media notes, 28

Deficit damage control Amendment on the budget gains

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

Rep. Charles Stenholm, D-Texas, seldom enters the House chamber these days without his trusty clipboard.

With each passing day, the conservative Democrat is accosted by more colleagues who want their name added to his list as co-sponsors of a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution.

Not since 1971, when 18-year-olds won the right to vote, has that 203-year-old document been altered. But frustrated by their own inability to control a \$400 billion deficit, members of Congress are turning to the Constitution as a replacement for political courage.

And this year, after a decade of narrow defeats, the proposed 27th Amendment is considered likely to pass the House and Senate and be sent to the states for ratification.

"The people are mad at us. We're mad at ourselves," says Stenholm. "We've got to do something."

By Tuesday, Stenholm had 275 co-sponsors, close to the 290 that would guarantee the two-thirds majority necessary for passage. In the Senate, chief sponsor Sen. Paul Simon, D-Ill., is equally confident.

House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, have pledged votes despite their opposition. The amendment could be en route to the states by summer; 38 would have to ratify, a process that could take years.

The ratification process, too, could go smoothly. Nearly all states are required to balance their own budgets by state constitution or statute, so little opposition is expected.

But opponents and many supporters acknowledge that

The elusive balanced budget

A balanced budget amendment to the Constitution, which has been defeated three times in the past decade, has a chance to pass the House and Senate this year and be sent to the states for ratification.

Deficit woes

Deficit projections and reality haven't matched. The deficit has ballooned well beyond expectations.



Amendment steps

- 1 Two-thirds of the members of the House (290) and Senate (67) would have to approve the constitutional proposal.
- 2 38 states would have to ratify it.

Earlier votes

- 1982: Passed Senate with majority, 69-31, but House voted, 236-187, 48 votes shy.
- 1988: Senate voted 66-34, one vote shy.
- 1990: House voted 279-150, seven votes shy.

Source: Facts on File; USA TODAY research

By Ron Coddington, USA TODAY

even the Constitution can't control dollars and cents. Without any means to enforce the balancing act, they say, the disparity between spending and revenues may remain.

"There should be no illusions that this measure will be a cure-all for our budget ills," says Senate Judiciary Committee Chairman Joseph Biden, D-Del. "This is no answer, given that political gridlock is at the heart of the deficit problem."

The last proposed balanced budget amendment failed in the House in 1990, falling seven votes short of the required two-thirds majority. House Judiciary Committee Chairman Jack Brooks said then it was "filled with soft and fuzzy feel-good words that by themselves have no more legislative meaning than a bumper sticker that says, 'Have a nice day.'"

But for a Congress beset by ethics scandals and political gridlock, even a nice day would be an achievement.

Since 1985, lawmakers have tried three times to cure the deficit by statute. Each time, the deficit grew, hitting a \$400 billion record this year.

The proposed amendment, scheduled for a hearing in the House Budget Committee today, would require that spending not exceed receipts unless three-fifths of both houses ap-

prove it. It would be suspended in time of war.

Potential problems:

► The federal judiciary could be brought into the budget process through frequent lawsuits that might be unresolvable within each fiscal year.

► An amendment could limit the government's ability to deal with economic downturns by boosting spending.

► Expenses and revenues projected at the beginning of a fiscal year usually go awry by the time the budget is passed.

"I have yet to see a process change that in fact produces the guts to make tough choices," says House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta, D-Calif.

But other equally skeptical members are signing on:

► "In my view, it will cause a crisis," says Sen. Warren Rudman, R-N.H., co-author of the Gramm-Rudman-Hollings deficit-reduction law of 1985, which set such rigid targets it was amended in 1987, then eliminated in 1990. "Anything it takes at this point that will bring us to a crisis, I'm for."

► "It will change the parameters of the national debate," says Rep. Robert Torricelli, D-N.J., who last week became Stenholm's 275th co-sponsor after years of opposition. "I don't know any other way to do it."

Thomas-Hill probe fails to pin the blame

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

A Senate investigator questioned senators and subpoenaed reporters, but he still couldn't find out who leaked details of Anita Hill's sexual harassment charges against Clarence Thomas.

In a report released Tuesday, special counsel Peter Fleming said the probe couldn't identify the culprit who leaked the explosive charges that forced the Senate Judiciary

Committee to reopen Thomas' Supreme Court confirmation hearing last October to hear Hill accuse Thomas of sexually harassing her 10 years earlier.

"We are unable to identify any source of these disclosures. The evidence indicates there were multiple sources," Fleming said. Fleming and a staff of

15 worked for four months investigating the leaks. Their 171-page report, with a volume of exhibits, cost taxpayers thousands of dollars — but no one will say just how much.

It detailed a special investigation into the sexual harassment leaks first disclosed by National Public Radio correspondent Nina Totenberg and Newsday reporter Timothy Phelps. Both of the reporters refused to cooperate with the investigation.

"It was wrong. It was an abuse of power," said Nan Aron, director of Alliance for Justice, against Thomas. But Sen. John Danforth, R-Mo., said, "I don't think it should be dismissed as nothing was wrong, because something was."

Fleming also failed to trace leaks in the Keating Five S&L investigation.



DANFORTH

MIA reports to go public by next year

By Laurence Jolldon
USA TODAY

Thousands of live-sighting reports suggesting U.S. soldiers remained alive in Southeast Asia after the end of the Vietnam War will be declassified and made public by next year.

The reports have proved fruitless, but were classified anyway because the Pentagon feared publication would endanger intelligence sources.

Now, they are the "first priority" in a massive review and declassification of all records related to the status of 2,266 U.S. troops still officially missing from the war, the Pentagon said Tuesday.

Of 5,000 "firsthand and hearsay" reports from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, about 100

still under investigation will remain classified. Some live-sighting reports, either declassified or obtained through unofficial sources, are already in circulation among activists.

"It's a giant step, but I would like to see it done more quickly," said Dolores Alfond of Seattle, chairwoman of the National Alliance of Families of POW/MIAs. Her brother, an F-4 pilot, has been missing since his plane was shot down in June 1967 and he was sighted bailing out.

For some families, said Alfond, "it will probably raise hopes, but it will also clarify some of the questions."

Alfond's organization says that information is sometimes hidden to hide incompetence by investigators.

Bush presents his urban policy

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush's urban policy agenda — as presented Tuesday by the White House — is a collection of business-oriented proposals to stimulate private investment in inner-city areas.

White House officials from the Oval Office on down have been hard-pressed to cite key initiatives in place to address the poverty, crime and joblessness highlighted by the Los Angeles riots.

When questioned about new directions and long-range strategies to stimulate prosperity in Los Angeles and other cities, White House spokesman Martin Fitzwater mentioned three proposals Monday: creation of enterprise zones, public housing rehabilitation and



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY
BUSH: Unveils business-oriented plan

home ownership for the poor. Fitzwater arranged a briefing to provide an inch-thick stack of paper with details of the agenda — yet only on condition that the briefers not be identified in publication or broadcast.

The anonymous briefing stood in marked contrast to a TV briefing by Secretary of State James Baker, giving details of Bush's \$24 billion bailout for Russia.

Highlights of Bush's urban agenda:

► Enterprise zones to encourage investment in blighted areas by offering tax credits, deferrals and exemptions.

Congress approved a version in March but Bush vetoed it because it included a tax hike for higher-income brackets.

► "Weed and Seed" program focused first on ridding communities of crime, then providing job training, drug treatment and education.

Bush recommended \$9 million to fund this program in 1991 and increased it to \$500 million for this year.

► Building assets for low-income families by rolling back federal restrictions on the personal wealth welfare recipients may accumulate. This program has not been enacted.

► Comprehensive health reform program, unveiled amid fanfare in February but never submitted to Congress as a legislative proposal.

► Increasing choice in child care and education is a cherished element of the conservative GOP manifesto. Congress approved \$750 million for a day-care credit. But proposals to provide tax credits for parents have not been approved.

► Expanding home ownership for the poor, an agenda item pushed ardently by Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, has met with some success. Grants are being made available to some low-income families and landlords are being discouraged from prepayment of federally insured mortgages.

The White House also countered charges that cities have endured a decade of neglect, insisting that since 1989 economic assistance to low-income families is up 82%; spending for childhood immunizations, up 148%; Head Start funding, up 127%; grants to 15 largest cities, up 31%.

Several urban policy experts argue there is no agenda.

"Proposals don't make a policy," said University of Minnesota professor Paul Light. Asked for comment, Anthony Downs of the Brookings Institution said: "Our conversation must be over." And the Urban Institute's Isabel Sawhill said: "I'm not sure what their policy is."

Clinton's response

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

NEW YORK — Accusing the White House of seeking scapegoats instead of solutions to the Los Angeles riots, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton Tuesday proposed steps to arrest "the unraveling of the American community."

After flying overnight from Los Angeles, where he toured the riot areas, Clinton contrasted his response — outlined to a newspaper publishers convention here — to that of Republicans, who blamed Democratic policies of the 1960s.

"The question of this White House... is not 'What are we going to do?' but 'Who are we going to blame?'" Clinton said. "I don't know about you, but I don't care anymore who to blame. There's plenty of blame to go around.... We ought to be asking ourselves, 'What are we going to do?'"

Clinton's speech was his most coherent response yet to what is emerging as a test for the presidential candidates. He condemned the violence, but said the economic conditions that contributed to it have to be addressed.

"This is going to tear this country down," he said. "We cannot restore the economic leadership of America until we are one country again."

He also said his meetings with Los Angeles residents convinced him the solution was not "old-fashioned, top-down government response." Instead, he said, the government should help residents rebuild their neighborhoods by providing capital, through eased banking rules, and encouraging private-public cooperative ventures to create housing projects run by residents. "This is what they want," he said. "Not a handout, but a hand-up."

Clinton said his visit to Los Angeles showed him the depth of racial tensions there. Noting that the city had immigrants from 146 nations, Clinton said: "This will either be a source of strength for us in the post-Cold War era, or the instrument of our undoing."



By Alex Brandon, AP
CLINTON: L.A. needs a 'hand-up'

Bush to inspect L.A.; Dems strike back

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush heads to Los Angeles tonight amid a political brushfire.

Resentment caused by the White House rush to blame Democratic domestic programs of the '60s and '70s for Los Angeles' riots is ranking both the left and right.

Bush spokesman Martin Fitzwater sparked the backlash, blaming "Great Society"

Urban plans of the candidates, 8A; heroes of violence, 3A

programs for fostering urban unrest. Tuesday Fitzwater softened the message, saying of big government spending: "that approach does not work."

"Washington just doesn't get it," Boston Mayor Ray Flynn, president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, said Tuesday. "What we saw in Los Angeles

was not entirely the result of a decision of a 12-person jury. It was also the result of 12 years of urban neglect by the White House."

Said Dave Mason of the conservative Heritage Foundation: "Bush seems to be stuck in his very typical — schizophrenic attitude between whether to

be a regular Republican in the Reagan mode and worry about law and order, or be kinder and gentler and worry about social welfare programs."

Democrats were vocal: ► Presidential candidate Bill Clinton said Bush's position "would be laughable if it weren't so pathetic."

► "If there is one thing George Bush has perfected... it is the art of blame-shifting," said House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt.

Still debated: whether Bush should heed Housing Secretary Jack Kemp and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan and today announce an initiative to revive L.A.

Thursday, Bush is expected to attend a prayer service, meet with Korean Americans and city and state officials.

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ELECTION '92 Results of major races

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Ex-N.C. official edges Myrick in Senate race

Former North Carolina commerce secretary Lauch Faircloth best Charlotte ex-mayor Sue Myrick in Tuesday's Republican Senate primary. He'll face Democratic Sen. Terry Sanford in the fall.

Myrick had attacked "good ol' boy politics" and campaigned against the "millionaires and lawyers" in the Senate. But Myrick, president of Myrick Advertising, was listed as a millionaire in the 1990 edition of *Who's Wealthy in America*. Faircloth had the backing of Sen. Jesse Helms' political organization.



By Duane Hatz
MYRICK: 'Millionaire' loses race

Other primary results:
► Former North Carolina governor Jim Hunt took a step toward an unprecedented third term, winning the Democratic gubernatorial primary and setting up a November showdown with Republican Lt. Gov. Jim Gardner. State law bars GOP Gov. Jim Martin from a third consecutive term.

► North Carolina state Rep. Walter Jones Jr. took an early lead in a seven-way Democratic primary for the congressional seat held by his father, Rep. Walter Jones, who's retiring. Jones, who is white, faced four black candidates in a district deliberately drawn to include a majority of black voters. In another new district, where all four Democratic candidates are black, state Rep. Mickey Michaux was leading.

► North Carolina's four-term state labor commissioner, John Brooks — whose administration was criticized after a fire at a poultry processing plant killed 25 people last year — lost his job in a Democratic primary to state Rep. Harry Payne Jr.

► Indiana state Attorney General Linley Pearson won in a three-way GOP race to pick a challenger for popular Democratic Gov. Evan Bayh.

Election coverage

- Primary winners, 1A
- Urban policy, 6A

Key
✓ AP's declared winner
Incumbent

D.C.

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Brown	4,334	7%
✓ Clinton	44,802	74%
Tsongas	6,314	10%
Uncommitted	5,181	9%

Delegates won Tuesday:
Brown, 0; Clinton, 17; Tsongas, 0; uncommitted, 0

Bill Clinton counted on strength with black voters — 66% of residents. He visited churches and day-care centers, and backed D.C. statehood. Endorsing him: Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly, House Delegate Eleanor Holmes Norton, most City Council members, AFL-CIO.

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
✓ Bush	4,157	81%
Buchanan	950	19%

Delegates won Tuesday: Bush, 14; Buchanan, 0

Tiny band of Republicans — 9% of registered voters — were always solidly behind President Bush. Buchanan, born and reared here, campaigned in Indiana and North Carolina instead.

INDIANA

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Brown	80,416	21%
✓ Clinton	243,121	64%
Tsongas	46,221	12%
Others	11,603	3%

Delegates won Tuesday:
Brown, 20; Clinton, 57; Tsongas, 0; others, 0

Quiet campaign here. Bill Clinton, as expected, continued his romp over Jerry Brown, even though Clinton hadn't visited in weeks. Brown had little appeal in this Middle-American state. Many Democrats here have Southern roots.

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
✓ Bush	302,269	80%
Buchanan	74,701	20%

Delegates won Tuesday: Bush, 30; Buchanan, 0

Pat Buchanan spoke at Notre Dame and Purdue. He was never seen as a threat.

GUBERNATORIAL PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Dean Evans	140,314	33%
John Johnson	75,662	18%
✓ L. Pearson	206,392	50%

Vying to oppose popular Democrat Evan Bayh: Attorney General Linley Pearson heralded his "no-new-taxes" pledge in TV ads attacking opponents, who wouldn't make the same vow. State education head Dean Evans bucked the party establishment behind Pearson. Businessmen John Johnson was the "non-political" candidate — supposedly an asset this year.

NORTH CAROLINA

PRESIDENTIAL PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
Brown	63,484	11%
✓ Clinton	386,358	64%
Tsongas	50,754	8%
Others	11,864	2%
Uncommitted	89,376	15%

Delegates won Tuesday:
Brown, 0; Clinton, 72; Tsongas, 0; others, 0; uncommitted, 12

Little activity here. Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown canceled appearances in order to visit riot-scarred Los Angeles. But each had made stops in Chapel Hill.

Republicans

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
✓ Bush	185,050	71%
Buchanan	51,028	20%
Uncommitted	24,743	9%

Delegates won Tuesday: Bush, 45; Buchanan, 12; uncommitted, 0

Pat Buchanan had hoped that, like Ronald Reagan in '76, he'd get a primary win here to put him back in the spotlight before California's critical June 2 primary.

SENATE PRIMARY

Candidate	Vote	Pct.
✓ D.M. Faircloth	124,593	48%
Larry Harrington	13,550	5%
E. Johnston	44,448	17%
Sue Myrick	78,990	30%

Democrat Sen. Terry Sanford may be vulnerable for opposing President Bush's use of force against Saddam Hussein. Ex-Democrat D.M. "Lauch" Faircloth, former state secretary of Commerce, was backed by Sen. Jesse Helms' skilled campaign machinery. Opponents complained he aired negative TV ads. Former Charlotte mayor Sue Myrick said people were tired of "good ol' boy" politics; she had hoped to ride a wave of support for women.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Jerry Brown: Lincoln and Kearney, Neb. Bill Clinton: Beckley, W.Va., visits Appalachian Regional Hospital; Charleston, W.Va., Democratic Party rally at National Guard Armory; Little Rock.

Republicans George Bush: White House, sees President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine, addresses American Newspaper Publishers Association via teleconference to New York, sees President Rafael Callejas of Honduras, leaves for Los Angeles. Pat Buchanan: San Francisco; Sacramento, Radio-TV News Directors Association luncheon; Fresno, Calif.

Compiled by Gwen Flanders. Contributing: Bob Minzesheimer, Brian O'Connell, Cheri Privor

IN WASHINGTON

BUDGET CUTS: The Senate rejected, 52-46, a GOP effort to kill two planned Seawolf submarines, and the White House threatened to veto an \$8.3 billion spending-cut bill that slashes other military programs instead.

"Cutting critical programs is not a viable alternative to eliminating unnecessary programs such as the Seawolf," the White House budget office told Senate leaders. Senators planned to push work on the overall fiscal 1992 spending-cut bill today. Among dozens of programs it axes: military aid to Peru and a study of the public's fear of dentists. The House plans to take up its own version of the bill Thursday.

NEW FRONTIER: The Peace Corps will have 250 volunteers in the former Soviet Union by the end of the year, the agency's director told the National Press Club. "The Peace Corps is on its way to freedom's new frontier," director Eugene Chao said. She indicated the new volunteers in Russia, Ukraine, Armenia and one central Asian country she didn't name are likely to be mostly middle-aged business experts working to help set up small private enterprises.

JET MARKINGS: The Air Force has painted big U.S. flags on the tails of its C-130 cargo jets in Latin America after one was attacked April 24 by Peruvian jet fighters, the Pentagon said. The recognition flags are about 4 feet long and 2 feet high, a "precaution" meant to enhance U.S. markings already on the planes, spokesman Bob Hall said.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

YUGOSLAVIA TRUCE: Warring factions agreed Tuesday to a new truce in Bosnia-Herzegovina, signaling the pact at local U.N. headquarters hours after the building came under mortar fire.

GERMAN STRIKES: Frankfurt Airport, continental Europe's busiest hub, reopened after a walkout by German public sector employees entered their ninth day, paralyzing transportation, garbage collection and mail service.

NICARAGUA STRIFE: Four former contra rebels and a civilian were reported killed in a clash with government soldiers in northern Nicaragua. **ALGERIAN SHOOTING:** A policeman and Muslim militant were killed in a shoot-out in Algiers, and gunfire, arson and bombings swept the capital as eight religious fundamentalists went on trial.

CHINA VISIT: Undersecretary of State Arnold Kanter flew to China for a visit that reflects a trend toward more normal ties between Beijing and Washington, damaged after the 1989 crackdown on prodemocracy demonstrators in Tiananmen Square. **AND IN NEW ZEALAND:** Sheep urine triggered a false gas leak alert in the New Zealand town of Napier after a ship carrying 83,000 sheep left for the Middle East. Gas inspectors attributed the smell to sheep "residue."

Crimina declares independence

The parliament of the Crimean peninsula, which is now part of Ukraine, passed an "act of independence" Tuesday, a move that could further inflame relations between Kiev and Moscow, already at odds over who controls the ex-Soviet navy's 80-ship Black Sea fleet. Deputies in the Crimean parliament in Simferopol stood and applauded loudly after the vote. The decision must be confirmed by a referendum, set for Aug. 2. "Rapport, pure rapatrie," said Yuri Mezlin, head of the pro-independence Russian Republican Movement. Sixty percent of the people in the Crimea are Russian, but the region was given to Ukraine in 1954 when both were in the defunct Soviet Union.

Many Voices

Diversity of Leaders Reflects the Changes In Black Community

Mayors, Lawyers and Artists Add New Views and Clout To Civil Rights Struggle

Sharpton and the 'Old Guys'

By DOROTHY J. GAITER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

The 1960s brought us Martin Luther King Jr., Stokely Carmichael, Malcolm X, Angela Davis, James Farmer, Huey Newton. They, along with many others, galvanized America's black community. When the riots came, they put the community's anger into words — and put its rage on the national agenda.

Now the riots have come again, but this time seemingly absent the singular national figures voicing the expectations of American blacks. Why does this period of upheaval seem so different from the 1960s? Where is America's black leadership?

The answer, it seems, is obvious: The question itself is an anachronism.

If the years since the last riots have done anything, they've allowed a diffusion of the black community into the professions, politics, the arts and academia, among other places. Today's black leadership is a cacophony of voices, from the defiant Rev. Al Sharpton, to the mainstream New York Mayor David Dinkins, to the conservative economist Thomas Sowell. There is no single black community, but many with different ideas and a wide variety of leaders.

"Leadership is much more diverse than it was 30 years ago," says Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke, who is black. There are "more business leaders as well as civil rights organizations and our bedrock leadership, which is our church."

A Different Time

Perhaps it was the issues of the 1950s and '60s that made it seem the black voice was a monolith: The fight then was for civil rights, the focus very clear. But as the civil rights movement fragmented in the intervening years, and the issues became more complex and vexing, so too did the community's leadership. In a democracy, perhaps that's a healthy sign.

Today the agenda is set by black artists such as Spike Lee and his controversial movie "Do the Right Thing"; by black mayors from Tom Bradley in Los Angeles to Sharon Pratt Kelly in Washington, D.C.; and by black doctors and lawyers, legislators and judges, professors and sports figures, reporters and television commentators. The men and women exercising leadership are inside the system as well as outside it, and the old-line organizations — the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the National Urban League — have many other voices to vie with.

"The average national leader cannot walk the main streets of urban centers and be recognized like they could in the '60s," contends the Rev. Sharpton. "Everyone knew Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X. But today if I walked down those streets with Ben Hooks [head of the NAACP] or John Jacob Idleter [director of the Urban League], young people would ask who are those old guys with Sharpton?"

Who's to Blame?

Of course, Mr. Jacob, for one, sees it a little differently. The old structures played a key role during the events of last week, but they have their limits, he says: "If it were not for black leadership, we would have had much more destruction. We have kept our communities going in spite of the lack of consistent support from white leadership. White America, and certainly some black people, believe the problems that exist in the black community are black problems and black-created and have to be black-solved. But they are the result of busy public policy."

His is a view also held by Jesse Jackson, who today is convening his own gathering of black leaders in Washington to discuss the Los Angeles riot. "It was white leadership," contends Mr. Jackson, "that has ignored the recommendations of the Kerner Commission," which in the 1960s predicted more unrest if the problems of urban black America weren't addressed.

Though statistics are a bit rough, they nonetheless give an idea of where the many new voices in the black community may be coming from: The number of black lawyers in 1991, for example, was nearly quadruple that in 1972, although, as in most such fields, the presence of blacks remains disproportionately small. Similarly, the number of black managers and administrators has increased about 250% to 858,000, and the number of black physicians, college teachers, reporters and editors have together more than doubled. In 1970, there were 10 U.S. representatives who were black and that number has more than doubled, though there currently aren't any black senators and there's only one black governor. The number of black mayors, 48 in 1970, was up to 318 in 1991. And while in 1965 there were only 25 black full colonels in the military, that number had jumped to 360 by 1991.

From this ever-widening group, bolstered by the legions of activists educated in the streets, come some divergent views of leadership and race in America. A sampling:

The Conservative

Walter Williams, a 56-year-old economics professor at George Mason University in Virginia and a syndicated columnist, has

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Bush Is Scrambling to Put Together Urban Package Before Los Angeles Trip

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — White House officials, worried that the Los Angeles riots have further eroded President Bush's popularity, scrambled to defend the administration's current urban policies and come up with new ones.

A day before Mr. Bush was scheduled to fly to Los Angeles to meet with elected officials and community groups, administration officials worked toward assembling a package of proposals consisting mainly of education, housing and health initiatives that the president has unsuccessfully offered before. In addition, White House domestic adviser Roger Porter has been charged with surveying federal agencies for new ideas that could be included.

At the same time, the White House abruptly shifted its public stance on social policy in response to criticism. On Monday, Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater blamed liberal social welfare programs enacted in the 1960s and 1970s for contributing to the inner-city deterioration that led to the Los Angeles riots. Yesterday, reporters were called to a briefing at which a senior administration official asserted that social welfare spending has increased during Mr. Bush's presidency.

Philosophy Is Defended

The senior official also defended the philosophical underpinnings of current administration proposals, saying they would "give poor people more direct power" to choose their own schools, housing, child care and medical care, and to find jobs created through tax incentives in "enterprise zones."

While maintaining that money alone isn't the answer to social problems, the official said that "it so happens" that federal outlays have increased "substantially" for programs for the poor including Medicaid, food stamps, Aid for Families with Dependent Children, the Head Start preschool program, and the earned income tax credit. The official acknowledged, however, that much of the increased spending came automatically through so-called entitlement programs and not as the result of administration proposals.

For Medicaid, the largest of these areas, spending is rising to an estimated \$84.5 billion in 1993 from \$34.6 billion in 1989.

An administration official said the White House arranged the briefing after the president was disturbed by network news coverage of the administration's track record. Moreover, the new tone followed the release of a poll in the Los Angeles Times showing that Mr. Bush had fallen into a virtual three-way tie with his probable Democratic rival, Bill Clinton, and possible independent challenger, businessman Ross Perot. A White House official said Mr. Bush's aides had expected his standing to rise as voters rallied around the president, but now were wondering "whether any focus on any domestic issue hurts us."

Robert Greenstein, an analyst at the liberal Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, later dismissed the administration briefing as "highly deceptive" because the spending increases on the poor are mainly attributable to the recession, which made more people eligible for assistance, rather than increases in benefit levels.

For his part, Mr. Clinton, who toured Los Angeles Monday, embraced a new

proposal to increase the number of police on the street. Speaking to the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York, the Arkansas governor endorsed a plan developed by Sen. Sam Nunn (D., Ga.) to permit career members of the military services to leave after 15 years rather than the usual 20 years and still receive full pensions if they spend the last five years as police officers.

It's unclear what new proposals Mr. Bush may come up with. His former domestic policy aide James Pinkerton, who now works for the Bush-Quayle campaign, is promoting a revival of the New Deal-era Civilian Conservation Corps, run by the Pentagon, to employ inner-city residents to plant trees, repair roads and the like. But several White House officials dismissed the idea because such a program on a large scale would cost billions at a time of record budget deficits.

On arrival in Los Angeles tonight, Mr. Bush first plans to meet with the team of administration officials led by Deputy Education Secretary David Keams that he dispatched to the riot-torn area this week. The president then is expected to inspect the damage and conduct a series of meetings with Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley and California Gov. Pete Wilson; with representatives of the Korean-American, black and Hispanic communities; and with some of the people who became heroes of the riots by rescuing beating victims from further harm.

Mr. Bush, who will be accompanied on the trip by Housing Secretary Jack Kemp and Health and Human Services Secretary Louis Sullivan, plans to deliver a speech before leaving Los Angeles on Friday. Vice President Dan Quayle's chief of staff, William Kristol, an advocate of Mr. Kemp's agenda to "empower" inner city residents through such means as expanding home ownership, has been given a prominent role in drafting Mr. Bush's remarks, a White House official said.

Federal Police Response

The administration also is assigning 50 federal agents to work with state and local officials in the investigation and prosecution of riot-related crimes in Los Angeles.

Although the type of crimes 20 additional agents from both the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms will probe are generally handled by local officials, Attorney General William Barr said a "civilized society" cannot tolerate "those criminals who terrorized communities throughout the area by acts of violence and wanton destruction."

Ten agents from the Drug Enforcement Administration, who recently were assigned to Los Angeles, also will work with the task force, which will include state and local officials as well.

The task force will investigate "the most aggravated crimes of violence committed during the riot, including murders, assaults, arsons and any organized gang activity," a Justice Department statement said.

Five federal prosecutors have been assigned to handle violations of U.S. law identified by the task force. The Los Angeles County district attorney's office will handle violators of state law.

—Joe Davidson contributed to this article.

Many Voices: Diversity of Leaders Reflects Changes in Black America

Continued From First Page

one overriding thought about the Los Angeles riots: "Tom Bradley and Gov. Pete Wilson ought to be impeached for dereliction of duty," he says. "They should have had an immediate show of force with orders to shoot to kill and we would not have had 55 people dead as a result of these hoodlums."

Mr. Williams believes it is up to each individual, not the government, to do something about the problems of poverty and unemployment in the nation's cities. The money spent on poverty programs since the 1960s "could have bought the entire assets of the Fortune 500 companies and virtually all the U.S. farm land. And what did it do? The problems still remain and they are even worse."

"Unless government can stop 15-year-old girls from having babies, can make kids go to school and do their homework, there's not much that government can do," says Mr. Williams. "If people would wait until they're married to have children and work when they have children, there would not be a poverty problem."

He bristles when people talk about black leadership. "Who are the Chinese leaders, the Irish leaders? Can you give me the names? What kind of assumptions are you making about black people? That we are too damn dumb to go on our way without someone pointing out which direction?"

"Black politicians and black leaders came out en masse against Clarence Thomas but 80% of black people were for him," he says. "If you go by the Gallup polls of people's opinion, black people have more in common with Jerry Falwell than with Jesse Jackson. If you look at opinion surveys, black leaders have more in common with white hippies."

The Politician

Mel Reynolds, 40, is running for a seat in the House of Representatives from a district in the South Side of Chicago that was held for 12 years by Gus Savage. In the March Democratic primary, Mr. Reynolds trounced Rep. Savage, pulling 63% of the vote.

The former Rhodes scholar and educator marks something of a change in leadership style for the district. Rep. Savage, also black, was fond of using race-baiting and anti-Semitism to make his point; he claimed Mr. Reynolds was sponsored by Jews, so that a vote for him was a vote against blacks. Mr. Reynolds appealed to both whites and blacks in the district, and came out ahead.

"The African-American community is going through a transitional period as far as leadership is concerned," says Mr. Reynolds. "We're going from a focus on civil rights to economic rights. It was always a fallacy to believe that one person spoke for African Americans. Martin Luther King was a tremendous leader and I wouldn't be here without the education I received because of him. But he was a star that only rises now and then. Today there is no one person. We are not monolithic."



Mel Reynolds

He says to prevent future riots, "White America, because it is in control of power in this society, has to ask itself an honest question: If everyone can really achieve the American dream, then why are there so many people seething because they can't do that?"

Mr. Reynolds was born in Mound Bayou, Miss., and lived in a home with no indoor plumbing. His family moved to Chicago when he was still young and his father died soon afterward. His family went on welfare for five years and lived in public housing. He later went to the University of Illinois, worked in political campaigns and was employed by International Business Machines and as a university administrator and professor.

Mr. Reynolds says he has served as a mentor to about 50 students from the inner city. "To be a role model people have to be pro-active," he says. "They have to be doing something, not just playing ball." If he's elected to Congress, Mr. Reynolds hopes to get the private sector involved in the well-being of his district by linking up corporate leaders with local black entrepreneurs.

The Preacher

The Rev. Jim Holley is the fiery head minister of the 3,700-member Little Rock Baptist Church in depressed central Detroit. He believes big things can grow from modest beginnings. Three weeks from now the church will open a bakery, he says, employing six people, and use what it earns to pay for the education and tutoring of church members' children. Then comes a much more ambitious project: The Rev. Holley hopes to persuade the city and local businesses to build a new shopping strip nearby. The idea is to create jobs for his congregation and others.

"I don't want them on welfare, looking to be dependent on anybody. But how do you help poor people help themselves without getting some public and private money? It's impossible. You have got to have a start. We'll give Saudi Arabia a start but not people in our own country."

The Rev. Holley, 48, who studied theology at the University of Chicago and earned a Ph.D. from Wayne State in higher education administration, says the verdict in the Los Angeles police-beating trial shows the world that "justice is not blind — it's peeping through the hand on her face to see what color the person is. And that's frustrating to those who are disenfranchised. The riot was not about Rodney King. It was about America."

"Every ethnic group can come in off the boat and start up in the black community and end up in the suburbs on the back of the black community," he says. "And blacks find that frustrating, but it's because other people have realized that we are a market and we haven't realized that."

"We've got to go from books to bucks to the ballot. We've got to spend money with ourselves and among ourselves. We have got to own clothing stores, grocery stores and gas stations. We've got to do something about the dropout rate, the teen-pregnancy rate. And whatever sacrifices we have to make, that's what we have to do."

"The church community has got to start taking control and having an influence where it is," he says. "It's all about delivering our people, not only from a spiritual

Measuring Black Progress in the White-Collar World

JOB TYPE	1972	1991	PERCENTAGE CHANGE
Accountants	19,000	110,000	+479%
Engineers	16,000	66,000	+313
Lawyers	5,000	19,000	+280
Computer programmers	7,000	31,000	+343
Physicians	8,000	18,000	+125
Registered nurses	51,000	122,000	+139
Clergy	25,000	18,000	- 28
College teachers	19,000	37,000	+ 95
Other teachers	238,000	346,000	+ 45
Editors and reporters	5,000	13,000	+160
Managers and administrators	243,000	858,000	+253
1970 1991			
U.S. Senators	None	None	—
U.S. Representatives	10	26	+160%
Governors	None	1	—
Mayors	48	318	+563
State lawmakers	168	448	+167
1965 1991			
Full colonel (all service branches)	25	360	+1,340%
All military officers	6,351	20,861	+ 228
TOTAL U.S. BLACK POPULATION 21,064,000 29,986,060 + 42%			

NOTE: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics cautions that because of occupational changes, its figures aren't strictly comparable. Also, the BLS views figures under 50,000 as statistically unreliable.

*1990

Sources: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics; U.S. Census Bureau; Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies; Center for Military History; and U.S. Department of Defense

standpoint but also from an economic standpoint."

The Community Developer

Otis Pitts, executive director of the Tacolco Economic Development Corp., is working on a bigger vision of the Rev. Holley's grass-roots campaign. His non-profit company is in Liberty City, the site of the Miami area's 1980 riot, and has used public and private money to build 221 units of low-income housing and a shopping center anchored by a large Winn Dixie grocery store. The developments are helping to revitalize the riot-torn area.

"Communities respond to traditional investment, the kind of public-private partnerships that cities are accustomed to doing in their downtowns," says Mr. Pitts, who is 49. Business leaders "understand how to use those tools. But somehow the whole thing shuts down when it comes to the inner city. They think that something else needs to be done here and that's where the thing goes wrong. Our communities are not suffering because the conventional investment isn't working, they're suffering because there is none."

The situation in Los Angeles might have been quite different, Mr. Pitts says. If residents had had a greater sense of ownership. "People are not going to burn down their own house unless they're totally insane. When people have a stake in something they protect it."

The Adviser

The Rev. Al Sharpton, 37, became nationally known as an adviser to the family of Tawana Brawley, the black teen who said she had been abducted and abused by

white men in Dutchess County, N.Y. A grand jury concluded that she had lied, and the Rev. Sharpton was criticized for using her to promote himself, which he denied.

Despite this and much other criticism, however, the Rev. Sharpton enjoys considerable support in sectors of the black community, where he is viewed as someone who will stand for a cause, often when no one else will.

In the wake of the riots, the U.S. should measure its criminal justice system carefully, says the Rev. Sharpton, who lives in his native Brooklyn. "We need more black prosecutors, more black judges. We also need national legislation on police conduct, since many of the riots we've had started with a confrontation with police."

Mr. Sharpton is being credited for having helped keep tempers in check in New York after the riots started in Los Angeles. Gov. Mario Cuomo is thinking "that I'm not really the nightmare he thought I was," the Rev. Sharpton says. "But it isn't that I've changed. We haven't gone mainstream. White America has changed. The mainstream is beginning to understand us. Once they saw the Rodney King verdict, they can better understand what we've been marching about."



Rev. Al Sharpton

"I hate the mud wrestling in politics. I think it's obscene." ROSS PEROT

Third-Party Candidate

Perot Cuts Schedule to Study Issues

By ROBIN TONER

Ross Perot's incipient Presidential campaign has drama, visibility and considerable support in the polls. Yesterday, Mr. Perot announced that he was devoting himself to another important ingredient of any Presidential campaign: the issues.

In a speech to the American Newspaper Publishers Association, the Texas businessman said he was cutting back his interviews and public appearances to "spend all my time building an organization, finalizing a strategy and developing carefully thought out positions on each of the major issues."

Mr. Perot, who appears to be edging ever closer to an independent candidacy, complained that he was under assault from reporters wanting to know where he stood. "Night and day, there is saturation bombing, there are Patriot missiles going down airshafts in my office," he said, "all your good reporters wanting to know my positions on everything from mosquitos to ants."

Late Results Of 3 Primaries

Primary elections were held yesterday in North Carolina, Indiana and the District of Columbia, but results were too late for this edition.

He noted that neither party had yet produced a platform, and he noted that his potential candidacy was only a few months old. But Mr. Perot all but acknowledged that the growing criticism of his vagueness had met its mark. "It's coming, it's coming," he said of his policy plan. He added, "And the day after they get it, they'll drop it and get another issue."

In the past few weeks, Mr. Perot has turned down requests from a number of news organizations seeking details

about his positions. Among those rebuffed by Mr. Perot have been Time magazine, Newsweek and The Dallas Morning News, which submitted a questionnaire seeking Mr. Perot's views on issues like reducing the Federal budget deficit and affirmative action.

The New York Times has made several requests in recent weeks to sit down with Mr. Perot and a panel of reporters to discuss his stands on important issues. He has refused to do so, and the head of Mr. Perot's petition committee said: "He is not a candidate. If he becomes a candidate, then he will express his views on the issues."

Deft Piece of Politics

Mr. Perot's announcement yesterday was a deft piece of politics, giving him a rationale for turning down interviews that could end up exposing him to further criticism for fuzziness on the issues. Yesterday, for example, when asked his position on health care, he talked generally of convening "the leading authorities," not "every Congressman's young aide who has the hot idea" or the lobbyists "in alligator shoes." He said his administration would then develop proposals, test them in pilot programs and enact legislation to finance the best.

When asked for his plan to control entitlement programs and balance the budget, he responded: "See me in 60 days; I am working on that now with a team of very knowledgeable people. But I'll tell you this — we got to do it. You got to pay your bills. You got to live within your means. And you can't spend your children's money."

Mr. Perot kept his audience amused with homespun homilies, crusty asides, digs at Washington and punchy vows to break the political gridlock. He talked about round-the-clock meetings on the nation's ills with Congressmen and Cabinet members. "We'll do it, do it, do it," he said. "How about Rose Garden ceremonies? Forget it. Don't have time for it."

He devoted most of his speech to an account of the "grass-roots movement" behind his campaign. "My feeling is if the framers of the Constitution are looking down on all this grass-roots activity, they must be smiling."

Back-to-Back Appearances

But while the polls show him very much in the pack with President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic nominee, Mr. Perot said, "As you and I know, it's a long, long way from May to November."

Mr. Perot and Mr. Clinton both addressed the publishers' convention today at the Waldorf Astoria, and their back-to-back appearances underscored just how unconventional Mr. Perot's candidacy is. Mr. Clinton delivered a somber speech on race and poverty in the aftermath of the rioting in Los Angeles; it was laden with policy proposals and steeped in the political history of the past 20 years. Mr. Perot's speech was almost light-hearted in contrast.

But it was also blunt and often free of the qualifications of the standard political speech. For example, he flatly ruled out "negative attacks on other people" and negative campaigning. "I hate the mud wrestling in politics," he said. "I think it's obscene. The one thing we have now is a system that will almost completely weed out anybody that you'd want as a Presidential candidate."

And when reporters afterward cornered him, asking at one point if he was thin-skinned, he shot back, "If I were thin-skinned, there's 1,000 ways to avoid this after the speech, right?"

Ranking House Panel Republican Is Indicted

Continued From Page A1

made, he said that he had repaid companies for contributions and services as soon as he realized that they were improper or that he had not been billed for services like free air travel and vacation houses. He would not elaborate.

Mr. McDade, who said in the statement that he would continue campaigning for a 16th term in the House, represents the 10th Congressional District, which includes Lackawanna County and Scranton near where he and his family live. In last week's primaries,

Mr. McDade ran unopposed in the Republican primary and he also won the Democratic primary as a write-in candidate.

In a statement issued today, Michael M. Baylson, the United States Attorney for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, said, "This indictment reflects the Justice Department's continued high priority commitment to fully investigating allegations of political corruption at every level of government and requesting indictments when evidence warrants."

If convicted on all the charges, Mr. McDade would face a maximum combined sentence of 34 years in prison and a fine of \$1.25 million.

First Case Since Wedtech

The last bribery scandal implicating members of Congress concerned Wedtech, a South Bronx defense contractor. Last fall, former Representative Robert Garcia, a Bronx Democrat, was convicted of extorting bribes from the company and is awaiting sentencing. Former Congressman Mario Biaggi, who was also implicated in the affair, was imprisoned from 1988 until last summer when he was released for medical reasons.

Mr. McDade is highly popular in northeastern Pennsylvania for having brought hundreds of millions of dollars in Federal projects to his district, including money for hospitals, colleges, highways, flood control and sewers. Nationally, Mr. McDade is known as one of the principal architects of the military buildup in the 1980's and has been the principal advocate for preserving an Army depot in his district that employs 4,000.

Most recently, he won Congressional support for the completion of Steamtown National Historic Site, a \$67 million railroad yard and museum in Scranton that is viewed by many historians as an economic development project rather than a historic site.

Mr. McDade refused to comment today, but his press secretary, Jake F. O'Donnell, said that "the indictment was in line with what the Congressman had expected." Mr. McDade said in the statement released Monday in anticipation of today's indictment that Federal investigators had "harassed" and "bounced" him for the last 44 months

and that they had turned his life into "a living nightmare."

Mr. McDade said the charges were politically motivated, but he offered no clear motivation. "I know some will question whether a political motive exists in this case," he said. "After all, the Acting U.S. Attorney and I belong to the same political party. Perhaps it is pure ambition; the scalp of an incumbent member of Congress would certainly not hurt one's political career within the Department of Justice."

Mr. Baylson, a former Philadelphia lawyer and campaign treasurer for Senator Arlen Specter from 1980 to 1988, was given a three-month appointment as United States Attorney in 1988 by Dick Thornburgh, who was then

A Congressman is accused of taking bribes from contractors.

United States Attorney General. In 1989, the Federal District Court here, which was free to make any appointment, named Mr. Baylson as United States Attorney. The appointment remains in effect until the President nominates another candidate and that candidate is confirmed by the United States Senate.

Federal prosecutors said that the charges grew out of the investigation and prosecution of executives of the United Chem-Con Corporation, which had offices in Renovo in Mr. McDade's district. The company, which made steel cargo containers and bulk mail containers from 1978 to 1987, received about 90 percent of its business from the Federal Government without competitive bidding under a Federal program to help struggling, minority-owned businesses.

Twelve executives and lobbyists were indicted and convicted in the late 1980s on charges of illegal procuring Federal contracts and defrauding the Government of about \$12 million.

Top Republican on a House Panel Is Charged With Accepting Bribes

By MICHAEL deCOURCY HINDS
Special to The New York Times

PHILADELPHIA, May 3 — A Federal grand jury today indicted United States Representative Joseph M. McDade, the ranking Republican on the House Appropriations Committee and on its defense subcommittee, on charges of racketeering, conspiracy and accepting bribes from five military contractors and an industry lobbyist.

According to the five-count indictment, Mr. McDade was charged with receiving scores of bribes and gifts, including a golfing umbrella, \$7,500 for his son's college tuition and \$15,750 in "sham campaign contributions" from one contractor. The document said Mr. McDade had solicited some of the gifts.

\$100,000 in All

In all, prosecutors say, Mr. McDade received about \$100,000 in cash, gifts and services from contractors and their lobbyists from 1983 to 1988. In return, the indictment says, Mr. McDade used his powerful position in the House to obtain Government contracts for the companies.

The document also charges that Mr. McDade concealed the bribes by repeatedly falsifying financial statements that he is required to file under Federal disclosure laws.

Most of the charges in the indictment involve United Chem-Con Corporation, which was based in Lancaster, Pa., and is now defunct. But some charges involve Westland Corporation, an oil company in Conroe, Tex., GSGS & B, a

Scranton architectural firm, and two Long Island contractors, Grumman Corporation and Sperry Corporation, which is now called Unisys-Paramax Corporation.

Lobbyist and Executive Named

The individuals named in the indictment were James Kane, a Sperry lobbyist who is now deceased, and Charles Gardner, a former Sperry vice president who has already been convicted of conspiracy, bribery and tax offenses in Virginia in another case involving a defense contractor last year.

None of the corporations or lobbyists were charged in the indictment.

Mr. McDade, who is 60 and the dean of Pennsylvania's Congressional delegation, denies the charges, saying in a five-page statement on Monday that he had not broken any law. But in a clear acknowledgement that errors had been

Continued on Page A18, Column 3

Review/Television

A Rundown of Real-Life Grifters' Games

By WALTER GOODMAN

"Scam," at 10 tonight on CBS, is a quick tour of some of the most popular con games now being played around the country. The "48 Hours" reporters give the ins and outs of calling-card and lottery cons, auto-insurance and loan frauds, the good old "pigeon drop" and more.

The camera is put to particularly good use in Grand Central Terminal in Manhattan, where "shoulder surfers" move in on Erin Moriarty as she

48 Hours

Dan Rather, anchor; Erin Moriarty, Bernard Goldberg, Richard Schlesinger and Phil Jones, correspondents; Mary Murphy, producer; Andrew Heyward, executive producer. Tonight at 10 on CBS.

is making a credit-card call. They will then sell the card number at a bargain rate to people who want to call home, home being Romania, Egypt,

the late Soviet Union and other distant places. No time limit.

As for the pigeon drop, which evidently still works despite innumerable exposés, Bernard Goldberg strongly suggests that if a polite stranger offers you a share of a lot of found money (on condition that you provide a few thousand dollars up front), move away. Similarly, you are better off not buying a piece of yesterday's winning Lotto ticket from someone who explains that she can't cash it in herself because she is an illegal alien. Illegal is the operative

word here.

The reporters also catch up with an elusive dial-a-loan operator, whose real business is getting "processing fees" from needy people, and an extended family of South Carolinians, who offer bargain-rate home repairs to elderly folk as a way of getting into their houses and out with their cash.

It's a cautionary tour. In a phrase, beware of creeps bearing gifts.

'Prime Time Live'

ABC
Thursday at 10 P.M.

After tomorrow night's edition of "Prime Time Live," millions of women who have trouble collecting child-support payments will probably be

besieging Diane Sawyer for help in tracking down the ex-husbands whom the program labels "deadbeat dads." The "Prime Time Live" researchers manage quite easily to do a job that seems to stump government agencies, which this report suggests devote more energy to keeping needy mothers at bay than making shirker fathers pay up.

Hidden cameras capture chilling meetings between delinquent fathers and the children who have been left behind. One says to his grown son: "I don't care if I ever see you again. Do you understand that?" Viewers may find it very hard to understand. "Call the cops!" cries another father at the approach of his former wife and their young children, and then speeds off in his Mercedes.

The use of hidden cameras in such encounters raises some questions, but there is justification in the fact that the fathers are ducking the law. There is no question that catching their instant reactions makes for punchy television.

But the most moving passage comes at the end, in a voluntary on-camera interview in which a man tries to explain to Ms. Sawyer why he ran away from the children who say he was the perfect dad. His teen-age son and daughter, who have been listening in a van outside his house as he speaks of his feelings of greed and guilt, come in and, at least for this moment of hugs and tears, there is reconciliation.

• Books of The Times: Weekdays

White House

Bush and Justice Dept. Step Up Response to Riot

By MICHAEL WINES

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5 — President Bush accelerated his efforts today to demonstrate concern about last week's riots, moving up a scheduled trip to Los Angeles as the Justice Department dispatched 50 officials there to oversee Federal investigations of riot-related violence.

The actions raised to 5,100 people, mostly military troops, and more than \$600 million the total of Federal resources now committed to repairing and restoring order in the Los Angeles area. Since the weekend, the White House has issued a growing stream of announcements about riot-related assistance. Some of Mr. Bush's political critics had complained at the end of the week that his response to the crisis had been slower and more modest than was demanded.

Mr. Bush told Senate Republicans at a Capitol Hill meeting that he had ordered the Justice Department to arrest any rioters who can be charged under Federal laws in connection with the 58 deaths, widespread destruction and looting that marked the disturbances. Those officials also are to work with state authorities in investigating all riot-related crimes, the White House said.

Questions of Jurisdiction

It remains to be seen which prosecutors will take precedence in cases where both Federal and state laws were broken, Deputy Attorney General George J. Terwilliger 3d said in an interview today. "As in any series of cases, the decision about what jurisdiction to prosecute under will be made based on the evidence and the respective state or Federal interest involved," he said.

The department's decision today to

take an active role in investigating and prosecuting riot-related crimes contrasts with its more passive role in the case of Rodney G. King, the black motorist whose beating by four white Los Angeles police officers was the fuse that led to last week's violence.

In Mr. King's case, the department

An effort to cast the President as a leader in control in a time of crisis.

deferred an investigation of the four officers until state prosecutors had completed — and lost — their case against the men.

Mr. Terwilliger, an architect of the Justice Department's response to the riots, said today that the department's actions in the two cases were not contradictory.

Looking at Video of Rioters

"I would disagree that we backed away in the King case," he said. "We put any further prosecutive effort on hold because the state wished to go forward," but continued to monitor the trial. That, he said, is routine when state prosecutors express strong interest in a case.

The decision to dispatch Federal investigators and prosecutors to Los Angeles was made after state and local officials were consulted and agreed with the proposal, he said.

Senator John Seymour of California, one of 41 Republican lawmakers at the session Mr. Bush spoke at, told report-

ers that the Justice Department was already reviewing video tapes of the riots to try to find suspects for investigation and arrest.

The White House later said that Mr. Bush would fly to Los Angeles on Wednesday afternoon, a day ahead of schedule, for two days of visits to the riot areas and extensive talks with victims of the violence, community leaders, police officers and National Guard troops.

In a statement today, Attorney General William P. Barr said the Justice Department was sending 40 Federal agents, 20 from the Federal Bureau of Investigation and 20 from the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, to help identify and arrest rioters. Ten agents recently added to the Los Angeles office of the Drug Enforcement Administration will join them to work on drug-related violence, Mr. Barr said.

Working With Local Officials

The agents will work with city, county, suburban and state law-enforcement officials to investigate "the most aggravated crimes of violence committed during the riot, including murders, assaults, arsons and any organized crime activity," he said. Five prosecutors from Washington and the United States Attorney's office in Los Angeles were assigned to oversee Federal prosecutions.

Mr. Barr said that the Federal agents have jurisdiction in the riot cases through an array of Federal laws dealing with civil disorders, Federal property damage, firearms violations and other crimes. But a Justice Department official, speaking on condition that he not be named, said later that the bulk of the most serious offenses, from murder to property damage, probably would be governed solely

by state laws and therefore not subject to Federal action.

Many of the applicable Federal laws appear to be tangential to the actual rioting. They include laws prohibiting destruction of Federal property, like mailboxes and post offices; prohibitions against interfering with the police or firefighters during a civil disorder; bans on threatening or injuring people engaged in interstate commerce, and a number of gun laws that make it illegal, for example, to transfer firearms for use in a crime.

Department officials said it was uncertain whether traditional civil-rights laws would also be used in the investigations, although some said those laws could apply if it is found that Korean-owned businesses were specifically targeted for destruction by rioters.

Law-and-Order Stance

The political thrust of today's moves was to cast Mr. Bush as a strong leader at a time of crisis and to place his White House firmly in the Republican tradition of responding to civil disturbances with an emphasis on strict law-and-order policies.

The White House response is especially important to Mr. Bush's political future because California, a Republican linchpin in recent Presidential races, is viewed by both Republicans and Democrats as a tossup in this election year. Before the riots, Mr. Bush had planned two lengthy trips to the state this month to prepare for the state's Presidential primary in early June.

Mr. Bush's only public comments on the situation today were soothing. In an afternoon ceremony at the Mexican Cultural Institute marking Cinco de Mayo, a Mexican holiday celebrating the 1862 defeat of French invaders un-



President Bush talking yesterday with Senator John Seymour of California, one of 41 Republican lawmakers at a Capitol Hill meeting that addressed the Federal response to the crisis in Los Angeles.

der Napoleon III, the President called for citizens to "rethink and reaffirm the bonds that knit all nationalities together."

"Converging in Los Angeles were

three fundamental issues of a civilized society — justice, order and tolerance," he said. "And these must remain our goals as we mend the wounds of Los Angeles."

High Court on Habeas Corpus: Little Judicial Restraint

Continued From Page A1

In a case the Court will probably decide within six weeks. The issue there is a 1953 precedent requiring Federal judges to conduct their own independent review of whether a state court drew the proper legal conclusion from the facts of a case.

It is beyond debate that habeas corpus is a particular target of the Court under Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist. While the Court is taking fewer cases and issuing fewer decisions than it has for decades, it has reached out to add habeas corpus cases to its docket,

and has made clear in this as in no other area its displeasure with the way modern law has developed.

There is nothing mysterious about the Court's motivation: restrictions on habeas corpus serve a number of goals of the Rehnquist Court. One is reducing the role of the Federal judiciary in many aspects of American life. For a Court that wants to end judicial control of formerly segregated school districts, it is consistent to want to remove Federal judges from their figurative position at the elbow of local police officers interrogating suspects and of state judges conducting trials.

Another goal, in many ways a com-

plementary one, is to elevate the role of the states within the Federal system. While Chief Justice Rehnquist has been frustrated in his effort to provide a constitutional shield for state governments against Federal regulation, the recent changes on the Court may have given him the votes to achieve that aim when the appropriate case comes along.

Role in Death Penalty Cases

Habeas corpus is in many ways a category of this broader federalism debate. State officials have resented the implication, inherent in the current habeas corpus system, that state judicial procedures are inadequate to guar-

antee constitutional rights without active supervision by Federal courts. "This is a case about federalism," Justice Sandra Day O'Connor, herself a former state court judge, declared in the opening sentence of her majority opinion in one of last year's important habeas corpus decisions.

A third goal is to enable states that choose to have the death penalty to carry out death sentences promptly. More than 10 years ago, as an Associate Justice, William Rehnquist sharply criticized his Supreme Court colleagues for permitting death-row inmates to postpone execution through "many bites at the apple" and the

"arcane niceties" of constitutional law. He was a lone, even discordant voice then, but he now speaks for a majority of the Court, which last month expressed its frustration with legal delays on death row by issuing an unprecedented order that barred a Federal appeals court from issuing any more stays of execution for a condemned killer in California without the Supreme Court's permission.

Habeas corpus is, in fact, a powerful tool for attacking death sentences. Over the last 18 years, Federal judges have found constitutional errors in more than 40 percent of the death penalty cases that have reached them through habeas corpus petitions.

Most Petitions Denied

To death penalty defense lawyers and organizations like the American Bar Association, which has taken an

active role in trying to preserve habeas corpus, this statistic alone is ample proof of the continuing need for Federal court review.

With death sentences now being imposed at the rate of about 200 a year nationwide, capital cases account for a tiny percentage of the 10,000 habeas corpus petitions that state prisoners file every year in Federal District Court. The Court looks at this figure and sees not only delay but "a heavy burden on scarce judicial resources," as Justice Anthony M. Kennedy put it in another of last year's habeas corpus decisions.

The burden these cases actually impose is not clear. They account for only about 5 percent of the civil cases filed in the Federal District Courts. Federal judges dismiss nearly all of them without a hearing, granting only about 400 writs of habeas corpus a year.

The campaign against habeas corpus illuminates not only the Rehnquist Court's goals but its approach to achieving them. The jurisdiction of the Federal courts to hear habeas corpus cases from state prisoners is governed by a Federal law, Section 2254 of Title 28 of the United States Code. In recent years, Congress has considered amending the law in ways that would accomplish many of Chief Justice Rehnquist's goals, including limiting prisoners to a single habeas corpus petition and barring prisoners from raising certain issues in Federal court that they have already presented to the state courts.

An Activist Court

So far, Congress has either rejected these changes outright or, locked in partisan combat, remained stalled on them. So, in contrast to the concept of judicial restraint to which conservative judges and politicians often pay respect, the Court has taken an activist approach. It has, in effect, assigned itself the role of rewriting the Federal statute to its own taste.

Last month, for example, the Court said it would decide whether to bar habeas corpus petitions raising challenges to the adequacy of Miranda warnings from state prisoners who had already had the opportunity to present a similar challenge in state court. Such a proposal was part of the Bush Administration's crime package, which the House of Representatives rejected last year.

In the case the Court decided on Monday, Justice O'Connor filed a dissenting opinion objecting that the majority had overturned not only one of the Court's own precedents, but a part of the Federal habeas corpus law that Congress had added in 1966 to incorporate that precedent. "While we may deprive portions of our own prior decisions of any effect," Justice O'Connor said, "we generally may not, of course, do the same with portions of statutes."

That both Justice O'Connor and Justice Kennedy, two of the Court's leaders in the campaign to restrict habeas corpus, cast dissenting votes on Monday was a powerful indication of how far the Court has gone. The two newest Justices, David H. Souter and Clarence Thomas, voted silently with the majority, an even more powerful indication of how much farther the Court is likely to go.

A Window on the Court

Justices Take an Assertive Role to Reduce Habeas Corpus Petitions by State Inmates

By LINDA GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5 — Of all the important issues on the Supreme Court's docket, few are as inaccessible, as jargon-encrusted and technically complex as habeas corpus. Even the name itself, Latin for "you have the body," appears to signify an ancient and remote legal doctrine, lacking the obvious relevance of such modern concerns as abortion or civil rights.

But at this moment in the Supreme Court's evolution, habeas corpus provides, as does no other area of the law,

a window directly into the Court's mood, its agenda and its view of its own role.

This was demonstrated again on Monday, in the Court's latest habeas corpus ruling. A petition for a writ of habeas corpus is a prisoner's challenge to the legality of his conviction or sentence, and these petitions are essentially the only means by which state prisoners can bring their constitutional appeals into the Federal courts. Following its pattern of the last few years, the Court again on Monday further limited the ability of state prisoners to bring successful habeas corpus cases.

The 5-to-4 decision, *Keeney v. Tamayo-Reyes*, overturned one pillar of habeas corpus law established during the expansive Warren Court era; another pillar from that era was toppled last year. These latest decisions, replacing precedents that had guaranteed access to Federal court for all but a small category of state prisoners, make it much more likely that inadvertent errors in the state courts by unskilled or overworked defense lawyers will not be meaningfully reviewed by the Federal courts.

An even more fundamental basis of modern habeas corpus law is at stake

Continued on Page A20, Column 1

"I don't want scapegoats, but I do want action." GOV. BILL CLINTON

Chronicle

■ At a luncheon of 300 influential New York women, Clinton is the dessert ■ A professor invokes the 'oldest dead white males.'

"Don't go yet," GAIL GREENE asked the 300 women at the annual Citymeals-on-Wheels "Power Lunch" yesterday. "I know you want to dash out the door, but there are Secret Service men heading into the Rainbow Room complex at this very moment."

Ms. Greene, the co-founder and chairwoman of Citymeals-on-Wheels, had learned only 20 minutes earlier that Gov. BILL CLINTON would stop in to talk to the assembled executives, publishers, entrepreneurs and theatrical figures — everyone from BARBARA WALTERS to LISA SLIVA to KATHLEEN TURNER.

Governor Clinton caught everyone off guard, so perhaps that is why ELIZABETH HOLTZMAN, the city controller, who is running for the Democratic nomination for the United States Senate, had already left, leaving GERALDINE FERRARO, one of her opponents, a clear field.

The Governor's appearance was arranged at the last minute by MATTHEW RICH, the publicist for the luncheon. He had previously obtained a statement from Governor Clinton to be read at the event.

"Then I heard from a friend that he was in town," Mr. Rich said. "So yesterday morning I called his scheduler in Little Rock and said: 'I won't read any statement from him if he's going to be three blocks away. Why not have him come over and read it himself?'"

So that's how it works. Neither Ms. Greene nor Mr. Rich seemed surprised at their coups. "Why not?" Mr. Greene said. "These were 300 women whom he needs very much."

The Governor acknowledged that. He told them that the election would depend on how many women voted — and for whom.

"It's a provocative title, isn't it?"

BERNARD M. W. KNOX, said yesterday. And there was no question that the name he gave the speech he will deliver Thursday in Washington is likely to be controversial: "Oldest Dead White European Males."

Asked yesterday how he chose this title for the National Endowment for the Humanities' 21st annual Jefferson Lecture in the Humanities, Dr.

Knox explained, "I only added the word 'oldest' to 'dead white males,' a phrase that has been bandied about quite a bit." In fact the phrase has come to symbolize the long-running debate about the Eurocentric emphasis in American university education.

Dr. Knox, the director emeritus of the Center for Hellenic Studies in Washington, which is administered by Harvard, and a former professor of Greek at Yale, is being honored for his scholarly research and writing. Before an audience of 1,000 academicians and Government figures he will discuss both the similarities and differences between ancient Greek and contemporary American civilizations.

"Previous ages idolized the ancient Greeks," he said. "They invented democracy, philosophy, theater." But, he pointed out, they also embraced slavery and subjugation of women.

Still, he left no question where he stands on the debate that arose long after he left his last university post, in 1960. "We are a Western civilization based on the ideas of the Greco-Roman civilization and the ideals of the Hebrew religion," he said. "The idea that this should be repudiated is pernicious. That does not mean I exclude other authors. Other literatures should be studied. African, Asian, South American — they should be read. But we should not abandon the classic authors who have been the mainstay of Western tradition."

NADINE BROZAN

Political Memo

White House Speaking In Code on Riot's Cause

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM

WASHINGTON, May 5 — President Bush's political supporters and opponents agree that when his spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, said Monday that the social welfare programs of the 1960's and 1970's were responsible for the Los Angeles riots, Mr. Fitzwater was talking in code. But they disagree about what he meant.

The supporters say Mr. Fitzwater was referring to an attitude that they say prevailed during the Great Society era, with Democratic encouragement, that poor people were not responsible for deviant behavior.

Those who oppose the President hold that the spokesman was trying, without saying so directly, to appeal to voters who feel that Democratic programs were tilted to favor blacks.

Both sides agree that Mr. Fitzwater could not have been talking, in purely factual terms, about the giant health programs like Medicare and Medicaid, or Social Security retirement benefits that keep pace with inflation, or college scholarships and loans, or grants to grade schools and high schools based on the number of poor children attending them. They have become so much a part of the fabric of American society that it is difficult for legislators or policy makers in either party to imagine life without them.

Some Programs Praised

And Mr. Fitzwater, who refuses on the record to elaborate on what he meant in his statement to reporters Monday, was certainly not thinking about the small Great Society programs like Head Start, the Job Corps and community health centers, which are widely praised by members of Mr. Bush's own Cabinet.

The President's press secretary may have been referring to Aid to Families with Dependent Children, the Government's main welfare program. It costs the Government about \$15 billion a year, 3 percent of the \$500 billion spent on Social Security and Medicare. But A.F.D.C. was started in the 1930's, and the most significant change, the law that requires welfare mothers to seek education and job training, was enacted in 1988 with bipartisan support and Mr. Bush's blessing.

Charles Murray, a social scientist whose book "Losing Ground: American Social Policy 1950-1980" (Basic, 1986) provided the policy justification for Republican cuts in social programs in the 1980's, is one of those who holds that general criticism of those programs is really an attack on an attitude prevalent in the 1960's that is still held by some Democrats.

"It's a mistake to try to demonize any particular program," Mr. Murray said in an interview today. But taken together, he added, the laws, court decisions and regulations that went on the books between 1964 and 1972 served to blame society for the problems of poor young people and to make it socially acceptable in some circles to become reliant on the public dole.

But Senator Jim Sasser of Tennessee, the Democratic chairman of the Budget Committee, reflected the view of many Bush critics that Mr. Fitzwater's statement was meant to generate racial antagonism. "This Administration has been very adept at playing the race card," Mr. Sasser said.

Whatever Mr. Fitzwater meant, the argument over whether social programs provide an critical safety net for the poor or merely foster depen-

dency draws attention away from Mr. Bush's most serious political weakness, the poor state of the economy, and from his failure to press for programs that he himself says are the solutions to the problems of the cities.

Since John F. Kennedy talked about a rising tide lifting all boats, every President has held that the single best cure for poverty is a thriving economy. Here, for example, is an exchange from a Bush news conference last fall:

Question: Do you think you are going to do more for the Americans who are without jobs now and who are really poverty stricken?

Answer: I think we are beginning to see this economy move, and I think that, of course, is by far the best answer to jobs.

Yet, by almost any measure, the economy has done poorer under Mr. Bush than under any other President since World War II.

In Mr. Bush's first three years in the White House, the economy grew a total of only 1.8 percent after adjusting for inflation. Even if the Administration's forecast for growth this year, 2.3 percent, turns out to be

2 interpretations of an explanation on the rioting.

accurate, the four-year figure of 4.1 percent growth will be far and away the worst since the war.

Average economic growth for the 10 four-year terms beginning with President Harry S. Truman's in 1949 and ending with President Ronald Reagan's last term was 13.7 percent. The weakest periods, 7.3 percent growth in Dwight D. Eisenhower's second term and 7.6 percent in the Richard M. Nixon-Gerald R. Ford term, were almost twice as strong as the Bush record.

Looked at another way, the number of jobs in the country increased by only three-tenths of 1 percent from the time Mr. Bush became President through last March. Even if the economy picks up this year, the total number of jobs created in Mr. Bush's term will be less than half the worst previous four-year term.

Little White House Push

Even Mr. Bush's strongest advocates hold that strengthening the economy is more important than realigning social programs. "A good economy," said Senator Phil Gramm, Republican of Texas, "is the best way" to help individuals. It makes it possible for more people to escape the blighted areas.

Nonetheless, lawmakers say, the President has hardly lifted a finger to win Congressional passage of measures like enterprise zones, tax breaks for businesses starting up in poor neighborhoods, that he is now advocating as a solution for the problems of the cities.

Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, said he might support some of Mr. Bush's initiatives in the social policy area but had never really been called on to do so.

"You could be a United States Senator for the last three years without knowing there was any Bush domestic agenda," Mr. Moynihan said. "I have never once felt it in terms of I've got to go to this hearing, or I've got to deal with this proposal."

House Likely to Take Up a Trade Bill Soon

By KEITH BRADSHAW

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5 — House Democrats, looking to seize an issue after a stalemate on tax law changes, will try to pass far-reaching trade legislation before their party's convention this summer, representatives and Congressional aides said today.

Representative Dan Rostenkowski, the Illinois Democrat who heads the Ways and Means Committee, will introduce a bill by Thursday that would bring the first important changes in trade law since the Omnibus Trade

and Competitiveness Act of 1988, the aides said.

The House Democratic leadership perceives trade as a potential vote-getter for the party, but Democrats are deeply divided on how to proceed, and a Presidential veto is possible. The two most protectionist Democratic Presidential candidates — Senators Tom Harkin of Iowa and Bob Kerrey of Nebraska — both withdrew from the race for the nomination after winning few votes in early primaries, and Republicans could paint the planned trade bill as protectionist.

The bill, which is in the final stages of drafting, would force the Adminis-

tration to file more trade cases against foreign countries, require public reviews of whether foreign countries were living up to trade agreements and tighten the standards for determining when foreign goods were being illegally sold below cost in the United States.

No final decision has been made on one of the most controversial trade issues, concerning restrictions on imports of cars and car parts. But Representative Robert T. Matsui, a California Democrat on the Ways and Means Committee's trade subcom-

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Trade Bill Likely Soon

Continued From First Business Page

mittee, said the bill was likely to have two sections on automobile trade.

One would ask but not require that the President negotiate curbs on Japanese car sales in the United States. The other section would force the Administration to file a trade case against Japan charging that American auto part sales were unfairly restricted there.

To make the bill palatable to President Bush, it will also include hundreds of pages of changes in customs regulations that the Administration has been seeking. But Administration officials have repeatedly expressed their opposition to several clauses in Mr. Rostenkowski's bill.

If the bill is vetoed, even its Democratic supporters see very little chance of overriding the veto.

The bill represents an attempt to find a middle ground between the Democratic Party's protectionists, who favor strict unilateral restrictions on car and other imports, and the party's free-trade proponents. But it runs the risk of antagonizing both camps, while opening the door for protectionists to add amendments on the House floor that could embarrass Bill Clinton, the leading Democratic Presidential candidate, who took the strongest free-trade position among the candidates in his party.

Trade Subcommittee to Act

"A protectionist trade bill would be a slap in his face," said Sam Gibbons, the Florida Democrat and staunch free-trade advocate who is chairman of the trade subcommittee.

A Congressional aide said the subcommittee was likely to take up the bill on May 14 and, despite Mr. Gibbons's hostility, would probably send it to the full committee. The full committee is likely to send a bill to the House floor by the end of this month and the full House should vote by the end of June, another aide said.

Hearings have already been held on the bill's proposals, and further hearings are considered unlikely.

pared in the Senate, which is moving more slowly. But some bill could emerge from the Senate Finance Committee by early summer, aides said.

The possibility of a Presidential veto gives the House's 435 members a chance to vote and tell their constituents either that they have supported free trade or that they have defended the United States against imports — depending on the Congressional district and local industries — without too much risk of actually changing Federal law.

New 'Super 301' Proposed

Changes in customs regulations aside, the portion of the bill most likely to receive bipartisan support would resurrect the "Super 301" law, which expired at the end of 1990. This provision of the 1988 trade law attacked foreign trade barriers by forcing the Administration to identify annually certain nations and industries considered violators and pursue negotiations and retaliation according to fixed timetables.

Carla A. Hills, the United States trade representative, has strongly opposed all suggestions that the law be revived. She contends that she already has adequate authority to act against foreign trade barriers and that the strict deadlines of Super 301 would impair her flexibility in negotiations.

Representative Richard A. Gephardt, the Missouri Democrat who is the House majority leader, has sponsored legislation that would force reductions in the American sales of Japanese car companies if the American trade deficit with Japan did not show annual decreases.

Mr. Gephardt declined to comment this evening on Mr. Rostenkowski's plan.

Mr. Gibbons said that while he had not seen the details of Mr. Rostenkowski's legislation, he thought any broad trade bill was unnecessary this year. "We don't need a trade bill," he said. "What we need is a health care bill and a tax bill — those are the two problems we've got in trade."

CLINTON, IN ATTACK ON PRESIDENT, TIES RIOTS TO 'NEGLECT'

RESPONSE TO WHITE HOUSE

He Blames '12 Years of Denial'
Under Reagan and Bush for
Unrest in Los Angeles

By ROBERT PEAR

In a counterattack on the Bush Administration, Gov. Bill Clinton said yesterday that the riots in Los Angeles resulted in part from "12 years of denial and neglect" of festering social problems under Presidents Bush and Reagan.

Mr. Clinton said he was amazed and appalled at comments on Monday by the White House press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, suggesting that the riots resulted from social welfare programs created by Democrats in the 1960's and 1970's.

"It's just amazing," said Mr. Clinton, the likely Presidential nominee of the Democratic Party. "Republicans have had the White House for 20 of the last 24 years, and they have to go all the way back to the 60's to find somebody to blame. I don't care who's to blame. I want to do something about the problems."

'They Are Not Serious'

Mr. Clinton said the real cause of the riots included "12 years of denial and neglect" of social problems under the Ronald Reagan and Bush Administrations.

"They are not serious about any of these domestic issues," said Mr. Clinton, who has served for more than a decade as Governor of Arkansas, one of the nation's poorest states. "I was appalled by that comment" of Mr. Fitzwater.

In Washington, President Bush accelerated his efforts to demonstrate concern about the riots in Los Angeles, moving up a scheduled trip to the city as the Justice Department dispatched 50 officials there to oversee Federal investigations of riot-related violence. [Page A24.]

Proposals for Aid

Mr. Clinton, in discussions of the country's urban problems, often emphasizes the role of Government as a social catalyst rather than paternalistic benefactor. He says that Government programs alone cannot solve deep-rooted social problems and that poor people must shun welfare and take responsibility for their own lives.

After visiting Los Angeles on Monday to inspect the damage from the riots and looting, Mr. Clinton said he would use the money saved from cuts in military spending to invest in construction of housing, streets and other public works projects in Los Angeles and other cities. He said that the minimum wage, now at \$4.25 an hour, should be automatically increased each year to keep pace with inflation.

Mr. Clinton's reaction to Mr. Fitzwater came in a formal speech and in informal remarks at the 106th annual convention of the American Newspaper

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Perot Turns to the Issues

Ross Perot said he was cutting back on interviews, in part to develop detailed positions on public issues for a fall campaign. Page A26.

The 1992 Campaign

Democrats

Clinton Assails G.O.P. 'Neglect' As Riots' Cause

Continued From Page A1

per Publishers Association, held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in Manhattan.

In his speech, Mr. Clinton said, "The question of this White House, according to the morning papers, is not, 'What are we going to do?' but 'Who are we going to blame?'"

He added, "I don't want scapegoats, but I do want action."

Mr. Clinton said that to trace the cause of the riots to the social programs and liberal approaches of the 1960's was "clearly mere posturing and almost unbelievable," since Republicans have controlled the White House for so long.

Mr. Clinton says in speeches that he is trying to define a new approach to the pervasive social problems of America's cities, a "third way," well to the left of Mr. Bush and Mr. Reagan, well to the right of Lyndon B. Johnson, Hubert H. Humphrey and their Great Society programs.

Mr. Clinton's ideas came into sharp focus after his visit to Los Angeles this week.

Critics at the White House and in President Bush's re-election campaign say Mr. Clinton is slick or slippery because he equivocates on many issues. But on domestic social policy, Mr. Clinton is deliberately trying to steer a middle course, which could attract conservative Democrats and moderate Republicans without alienating liberal Democrats.

'Didn't Ask for a Grant'

Mr. Clinton said he found strong support for his approach among community leaders whom he consulted amid the smoldering ruins of black, Hispanic and Korean-American neighborhoods in South-Central Los Angeles.

"They didn't ask for a grant or a handout," Mr. Clinton reported. "Nobody said, 'We're expecting a big check from the Government.' Rather, they asked for investment in small businesses, for help in creating a free enterprise system in the inner city."

"I saw people who want a third way, a different way, a new approach to our problems, not a big new bunch of top-down money coming from Washington, not 12 more years of neglect coming from Washington. They want basic empowerment at the grass-roots level, which is different from what either party has done in the past. They want to work through community-based organizations instead of through Federal bureaucracy."

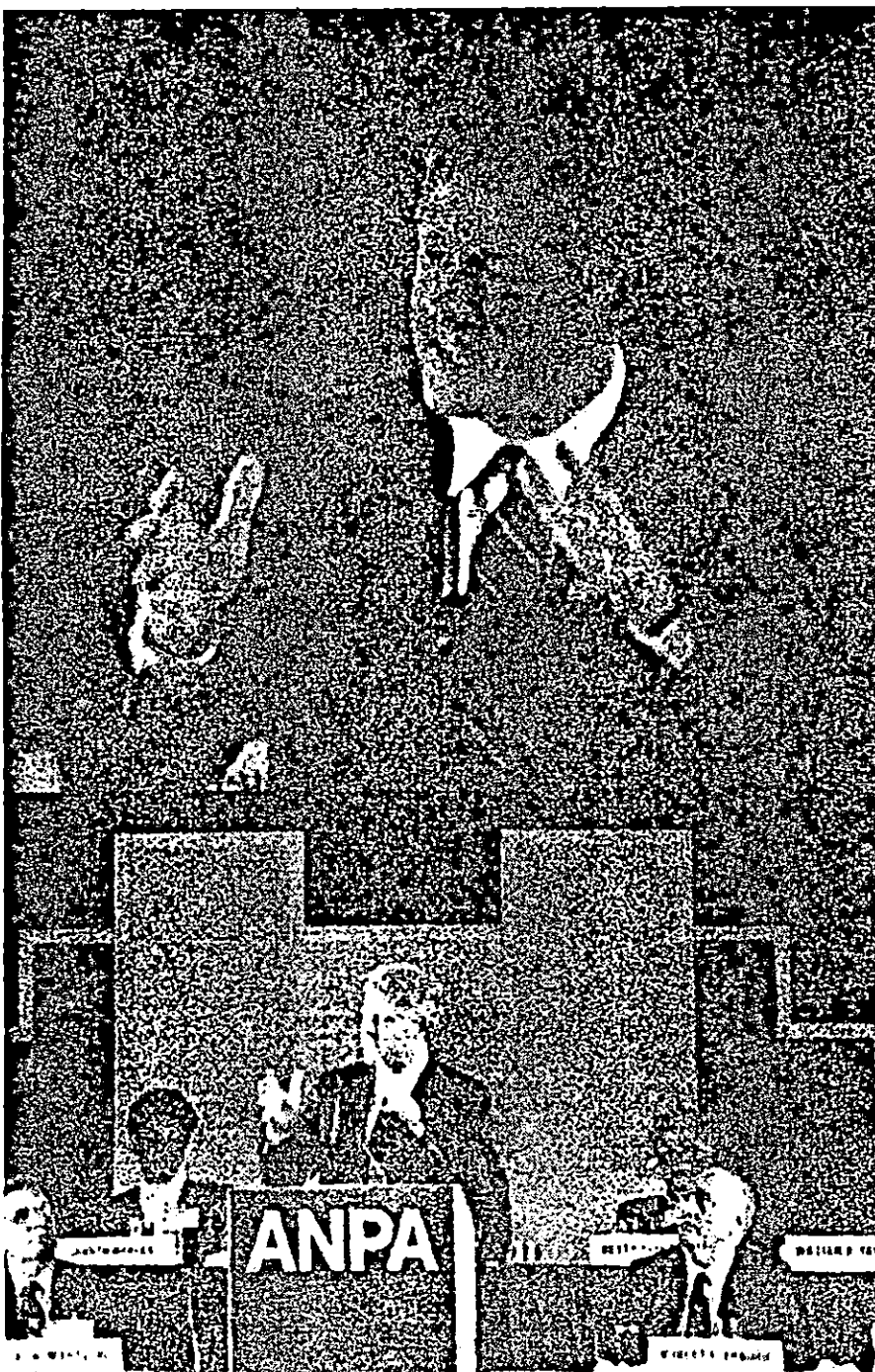
Until last week, liberal Democrats like Senator Howard M. Metzenbaum of Ohio refused to support Mr. Clinton on the ground that he scorned the party's liberal political orthodoxy, with its heritage of Great Society welfare programs from the 1960's.

But now, the Arkansas Governor is being criticized by Republicans on the ground that he and his party have defended such programs.

Speaking on Monday about the riots in Los Angeles, Mr. Fitzwater said, "We believe that many of the root problems that have resulted in inner-city difficulties were started in the 60's and 70's," and he asserted that many of the social welfare programs begun in those decades "have failed."

The Republicans' attack on Mr. Clinton presents a paradox: They criticize the Arkansas Governor for embracing the same policies that liberal Democrats criticized him for abandoning.

Mr. Clinton's social policy is similar, in some respects, to what politicians



A large-screen television image of Gov. Bill Clinton was projected behind the candidate yesterday as he addressed the convention of the American Newspaper Publishers Association in Manhattan.

describe as the "bleeding-heart conservatism" of Jack F. Kemp, the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development. It is even more similar to the ideas promoted by James P. Pinkerton, a former aide to President Bush who now works full-time as a counselor to the Bush-Quayle re-election campaign.

Mr. Pinkerton, like Mr. Kemp, advocates the selective use of tax credits and other Government incentives to stimulate private investment in the inner city and to wean poor people off welfare. Richard G. Darman, director of the White House Office of Management and Budget, has ridiculed Mr. Pinkerton's idea for a "new paradigm" in social policy, and Mr. Bush let the notion languish until this spring, when Presidential politics prompted him to take a new interest in domestic policy.

The following sentence could be ut-

tered with conviction by Mr. Clinton, Mr. Kemp or Mr. Pinkerton: "We must discard the failed bureaucratic model for fighting poverty and instead empower individuals to control their lives through the power of property ownership and entrepreneurship." (In fact, it was written by Mr. Kemp.)

Mr. Clinton charges that Mr. Bush and President Reagan neglected the problems of America's cities, but at the same time, he distinguishes his own prescription from the ones espoused by liberal Democrats and many labor unions. "There is a role for Government, but it has to be carried out through grass-roots community organizations" rather than through Federal agencies and bureaucrats, Mr. Clinton said Monday, because "the Government does not always know what is best or how to do it."

Social programs that survived the Reagan Administration, like Medicare, food stamps, Head Start and the Job Corps, had broad bipartisan support in Congress, even though lawmakers were, and still are, vexed by the soaring cost of some of the best programs.

Labor Endorsement

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 5 — Mr. Clinton's grip on his party's nomination grew stronger today when the A.F. C.I.O., the nation's largest trade union organization, endorsed him for Democratic nomination.

Today's endorsement, which is for the Democratic nomination and for the general election.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

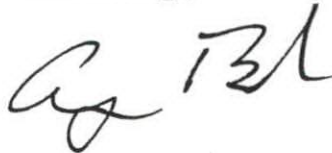
Dear Mr. Gazdik:

Thank you for your great letter. I was delighted to know that I can count on your support -- especially in light of your proven "track record."

I was happy to hear that you served as a fighter pilot during World War II and to learn that SSGT Rebecca L. Schulz, who flies with us on Air Force One, is your grand niece. It would seem that we share much in common when it comes to flying -- I'll be sure to tell Rebecca how much I enjoyed hearing from her Uncle Mike.

Warm best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. Mike Gazdik
34160 Jaeckles Drive
Nashotah, Wisconsin 53058

✓
CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)

920507



THE PRESIDENT

May 6, 1992

Dear Tom:

The Vice President has just given me your thoughtful gifts. I love the elephant tie and golf shirts, especially the patriotic one -- thanks so much!

It was good to see you and Jane at the State Dinner for President Weizsaecker. Barbara and I send our best to you both.

Sincerely,

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Tom Kelley
1819 South Calhoun Street
Fort Wayne, Indiana 46802

CC

Rose Zamaria (lc)

Markki Richnow

Gift Unit --

Please return to
Rose Zamaria for
the President to
keep

Gift delivered by
V.P. on 5/5.
2 golf shirts from
Sycamore Hills Golf
Club- from owner
& 1 elephant tie.
attended State Dinner
w/ V.P. 4/29.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Jane A. Kenny
Director
ACTION
10th Floor
1100 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20525



THE PRESIDENT

5-6-92
(off to L.A. today)

Dear TK,

You're right about
Salgado. I'll tell Connie
to keep him in mind.
Starlab looks fascinating
though I'm not quite sure

a wiggly Walker on a
sand covered Pierce
would get it.

Hang in -

GB

Jan Burmeister

*language
issue*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

Dear Ms. Freeman:

Thank you for your recent letter regarding the verdict in the Rodney King trial and the senseless violence that followed.

I have asked that you be given a further reply, but I did want you to know I read your letter and appreciated your sharing your views with me.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Ms. Claire E. Freeman
Chief Executive Officer
Cuyahoga Metropolitan Housing Authority
1441 West 25th Street
Cleveland, Ohio 44113

920507

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

H.E. Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan
Chateau de Bellerive
1245 Collonge-Bellerive
Geneva
SWITZERLAND



THE PRESIDENT

May 6, '92

Dear Sadri,

I am impressed with
the Bellerive Brigade - a powerful
machine. Germanine looks lovely
Even the Tach Russel on the
right did not deter me. I have
been "mooned" before.

The kids & the grandkids
looked fantastic.

Where's Hussein, my
yogurt man?

When, oh when, will I get
to come back to the shores
of Bellerive? Love to all.

Ag

Jan Burmeister

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

Dear Bob:

Thank you for your thought-provoking letter.

This Administration is committed to ensuring that innovation and growth in American businesses and industries are not hampered by burdensome regulatory practices. As you know, I have extended the regulatory moratorium. You can be sure that I will continue to fight for sound and responsible policies, and I appreciate having your views.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", with a large, stylized "B" and a long, sweeping diagonal stroke extending downwards and to the right.

Mr. Robert E. Allen
Chairman of the Board
AT&T
550 Madison Avenue
New York, New York 10022

320507





BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Wednesday, May 6, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Baker</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft) (Howard Baker)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Cabinet Members</u> (Holiday)	Cabinet Room (TAB A)
9:45 am (15 min)	Meeting with Leaders of <u>Cuban American Community</u> (Scowcroft)(Distributed Separately)	Oval Office
10:00 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
10:30 am (60 min)	Meeting with Ukrainian <u>President Leonid Kravchuk</u> (Scowcroft)(Distributed Separately)	Oval Office/ Cabinet Room
11:30 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:45 am (60 min)	<u>Luncheon with President Kravchuk</u> (Scowcroft)(Distributed Separately & TAB B)	Old Family Dining Room
12:45 pm (40 min)	<u>Treaty Signing Ceremony</u> (Scowcroft)(Distributed Separately & TAB B)	East Room
1:30 pm (15 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Smith)	450 OEOB (TAB C) Sitting Room
1:45 pm (15 min)	1:51 begins 2:10 Ends Teleconference with American Newspaper Publishers Associa- <u>tion Convention</u> (Smith)	459 OEOB (TAB D)
2:00 pm (20 min)	2:13 <u>Video Taping Session</u> (Smith)	459 OEOB (TAB E)

2:35 POTUS drops-by
450 OEOB Florida Counsel of 100
Not Planned
2:45 departs
2:50 In
2:54 Dr. Dobson In
3:00 Sec. Baker In
3:01 " " Out
3:10 Dr. Dobson Out
3:12

UNP 05/05/92
7:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	05/06/92	(b)(7)(c)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Wednesday, May 6, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 8/28/2024	OA/ID Number: 90677-002
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)]

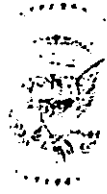
- P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) 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



2:20 pm (25 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:45 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Dr. James Dobson</u> (Rollins)	Oval Office (TAB F)
3:00 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with President</u> <u>Callejas of Honduras</u> (Scowcroft)(Distributed Separately)	Oval Office
3:15 pm (45 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
4:00 pm	The President, accompanied by President Kravchuk, <u>departs for Camp David</u> (Scowcroft)	South Lawn
4:30 pm	<u>Arrives Camp David</u>	
6:00 pm	Departs Camp David for Andrews Air Force Base enroute to <u>Los Angeles</u>	(Trip Notebook to be forwarded tomorrow.)
8:45 pm	<u>Arrives Los Angeles</u> <u>RON Los Angeles</u>	

7:52 Oemarest In
8:01 " Out
8:04 Scowcroft, Sec. Baker In
8:26 Fitzwater In
8:31 Skinner In
8:36 Fitzwater Out
8:41 Skinner Out
8:44 Sec. Baker Out
8:45 Sen. Howard Baker,
Frank
8:50 Sen. Baker,
Adm. Howe, (b)(7)(c) In
9:03 VPOTUS In
9:07 (b)(7)(c) Out
9:11 Scowcroft, Howe Out
9:16 VPOTUS Out
9:17 POTUS Out to Cabinet Rm.
9:55 POTUS In, Scowcroft In
9:59 Armando Roure, Andres Vargas Gomez,
Armanio Suarez, Antonio Maceo Bill Price In

10:20 All out byt Scowcroft
Sec. Baker In
10:31 Pres. Kravchuk, Anatoliy Zlenko,
Aleksandr Melnik, and two
interpreters In
11:03 All Out to Cabinet room.
11:38 POTUS, Kravchuk, and Int. Out
to Oval.
11:42 All Out to State floor
11:50 Arrive state floor for Lunch
12:50 POTUS, Adm. Pres. Kravchuk announce
in to East Room.
1:40 POTUS bids farewell to Kravchuk
at North Portico and departs
for OEOB.
~~1:45 POTUS arrives 450 Sitting Room~~
1:49 POTUS arrives 459
1:51 POTUS speaks to Teleconf.

2:10 Teleconf. Ends
 2:13 Message (video-taped) for Asian-~~American~~ Pacific American heritage Month begins
 2:17 " " " " " " " " Ends
 2:18 Message for council of shopping centers (Iscs) begins
 2:20 " " " " " " " " Ends
 2:21 Message for independent Petroleum Assc. of America begins
 2:25 " " " " " " " " Ends
 2:25 Message honoring Max Fisher begins
 2:28 " " " " " " " " Ends
 2:28 Message for Houston Police Officers Memorial begins
 2:30 " " " " " " " " Ends
 2:31 POTUS Out to 450 Holding Room
 2:35 POTUS drops by 450 DEOB (Florida Council of 100) NOT Scheduled
 2:45 POTUS departs 450
 2:50 POTUS In
 2:54 Dr. James Dobson In
 3:00 Sec. Baker In
 3:01 " " Out
 3:09 Patty Presock In
 3:10 Presock, Dobson Out
 3:12 President Callejas In

 4:00 POTUS Out to Dip room
 4:05 Helo departs South grounds for Camp David
 4:35 Helo Arrives Camp David
 6:00 Helo departs Camp David
 6:34 " Arrives Andrews AFB
 " See trip Book "



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 6, 1992

Dear Mr. Sloan:

Thank you for your letter and for sending me the terrific photograph. I'll treasure it and I deeply appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending it.

Your comments that a reduction in the capital gains tax rate would help middle income Americans are right on target. People such as you and your family are being punished for saving and investing. Studies have shown that the two-thirds of Americans who would benefit from a capital gains tax cut are taxpayers with annual incomes of less than \$50,000. The capital gains tax rate cut would certainly help families and retirees who want to sell their homes but can't afford to lose a large portion of the sale price in order to pay capital gains taxes.

Additionally, a cut in capital gains tax rates would make U.S. companies more competitive internationally. What you heard about the United States imposing capital gains tax rates that are higher than some of our key international competitors is correct. For example, Germany imposes no capital gains taxes at all on assets that are held longer than six months. Japan has dramatically lower capital gains tax rates than the United States.

I assure you that we will keep working hard to get Congress to act on our proposal to cut the capital gains tax rate. I am grateful for your support.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Mr. Julian R. Sloan
100 Barnegat Road
New Canaan, Connecticut 06840

Thanks for that wonderful picture of my Dad & yours. I'll treasure it.