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## POOL REPORT #2

Bush plays golf, slowly  
22 May 1991

No news; precious little color. Bush took an unusually long time (2:40) to finish his 18 holes at Cape Arundel, and your pool was kept at an unusual distance. The President was joined by Scowcroft, Ken Raynor and an unidentified fourth man, and did not utter a word to reporters as he began and finished the round.

Bush wore green pants, a white LSU shirt, and white golf hat, and was at full speed behind the wheel of the golf cart by the time he reached your waiting pool. He smiled and waved to a shouted question about the Senate urban aid package. On the 14th tee some 90 minutes later, Mr. Smooth made a somewhat awkward drive but turned and tipped his hat to the galleries waiting on the clubhouse steps.

On the 18th fairway, Bush tapped his ball a foot or so backward in search of a better lie, then sent a hefty divot flying as he hit his iron shot. Demonstrating his commitment to the environment, he tracked the divot down and scooped it up with his club, then walked back 15 feet back to tamp it into the ground.

Bush took a shortcut back to the clubhouse and emerged from behind a clump of trees to speed back the pack. Scowcroft trailed within shouting distance, but only tipped his hat to a question about the possible expulsion of Yugoslav diplomats.

The President was back inside his compound by 4:30 p.m. and was expected to remain there for the evening.

Douglas Jehl, Los Angeles Times

GEORGE BUSH  
WASHINGTON

Phone Call

5-22-92

Lionel Hampton  
in hospital

check on health

Finished tour

Wash next week

Kennedy-

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

Paid for by Bush - Quayle '92 Primary Committee, Inc.



ABOARD AIR FORCE ONE

Robin

✓

Reminded me  
Friday to  
call Louel  
Sturpton  
Sig has  
in Paris  
hospital.

S

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### Rate Cited to New Refugees



# The Politics of Morality

## Speech by Quayle on Family Values Raises Questions About Thrust of Bush Campaign

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — Vice President Dan Quayle and his staff were clearly delighted by the stir he caused with his gibe at Murphy Brown, but the underlying question is whether the ensuing debate on family values was good for the 1992 Republican Presidential ticket or just for Mr. Quayle.

### News Analysis

The Vice President's speech, delivered during a three-day political swing that was carefully planned to generate as much publicity as possible, clearly had aims beyond its stated purpose of sparking a national debate on marriage, child-rearing, poverty and other social issues.

Republican strategists said it was intended as political shock therapy for a White House political team that many Republicans, including some close to Mr. Quayle, believe to be asleep at the wheel. According to their accounts, Mr. Quayle wanted to demonstrate that it is possible to seize control of an important issue, rather than to continue to drift while Ross Perot gains in the polls.

The White House is increasingly concerned about Mr. Perot's outsider candidacy, but it is also uncertain about how Mr. Bush, a lifetime politician and Washington insider, can counter it.

### Blasts at Fat Targets

Mr. Quayle was also trying to demonstrate that it is possible to short circuit Mr. Perot and his followers by stealing their anti-establishment thunder with blasts at fat targets like the press and what the Vice President is calling the "cultural elite" of the entertainment industry.

The upside of all this for Mr. Quayle is easy to see. By casting himself as the energy source of a struggling campaign, Mr. Quayle furthers his ongoing repair work on his political image and his efforts to lay the groundwork for a Presidential campaign in 1996.

But what is good for Mr. Quayle, as he tightens his bond with the political and cultural right, may not be good for his boss, who will not be back in the White House if he loses mainstream Democrats and independents to Mr. Perot or to Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the likely Democratic nominee.

Mr. Quayle's clear ideological focus and aggressive attack on the family-values front only highlighted the President's diffuse message and the hesitan-

## Shock therapy for a centrist White House.

cy and confusion that have been evident in its response to a series of political challenges this year. Yesterday, Mr. Bush and his press secretary were in the embarrassing position of not being sure how to deal with the political offensive of the President's own running mate.

"It may be another sign of the President's weakness that they can't figure out how to respond to Dan Quayle, much less to the riots in L.A. and the economy," said Harrison Hickman, a Democratic polltaker.

### Clinging to the Center

More broadly, while any incumbent President must hold the center to win re-election, that seems an even greater imperative for Mr. Bush as he tries to keep recession-weary voters from turning to the Democratic Party and to stop Democrats who voted for Ronald Reagan from defecting to Mr. Perot.

That could become harder if Mr. Quayle helps to drive the Bush campaign too far to the right. But Kevin Phillips, the Republican commentator, said Mr. Quayle's actions in California suggested another possibility: that the Bush campaign is expecting a three-way race in which the winner could have less than 50 percent of the vote, and is thus trying to appeal to a narrower audience.

"I think the Murphy Brown flap is good for Quayle," he said. "I think it's possibly to the detriment of Bush in the medium term, and I think the long-term prospects for Republicans are negative because they're into a calculated narrowing mode."

Mr. Quayle and his aides said they laid out their plans for the California trip with the specific intent of getting as much attention as possible from the Vice President's speech on family values. Mr. Quayle is said to have inserted the reference to Murphy Brown, the television comedy character who bore a child out of wedlock.

"Maybe the best thing to do is to take it at face value, which is he wants people to talk about family values and this is a way of doing it," said Richard Fenno, a professor of political science at the University of Rochester who wrote a book about Mr. Quayle's Senate career.

But Administration officials acknowledged that for reasons of political tactics, Mr. Quayle is also trying to make the case that he stood with "ordinary Americans" against an established power that does not care about the same things they do.

"It's clear there is a very large number of voters who say the country is on the wrong track," said one Republican strategist. "That is going to turn against the incumbent pretty quickly unless you can show you're for change. What Quayle did in California fits into that pattern by focusing the 'what's wrong' feeling on Hollywood."

The Vice President pressed that attack today as he told reporters that he "wouldn't change one word of the speech" he delivered on Tuesday. "I'm sure that the media elite and Hollywood didn't like the speech that I gave," he said. "But the American people support what I'm talking about, and I'm talking about values."

Some Republicans, like Gary Bauer, head of the Family Planning Council, an anti-abortion group, said Mr. Bush should follow his Vice President's lead.

"The West Wing could do themselves a big favor by running with the larger theme of the breakdown of the family for the next week or so," Mr. Bauer said. "I think it's one of those things that will make their lives miserable by producing all sorts of turmoil, but I have no doubt it would resonate to the American people."

But he and others said it was not clear whether the White House was prepared to do that.

"Bush should give a speech like this," said Steven Merksamer, who ran the Bush-Quayle campaign in California in 1988 and traveled with Mr. Quayle this week. "Whether he can do that or not, given where he is coming from ideologically, is another question."

Mr. Quayle himself was diplomatically circumspect on this question. "It was a speech that needed to be given," he said.

**Democrats**

# Clinton Sees Bush Engaging In Empty Talk on Families

By GWEN IFILL

Special to The New York Times

CLEVELAND, May 21 — Gov. Bill Clinton, adding his voice to the theme of family values that has occupied President Bush and Vice President Quayle this week, said the White House has engaged in "cynical election-year politics" designed to avoid taking a leadership role in resolving the problems of families.

Mr. Clinton said that a speech in which the Vice President said the nation was experiencing a "poverty of values" and assailed television character Murphy Brown's single motherhood was a symptom of the Bush Administration's inability to take actions on the problems that affect cities and those living in poverty.

"It ignores the relationship of our family problems to our economic decline, holds out Murphy Brown as a bigger problem than TV's crass commercialism and glorification of selfishness and violence, and denies the Administration's responsibility to face the full range of America's staggering family problems," Mr. Clinton said.

The governor's speech today was a distillation of weeks of speeches and comments he has made since the Los Angeles riots about the declines of cities and families. In it, he detailed his positions on social issues like family-leave legislation, abortion, welfare changes and child support.

## Quayle's Remarks Help Clinton

Mr. Clinton, whose place in the political spotlight has dimmed in recent weeks, benefited today from the reflected glare of publicity over Mr. Quayle's remarks. Acknowledging that the subject of family values "has acquired more currency," the governor attempted to define the term as a matter of "governmental philosophy" rather than political opportunity.

"It isn't enough for America's leaders to blame past social programs on current TV programs," he said. "It isn't enough for America to change channels. We need to change course."

Mr. Clinton also used the opportunity to describe his own family values, recalling his impoverished upbringing as the son of a woman who has been widowed three times. For a portion of his childhood, Mr. Clinton was raised by his grandparents. His father died in a car accident before he was born.

## Shares Family Attitudes

He also spoke extensively of the involvement of his wife, Hillary, with child-welfare issues and of his own experiences raising his daughter Chelsea, who is 12 years old.

Mr. Clinton's advisers have been concerned that voters seem to know little about him beyond the questions that have been raised about his character. They have sought in recent weeks to re-introduce him to voters as a caring public servant who will bring an outsider's perspective to national problems that the Bush Administration has ignored.

"Family values can't simply be Washington code for Beltway Republicans who really mean you're on your own; or Beltway Democrats who want to spend more of your tax money on programs that don't embody your values," Mr. Clinton said.

He said that the nation's social problems can only be resolved by working to find "a third way, beyond the traditional politics of both parties."

"Family values alone won't feed a hungry child, and material security cannot provide a moral compass," Mr. Clinton said. "We must have both."

## Families 'Under Siege'

President Bush, in a commencement speech delivered at the University of Notre Dame on Sunday, said that the American family is "an institution under siege" and that its problems must be addressed "at the personal, individual level for governmental programs to be effective."

Mr. Quayle, in his toughly worded San Francisco speech two days later, decried a "welfare ethos" in the nation's poorer communities, and he said the country is "reaping the whirlwind of decades of changes in social mores."

Mr. Clinton said today that he agreed with the White House that there is a "values crisis" in America, but he said the Bush Administration has taken no action to address it.

Noting that President Theodore Roosevelt once called the Presidency a "bully pulpit," he said Mr. Bush had abdicated his responsibility to use his words to "move a nation."

"But talk must be backed up with action or we risk diminishing the bully pulpit to a pulpit of bull," Mr. Clinton said.

Consolidating several of his previously-stated policy positions in today's remarks to a business crowd at the Cleveland City Club, he called for an earned-income tax credit for the working poor whose incomes fall above the Federal poverty line.

He also reiterated his call for welfare changes, saying that job training, day care vouchers and medical coverage should be provided for welfare recipients to allow them to return to the work force.

"People want the dignity of work," Mr. Clinton said. "We should give ev-

eryone a chance to have that dignity."

After two years on welfare, recipients should perform public service work if they cannot find jobs, Mr. Clinton said.

The governor also called for tougher enforcement of child-support payments, including releasing the names of so-called "deadbeat fathers" to credit-rating agencies if they do not make court-ordered payments, and instituting a national collection system administered by the Internal Revenue Service.

Mr. Clinton also said he would sign a Federal law allowing for parental leave and provide money in the budget to pay for the Head Start preschool program.

Mr. Clinton received the loudest applause when he said he would support abortion rights as a matter of "preserving personal and family privacy." He described abortion as a matter of choice and linked it to Mr. Bush's support of Federally supported tuition vouchers that would allow parents to choose what school their children can attend, whether public or private.

Mr. Clinton was not able to remain on the subject of family values entirely today. During a question-and-answer period that followed the speech, he was asked to participate in 15 seconds of silence in memory of Roger Keith Coleman, the Virginia man who was executed on Wednesday.

"I think you and others should properly pray for his soul," he said after a few seconds' silence.

Ross Perot, who is expected to run an independent Presidential campaign, shrugged off the Murphy Brown controversy, saying, "Only in America would that be a front-page story. I just thought it was goofy."

President Bush was also in Cleveland today, for a fund-raising event and an ethnic celebration of Eastern Europe's liberation from communism, before heading for New York and a fund-raising event at the Westchester County Airport.

# Campaign in California: Little but Commercials

By ELIZABETH KOLBERT

Special to The New York Times

LOS ANGELES, May 21 — From the state that brought you Jane Fonda, water bars and brown rice risotto comes a new, potentially alarming trend: the stump-free campaign.

California has a primary election coming up in less than two weeks, and a historic one at that, with two open United States Senate seats. But you wouldn't know it from following many of the candidates around. They don't hold campaign rallies or make speeches or attend Kiwanis club luncheons. In fact, some of them don't even bother to put out campaign schedules.

Similarly, news coverage of the campaign has also been hard to find. The television stations here are largely ignoring the campaign, giving more time recently to a story about a girl bitten by a coyote than to all of the 11 major Senate candidates together. And what coverage there has been in the newspapers has mainly been devoted to bemoaning the fact that there is nothing to cover.

## Hard to Miss

What is left, then, of the typical campaign are 30-second television advertisements. These are not hard to find; they are hard to miss.

On Los Angeles television these days, political advertisements crowd the station breaks like passengers trying to jam onto a Japanese subway car. There are advertisements for Presidential candidates, for Congressional

candidates, for district attorney candidates, for ballot proposals and, most insistently, for United States Senate candidates.

Heavy reliance on television commercials is, of course, nothing new in American politics, especially not in California, which pioneered the modern media campaign. But experts say that even by the norms of this state, the 1992 primary campaign is setting new standards for dependence on paid advertising.

"I think the tactics of some candidates are totally breaking new ground in terms of avoiding the stump," said Mark DiCamillo, a California pollster. Instead of rushing around the state shaking hands, Mr. DiCamillo said, many of the candidates "basically spend their time on the phone raising money."

## Campaign by Commercial

Running a campaign that consists almost entirely of television advertising is a concept that seems to be gaining adherents not just in California.

Aides to Ross Perot, the Texas billionaire and likely independent candidate for President, have said, for example, that they doubt Mr. Perot would run a conventional race complete with campaign stops and a plane full of reporters. Instead, Mr. Perot, who has pledged to spend \$100 million or more of his own money on the race, seems to be leaning toward

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a campaign that uses television commercials to circumvent the national press corps.

Representative Mel Levine, a Los Angeles Democrat who is running to fill the seat of Senator Alan Cranston, who is retiring, is indisputably at the vanguard of the trend toward the totally paid political campaign. His entire campaign schedule for this week consists of two television appearances, according to a press advisory released on Monday. The rest of his time is spent in what is known in the trade as "dialing for dollars," raising money for an advertising campaign that is expected to cost more than \$5 million.

Mr. Levine's television commercials close with an echoing voice that booms "Levine, Levine, Levine" in an obvious attempt to boost the candidate's name recognition. The commercials, which went on the air several weeks ago, have helped him close what was a substantial gap in the polls between him and his better-known opponents, Lieut. Gov. Leo McCarthy and Representative Barbara Boxer.

## Two Senate Contests

Aides to some of the Senate candidates who are being outspent by Mr. Levine say that they are frustrated by the premium that has been placed on television advertising in a year with two Senate races. In addition to Mr. Cranston's seat, there is the seat vacated by Pete Wilson when he became Governor. This, the aides say, is a campaign that deserved more coverage than usual, not less.

But a spate of stories over the last few weeks, including the riots in Los Angeles and the earthquakes in northern California, has helped keep the primary campaign out of the news.

"It's clear that if the candidates can't get news coverage of the campaign and the issues they're talking about, they have to rely on advertising," said Rose Kopolczynski, campaign manager to Ms. Boxer. "The candidates get criticized by the news media for the emphasis on 30-second spots, but what's the alternative?"

Some news executives here say they would have liked to give the campaign more coverage. But, they say, there is simply too little time and too many competing stories for all the candidates to get the kind of attention they seem to think they deserve.

"I'm getting a little annoyed with the Senate candidates and their campaign managers' whining about this," said Warren Cereghino, news director for KTLA-TV in Los Angeles. "Their business should be campaigning, not complaining."

## Voters

# Disinterest and Disgust Are Leading in California

By JANE GROSS

Special to The New York Times

MILPITAS, Calif., May 19 — When The Milpitas Post sent its inquiring photographer into the streets this week, asking "Are you going to vote?" people hemmed and hawed, more reluctant to commit themselves than they had been the week before, when the question was "What's so special about your mom?"

Fifty percent of them finally owned up that they doubted they would go to the polls on June 2, primary day in the nation's most populous state — a highly unscientific tabulation, but one that the editor of the weekly newspaper, Tom Gilsenan, found noteworthy compared to years past.

"There's a feeling of great disgruntlement," he said. "People are annoyed by the whole political process."

### Mirror of the State

Dozens of other interviews in this Santa Clara County community this week, at a shopping mall, a Little League game, a senior citizen center and the town's bustling library, revealed that disgruntlement, and then some.

And what voters are thinking in Milpitas is not an idle inquiry, since this ethnically diverse city of 50,686 has traditionally mirrored the voting patterns of the state.

Many of those interviewed said they were regular voters but were not sure they would cast ballots this time, or would do so only reluctantly, because they doubted that either President Bush or Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas, the likely Democratic nominee, had the gumption to do anything that would alter their lives or the way business was conducted in Washington.

And as for the two Senate races that are simultaneously under way in California, the vast majority of those interviewed did not know who was running, despite the millions of dollars spent on television advertising.

Over and over, the voters in Milpitas (pronounced Mill-PEA-tis) said they were interested in only three things this election season: the possible candidacy of Ross Perot, a local ballot initiative in nearby San Jose about building a stadium for the Giants baseball team, and term limitations that would force incumbents from office.

None of the three is on the June ballot here.

### Other Things to Worry About

Linda Runswick, a Bush supporter in 1988 who was watching her son in a Little League championship, said the unappealing choices convinced her it was a waste of time to vote. "I have too many other things to worry about," she said.

Mrs. Runswick's husband was laid off from an aerospace job and is struggling to make a living as a freelance consultant. Eight months ago she was "forced" back to work, she said, as a receptionist. Now she is tired and very angry.

"I can't even figure out who's the lesser of two evils," she said of the presidential candidates.

Her son's coach, Tony Himan, agreed, although he planned to vote — for Bush in the primary, for lack of alternatives, but he hoped to vote for Mr. Perot in the fall.

"The choices between the Republicans and Democrats are not that different lately," said Mr. Himan, a design specialist at the Stanford Linear Accelerator. "It winds up the same no matter who you elect. I haven't heard anybody that even hints at being radi-

cal enough to make any changes." Except Mr. Perot, who the coach thought might be the man to tackle "an economy going nowhere" and "racial tension that hasn't diminished and seems to be on the rise."

### For the Sake of Change

The enthusiasm for Mr. Perot, who is viewed as an agent of change although nobody seems to know what changes he would make, matches recent polls that show the Texas industrialist beating both President Bush and Mr. Clinton in a three-way race.

Though Mr. Perot is not on the ballot next month, 11 major Senatorial candidates are but hardly anybody here has a clue what their names are.

"Is it Delaine Easton?" asked 86-year-old John McNevin, lunching at

the senior center, who suggested a state Assembly member with no announced plans for higher office.

"Is it Pete Wilson?" asked Patricia Ireland, who described herself as an opponent of legal abortion and was quick to point out that she was not related to her namesake, the president of the National Organization for Women.

### Memory Aids Needed

In the stands at the Little League game, Liz Skelly, came a bit closer: "Is there — I don't know if she's running for Senate or another office, but I know there's a woman who bounced checks. Docker? A name that sounds like Docker?"

Might she mean Barbara Boxer, a member of the House of Representatives who is, in fact, running in one of the Democratic primary races? "Yeah, that's it," Mrs. Skelly said. "I knew I was thinking of those shorts for a reason. You know how you associate things."

Those who could name a Senate candidate rarely knew the opponent. Ralph Santoro, who drove a pickup truck covered with local political posters to a senior center, was asked his opinion of Dianne Feinstein, the former mayor of San Francisco, who is running against Gray Davis, the state comptroller, in one Democratic primary.

"McCarthy's going to get it, he'll beat her," Mr. Santoro declared, referring to Leo McCarthy, California's Lieutenant Governor and a candidate in the other Democratic primary for Senate.

Similarly, Calvin R. Burks, an accountant catching up on his work at

the library, said he preferred Ms. Feinstein to Representative Boxer. Told the two were running in different races, Mr. Burks looked confused.

Milpitas, which means little cornfield, was first designated a bellwether town at an 1862 political rally in nearby San Jose, when a sign was raised aloft that said "As Milpitas goes, so goes the state."

Since then, the voting here has generally matched the state's, through the years when asparagus and strawberry fields gave way to a Ford Motor Company plant and more recently as high-technology companies moved in and computer professionals replaced auto workers.

As Milpitas evolved from farming to manufacturing and eventually to high technology, the demographics here have changed dramatically, just as they have statewide.

White people represented 63 percent of the population in 1980; they are now 42 percent, while the Asian population has grown from 12 percent to 33 percent. The Hispanic and black populations have remained relatively stable, at 19 percent and 5.5 percent, respectively.

Here and statewide, Asian-Americans are slow to vote, some because they are not yet eligible. One of them, Sam Lin, a Taiwanese engineer who is not yet a United States citizen, interrupted his newspaper reading in the library the other day to muse on the mood of his neighbors.

"Everyone is so interested in Magic Johnson or people in Hollywood and not so much in politicians, who would influence their future," he said. "This is very sad to me."

## Senate Adds \$1.4 Billion to Urban Aid Bill, Challenging Bush

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — The Senate today passed an urban aid measure that dared President Bush not to spend \$1.45 billion more than he said was needed in the aftermath of the violence in Los Angeles.

Mr. Bush supports a bill, passed by the House last week, that would have provided \$822 million in loans and grants for disaster relief and small business loans for cities, since reserves for both were low even before the Los Angeles riot and the Chicago flood.

But by a vote of 61 to 38, the Senate today adopted a proposal by Senators Edward M. Kennedy and Orrin G. Hatch that took the House bill and expanded it. The Senate bill added \$700 million for summer youth jobs, \$250 million for a summer Head Start program, \$250 million for summer school

for disadvantaged students and \$250 million for the Justice Department's "weed and seed" program of tougher law enforcement and community development.

The Administration's response was cagey, stopping well short of threatening a veto. While Mr. Bush has insisted that he would oppose a bigger urban aid package than the one he favors, the White House Office of Management and Budget suggested it might trade acceptance of more spending on the popular existing programs in the Kennedy-Hatch measure for Congressional compliance with some of its own proposals.

"It isn't often that I stand up here and say we ought to spend more money in certain areas," Mr. Hatch said. "If I had my way, we'd spend more than the \$1.45 billion."

Big-city Democratic mayors, meanwhile, were meeting with Congressional leaders for a second time since the riots. Mayor Raymond L. Flynn of Boston, chairman of the United States Conference of Mayors, called the Senate bill "a small down payment" on what is needed.

Mr. Kennedy, a Massachusetts Democrat, and Mr. Hatch, a Utah Republican, had sought to take advantage of the capital's sudden concern for urban problems to get more money for urban programs that they, and the Administration, all support.

Indeed, the biggest percentage increase for one program was for the Justice Department program; its spending would increase more than 20 times, to \$250 million from \$12 million. The biggest absolute increase would be for summer jobs, adding \$700 million to

the regularly appropriated \$683 million.

The two Senators argued that these four measures should be added as emergency spending because if the money was not put out immediately, it could not be spent this summer.

But they and others have argued that the \$1.45 billion is only a first step. Mr. Kennedy called it "a bipartisan beginning which I hope will be expanded to a great deal more."

### Declaration Required

But as passed by the Senate, the bill would not actually require Mr. Bush to spend the \$1.45 billion unless he made a formal declaration of a budget emergency, which is required under the 1990 budget act before the deficit can be increased.

## Currency Comptroller Is Nominated by Bush

By STEPHEN LABATON

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — President Bush announced today that he had nominated James E. Gilleran, the Superintendent of the California State Banking Department, to become the next comptroller of the currency.

Mr. Gilleran's nomination had been expected but his confirmation to the post, which regulates many of the nation's largest banks, is quickly shaping into another bruising fight between the White House and Congress.

Democratic members of the Senate Banking Committee have begun looking into complaints that Mr. Gilleran, who had been a Republican fundraiser, continued to raise money for the party after he became a senior regulator and solicited contributions from the same bankers that he regulates. And they are exploring his supervision of California banks, which have been weakening at a greater pace in recent months than those in other regions.

Mr. Gilleran, 59 years old, would replace Robert L. Clarke, whose nomination to a second five-year term was rejected by the Senate last fall in a bitter partisan fight. Senate Democrats blamed him for lax regulation of the industry in the early part of his tenure, followed by stiff regulation that contributed to what they have called a credit crunch.

Since March, the position has been temporarily filled by Stephen R. Steinbrink, a former senior aide to Mr. Clarke.

Through a deputy, Mr. Gilleran today declined to comment.

"I think by and large he's received high marks for his ethics," said the aide, Stan Cardenas, who is the chief deputy superintendent of California banking. He said Mr. Gilleran would not likely talk to reporters before his confirmation was completed.

Mr. Gilleran has long supported repealing the regulations that have restricted banks from entering into new businesses, like insurance, and that limit the ability of banks to make real estate investments.

He has been California's top banking official since 1989 and is a friend of Gov. Pete Wilson, who endorsed his promotion to the comptroller's post.

At his state confirmation hearings, which occurred after he had begun to fill the state superintendent's post, consumer groups and state legislators criticized him for raising money for the Republicans while he was California's top bank regulator.

Mr. Cardenas said Mr. Gilleran had signed a fund-raising letter in July 1989 when he was still the chairman of the Republican Party Central Committee in San Francisco and had already become superintendent of the state banking department. He said Mr. Gilleran "quickly recognized it was a problem and instructed everybody that no letters should go out for fund-raisers" and then resigned from the chairman's position.

Mr. Gilleran was a managing partner in the San Francisco office of the accounting firm Peat Marwick for almost 20 years before he left in 1987 to head the Commonwealth Group, an investment banking company.

## S.E.C. Asks for Sweeping Changes In Rules Governing Mutual Funds

By DIANA B. HENRIQUES  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — The Securities and Exchange Commission unveiled a broad and varied package of regulatory and legislative proposals today for the mutual fund industry. If all are adopted, they would represent the most sweeping changes in the fund marketplace since the laws governing the industry were enacted 52 years ago.

But some industry executives contended that many of the changes could also increase risk, uncertainty and complexity for investors in an industry that for decades has provided millions of Americans with a simple, straightforward way to participate in stock and bond markets.

### More Competition Sought

The staff proposals, outlined at a mutual fund industry conference here by the S.E.C.'s chairman, Richard C. Breeden, would free the growing industry to create novel kinds of funds, undertake broader and more creative advertising, and develop products to attract more participation by corporate pension funds, money management firms and other similar institutions.

They would also open the fund industry to greater foreign competition and could raise retail price competition. In the S.E.C. staff's view, that could ultimately produce lower fees for individual investors.

The unifying theme of the proposals, Mr. Breeden said, is to make the regulations for the fund industry and for other pooled investments "more flexible, more efficient, and more modern" without compromising investor protection.

Some of the revisions were welcomed by consumer groups, like one that would provide workers covered by a retirement funds with prospectuses and semiannual reports on their investments. But investor advocacy groups were not pleased by others, especially a suggestion that investors be able to buy a fund directly by responding to advertisements. At present they must be first sent a detailed prospectus. [Page D6.]

Even modest tinkering with the mutual fund industry would be sharply amplified by the rapid growth in the

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Industry for a decade — from less than \$200 billion under management in 1980 to an estimated \$1.5 trillion today. And the 522-page staff report released today goes well beyond tinkering, providing important details of proposals that have already been discussed in general terms and unveiling new initiatives that go beyond what many in the industry had expected.

Indeed, the scope of the proposals worried some fund sponsors.

"You have to consider the possible unintended consequences," Arnold D. Scott, senior executive vice president at the Massachusetts Financial Services Company, a large mutual fund complex in Boston, said. "Over the past four or five years, we have seen the savings and loan industry go down the chute, the insurance industry has been hurt and the banking industry has taken its hits. The mutual fund sector is the only one that has not been tattered. I have to wonder what gain the world at large is going to achieve in exchange for the risk of unsettling a system of distribution that has been in place and worked well for 50 years."

The proposals are rather a hodgepodge, ranging from practicalities — giving fund sponsors more leeway in how they advertise their wares, for example — to broader questions of foreign competition and product innovation. Some can be enacted by the S.E.C. alone, while others require Congressional action to amend the Investment Company Act of 1940 and other securities laws.

### More Independent Directors

One important provision that would require legislative action calls for the majority of the directors of any individual mutual fund to be independent of the fund sponsor. Present law requires that only 40 percent of the directors be independent. It also would amend the 1940 act to establish formal liquidity standards for funds, and to require shareholder approval for any change in the investment objectives of a fund.

Jack Bogle, chairman of the Vanguard fund group in Valley Forge, Pa., cited these provisions as a weak step in the right direction. "But what is really needed is substantially greater regulation of the responsibilities of independent directors," he said after Mr. Breeden's speech. "Funds should be operated for the benefit of shareholders, rather than for the benefit of fund sponsors, and we need more in this vein."

Several proposals ease the way for institutional investors to participate in mutual funds, easing the rules that govern funds made up of more sophisticated investors and permitting funds to offer multiple classes of shares tailored to appeal specifically to institutional investors. Institutional investors account for 25 percent of the industry's assets today — more than twice the level in 1970, and that is likely to increase if the S.E.C. proposals are adopted.

Other initiatives would foster the creation of several new species of funds, including a "unified fee" fund, a bare-bones fund that would have a single, fixed fee, and "interval" funds that would not be required to redeem their shares daily, but could establish a different redemption schedule — monthly, for example, or quarterly. Freed from daily cash demands, these funds could hold a larger stake in less liquid and more speculative investments, like shares in small non-

public businesses or thinly traded public companies.

In a move that is more significant for banks and Wall Street underwriters than for mutual funds, the S.E.C. staff has proposed a rule change to exempt most types of asset-backed investments — securities that represent a stake in a pool of various kinds of loans, leases or receivables — from the provisions of the Investment Company Act of 1940. Securities backed by pools of mortgage loans, already exempt from the act, have greatly proliferated in recent years, and the S.E.C. proposals could well generate the same kind of growth among more obscure types of asset-backed instruments.

The report also proposed amendments that would permit foreign mutual funds to be sold in the United States "if they can demonstrate that

Regulators want to be 'more flexible, more efficient and more modern.'

they are subject to regulation in their home country that provides substantially equivalent investor protection." It also seeks authorization for the S.E.C. to enter into bilateral agreements that would provide reciprocal rights for American funds abroad.

While this provision may be opposed by the Investment Company Institute, the fund industry's trade association, on the grounds that it exposes domestic investors to too much risk, it won the support of a number of mutual fund lawyers. Pierre de Saint Phalle, a partner with the law firm of Davis Polk & Wardwell in New York and a specialist in foreign funds, said the proposal "may be enough to jump-start the process so that globalization really happens."

The proposal that is drawing the most fire from the fund industry is the proposal to scrap a 20-year-old restriction on the sales fees that retail investors are charged. Under Section 22(d) of the Investment Company Act, mutual fund shares can be sold only at the prices fixed in the fund's prospectus. The staff has proposed eliminating that restriction, freeing dealers to sell mutual fund shares at prices lower than those set by the fund sponsor.

### Way to Trade Fund Shares

The change could produce a significant change in the way mutual fund shares change hands by encouraging the creation of a national secondary market where mutual fund shares would trade fluctuating prices, much like common stocks. At present fund prices are based on net asset value of the securities held by the fund.

This possibility was cited with alarm today by Matthew P. Fink, the president of the Investment Company Institute. "In the 20's, there were secondary markets for mutual funds," Mr. Fink said. "And the distribution system was deeply affected."

Since fund sponsors must always stand ready to redeem their share, Mr. Fink said, brokers with a large inventory of fund shares could unexpectedly demand that the shares be redeemed, either in the midst of a panic or as an isolated gesture, thereby forcing a fund to liquidate its holdings.

# White House Is Ready for a Rosier Outlook

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — President Bush's chief economist said today that because of recent signs of an economic pickup, the White House would soon raise its forecast for economic growth for this year.

Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, said that lower interest rates and increases in business and consumer confidence were among the reasons that the Administration would revise upward the growth forecast of 2.2 percent it made in January.

The Council of Economic Advisers

is required to issue a new, midyear growth forecast each July, and some economists suggested that in tipping its hand now, the Administration was seeking to build momentum for President Bush in the California primary on June 2.

But others said that Mr. Boskin, who prides himself on his professionalism, was merely revising the Administration's forecast upward the way many private sector economists have.

After noting that the nation's economy had endured a long slowdown, Mr. Boskin said, "It's now resumed a pattern of more robust growth."

In a speech today in Washington, Mr. Boskin declined to specify by how much the Administration would in-

crease its forecast, saying the new forecast would be announced in June or July.

Mr. Boskin said there were still several reasons that have kept the recovery from being stronger, noting that cuts in military spending were causing layoffs. He added, "We still seem to have problems in the growth of money" supply and in the availability of credit in certain regions and industries.

Speaking at the same Washington conference, which was sponsored by the United States Export-Import Bank, Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady urged the Federal Reserve to do more to ease credit. "We believe

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there is room for a further easing of monetary policies" to "promote growth," he said.

The Federal Reserve Open Market Committee, the principal group setting monetary policy, met behind closed doors on Tuesday, with many analysts predicting that it would decide against lowering rates soon because the economy was gathering steam. The Wall Street Journal reported today that the central bank had decided on Tuesday against any immediate cut in short-term rates.

Federal Reserve officials declined to comment on that report.

## Equally Balanced

Last week, Lawrence Lindsay, a Federal Reserve governor, pointed to no change in rates when he said the risks the American economy faced were equally balanced on the upside and downside. He said on the one hand there was the risk that excessive growth would spur inflation, while on the other side there were dangers of economic weakness.

Businesses and economists have frequently taken a skeptical approach to the Administration forecasts because, particularly in the first term of the Reagan Administration, the predictions were overly optimistic for political reasons. Mr. Boskin's forecasts have been more realistic than those of many of his predecessors.

The Blue Chip Economic Indicators, a survey of leading economists, forecasts that the nation's economy will grow at a 2.8 percent rate from December 1991 to December 1992. That is up from the 2.4 percent forecast the group made in January.

Responding to Mr. Boskin's remarks, Senator Paul S. Sarbanes, Democrat of Maryland and chairman of the Joint Economic Committee, said, "Even if they have some revision upward, it is still pretty poor growth trying to move out of recession. The average growth rate in the first year of other post-war recoveries was about 6 percent."

Mr. Sarbanes said that growth was so slow that most economists were predicting that unemployment would remain above 7 percent at the end of this year.

## 'Substantially' Upward

Mr. Boskin predicted today that when the Commerce Department revises its preliminary 2 percent growth estimate for first quarter, it would revise the figure "substantially" upward.

"The economy continues to grow in the second quarter," Mr. Boskin said, "and there are a number of favorable

## Claims for Jobless Benefits Drop

WASHINGTON, May 21 (Reuters) — New applications for state unemployment benefits fell 20,000 in the week ended May 9, the Labor Department said today in a report showing a stronger job market than economists had expected.

It said first-time jobless claims numbered 408,000 in the period, down from a revised 426,000 a week earlier. The department had previously reported 424,000 new claims for the week ended May 2.

The four-week moving average number of new applications, viewed by economists as a more accurate barometer of the job market than the weekly figure, was 412,500, up slightly from 412,000.

Analysts said the report showed the economic recovery was gaining strength and provided another reason for the Federal Reserve not to ease interest rates further.

"I am somewhat more optimistic," said David Jones, chief economist with Aubrey G. Lanston & Company. "I think the recovery is

here to stay. The odds are way down for a further Fed easing."

California reported the largest weekly gain, with 12,013 people filing for first-time unemployment benefits. During the previous week, 13 state unemployment offices had been closed for two days because of the Los Angeles riots.

California attributed the increase to the start of a new quarter of wage credits for benefit purposes; the riots, which resulted in about 3,900 claims, and layoffs in the construction and trade industries.

Ohio reported the second-largest gain, with 3,562 new claims, followed by Georgia, with 1,196.

North Carolina, which reported 4,814 fewer claims, said there were fewer layoffs in the construction and furniture industries. New York reported a drop of 2,870 claims. It said there were fewer service-industry layoffs.

The total number of new claims was the lowest since the week of April 18, when there were 404,000 claims filed.

signs." He added that inflation was on a downward course and that "the export sector has been a tremendous source of strength." He noted that banks, which he said were not yet an engine of commercial lending to sustain the recovery, had increased their capital ratios and were seeing their stock prices rise.

David Wyss, director of research for DRI-McGraw Hill, an economics consulting firm in Lexington, Mass., said his firm had revised its forecasts upward for 1992 principally because of strong-than-anticipated growth in the first quarter and a surprising burst in consumer spending. In the first quarter, consumer spending rose by 5.3 percent, propelled in part by higher consumer confidence.

In January, DRI-McGraw Hill was forecasting 2.8 percent growth for all of 1992, but its latest forecast calls for 3.1 percent growth.

"It's on the good side or normal. It's not a boom," he said. Then, speaking about the timing of Mr. Boskin's remarks, more than a month before the official midyear report, he added, "This is fairly typical if they're going to have pleasant revision. You expect them to telegraph it a bit."

Lyle Gramley, a former governor of the Federal Reserve who is chief

economist for the Mortgage Bankers Association of America, predicts the nation's economy will grow by 2.5 percent this year, while early this year he was predicting annual growth of 2 percent. He noted that early this year many economists were predicting a flat or down first quarter, but he said strong housing starts and consumer spending produced a surprisingly strong quarter.

"Sometimes Administration forecasts have what I call an element of political optimism," he said. "You stretch as much as you can without straining the bounds of credibility."

But he said that, if anything, the council's forecasts under Mr. Boskin have been conservative. "I would not be inclined to put any political interpretation" on Mr. Boskin's remarks, he said, suggesting that the Administration had revised its estimates upward the way so many other economists had.

## House Data on Income Sets Off Debate on Fairness in America

By JASON DePARLE  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — In what has become a rite of spring, Congress today published 1,888 pages of eye-straining social welfare statistics and set off a brawl about the fairness of American society.

The statistics are featured in a bound volume called the Green Book, which has been published annually by the House Ways and Means Committee since 1981. The book has drawn the ire of some conservatives in recent years for data that show widening differences in American incomes.

Many liberals, in Congress and in universities, have said the numbers show that America is becoming increasingly unfair, with the rich reaping windfalls while others tread water or sink.

### Debate on Income Distribution

A few Congressional conservatives have said that the data are simply wrong. Last year, Representative Dick Armey, Republican of Texas, denounced it as a "data base for demagogues." Many other analysts have accepted the numbers but put their own twists on them, in what is becoming an ever-larger, and politically charged, debate about income distribution.

This year's episode centers on the question of work effort: Do the poor work enough or do they not?

One table shows that, despite popular images of the idle poor, the poorest fifth of Americans worked 4.6 percent more in 1989 than in the previous decade. But because of sinking wages and Government benefits, their incomes in

that same period fell by 4.1 percent.

By contrast, the richest fifth worked an extra 2 percent but saw their incomes soar 19.6 percent.

"It says that the rules of the game are rigged against those with fewer skills: they worked harder and they made less," said Representative Thomas J. Downey, the Long Island Democrat who is chairman of an influential Ways and Means subcommittee.

Mr. Downey said the table would answer "those right-wingers" who argue that "poverty is simply the result of a lack of effort."

Not so, said Lawrence M. Mead, one of the conservative critics whom Mr. Downey had in mind.

While work effort may have increased, said Mr. Mead, it remains quite modest, with the poor working many fewer hours than those further up the income ladder.

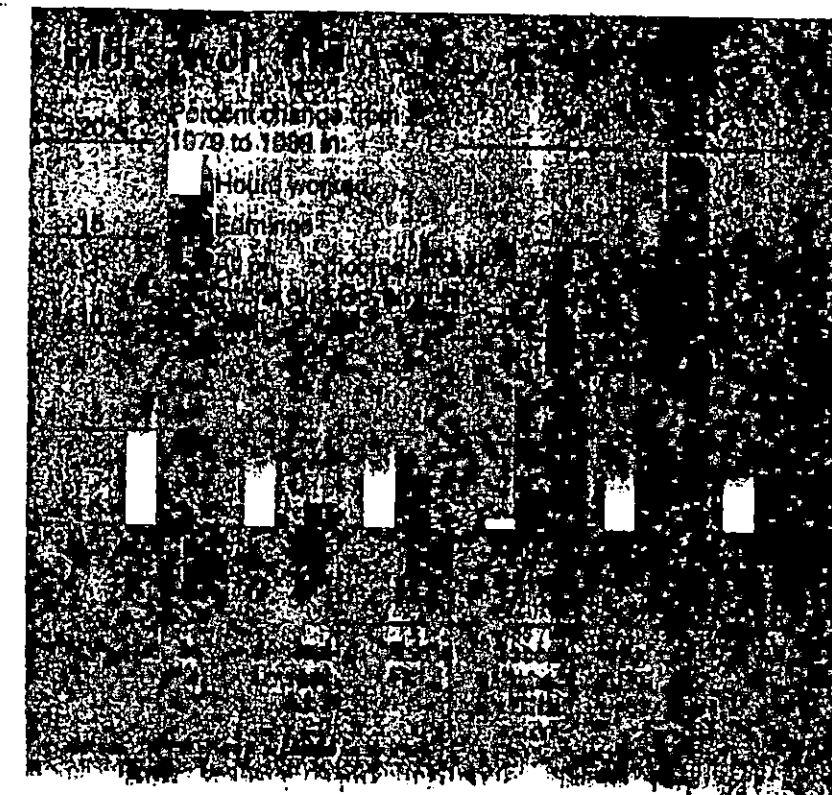
In 1989, for instance, members of the poorest fifth of American families worked a total of 850 hours. Those in the middle fifth worked an average of 2,550 hours. And those in the upper fifth worked even more, 3,510 hours.

A typical full-time worker, on the job 40 hours a week for 50 weeks a year, would log 2,000 hours.

### Poor Have 'Room to Increase'

"The poor have a whole lot of room to increase their work effort — a whole lot," said Mr. Mead, a political scientist at New York University.

But the argument does not end there. Mr. Downey said it was often harder for poor families to increase their work



The New York Times

effort. Often, he said, they can only find part-time or sporadic work or cannot afford the child care to leave home. And since many poor families are headed by single mothers, they cannot send a second earner into the work force, as many more affluent families do.

The Green Book shows that the poorest single mothers actually worked 6 percent less in 1989 than they did a decade earlier. But their incomes dropped by 17 percent, mostly because of cuts in welfare benefits.

Where both sides agree is that a disproportionate amount of the new

prosperity brought by the 1980's went to the most privileged.

At the heart of the widening gap are changes in wage patterns, which have punished the unskilled while gliding the Guccis of the best-educated.

The Green Book shows wages for the richest fifth of Americans rising by 14.7 percent over the last decade; but wages for those in the poorest fifth have dropped by 3.6 percent. On average, the table shows, wages rose 7.3 percent.

The Green Book is the handiwork of Wendell Primus, the chief economist on the Ways and Means Committee.

# BUSH AIDES ATTACK DEMOCRATS ON IRAQ

Once Ignored, Prewar Policy  
Critics Are Now Accused  
of Distorting Record

By ELAINE SCIOLINO  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — After months of ignoring Democratic criticism of its support for President Saddam Hussein before the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, the Bush Administration took the offensive today, accusing Democratic lawmakers of lying and distorting the record.

Senior Administration officials denied charges by Representative Henry Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat who heads the House Banking Committee, that the Administration deceived Congress, obstructed justice and illegally used public money to pursue a policy of incentives in the hope of moderating Iraq's behavior.

A growing number of lawmakers have begun to question the Administration's portrayal of its success in the Persian Gulf war. They have argued that there might never have been a war if the United States had calibrated policy toward Iraq after its eight-year war with Iran ended in 1988 and punished the country for its quest of nuclear and chemical weapons and ballistic missile technology and for its human rights atrocities, including the 1988 use of chemical weapons against its Kurdish population.

Other lawmakers, led by Mr. Gonzalez, are now saying that the issue is much broader than a policy failure and that allowing the use of public money in the form of loan guarantees may have involved crimes. The House Committee on the Judiciary is scheduled to meet on June 2 to decide whether to request the appointment of an independent counsel to determine whether the Administration violated Federal law in pursuit of its policy.

## Schumer Is Critical

"Certain aspects of this affair bear the marks of a major scandal involving at best improper conduct, and at worst criminal activity, by U.S. Government officials," said Representative Charles E. Schumer, a New York Democrat, about irregularities in the commodity credit program. "We already know the President's biggest foreign policy success, the Persian Gulf war, was made necessary by his most enormous foreign policy failure, his tilt toward Iraq."

Both Administration officials and committee Republicans accused Democrats of turning the policy toward Iraq — which they now acknowledge was a failure — into a political issue meant to strike at the heart of President Bush's campaign theme of victory over Saddam Hussein.

"There is only one reason that they were here," one senior Administration official said during a break in the hearings, referring to those Democrats who made critical opening statements and then left before the Government witnesses testified. "It's an election year. And you return politics with politics."

## Gonzalez Accused of Distortion

Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger argued before the House panel that the Administration had followed a "prudent" policy toward Iraq before its invasion of Kuwait, and insisted that an Agriculture Department loan-guarantee program to Iraq was properly executed.

He accused Mr. Gonzalez, who for more than a year has relentlessly criticized the credit-guarantee program, of distorting the record and threatening the deliberative process of government by selectively disclosing classified documents in a series of speeches from the House floor. "The selective disclosure, out of context, of classified documents has led — knowingly or otherwise — to distortions of the record, half truths and outright falsehoods all combined into spurious conspiracy theories and charges of a cover up," Mr. Eagleburger said.

Mr. Eagleburger, as well as the other Government witnesses, testified in carefully worded statements that there is no evidence thus far that any American official broke the law in executing the loan guarantee policy or that Iraq diverted money obtained as a result of the loan guarantees to buy weapons.

But even Mr. Eagleburger found it difficult to defend the policy. In a brief conversation with Representative Jim Leach, the Iowa Republican, during a break in the hearings, he put his hand over his microphone and said: "Jim, I'm here to defend the policy. It didn't work. When you've got a policy that didn't work, it's not easy to defend."

## Focus on Credits for Iraq

The main focus of today's hearing was an examination of the Administration's decision in the fall of 1990 to approve \$1 billion in new Commercial Credit Corporation credits for Iraq, despite evidence that Iraq had misused previous funding, was demanding bribes from American agricultural businesses selling food to Iraq, and may have exchanged some of the food for money and arms in the Soviet bloc and other countries.

Classified documents released by Mr. Gonzalez indicate that the State Department and the Ambassador to Iraq at the time, April C. Glaspie, repeatedly lobbied for the continuation of the program on foreign policy grounds, even though the purpose of the credits was explicitly to stimulate the export of American goods, not to promote a policy agenda.

In later testimony before Congress, John Kelly, then the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern and South Asian Affairs, denied such a link. The documents also show that officials at the Eximbank, the Treasury Department, the Federal Reserve and the Office of Management and Budget were concerned that Iraq was a poor credit risk.

# Europeans Agree on Farm Cuts

## Move Could Reopen Stalled Trade Talks

By ALAN RIDING

Special to The New York Times

PARIS, May 21 — After 18 months of intense and often-bitter negotiations, the European Community today cleared the way for early resumption of stalled global trade talks by reaching broad agreement on a new European farm policy.

The crucial trade-liberalization talks have been stalled for two years by disagreements between the United States and the European Community on the broad question of farming subsidies, with Washington repeatedly rebuffed in its demand that the 12 community nations reduce their agricultural protectionism.

The agreement thrashed out in Brussels today involves sharp cuts in agricultural subsidies as well as lower production ceilings, moves that seem certain to be strongly opposed by most of the region's 10 million farmers. French farmers said they would begin protesting the deal immediately.

### Germany and France Approve

It was significant that after much hesitation the new policy was accepted by Germany and France, the two countries that spawned the Common Agricultural Policy 30 years ago and that to this day have the largest and strongest farming lobbies in Western Europe.

If European governments do not retreat in face of expected criticism, this far-reaching reform could break the deadlock in what is known as the Uruguay Round of trade talks taking place under the auspices of the 108-nation General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

So named after the venue of its inauguration in 1986, the Uruguay Round aims to liberalize \$1 trillion in international sales by sharply reducing trade restraints in 16 areas ranging from textiles and tropical products to services and intellectual property.

But from the start agriculture has been the main sticking point, with the Europeans under attack from the United States as well as from other leading food producers, like Australia, Canada, Argentina and Brazil. Until today, though, the community was unable to show much flexibility because of internal differences.

### In Washington's Court

"Now it is necessary for a major move by the Americans," said Britain's Agriculture Minister, John Gummer, cheerfully throwing the

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ball into Washington's court after a marathon final stage of negotiations this afternoon. "The heat is on the Americans. We have done more than GATT requires."

In London, Prime Minister John Major welcomed the accord as "excellent news." The community's Agriculture Commissioner, Ray MacSharry, said the world should now "match what we have done."

American officials said they could not comment on details of the farm agreement because they had not seen it. They added, however, that they hoped the accord might give some impetus to the Uruguay Round. The United States has in the past sought far deeper cuts in farm subsidies than Brussels was willing to accept. The depth of today's cuts remained unclear, but trade experts said they doubted that the cuts would be great enough to satisfy Washington's past demands.

"We certainly hope that any agreement on reforming the Common Agricultural Policy would allow the European Community greater flexibility" in the talks, said Timothy O'Leary, a spokesman for the Office of the United States Trade Representative.

He said the agricultural plan "has insulated European Community farmers from market forces for years," and added that "reform is long overdue."

The agreement almost came unstuck at the last minute when Italy refused to drop its demand for a larger milk quota, arguing that its assigned quota would require sacrificing a half-million cows. In the end, Italy was persuaded not to exercise its veto right, with the understanding that its demand will be taken up again later.

### 'New Vigor' Seen

After today's accord, France's Farm Minister, Louis Mermaz, said "the reform will breathe new vigor into our agricultures on a community level and on a global level." He can nonetheless expect to be the target of angry demonstrations from militant French farmers.

A statement by the main French

farmers' union, which last year organized violent protests against agricultural reform at the community level and through GATT, promptly condemned the accord and said European interests had been "sold out" to the United States.

Farmers elsewhere were also unhappy. The German Farmers Association said "structural collapses in entire regions can be expected" as a result of subsidy cuts. A British farmers' spokesman said they would cut farmers' incomes. Italian farmers described the deal as "completely unsatisfactory."

But European consumers, who have been sustaining millions of small farmers by financing subsidies and paying above world market prices for their groceries, should benefit handsomely. Some experts estimate they may in future pay \$25 billion less for their food each year.

If — as planned — the subsidy reform brings lower production, it could also gradually shrink the community's vast stocks of meat, butter and other food surpluses that have resulted from its traditional policy of buying up everything farmers produce.

In its detail, the accord envisions cutting subsidies to grain producers by 3 percent this year and freezing those paid to beef producers. It further anticipates slashing guaranteed prices for cereals by 29 percent and for beef by 15 percent from 1993 to 1996.

### Cutting Subsidies

Community experts said the philosophy behind the agreement was one of switching support away from guaranteeing prices to paying farmers to take land out of production. "At present we say, you just produce as much as you want and we pay," one community official noted. "That won't go anymore."

One measure of both the clout and privileges traditionally enjoyed by the region's farmers is that money spent on agriculture accounts for 54 percent of the community's \$85 billion annual budget. Under today's agreement, it will not in future exceed half the annual budget.

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# Chinese Set Off Their Biggest Nuclear Explosion

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — China today set off the largest underground nuclear test it has ever conducted, the State Department said. The explosion was thought to have a yield of about one megaton, equivalent to a million tons of TNT.

The blast, which took place about 1 A.M. Eastern daylight time, had 70 times the explosive power of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and exceeded the 150-kiloton limit observed by Washington and Moscow under a 1990 treaty, scientists said.

The Bush Administration said it regretted the action by Beijing and urged restraint.

But there were sharp condemnations of China in Congress. Legislators from both major parties have been critical of what they see as an unacceptably conciliatory policy toward China by President Bush.

The Chinese test was only one-fifth as powerful as the largest underground test by the United States, a five-megaton blast in Alaska on Nov. 6, 1971, the most powerful underground nuclear explosion on record. A megaton is 1,000 kilotons.

The largest underground test by the Soviet Union was a 2.8 to 4 megaton blast on Oct. 27, 1973, a year before Moscow and Washington signed a treaty limiting the size of those explosions to 150 kilotons.

The Chinese test comes on the heels of persistent reports that Beijing is

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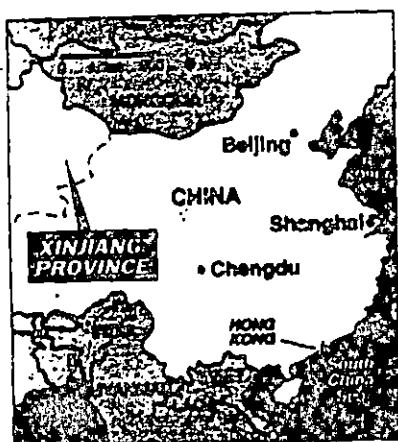
selling missile technology to Middle Eastern nations, and at a time when Beijing is harassing Western reporters and rejecting all criticism of its human-rights record.

Arms-control experts also seized the opportunity to criticize the Bush Administration for its opposition to a comprehensive international test-ban treaty.

China's last and largest previous underground test, an explosion of between 50 and 200 kilotons, was on Aug. 16, 1990.

The United States set off two underground nuclear explosions this year in Nevada, on March 28 and April 30. Both were reported to be less than 150 kilotons.

Large underground tests, even on the scale of today's blast in China, are



A nuclear blast was set off in a testing area in Xinjiang Province.

considerably smaller than the atmospheric explosions of the 1950's and 1960's. On Feb. 28, 1954, the United States tested a 15 megaton bomb at Bikini Atoll in the Pacific. The largest atmospheric test on record was conducted by the Soviet Union, a 58-megaton explosion on Oct. 30, 1961.

Atmospheric tests were prohibited by the 1963 Limited Test Ban Treaty, signed by more than 100 countries.

**'This Is a City-Buster'**

Today's Chinese underground explosion was situated in Xinjiang Province in northwestern China by Scandinavian seismologists, according to reports from Stockholm. In Hong Kong, scientists at first thought they were registering an earthquake.

"This suggests that the Chinese must be trying to develop large yield, offensive nuclear warheads for long-range missiles," said Gary Milhollin, director of the Wisconsin Project on Nuclear Arms Control. "This is a city-buster."

But he emphasized that China was

still no threat to the United States in the development of intercontinental ballistic missiles.

"We regret that the Chinese have conducted this test and that they are not demonstrating the same restraint as shown by Russia, ourselves, or the other nuclear weapons states," the State Department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, said today.

China is not a party to the Threshold Test Ban Treaty between the former Soviet Union and the United States, which came into effect in December 1990. Under that pact, underground tests are limited to 150 kilotons.

"It is rather ironic that the United States would criticize other countries for testing," said Dunbar Lockwood, senior analyst at the Arms Control Association, a private research organization. "The United States under the Reagan and Bush Administrations has been one of the major impediments to progress toward a comprehensive test ban."

Mr. Milhollin described the Chinese test as illustrative of a cold-war mentality in Beijing. But he said: "This is the price we're paying for not having a worldwide comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty. It means China can improve its ability to destroy U.S. cities at long range by testing."

But Leonard S. Spector, a nuclear-weapons expert at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace who has recently been in China, said in an interview that Beijing's test could take the pressure off the Bush Administration to agree to a comprehensive test ban. Pressure has been growing internationally and in Congress for that action.

## Moratorium on Tests

In October 1991, the former Soviet President, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, announced a one-year moratorium on the testing of nuclear weapons. Boris N. Yeltsin, the Russian President, has suggested in public remarks that he is preparing to resume testing this fall if there is no reciprocal movement from the United States.

The French have also stopped testing to encourage international action on a comprehensive ban.

India, which set off a nuclear explosion in 1974, has refused to sign the 1968 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, saying that it discriminates against nations that were not original members of the nuclear club.

Senator Alan Cranston, Democrat of California and chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee on East Asia, reacted to reports of today's test by calling China a "renegade nation."

"This test will strongly reinforce Congressional efforts, which I once again will help lead, to deny China most-favored-nation trade status unless China complies with international non-proliferation standards," Senator Cranston said in a statement.

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# Military Revises Rules to Assure Reporters Access to Battle Areas

By ROBERT PEAR  
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 21 — After more than eight months of talks with news organizations, the Pentagon today issued a set of principles intended to guarantee that journalists have greater access to military operations than they had in the Persian Gulf war. But the Government and the news media could not agree on whether there should be any official "security review" of news reports before they are published or broadcast.

The first of the principles affirms that "open and independent reporting will be the principal means of coverage of United States military operations."

Other guidelines limit the role of military public affairs officers and emphasize that press pools, consisting of a few journalists who share information with their colleagues, "are not to serve as the standard means of covering U.S. military operations." Pools were frequently used in the gulf conflict.

## Provisions for Access

Journalists "will be provided access to all major military units," but those who violate military ground rules may have their press credentials suspended and may be expelled from a combat zone. Ground rules are detailed standards set by the military to protect American forces in a particular war or theater. They must be consistent with the new principles for coverage.

Journalists and Pentagon officials could not agree on the question of security review. Executives from newspapers, magazines, news agencies and radio and television companies wanted a statement saying, "News material — words and pictures — will not be subject to security review." They vowed to challenge such review if the Pentagon tried to impose it in future operations, as it did in the gulf war.

The news executives took the position that "prior security review is unwarranted and unnecessary" because journalists in the battlefield can be trusted to act responsibly.

The Pentagon insisted that it must have the right to review news articles and broadcasts to prevent the disclosure of information that could endanger the safety of troops or the success of a military mission. Negotiators from the Government and the news media agreed to disagree on this point.

The disagreement is a big one. In the gulf war last year, correspondents in small groups, or pools, were generally required to submit their articles, film and tape to an officer accompanying them. If the officer was unsure about security problems, the reports were referred to higher authorities and, in some cases, to the Pentagon or to military commanders elsewhere in the United States.

The reports were seldom changed substantially. (For instance, an Air Force officer insisted that pilots be described as "proud," not "giddy.") The bigger problem was that the layers of review delayed news dispatches, which were often stale by the time they got to readers, viewers and listeners in the United States.

Some correspondents reported that British military officers permitted better access to their troops, and some American journalists found Saudi military authorities more cooperative than American commanders.

Speaking for several news organizations that helped negotiate the new policy, Louis D. Boccardi, president and chief executive officer of The Associated Press, said today, "It is the consensus of our group that the guidelines offer the promise of the kind of coverage the citizens of a democracy are entitled to have, while they also recognize the need for security ground rules in combat zones."

## Too Many Restrictions?

Mr. Boccardi said the journalists had entered negotiations with the Pentagon because the restrictions on reporting of the gulf war were "well beyond the undisputed need for military security."

Stanley W. Cloud, chief of the Washington bureau of Time magazine, said that the new policy, in general, made "a vast improvement over the system that existed prior to the gulf war."

"We have radically altered that system," he said. "Assuming good faith on the part of the Pentagon, it is unlikely they'll be able to impose a system as draconian and restrictive as the one they imposed in the gulf." But Mr. Cloud said the failure to agree on a statement about security review was "a major disappointment."

A final draft of the guidelines was endorsed by news groups including the American Society of Newspaper Editors, The Associated Press Managing Editors Association, the American Newspaper Publishers Association and the Radio and Television News Directors Association.

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney said the new principles for reporting military combat operations "have now been formally incorporated into our directives" and have become part of Pentagon policy.

Pete Williams, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Public Affairs, said, "The military has taken on the task of improving what it must provide to journalists." Combat exercises for military personnel now include training on how to work with journalists, he said.

Seymour Topping, president of the American Society of Newspaper Editors, described the new principles as "a significant step forward for the press" over the policy imposed in the gulf war.

"The agreement represents assurance to the American people that they will be better informed in the future when their military forces are committed to combat," said Mr. Topping, director of editorial development for the 32 regional newspapers of The New York Times Company. "We hold that if the spirit of the agreement is fully respected by both sides, the military will find no need for prior security review."

The new principles emphasize that press pools "are not to serve as the standard means of covering U.S. military operations."

## Bush Backs the House On Seawolf Submarine

WASHINGTON, May 21 (AP) — The House voted overwhelmingly today to rescue one of two Seawolf submarines that President Bush had wanted to kill, and the Administration, reversing course, said it would accept the compromise measure.

The House vote, 404 to 11, came a day after the legislation had emerged from a conference between the House, which had voted earlier to save one of the two Seawolfs, and the Senate, which had wanted to save both of them.

Mr. Bush, citing the breakup of the Soviet Union and record Federal deficits, had sought to eliminate both of the nuclear attack submarines from the budget for the current fiscal year. That would have saved \$3 billion in money already appropriated by Congress.

But after a day of indecision, the Administration said today that it would accept the compromise. It would cut \$1.6 billion from the Seawolf program for this year.

# Dan Quayle's Fictitious World

First, let's get past the silliness. For all the mirth he has provoked among TV comedians, Vice President Quayle did not blame the Los Angeles riots on Murphy Brown, the sitcom character. He only used her fictional out-of-wedlock baby to illustrate a much larger, grimmer accusation, one that cannot simply be laughed off.

What so much troubles America today, he said in San Francisco on Tuesday, arises predominantly from "a poverty of values" in our inner cities, where "young men father children whom they have no intention of caring for, by women whose welfare checks support them. Teen-age girls, mired in the same hopelessness, lack sufficient motive to say no to this trap."

That's Dan Quayle's view of the world and its tracks, in nicer language, Ronald Reagan's infamous denunciation of black mothers as "welfare queens." It reflects the chill, abstract view of conservatives sure the true enemy is not poverty but poor people. That, not Murphy Brown, is what makes Mr. Quayle's pronouncements so alarming. Remote from reality, he seems seriously to believe that what poor people most need is moral fiber.

Make them work for their welfare, he says. Stop subsidizing broken families. That'll shock 'em into line. Yes sir, just the way you can keep young people from having babies: lecture them sternly not to have sex, and never mind the condoms.

What the Vice President keeps failing to grasp is that the admirable values he asserts refer to a highly idealized world, America by Norman Rockwell. That leaves him grimly insensitive to the real world, as newly laid bare by the Los Angeles riot.

It's a world in which poor people starved for police protection are left to fear, instead, police brutality... in which poor young men who need work and a future are left to join gangs... in which poor young mothers get little help in securing paternal support and ever less public assistance money. And in which their numbers, white and black, keep growing alarmingly.

That is the besetting problem, but the Vice President does nothing to allay it with his news flashes that things would be better if children had two parents, and if poor parents would only embrace finer values. It's not Murphy Brown's fictitious world that's the problem here; it's Dan Quayle's.

The best rebuttal came on May 8, from another national figure also visiting in California. He said:

*Think of the way that the world looks right now to the single mother on welfare. Government provides you just enough cash for the bare necessities. Government tells you where you can live, where your kids go to school... And if you find a job, the Government cuts the welfare benefits. And if you save, if you manage to put a little money away, maybe toward a home or to help your kid to get through college, the Government, says, hey, welfare fraud.*

*Every one of those things happens with the system that we have in place right now. And then we wonder why can't folks on welfare take control of their lives? Where's their sense of responsibility?*

The speaker, sensitive to the real world, was President Bush.

## On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

# Lessons For Americans

MADRID

Every day now, the new Europe shows it can be strong, united and independent of the United States — but only until a real crisis comes along that it has to handle itself.

Then Europe becomes a vivid lesson for Americans in the value and strengths of their own country and its special system of government.

Thousands of Europeans are being slaughtered by other Europeans. European cities are being smashed. European separatists and terrorists all over the Continent watch to see what may be in it for them one day.

The disaster of Yugoslavia, once a nation, now a scream of agony, should have been crisis enough to persuade the leaders of the new Europe to put up or shut up. They do neither.

They do not have the courage to face the risks of forcing a decent settlement — or even just stopping the bloodletting. But they remain magnificent when it comes to making statements of huff and puff. They look around for United States help without enough political guts to admit it.

Even a little time spent in Europe listening to the evasions of European leaders should be a great lesson for Americans. It should make them see more clearly the virtues of their own system, so often and so contemptuously dismissed by Europeans and even by themselves.

Western Europe has plenty of troops, planes and ships for the blockades and interdictions that could have smothered the war and forced real peace talks on the combatants. Why were they not used by the new Europe in this year of 1992 that was supposed to be the beginning of the new era of united European power?

Why do we hear, even from Spain's Prime Minister, Felipe González, one of Europe's more straightforward and imaginative leaders, the story that the mechanisms, the structures, do not exist for collective action about Yugoslavia? If Europe has one thing in good supply it is structures and mechanisms.

The reason is that this time Europe does not have the United States to count on. It has soldiers and guns but it does not have the political and organizing power that the American Presidency, balanced and strengthened by Congressional backing and public support, can bring to meeting a crisis like Yugoslavia.

Yes, the Bush Administration was part of the West's disastrous buildup of Saddam Hussein and wound up leaving him in power. But when the U.S. decided to stop Saddam Hussein after Kuwait, President Bush had both the courage to act and the system that he needed behind him.

That was the combination — the determination of a leader and a balanced, unified constitutional system — that could create the coalition and open the rusty umbrella of the United Nations.

Neither is present now in Europe. Politically a united Europe is one more fictional creature that walks without clothes. Among other recent creations were Perestroika to save the Soviet Union, the Bush "new world order" and the idea that the United Nations has become some kind of separate entity that can take action without the initiative and permission of the major powers,

Yugoslavia showed that Europe is still a collection of states that have separate political needs and fears and will not march politically to the same drum for decades — probably never.

Economically, where the price of unified action is just money, not blood, a united Europe may work. Maybe — but before we place any bets let's wait until the first great European economic crisis, like heavy unemployment caused by heavy migration.

The Bush Administration has correctly decided that the civil war in Yugoslavia is one crisis that Europe ought to be able to handle on its own.

One day Americans may not be able to stomach any longer what European leaders keep swallowing — the death of thousands of Europeans and the destruction of a part of European civilization. Then, with American help at hand, Europeans will suddenly discover those "mechanisms" for action that they have misplaced. But in the meantime Americans can learn a lesson:

The European concept of unity will never be an equal or a substitute for the strength and flexibility of the American constitutional system — not for the U.S., not for the world and not for those abandoned Europeans living in the pool of blood that was once Yugoslavia. □

# Deregulator II

By Paul Muolo

**W**ASHINGTON with few paying attention, President Bush, in broad daylight, is making the executive branch the nation's bank regulator. Last month, he assembled a special high-level working group of bank and savings and loan regulators and ordered them to ease regulatory burdens on the industry.

In this surreal election year, the mission of the President's panel is to get those pesky Government regulators off the backs of the bankers so they can start lending en masse and revive the economy. You might recall that a similar desire prompted the disastrous S. & L. deregulation bill signed by President Ronald Reagan

Paul Muolo is author of "Inside Job: The Looting of America's S. & L.'s."

and witnessed by Mr. Bush, his Vice President, in 1982. Thrift deregulation resulted in a binge of irresponsible and fraudulent real estate lending by nouveau S. & L. operators like Charles Keating and David Paul.

By appointing a panel to clarify bank regulations, the White House has essentially pushed aside the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation and the Federal Reserve Board — the last two independent banking regulators left in Washington — saying, thank you very much but we're in charge now.

The White House has also stepped up its involvement with the Office of Thrift Supervision, which regulates the nation's remaining healthy S. & L.'s. The Administration has gone so far as to persuade the agency to adopt a number of new, liberal rule changes, such as interstate branching, which the President failed to get passed last year when Congress defeated his bank deregulation bill. The result would have been to make our banks more like Japan's by allowing them to be owned by non-financial

conglomerates. It doesn't seem to matter that Japanese banks are seeing their capital positions slashed by a stock market crash and a real estate collapse.

Yes, the President has decided to

## Bush gives the banks an election year break.

legislate bank deregulation himself, leaving Congress out of the picture by creating a regulatory system that's as potentially lethal as the line-item veto.

Why? Well, it is an election year. If banks are told to lend now and worry later, the economy might come around. And a resurgent economy would likely get the President re-elected, Ross Perot or not. It doesn't matter that the

recovery would probably be temporary and that it would soon return to its sluggish pace and the boom and bust cycles created by Reaganomics.

It also doesn't seem to matter that the banking system was created to be independent of the executive branch. It was designed to provide a system of checks and balances that prevents the White House from having too much control over how credit is allocated.

The paradox of the President's banking coup is that he, like his challengers, has been running against the Government. It's a little surprising to see him scrambling for so much power over banks. Still, this isn't the first time Mr. Bush has donned his green banking visor. In December, at the President's behest, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady asked bank examiners to be lenient with banks that had overextended themselves with loans. Never before have so many banking examiners received so much attention from a President. Now, if only Mr. Bush would spend as much time on the Federal budget deficit. □

## Foreign Affairs

LESLIE H. GELB

*War in Nakhichevan*

As Armenian irregulars bear down on Nakhichevan (an Azerbaijani enclave in Armenia) and gain control of Nagorno-Karabakh (an Armenian enclave in Azerbaijan), and as Turkey debates intervening to protect its Turkic and Muslim brethren, Bush Administration policy dances on the point of a needle.

U.S. political imperatives — influential Armenians, mainly in the pivotal state of California — strongly favor Armenia. Policy considerations — plans to develop Ankara as a strategic counterweight to Iran and Russia in Central Asia — all tug toward Turkey.

*An enclave,  
Armenia, Turkey  
and the U.S.*

Margaret Tutwiler, the State Department spokeswoman, danced to these two tunes earlier this week. She began by announcing that the U.S. "will not accept unilateral changes in the status of Nagorno-Karabakh, Nakhichevan, or any other territory [by] military actions or violence." Then came these exchanges:

Q: The status is that Nagorno-Karabakh is part of Azerbaijan. The Azeris are presumably not trying to change that status. Is it right by the process of elimination to assume it must be the Armenians?

Tutwiler: There are ... a number of views of this situation. ... our point today ... is [the escalating violence].

Q: So the situation is that the U.S. simply will not take a position on who is the aggressor and who is the victim ...?

Tutwiler: Right. ...

Q: What does it mean that the U.S. "is not going to accept unilateral changes ...?"

Tutwiler: We use this phrase in any number of instances. ... It is a standard phrase that we use here. I can't explain to you why they do; it's been used for years. ...

Q: It also normally precedes some strong action by the U.S. ... You used the statement "will not accept" just before we went into Panama with military force as well. Are we prepared to take some further strong action in this situation?

Tutwiler: Not to my knowledge. Behind the scenes, President Bush

and Secretary of State Baker have been working the telephones to Yerevan. They are telling Armenian leaders to stop the fighting in Nagorno and accept mediation by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe and to hold back their irregulars in Nakhichevan. And they are pleading with Ankara not to intervene.

While U.S. diplomacy has been evenhanded, Administration feelings are increasingly anti-Armenian. Officials do not accept Yerevan's assertion that it has no control of Armenian irregulars in Nagorno and Nakhichevan. They believe, as one key official put it, that the Armenians, long the victims in this region, are "trying to create military facts on the ground while our hands are tied by our elections — just the way the Serbs are doing it in Bosnia."

The comparison is nasty, and Armenian-Americans are well aware of the increasing Administration tilt toward Turkey. "But they can't do anything about it this year," said Van Krikorian of the Armenian Assembly in Washington, referring to White House worries about Armenian support in the Presidential campaign.

Then Mr. Krikorian put down the policy card U.S. officials fear most. If Washington abandons Armenia diplomatically or stands by while Turks kill Armenians once again, he said, "Armenia would have to look to Iran for security."

To Administration officials, Iranian fundamentalism represents the immediate threat to Western interests in Central Asia. They hope to build up Turkey, a Muslim but secular nation, as the alternative. And they do not want Armenian military successes against Turkic peoples to put Ankara in a position where it must either stand aside and look impotent or intervene with force.

Turkish intervention would compel the U.S. to back Armenia for politics' sake and undercut Ankara. It might also trigger what officials see as the long-term threat to Central Asia — a resurgent Russia. Already this week, a senior Russian general warned hyperbolically that outside intervention would "obviously place us on the verge of a third world war. ..."

Telling these ancient enemies not to kill each other will not take the U.S. and the West far. At some point, they will have to hold Armenia in check. And the only way to do that is by guaranteeing long-victimised Armenians their security at home and their rights in Azerbaijan. Otherwise, history will return with a vengeance. □

5/19/92

Feedback from  
a tickler to  
Phil Brady

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 18, 1992

5/22  
CJ

Dear Bobby:

The President was pleased to receive your recent letter and has asked me to answer your questions concerning expansion of the Small Business Administration's (SBA) New England Lending and Recovery Project to Texas, Florida, and other parts of the country.

We certainly agree that such a project could benefit the small business and banking communities in areas outside New England. Launched in January, the program has just reached the stage of refinement where expansion would be technically feasible. However, a number of budgetary matters must be resolved to ensure adequate funding of the entire loan program for the remainder of this fiscal year, and for the upcoming fiscal years. At the President's direction, Dick Darman and Pat Saiki are working closely to ensure that SBA's loan authority is sufficient to meet the credit needs of the nation's small businesses. Assuming budget authority is obtained, expansion of this specific program will be considered along with the other needs the agency must meet.

SBA loan guarantees have played an important role in aiding economic growth. As you know, the President is committed to using tools that encourage individual opportunity.

Sincerely,

Ede

Ede Holiday  
Assistant to the President  
and Secretary of the Cabinet

Mr. Bobby Holt  
National Finance Chairman  
Bush/Quayle '92  
1030 15th Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20005

Hope this is helpful.  
Best  
9



May 3, 1992

To: Phil Brady

Bobby Holt sent me the attached material.

In talking about it he tells me these programs are very good but that Texas and Florida need (want) a shot at them.

Have SBA send memo which you can then pass on to Holt.

Thanks.

GB

A handwritten signature or set of initials, possibly "M", written in dark ink.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

daily  
5/22

Mr President:

An interim reply.  
We have been tracking.

good → Robin

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

March 17, 1992

02 MAR 17 P7:23

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: C. GREGG PETERSMEYER *GP*

SUBJECT: NICK NICHOLAS *CS / 6/20*

Dick Munro, the current chair of the Points of Light Foundation, and Ray Chambers plan to have lunch with Nick Nicholas to explore opportunities for him to become involved in the Points of Light movement. Dick Munro knows Nick Nicholas well as they were colleagues at Time Warner for many years.

After they meet for lunch, if there is something to report, I will let you know.

5/19/92 (Update)

*GP*

Gregg Petersmeyer's of: e  
just heard back from D: -  
Munro. Dick Munro and  
Dick Kearns met with N:  
Nicholas and apparentl:  
Nick Nicholas said he t  
couldn't make a commitr  
at this time to the Po: s  
of Light or America 200

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING



February 23, 1992

To: Gregg Petersmeyer

Is there some place for Nick Nicholas ?

Is he good?

I note he is about to be unemployed, since Time Board is putting him out to pasture.

CA

cc: Chief of Staff

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

FROM THE PRESIDENT



THE SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR  
WASHINGTON

*GB signed.  
Passed back  
to John Gordon  
5/22*

*daily 5/22*

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

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased to recommend the designation of 23 wilderness study areas (WSAs) in New Mexico as new additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System. Section 603 of the Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (FLPMA) (43 U.S.C. 1782) directs the Secretary of the Interior to review those areas of the public lands which, during the inventory required by Section 201(a) of that Act, are identified as having wilderness characteristics described in the Wilderness Act of September 3, 1964 (16 U.S.C. 1131, et seq.).

The review of the areas having wilderness characteristics identified in New Mexico began immediately after the enactment of FLPMA and has now been completed. Approximately 908,000 acres of public lands in 50 areas met the minimum wilderness criteria and were designated as WSAs. Based on these studies and reviews, the Bureau of Land Management (BLM) recommended wilderness designation for all or part of 23 of the WSAs, totaling 487,186 acres. Wilderness designation has been determined to be the most beneficial use of these lands.

The results of the wilderness studies are documented in six environmental impact statements and one instant study area report. The United States Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines conducted mineral surveys of the WSAs recommended for wilderness designation and their findings on all 23 WSAs have been considered. Copies of the environmental impact statements, instant study area report, and mineral survey reports are available for inspection in the Washington, D.C., office of the Director of the Bureau of Land Management as required by law.

The wilderness studies and mineral surveys are summarized in the New Mexico Statewide Wilderness Study Report. The latter document contains information concerning the suitability or unsuitability for wilderness designation of each WSA, and reference materials that contain maps showing the proposed boundary for each of the recommended WSAs. A copy of the report is being submitted with this letter.

In accordance with the requirements of the Wilderness Act, public hearings were held on the proposed wilderness recommendations. There were 1,667 public comments received. These included oral statements presented at public hearings as well as written comments. Complete records of the comments received have been maintained in the BLM New Mexico State Office. The comments are summarized in the above referenced report. All interested elected officials, as well as Federal and State agencies, were notified of the proposed recommendations. Their views are also included in the report.

The review conducted by the BLM resulted in the conclusion that 420,400 acres in all or part of 39 of the WSAs are not suitable for preservation as wilderness. We have included in the draft legislation accompanying this letter language to release the unsuitable areas from wilderness study status and to return them to uses other than designated wilderness.

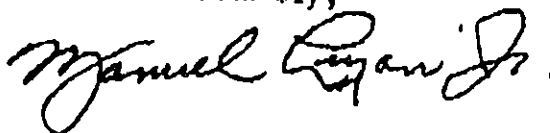
The enclosed draft legislation provides that designation as wilderness shall not constitute a reservation of water or water rights for wilderness purposes. This is consistent with the fact that the Congress did not establish a Federal reserved water right for wilderness purposes. The Administration has established the policy that, where it is necessary to obtain water for wilderness purposes in a specific wilderness area, water rights would be sought from the State by filing under State water laws.

The draft legislation also provides for access to wilderness areas by Indian people for traditional cultural and religious purposes. Access by the general public may be limited in order to protect the privacy of religious cultural activities taking place in specific wilderness areas. In addition, to the fullest extent practicable, the Department of the Interior will coordinate with the Department of Defense to minimize the impact of any overflights during these religious cultural activities.

I concur with the wilderness recommendations of the Director of the Bureau of Land Management. I urge you to give favorable consideration to this proposal.

The enactment of this legislation will have no known pay-as-you-go impact under the Budget Enforcement Act of 1990.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Samuel R. G. Jr.", is written in dark ink.

Enclosures

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Mr. President:

I am pleased to submit for congressional consideration and passage the "New Mexico Public Lands Wilderness Act".

The Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (FLPMA), (43 U.S.C. 1701, et seq.), directs the Secretary of the Interior to review the wilderness potential of the public lands.

The review of the areas identified in New Mexico began immediately after the enactment of FLPMA and has now been completed. Approximately 908,000 acres of public lands in 50 areas in New Mexico met the minimum wilderness criteria and were designated as wilderness study areas (WSAs). These WSAs were studied and analyzed during the review process and the results documented in six environmental impact statements and one instant study area report.

Based on the studies and reviews of the WSAs, the Secretary of the Interior recommends that all or part of 23 of the WSAs, totaling 487,186 acres of public lands, be designated as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System. From these 23 WSAs, the Secretary proposes to designate 22 wilderness areas by consolidating two WSAs into one wilderness area.

I concur with the Secretary of the Interior's recommendations and am pleased to recommend designation of the 22 areas (totaling 487,186 acres) identified in the enclosed draft legislation as additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System.

The proposed additions represent the diversity of wilderness values in the State of New Mexico. These range from the relatively undisturbed and expansive stretch of the Chihuahuan Desert in the West Potrillo Mountains, to the canyons of the Gila and Chama Rivers, to the rocky peaks of the Organ Mountains, Big Hatchet Mountains, and the Sierra Ladrones. These areas span a wide variety of New Mexico landforms, ecosystems, and other natural systems and features. Their inclusion in the wilderness system will improve the geographic

distribution of wilderness areas in New Mexico, and will complement existing areas of congressionally designated wilderness. They will provide new and outstanding opportunities for solitude and unconfined recreation.

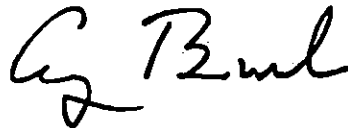
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I further concur with the Secretary of the Interior that all or part of 39 of the WSAs encompassing 420,400 acres are not suitable for preservation as wilderness and should be released for multi-use management.

Also enclosed are a letter and report from the Secretary of the Interior concerning the WSAs discussed above and a section-by-section analysis of the draft legislation. I urge the Congress to act expeditiously and favorably on the proposed legislation so that the natural resources of these WSAs in New Mexico may be protected and preserved.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Dan Quayle  
President of the Senate  
Washington, D.C. 20510

THE WHITE HOUSE  
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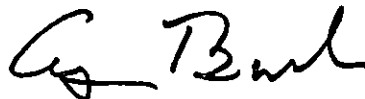
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Sincerely,



The Honorable Thomas S. Foley  
Speaker of the  
House of Representatives  
Washington, D.C. 20515

REC'D  
JUL 21 AM 6:42

**WHITE HOUSE  
SITUATION ROOM**

**RELEASER:**

DTG: 212247Z MAY 92

|                                                                                                                                                                                  |                                                              |                |               |       |          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|---------------|-------|----------|
| MESSAGE NO.                                                                                                                                                                      | <u>05</u>                                                    | CLASSIFICATION | <u>UNCLAS</u> | PAGES | <u>6</u> |
| FROM                                                                                                                                                                             | <u>John S. Gardner</u>                                       | <u>2702</u>    |               |       |          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                  | (Name)                                                       | (Phone Number) | (Room No.)    |       |          |
| MESSAGE DESCRIPTION                                                                                                                                                              | <u>Presidential Transmittal of New Mexico Wilderness Act</u> |                |               |       |          |
| LOCATION                                                                                                                                                                         | DELIVER TO                                                   |                |               |       |          |
| <u>K'port</u>                                                                                                                                                                    | <u>Robin MacLean for the President</u>                       |                |               |       |          |
| REMARKS:                                                                                                                                                                         |                                                              |                |               |       |          |
| Robin: If the President is doing office work, please forward these letters. But please don't bother him especially for this; we can transmit Tuesday with no problem. Thanks. JG |                                                              |                |               |       |          |

MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT  
May 22, 1992  
(Faxed to K'Port)

ACTION

1. Response to Kenneth Gilmore re Fetal Tissue Research.
2. Super Memo re Honorary Chair for the International Rescue Cmte's 1992 Freedom Award and Memo re Scheduling Request from Dr. Benjamin Hooks. (to Rose)
3. Judicial Nominations: William D. Quarles to be U.S. District Judge for the District of Maryland and James A. McIntyre to be U.S. District Judge for the Southern District of California
4. Proposed Executive Order Entitled "Interdiction of Illegal Aliens" (for possible signature on Saturday)

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. Letter from Congressman Charlie Rangel per the President's request.
2. Comments Line Tally Sheet for 5/21/92
3. Cabinet Report for the Week of 5/24 - 5/31
4. Block schedule
5. Briefing paper for Monday, 05/25 for the First Salmon Presentation
6. Weekly Legislative Report for May 18-22
7. Kaufman memo re New Jersey Poll

REMARKS

SCHEDULE



THE PRESIDENT

May 22, 1992

*daily 5/22*

Dear Sam,

I'm delighted that Jason Elliott will be interning at the Department of Transportation this summer. They have a great team over there and I know he'll enjoy it.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

FROM  
**THE WHITE HOUSE**  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Sam Wyly  
Suite 1100-LB32  
8080 North Central Expressway  
Dallas, Texas 75206

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Charles J. Wyly, Jr.



THE PRESIDENT

May 22, 1992

Dear Charles,

I'm delighted that things have worked out for Jason Elliott and know he'll enjoy his internship at the Department of Transportation. They have a great team over there.

Warm regards to you and Dee.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Liz" or similar, written over the word "Sincerely,".

Mr. President:'

PPO came through on this --  
Jason Elliott will be hired  
at DOT for the summer.

RZ

Mr. President:'

PPO came through on this --  
Jason Elliott will be hired  
at DOT for the summer.

RZ

5/15/92

Jan Naylor will  
call Wyli (Charles)  
and tell him we're  
working on it

RZ

5/19/92 - Charles  
Wyli in Europe,  
Jan Naylor - letter  
to the Gov. - call  
much appreciated  
RZ

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page



CHARLES J. WYLY, JR.

May 4, 1992

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

My Dear Mr. President

My brother, Sam, recently wrote the enclosed letter to  
your office.

We will appreciate any courtesies which can be extended  
to Jason Elliott.

Sincerely yours,

*Charles*

pat 1/22

The Wyly's  
are good  
friends

try to help

try to help  
earlier  
sam

plane

had an earlier  
letter from

Wyly - 67

This needs  
a reply  
we

5/12/92

SAM WYLY  
8080 N. Central Expressway  
Suite 1110-LB 32  
Dallas, Texas 75206-1806  
214/891-8301

April 17, 1992

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. President:

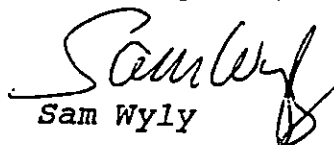
I recommend Jason Elliott for a summer job in The White House, State Department or another part of the government in Washington.

If possible, his ideal goal after graduation from Lewis & Clark College in May, 1993, would be a State Department job in Russia. His career goal is service in our foreign affairs.

He attends Lewis & Clark on a forensic scholarship, is an "A" student, both there and earlier at St. Petersburg Junior College in Florida and has excelled in high school and college as a wrestler.

I would appreciate any help you can give Jason in his search for a job this summer and next spring after graduation.

Best regards,

  
Sam Wyly

Enclosure  
(resume)

cc: Barbara Bush  
Kelly Wyly  
Charles Wyly

P.S. Jason is the boyfriend of my daughter, Kelly, who also attends Lewis & Clark and will spend the summer in Washington if Jason can get a job there.

## RESUME

JASON ELLIOTT  
P.O. Box 503  
Tarpon Springs, FL 34688  
813/937-2433

### Employment History

1991--1992 J. Byrons Shoe Department (Highest sales total November 1991).

1988--1990 High school wrestling coach (assistant head coach, junior varsity head coach). Led JV team to best record in school history in 1990.

1988--1989 Eckerd Drugs.

### Education

Present Lewis & Clark College (current GPA 3.5).  
Goal - Bachelor of Science in International Affairs with Economics Minor.  
Member of Forensics Team (on scholarship).  
Tutor International Affairs Classes.

Dec. 1990 St. Petersburg Junior College - Graduated with honors - Associate in Arts degree. Liberal Arts. Graduated with 3.57 GPA. Member of Phi Rho Pi; National Honor Society for forensics. (Won 4 trophies competing in forensics - 1 first; 2 seconds; 1 third.)  
Won Forensics Speaker of Year - 1990

Tarpon Springs High School - Graduated with 3.78 GPA (top 10% of class). Participated in varsity sports: wrestling (captain); won coach's award senior year track (captain). Junior Achievement - Vice president of production.  
Scholar/Athlete Award - 6 times

References:

Alan Plunkett (813/934-0322)  
c/o St. Petersburg Junior College  
Klosterman Road  
Tarpon Springs, FL 34689

Professor of Ethics

Charles Walsh 904/222-8880  
675 West Pensacola Street #8  
Tallahassee, FL 32304

High School Teacher

Paul Elliott (512/795-8874)  
Office of Attorney General of Texas  
Environmental Protection Division  
P.O. Box 12548  
Austin, TX 78711

Thomas Butler 813/785-6923  
Vice President  
Altamura-Marsh Insurance Company  
990 Rolling Hills  
Palm Harbor, FL 34683

FROM  
THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON, D.C

Mr. Sam Wyly  
Suite 1100-LB 32  
808 North Central Expressway  
Dallas, Texas 75206



THE PRESIDENT

May 6, 1992

Dear Sam,

Thank you for your letter recommending Jason Elliott. He sounds like a fine young man. Although paid summer jobs are rare in government, I'll pass your endorsement to Connie Horner's office. I'm sure she can fill Jason in on what opportunities exist.

I hope all is well with you. Thanks again for writing.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature, likely of Bill Clinton, consisting of a stylized "B" followed by a diagonal slash.

bc: ACTION to  
Connie Horner  
bc: w/c of inc to  
Shara Castle

*Ed like to help*

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

*for Bushmaster*

*one of Jason's mail* *James*  
*Ellison*

**SAM WYLY**  
8080 N. Central Expressway  
Suite 1110-LB 32  
Dallas, Texas 75206-1806  
214/891-8301

92 APR 24 PM 3:39

*See:*  
*date 5/6/92*  
*PPS*

April 17, 1992

The President  
The White House  
Washington, D.C. 20501

Dear Mr. President:

I recommend Jason Elliott for a summer job in The White House, State Department or another part of the government in Washington.

If possible, his ideal goal after graduation from Lewis & Clark College in May, 1993, would be a State Department job in Russia. His career goal is service in our foreign affairs.

He attends Lewis & Clark on a forensic scholarship, is an "A" student, both there and earlier at St. Petersburg Junior College in Florida and has excelled in high school and college as a wrestler.

I would appreciate any help you can give Jason in his search for a job this summer and next spring after graduation.

Best regards,

*Sam Wyly*  
Sam Wyly

Enclosure  
(resume)

cc: Barbara Bush  
Kelly Wyly  
Charles Wyly

P.S. Jason is the boyfriend of my daughter, Kelly, who also attends Lewis & Clark and will spend the summer in Washington if Jason can get a job there.

## RESUME

JASON ELLIOTT  
P.O. Box 503.  
Tarpon Springs, FL 34688  
813/937-2433

### Employment History

|            |                                                                                                                                      |
|------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
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| 1988--1990 | High school wrestling coach (assistant head coach, junior varsity head coach). Led JV team to best record in school history in 1990. |
| 1988--1989 | Eckerd Drugs.                                                                                                                        |

### Education

|           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Present   | Lewis & Clark College (current GPA 3.5).<br>Goal - Bachelor of Science in International Affairs with Economics Minor.<br>Member of Forensics Team (on scholarship).<br>Tutor International Affairs Classes.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| Dec. 1990 | St. Petersburg Junior College - Graduated with honors - Associate in Arts degree. Liberal Arts. Graduated with 3.57 GPA. Member of Phi Rho Pi; National Honor Society for forensics. (Won 4 trophies competing in forensics - 1 first; 2 seconds; 1 third.)<br>Won Forensics Speaker of Year - 1990<br><br>Tarpon Springs High School - Graduated with 3.78 GPA (top 10% of class). Participated in varsity sports: wrestling (captain); won coach's award senior year track (captain). Junior Achievement - Vice president of production.<br>Scholar/Athlete Award - 6 times |

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Thomas Butler 813/785-6923  
Vice President  
Altamura-Marsh Insurance Company  
990 Rolling Hills  
Palm Harbor, FL 34683

THE WHITE HOUSE  
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

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DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

Friday, May 22, 1992

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

May 4, 1992

HOBE SOUND, FLORIDA

# First lady gets 'gruff' with kids

## Barbara Bush trades tall tales

By Yvette C. Hammett  
of the News staff

HOBE SOUND — Barbara Bush used her meanest, huskiest voice to portray an evil troll as she read the story of *The Three Billy Goats Gruff* to preschoolers Monday at Hobe Sound Child Care Center.

The 2- to 5-year-olds reciprocated, telling her the story of a caterpillar who ate too much and got a stomachache.

The first lady was in town to pick up her mother-in-law, Dorothy Walker Bush, who has a home on Jupiter Island. The first lady is taking the president's mother to her other home, in Connecticut. She was quick to point out to reporters that "George paid for the trip."

While she was here, Barbara Bush visited the day-care center and Hobe Sound Elementary School, saying she wanted to

**Barbara Bush said she and her family were heartbroken over the innocent verdicts and the ensuing violence.**

emphasize private and public cooperation.

She read the story to remind parents they should read to their children, she said.

After receiving a bouquet of flowers from 5-year-old Eric Hartwiger and a school T-shirt from 5-year-old Jessica Storey, the first lady answered questions from reporters about the recent violence in Los Angeles stemming from innocent verdicts for four officers in the beating of Rodney King.

Barbara Bush said she and her family were heartbroken over the innocent verdicts and the ensuing violence.

"But the justice system will work," she added.

She then spoke of the need for a better day care system and said her husband supported such a system but was hindered by the Democratic Congress.

"The Democratically controlled Congress has got to set aside politics . . ." and think of what is best for children and their parents, she said. The welfare program, run by the Democrats, has locked people into poverty, she said.

About 15 minutes later, the first lady was given a rousing welcome from the students at Hobe Sound Elementary, who were stationed in the towers of Kids Kingdom, the school's new playground.

Barbara Bush dedicated a Nellie Stevens holly tree, donated by the Jupiter Island Garden Club and Rood Landscape Co.

Children celebrating their birthdays Monday helped Barbara Bush shovel dirt around the new tree at the playground.

Kids Kingdom, built by volunteers, was funded through the sale of pickets for the fencing. Barbara Bush was honored with her own picket, which simply read "Mrs. Bush, May '92."

She told the children, "If you work very hard, maybe you'll be lucky enough to have your own picket one day."



Photographer: JIM URICK

First Lady Barbara Bush tells the story of *The Three Billy Goats Gruff*, complete with a gravelly voice, to a group of children Monday at the Hobe Sound Child Care Center.

Barbara Bush

Friday, May 22, 1992

## **Second lady's seen 'the tramp'**

X Marilyn Quayle says she has seen "Murphy Brown."  
"Once, I think," she tells TV Guide in the current issue.  
Quizzed on her TV habits before her husband's controversial remarks about the CBS comedy, the vice president's wife said she is not sure she has ever seen a whole episode of either "The Tonight Show" or "L.A. Law" and had never heard of "Northern Exposure."

She does watch political talk shows "The McLaughlin Group" and "The Capital Gang" and Senate proceedings (over which her husband presides) on C-SPAN II.

Her children — ages 13, 15 and 17 — are not allowed TV on weeknights, except for the news, and the family usually rents a video on Friday nights. The kids do get to watch "some of those Saturday night shows or movies," she adds.  
... Though she says she went to high school with David Letterman, Quayle says she has never watched his show either.  
... "I don't watch any of those shows," she says.

# U.S. Teach-History Plan Seen as Daunting

By John Hildebrand  
STAFF WRITER

A federally financed history curriculum for grades 7 to 12 put forward this week by a national team of scholars, tackles controversial issues of religion and race while calling for a program of study so ambitious that many teachers say it can't be done.

The curriculum guide, "Lessons from History," calls for up to five years' study of U.S. and world history — at least a year more than now is allocated for secondary students in most states including New York. The guide recommends that such studies include the art, literature, philosophy and religions of each historical period — for example, the biblical "Book of Job" as a religious work produced by an early civilization.

Four years in development, the new guide is certain to influence classroom teaching nationwide, because many of its lessons are to be incorporated in a planned series of national exams. Some teachers protest, however, that the guide includes far more material than can be taught within available class time and that it takes a lopsided, pro-

European view of such sensitive topics as the African slave trade.

"Lessons from History" was financed by the National Endowment for the Humanities and produced by staff at the University of California, Los Angeles, with advice from academic experts on other campuses. The 314-page guide is to be printed within two months, then distributed nationwide to educational and government leaders. A draft copy was obtained by Newsday.

"Lessons" calls for a narrative form of history, unlike state curriculum guides now being drafted in New York that are built largely around contemporary themes such as the environment.

"We're arguing that you can't really understand what's going on in the world today unless you know what's happened in the past," said Gary Nash, a UCLA history professor who wrote much of the national guide.

The guide also stresses the importance of individual leaders in history, in contrast to many local and state lesson plans that emphasize broad societal trends. The guide spotlights individuals such as Constantine, a Roman emperor

who converted his subjects to Christianity, and Theodore Roosevelt, the American president who campaigned for national unemployment insurance years before such benefits became reality.

Like New York's lesson plans, the national curriculum takes a view of history that is worldwide, rather than narrowly western. The guide urges students to learn about such non-western figures as Lady Murasaki, Japan's first novelist, and Samori Ture, a Sudanese leader who resisted European colonialism. The guide compares western historical developments to those in other regions — for example, the Chinese sailing expeditions to Africa in the early 1400s that were far larger than European explorations a century later.

So sweeping is the national guide's approach to its subject — from prehistoric times to the present — that many of New York's social studies teachers doubt they can cover the new material and retain enough time for other required subjects. These include state history, world geography, economics, civics and contemporary society — all

subjects encompassed by New York State's recommended curriculum for secondary students.

"Is the school day going to be extended another couple hours or what?" said Stephen Waldman, a teacher in West Islip and president of a regional association of social-studies teachers and supervisors on Long Island. "This is pie in the sky."

Another controversy raised by the national curriculum is its description of the slave trade as one in which European and American slavers were aided by "a highly organized commercial system in which African rulers and merchants controlled the terms of slave exports." Many scholars not involved in the UCLA project contend that the European and American versions of slavery were more destructive than the African, in their tendencies to break up black families.

Copies of the guide may be ordered at no cost from the National Center for History in the Schools, UCLA, Moore Hall 231, 405 Hilgard Ave., Los Angeles, 90024-1521.

# Studies show kids better off with 2 parents

By Joyce Price  
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Vice President Dan Quayle's comments about Murphy Brown underscore what most researchers have been saying for years: raising children in a single-family home is far less desirable than in a home with two parents.

"There's a huge body of literature of research that shows substantial benefits to a child who lives in a house with two parents," said William R. Mattox Jr., director of policy analysis for the Family Research Council.

Nicholas Zill, a psychologist and executive director of Child Trends Inc., a non-profit Washington-based firm involved in research affecting children, agreed.

"Quayle pointed to something we should all be concerned about," said Mr. Zill, who has conducted exten-

sive research into the effects of divorce and single parenting on children: "27 percent of all U.S. children are born out of wedlock and two-thirds of black babies are illegitimate."

But research, he said, indicates "marriage matters" in a child's healthy development and that the "traditional idea of a child's growing up with both birth parents is the ideal we should shoot for."

Deborah A. Dawson, a statistician with the National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism, said her analysis of data from the 1988 National Health Interview Survey on Child Health "revealed an excess risk of negative health and performance . . . among children who did not live with both biological parents."

Ms. Dawson said her findings, published in the *Journal of Marriage and the Family* late last year, are "consistent with the hypotheses that



## RAISING CHILDREN

Researchers have linked the emotional and physical health and school performance of children to their parents' living arrangements. Findings were based on a survey sample of 17,110 children 17 and younger.

|                                             | Both parents | Formerly married mothers only | Never married mothers only | Mothers & stepdads |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------|
| Percentage of children who were:            |              |                               |                            |                    |
| Treated for emotional problems in past year | 2.0          | 8.8                           | 4.4                        | 6.6                |
| Repeatedly truant in school                 | 11.6         | 21.5                          | 29.7                       | 21.7               |
| Suspended or expelled                       | 4.4          | 10.7                          | 15.3                       | 8.8                |
| Subject of parent/teacher conference        | 13.3         | 21.3                          | 29.7                       | 21.7               |

Above: the Soderstrom family of Falls Church prays regularly.  
Source: 1988 National Health Interview Survey on Child Health, report by Deborah A. Dawson in *Journal of Marriage and the Family*.

The Washington Times

children are adversely affected by the emotional trauma and stress that precede and accompany parental separation and divorce and by the relative lack of attention, supervision and opposite-sex role models provided by single parents."

Ms. Dawson pointed out that earlier research conducted in the 1970s and 1980s had found "strong evidence of an association between family structure and various measures of child development."

There were studies, she said, that indicated children of divorce or single parents were more likely to achieve low marks in school and repeat grades.

Studies by Mr. Zill and others also found children from divorced and single-parent families to be "over-represented among outpatient psychiatric patients" and to be "more likely than other children to have visited mental health professionals."

Data from the National Health Interview Survey on Child Health — a representative sample of more than 17,000 U.S. children under age 18 — confirmed earlier findings of improved school performance and emotional health among children living in homes with two natural parents, Ms. Dawson said.

Mr. Zill said children at greatest risk are those born to single mothers who are poor and in their teens. "For

that child, there's a guarantee of welfare dependence," he said, and the potential for abuse because of his mother's financial stress.

Elliot Weiner, a clinical psychologist and executive director of the Oregon Psychological Association, observed, "Two people can parent better than one. Two parents who love the child won't get as exhausted [as one] because there's a sharing of emotional stresses."

The bipartisan National Commission on Children, appointed by the president and Congress, last year concluded: "Children do best when they have the personal involvement and material support of a father and a mother."

Interviewed yesterday, Cheri Hayes, the commission's executive director, emphasized that children in so-called "intact" families include those living with biological or adoptive parents. "Children need strong stable families," she said.

"It's important to remember many single parents do an extraordinary job in raising their children and deserve our full support," she added.

# Race, culture slow adoptions

By Andrea Stone  
USA TODAY

Cheryl and Nathan "Bud" Peacock have cared for many foster children over the years. Three live with them now. But Annie, they say, is different.

Their love for the 11-month-old is like "the bond with a biological child," says Bud Peacock, 39, a San Antonio firefighter. "Why shouldn't we be allowed to keep her?"

For starters, says the Texas Human Services Department, Annie is Hispanic and the Peacocks are Anglo. Also, Annie has a half sister, Anna Marie, 4, and state officials want them to live together. The Peacocks say they only want to adopt Annie.

The case, which aired in a Texas courtroom this week, focuses anew on the continuing controversy over interracial and intercultural adoptions. According to Rita Simon,

an American University sociologist, there are up to 30,000 interracial families, not including those with children adopted from other countries.

Until recently, most cases involved whites trying to adopt black children. Increasingly, though, Hispanic and Native American children have been involved. The American Public Welfare Association says 49% of adoptable children in foster care are white, 39% black and 8% Hispanic. (Hispanics can be of any race.)

**"We have an obligation to (Annie) that she get to grow up with her sister. Our plan is to get them both adopted together (by a Hispanic family)."**

**— David Reilly, protective services official**

Most state welfare agencies prefer to place children with like families, especially since the National Association of Black Social Workers declared in 1972 that interracial adoption is akin to "cultural genocide." But, as the number of minority children needing homes has grown, more white families are challenging such policies as discriminatory.

"Culture's important but, first is first, and that's love, security, trust and attachment," says Carol Coccia, president of the National Coalition to End Racism in America's Child Care System.

"We don't see color," says Peacock, the only father Annie has known and the parent with his wife of two biological children. "We see a little girl who loves our family."

But state officials see another little girl: one born to a drug addict who has given up four girls for adoption and is pregnant with a fifth child.

"We have an obligation to (Annie) that she get to grow up with her sister," says protective services official David Reilly. "Our plan is to get them both adopted together" by a Hispanic family. Anna Marie lives in a Hispanic foster home and has had little contact with Annie.

Although state officials had publicly opposed such an ethnically mixed adoption by the Peacocks, they now say the sibling issue is their first concern.

Annie's court-appointed lawyer, Carol Weir, favors a Peacock adoption. She says media attention and testimony from two state legislators — one Hispanic, one black — backing the Peacocks changed the state's tune: "People at the top of the agency say they don't have that policy, but apparently their workers out in the field thought they did."

After two days of hearings, a district judge Tuesday adjourned the case until July 7, urging both sides to come to an agreement. But neither side shows signs of backing down.

"The child has been living with them since she's 3 days old," says Kristin Hanson, the Peacocks' lawyer. Hanson hopes the policy "can be set aside and America can be the melting pot we all grew up believing it was."

Wesley Pruden Managing Editor

Josette Shiner Deputy Managing Editor

Ronald S. Godwin Senior Vice President

Tony Webb General Manager

Michael R. Mahr Director of Advertising



America's Newspaper

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Michael Keating

## D.C.'s murderous children

The Homicide Report the District's Office of Criminal Justice Plans and Analysis (OCJPA) released recently is a startling document that upends traditional thinking about crime and the individuals who commit it. Everyone should read it and give particular attention to the evocative section on murder among the city's youths. That segment of the report provides frightening insight into the values held by some of the young men who are coming of age in a culture of violence and who are defining the mores in which murder is as commonplace as spitting on the sidewalk.

Those who believe they know what makes some of these felonious young people tick and what could turn them around will be in for a surprise. No traditional remedies apply here. Theirs is a code of justice and retribution antithetical to the canon of morality that applies in mainstream society. They are social renegades unmoved by authority. They willingly accept capture and punishment under the law, for which they have no respect, as a necessary risk.

Seventeen youths jailed for murder at Oak Hill Youth Center shared their perspectives on life and death with OCJPA interviewers. They described a life on the streets governed by a very exact, unforgiving code of behavior.

Most said they killed because they "had" to. To allow a transgressor to live is to set the stage for their own murder. Being robbed or having someone default on a debt, whether drug related or not, reflects badly on the creditor's reputation. And reputation is everything. A youth who lets a slight go unchallenged establishes a precedent tantamount to announcing that he can be ripped off in the future.

While people in mainstream society can name a host of alternatives to violence, the youths interviewed could not. Asked about other choices he could have considered, one youthful murderer answered that he supposed he could have shot his victim once instead of

six times. Another said he could have burned or stabbed his victim to death instead of shooting him. For another, the question was not "why kill the victim," but "why not?"

All 17 were involved in the drug trade. They spoke of that involvement as if it was a foregone conclusion all their lives. One said he knew he would get locked up eventually but meanwhile wanted to see how much he could make before getting caught. "You never sit down to think," he said. Another youth said he "had" to kill his victim. He rationalized that merely robbing the person for revenge would have triggered a volley of retaliations until someone got killed. So, he "just ended it before it started," he said.

The report provides a critical profile of a counter-culture of young men who feel no guilt and experience no remorse. In fact, one said he expected to kill again when released. For most, their only regret is the extent to which they have been inconvenienced by their incarceration.

Last year, the District had 483 homicides or 79.6 homicides per 100,000 people, making the city No. 1 for murder for the fourth consecutive year. As the number of homicides increased, the number of victims between 18 and 20 increased markedly. About 19 percent of all victims in 1991 fell in that age range.

For these teens, their shared, homicidal code of behavior is a greater imperative than the equivocating system of criminal justice that routinely hands someone a two-year sentence for murder.

The statistics, coupled with the responses of these young people, raise troubling questions for which few people are prepared. Turning this phenomenon around is not an overnighter, and it is going to take far more than recreation programs and emotion-packed rhetoric. Change is going to take radical thinking from radical leadership who exhibit an unswerving will to restore law, order and morality.

## DON FEDER

A self-styled "hot and sexy" AIDS educator may be the best thing to happen to private education since Wisconsin State Rep. Polly Williams (she of tuition vouchers for inner-city students). By turning our public schools into slime pits, AIDS education and condom distribution will prove an incalculable boon to the voucher movement.

Suzi Landolphi raised parental hackles when her 90-minute AIDS sideshow hit the Chelmsford, Mass., High School. Miss Landolphi's burlesque, presented at a mandatory assembly, included raunchy language, stretching a condom above the head of a male student (presumably to prove that one size fits all) and imparting such vital information as the observation that orgasm relieves tension and is "10 times stronger than valium."

During a New Hampshire engagement, the communicator danced in the aisle with a male student and told the guys: "You have hundreds of words for your private parts. I think it's because you're always talking to it."

Miss Landolphi's routine is only one of the innovative approaches public schools are using to spread the gospel of safe sex.

Elsewhere in the land of the Puritans, in Swampscott, Mass., students as young as 11 brought home a dandy little book called "Risky Times," which explains, in graphic detail, how to have anal and oral sex. (Something every 11-year-old wants to know.) The work of a local pornog-

Don Feder is a nationally syndicated columnist.

## Parents not laughing at raunchy AIDS sideshow

rapher? In a manner of speaking. The book was presented to grades six through 12 by the town's school system.

In New York City, the Board of Health distributes a pamphlet apprising students of their "right [constitutional? God-given?] to decide to have sex and who [sic] to have it with," while volunteers from the Gay Men's Health Crisis hand out condoms in the classrooms.

Washington Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly just announced plans to condomize that city's schools. We know parents will have coronary seizures over this, admits Schools Superintendent Franklin Smith, "but we have to convince them that this is an investment in their future" — much like the purchase of a coffin.

For the public education establishment, "convincing" consists of keeping parents in the dark (but most of all we gotta hide it from the folks) or treating them like freaks when they object to this moral anarchy in the name of disease prevention.

Chelmsford parents were never notified of Miss Landolphi's peep show. When she performed in New Hampshire, parents were barred from the auditorium by a principal who said he "didn't want any scenes." Although New York State allows parents to withdraw their

children from AIDS programs, educators interpret the option as narrowly as possible, holding: "The school is not under an affirmative obligation to inform parents of this right."

When the Los Angeles Unified School District decided to conduct a series of public forums on its proposed condom crusade, officials were amazed by the vehemence of the response. Taken aback, they simply dismissed the protestors as right-wing kooks and religious fanatics and proceeded with the program. Parents in the small town of Falmouth, Mass., collected 3,000 signatures against condom dispensing machines in the high school boys room. The school committee responded by voting to extend the program to the junior high level.

Fostered by hysteria, AIDS education proceeds from fallacious assumptions: "Kids will do it anyway. Safety first."

But the average teen is far less erotogenously involved than they would have us believe. In a 1986 Harris Poll, 72 percent of girls aged 12 to 18 had not engaged in intercourse. Even the term "sexually experienced" is misleading; 20 percent of the teens 15 to 17 so classified have had intercourse only once.

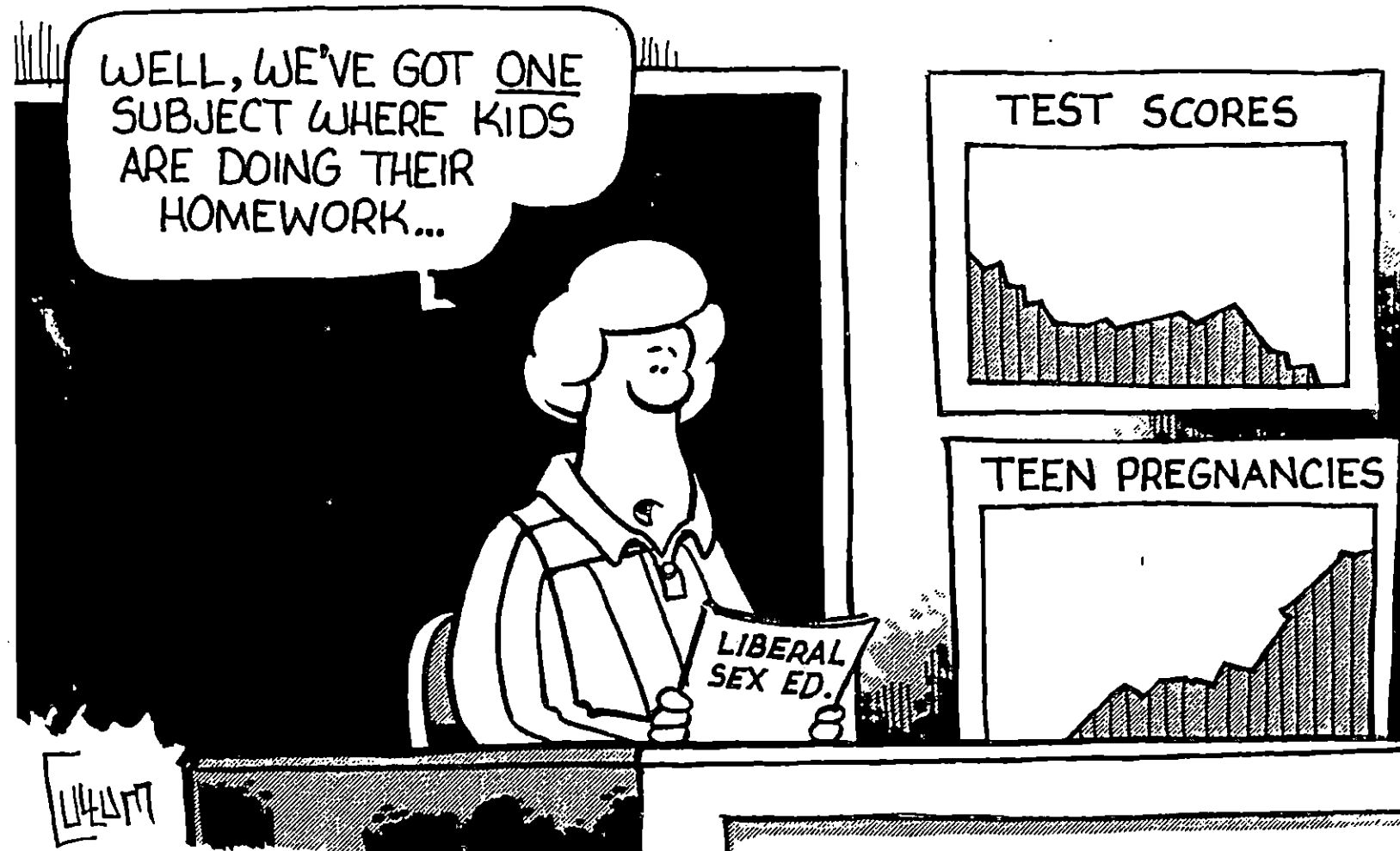
Cheer up, Planned Parenthood. AIDS education and condom distribution will boost these statistics. A

1986 study by the Alan Guttmacher Institute found that 14-year-old girls who have had comprehensive sex education are 40 percent more likely to have sex than those who were deprived of erotic instruction. Another study disclosed that plying kids with contraceptives increases sexual activity by 50 percent.

Condoms, the prophylactic paladins of AIDS mythology, have an 18 percent failure rate for contraception. For AIDS prevention, they are practically useless. The virus is 450 times smaller than a sperm, hence better able to permeate the rubber barrier. Latex gloves three times as thick as condoms have leaked blood.

When educators get away with one outrage, they up the ante. First sex education, then AIDS education, then condom distribution. What next, combination classroom-motel rooms, so safe sex can be properly monitored by concerned educators?

In the midst of this pedagogic psychosis, California prepares to vote on vouchers for private education, proponents having collected nearly 1 million signatures to put the measure on the November ballot. While the education lobby raves that this will destroy public schools, they are working overtime, albeit unwittingly, to convince the average parent that sending their children to a public school is comparable to consigning them to a brothel. Suzi Landolphi, take a bow.



# Guns, Violence Take Toll on L.A.'s Youngest Victims

**■ Statina: Thousands of youngsters are being left with psychological scars from a daily siege of shootings.**

By DAVID FREED  
Times Staff Writer

In the Aliso-Pico housing project near downtown Los Angeles, 11-year-old Frankie Mugia and his sister Crystal, 6, have had to sleep on the floor of their second-story bedroom to avoid bullets. Their window has been shot out by gunfire.

*How often do you hear gun shots?*

"Every day," Frankie says.

*How often do you see guns?*

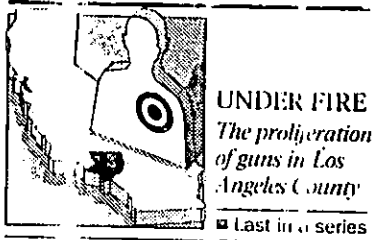
"Every day."

If children are the future, then firearms are altering the future of Los Angeles County.

Ten years ago, coroner's records show, one in 10 fatal shootings involved children or teen-agers.

ers victims. Today, the ratio is more than one in four.

Five years ago, the district attorney's office prosecuted 945



**UNDER FIRE**

*The proliferation of guns in Los Angeles County*

■ Last in a series

youth for carrying firearms. By last year, the number had more than doubled.

And the Los Angeles Times Poll

recently found that one in five households with children in Los Angeles County has been victimized by gun-related crime during the last two years.

Today, triggermen in gang shootings often are not yet old enough to shave. Some schools have had to do away with book lockers because students use them to stash pistols and other contraband. Inner-city children who cannot tell one bird's song from another can often distinguish the caliber and proximity of a gun by the crack its report.

Doctors believe there may be tens of thousands of children in Los Angeles County whose psychiatric health and emotional growth are being disrupted by constant exposure to violence, especially gunfire.

"Look at the level of meanness and cruelty that these children are experiencing out there—and yet we expect them to grow up and be Jack and Jill," said Dr. Range Hutson, director of emergency admitting at Los Angeles County-USC Medical Center.

"We are creating a generation of people who just don't care about what it is they do to each other."

Some contend that tightening control of gun and ammunition sales is the answer.

Others argue that more guns in the hands of law-abiding citizens would help deter criminals, thus making the streets safer for both children and adults. According to the Times Poll, 9% of firearms owners in Southern California say they have used their guns to thwart burglaries, car thefts or other crimes. Many blame leniency in the courts and a decline in family discipline for the proliferation of gun-related violence. Today's juvenile delinquent with a gun, they say, is tomorrow's armed robber or killer.

Still others contend that the carnage can only increase as long as residents of the county's most upscale and influential areas, where shootings are a relative rarity, remain apathetic.

"Nobody [cares] so long as it stops in the barrio and the ghetto," said Deputy Probation Officer James J. Galipeau. "Until the white middle class sees the real threat is to them and their children, nothing's going to get done."

The toll among children, meanwhile, continues to mount.

A review of medical records published in 1988 by doctors at Martin Luther King Jr./Drew Medical Center, which receives a high portion of medical emergencies in central Los Angeles, found that the number of children admitted to the center with gunshot wounds began to grow dramatically in 1980.

Between 1974 and 1980, no child under the age of 10 was hospitalized there for gunshot wounds, the study found. By 1987, however, doctors at the center had treated and admitted at least 34 children for gunshot wounds, all 9 or younger.

Ten had been shot unintentionally by other children or had accidentally shot themselves; 11 were hit by stray bullets fired by gang members or in retaliation for gang-related activities of their older siblings; 10 were inadvertently shot with guns that were aimed at other relatives during family disputes; two were shot during robberies, and one was hit by sniper fire.

Three of the 34 children died of their wounds; three others suffered brain damage requiring them to be institutionalized; one suffers from recurrent bowel

obstructions; two underwent colostomies; one lost an eye; two lost parts of a hand, and another suffers from radical nerve damage to the wrist.

"Childhood gunshot wounds," the study concluded, "have become a major urban medical problem."

If anything, the situation in Los Angeles has worsened in recent years.

In the 1970-71 fiscal year, four children 9 or younger were murdered with guns in Los Angeles County, coroner's records show. Last year, there were 10, plus two who were accidentally shot to death. Since April, gunshots have killed three children, the youngest 18 months old.

At Childrens Hospital near Hollywood, 31 children age 14 or younger were treated for gunshot wounds in 1991, compared to 21 the year before.

"Children used to be off-limits to criminals . . . and that's no longer true," said Dr. Nancy Schonfeld, director of emergency services at Childrens Hospital. "It's really sick."

One evening last July, Bianca Duran, 10, her two younger brothers and their seamstress mother, Enriqueta, were caught in a gang cross-fire while playing in San Fernando's Las Palmas Park.

A shotgun blast raked the mother's right arm and back as lead pellets ripped into Bianca's stomach, head and hand. Other pellets hit Bianca's 8- and 9-year-old brothers in their backs.

Bianca, the most seriously injured, underwent surgery and was in the hospital for three days.

"It hurt a little," she said.

Bianca and her brothers have fully recovered from

their wounds, at least physically. Sometimes when she sleeps, according to her mother, Bianca whimpers, thrashes violently, then awakes with a start—as if she is reliving the shooting in the park.

"Before this happened," Duran said, "the city was so beautiful. But now . . ." Her words trailed into tears.

In February, another little girl, Cristal Anguiano, 12, was caught in a gang gunfight as she ran to buy ice cream from a passing truck outside her home in South Los Angeles. She was shot in the heart but managed to carry her 2-year-old brother, Rafael, to safety.

Beyond the number of children killed and wounded there is an additional toll taken on inner-city youngsters who are regularly exposed to the sound and sight of gunfire.

Many psychiatrists, counselors and others contend there may be tens of thousands of children who are suffering from a form of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), like that experienced by some combat veterans.

Five years ago, a study by the National Institute of Mental Health estimated that 1% of American adults had post-traumatic stress as a result of exposure to shootings or other violent episodes. Victims typically complained of nightmares, a feeling of "jumpy" and trouble sleeping.

Children exposed to shooting incidents, according to a report by Los Angeles psychiatrists Spencer Eth and Robert S. Pynoos, are often haunted by "the sight, sound and smell of gunfire, the screams or sudden silence of the victim, the splash of blood and tissue on the child's clothes, the grasp of a dying parent and the

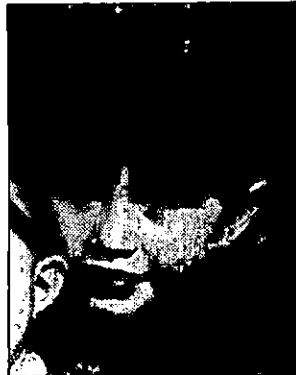
## The Youngest Victims

Shooting deaths involving children used to be a rarity, but no longer. Last year, one-quarter of the 1,554 people shot to death in Los Angeles County was age 19 or younger. Since April, three children under the age of 10 have been slain:



**Sabrina Haley**  
18 months

Sabrina was hit by gunshots fired by reputed gang member April 8 as she sat beside her father while his car was stopped at a traffic light in South Los Angeles.



**Denise Silva**  
3 years old

Denise was shot through the heart April 10 during a drive-by attack as she walked hand-in-hand with her father to a corner grocery store in Boyle Heights.



**Ramon Sanchez**  
9 years old

Ramon was hit in the head by a stray bullet May 7 as he sat inside his family's home in Watts, drinking a glass of milk.

eventual police suspects."

Sixth-grader Carly James Jr., who lives in a South-Central Los Angeles housing project, came home from school one day last year and was watching cartoons when he looked out his living room window and witnessed the fatal shooting of a gang member.

The 11-year-old boy can describe in vivid detail how the gunman fired over the heads of several toddlers playing on the lawn, how the victim grimaced in pain as he fell to the ground, clutching the grass with both hands.

That night, after he had finally fallen asleep, Carly awoke to screaming from across the courtyard, looked out his bedroom window and saw an apartment engulfed in flames. Gang members had thrown a Molotov cocktail into the apartment in retaliation for the shooting, killing a pregnant woman and her 1-year-old child.

The boy helped police identify the man later convicted of the shooting—and the youngster sometimes has nightmares. "Every time I go to school," he said "I see his face."

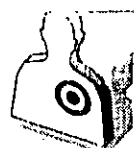
A survey headed by UCLA resident psychiatrist Eugene Jennings found last year that of 40 randomly selected high school students in Compton and South-Central Los Angeles, seven met the criteria for being diagnosed as suffering post-traumatic stress disorder. None had received counseling.

Several others who had witnessed violent acts and were found not to have the disorder complained of upsetting memories and mental images that sometimes affected their moods and ability to study.

"If the sample is representative," Jennings said, "we have a problem on our hands."

Many apparent symptoms fade with time and without counseling, mental health experts say. But if the disorder is not immediately treated, a child's ability to concentrate and learn can be disrupted, causing the child to lag in educational development while his or her peers advance.

Left untreated, a child can also grow up less able to handle the stresses of day-to-day life, according to psychiatrist Andrew Wang of the Los Angeles Unified School District.



"It's a cumulative effect," Wang said. "The risk increases each time [the child] has a stress. Humans have a threshold when it comes to stress and when you reach a certain point, you explode."

The incidence of untreated PTSD, experts said, may be much higher in Los Angeles' burgeoning immigrant communities, where many children from war-ravaged countries have already been exposed to gunfire, and where language differences and tight budgets can deter parents from seeking counseling for their children.

"A lot of these parents simply don't have the resources to protect their kids like middle-class families do," said USC psychiatrist William Arroyo, who has counseled or helped screen about 400 children traumatized by firearms-related incidents in Los Angeles County.

"You have many families," Arroyo said, "that are minimizing the suffering of their children by adopting an attitude that says, 'Don't talk about it and maybe it'll go away.'"

In the past, counselors and psychologists employed by the 630,000-student school district were often able to intervene when children were traumatized by violence. But with shootings on the rise and cutbacks in funding, the district has not kept pace, Arroyo and others said.

The ratio of students to counselors in the district's junior and senior high schools has doubled in the last three years, to about 700 students for every counselor, records show. The district has 375 school-based psychologists, but fewer than 50 are available to counsel students who have survived or witnessed shooting incidents, said Loeb Aronin, the school district's director of psychological services.

"We are losing ground," Aronin said.

School district officials, meanwhile, have seen a dramatic increase within the last five years in the number of guns and other weapons students have brought on campus out of fear.

During the 1986-1987 school year, records show, 330 students were recommended for expulsion after being caught with weapons. Last year, there were 519 such recommendations, the majority involving sixth-, seventh- and eighth-graders.

"We've got kids now who think it's not only appropriate to bring firearms to campus, but necessary," said Marleen Wong, a licensed clinical social worker for the school district. "Even their families often feel it necessary for their kids to carry guns. That is their reality—that they are having to go through a combat zone every day."

At Hollywood Junior High School, officials did away with student locker privileges to limit hiding places for weapons and other contraband. Records show that as many guns were taken from students in the last half of 1991 as in the preceding four years.

At nearby Belvedere Junior High School, bullets were fired at four students or more in the last two years. One was shot to death last year while walking home from his first day in the eighth grade.

"When one kid tells another one today, 'I'm gonna kill you,'" said Principal Victoria M. Castro, "they take it seriously."

At the Northeast Juvenile Justice Center near downtown Los Angeles, authorities see first hand the result of children's threats these days.

"The weapons available to kids in Los Angeles today are tenfold what they were 10 years ago, weapons that are unimaginable to the public," said Superior Court Judge Sherman W. Smith Jr., who recently transferred to another courthouse.

The juvenile center has a backlog of 29 homicide cases—each one involving a firearm.

In one pending case, two 15-year-old Boyle Heights gang members are accused of beating up another 15-year-old boy in April. One of the gang members allegedly held the boy in a headlock, turning him toward the other gang member, who allegedly shot the victim with a .25-caliber pistol. In another case, this one involving a .38-caliber pistol, three youths are accused of having waited for two nights last April outside a home in Culver City, then ambushing a 56-year-old man and killing him for his car.

"They didn't even mince words," said Deputy District Atty. Allan Walsh. "They just shot him."

Many of the teen-age gang members prosecuted at the Northeast Juvenile Center are later supervised by Deputy Probation Officer Mary Ridgeway. She estimates that 80% have been wounded by gunfire at least once in their young lives and that perhaps 20% of the total have been shot more than once.

"It's not just the type of firepower and the easy access to guns that's changed," Ridgeway said. "It's the fact that the age of the shooters has dropped. A lot of them are 13- and 14-year-old children, and these kids don't care who they hit."

Authorities speculate that gang members are assigning shootings to younger members to avoid prosecution. Many are aware that the district attorney is increasingly prosecuting suspects in their mid- to late teens as adults. Moreover, records show, the number of juveniles charged with illegally carrying firearms has doubled in the last five years.

"When you're 15, 16, you shoot 'em up," said one 18-year-old. "Now . . . the younger ones shoot. They're easier to brainwash. They don't know what's happening with the law."

Still, Ridgeway and others complain that the judiciary does not come down hard enough on juveniles who use guns. As a result, they believe, many youthful offenders graduate to gun-related violence as adults.

Under state law, prosecutors can file a "special allegation" to add two years to the sentence served by an adult felon who uses a gun to commit crime.

However, only 41% of felons sent to prison in 1988-1989 for gun-related crimes in Los Angeles County saw their sentences lengthened by two years for using a firearm, according to statistics kept by the California Board of Prison Terms. The others were either never charged with use of a gun, or the allegation was dropped during plea bargaining.

In November, Dist. Atty. Ira Reiner announced that his prosecutors would no longer drop special allegations involving violent offenders and would begin pushing judges to impose maximum sentences against those accused of using firearms and other deadly weapons.

"The reason," Reiner said, "is that the overwhelming number of armed and violent criminals are recidivists who will repeat their crimes immediately upon release from prison."

Yet records show that criminals armed with guns continue to benefit from a local judicial system in which nearly all defendants are offered lower sentences to keep courtrooms free to try the most violent offenders.

Parolee Marcos Contreras, for example, was arrested at 2 a.m. on New Year's Eve after Los Angeles police stopped him for driving without headlights. On the car's floorboard, officers found a loaded .38-caliber revolver.

Contreras, 27, a former gang member who had been to prison three times on narcotics charges, told authorities he was planning to fire the gun in celebration of the new year.

Deputy Probation Officer Arvis Bruveris recommended that the judge send Contreras back to prison for the maximum time allowed—in this case, five years. "If there's anyone who shouldn't be near a gun, it's [him]," Bruveris said in an interview.

Despite Bruveris' recommendation, Contreras was sentenced to one year in the Los Angeles County Jail. With time off for good behavior, he will serve less than five months.

Contreras' prosecutor said that regardless of the gun, "factual weaknesses" in the case prompted him in large measure to offer Contreras a plea bargain.



ROBERT DURELL / Los Angeles Times

Youngsters stand at a window after a woman was shot to death on the street below their apartment.

"It was sort of a close call," Deputy Dist. Atty. Charles Girot said. " . . . We have only so many prisons and you can only put so many people in them."

There are those who suggest that if government were to impose more stringent gun-control measures, fewer guns will end up in the hands of criminals, thus making America—and Los Angeles County—a safer place.

Many others argue that the Constitution guarantees the right to "keep and bear arms." By outlawing or severely limiting private ownership of firearms, they say, only law-abiding Americans will voluntarily surrender their guns, leaving them even more vulnerable to armed criminals. The recent riots, many believe, proved that point.

Still others contend that even if guns were out

## Children Hit by Gunfire

A study at Martin Luther King, Jr.-Drew Medical Center found that the number of children hit by gunfire in Los Angeles began to grow dramatically in 1980. Of 34 children admitted to the medical center with gunshot wounds between 1980-1987, three died and most suffered major injuries. They included:

| Age/Sex         | Area of Body Shot | Shooter             | Reason                       | Complications     | Days in Hospital | Outcome                     |
|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1-year-old boy  | Head              | Grandfather, age 46 | Family dispute, stray bullet | Died 3 days later | —                | Died, grandfather in prison |
| 3-year-old girl | Rectum            | Brother, age 8      | Accidental, playing with gun | Colostomy         | 22               | Home                        |
| 2-year-old girl | Head              | Sniper              | Sniper, hit by accident      | Death             | —                | Died                        |
| 7-year-old girl | Eye               | Gang member, age 17 | Retaliation                  | Lost eye          | 7                | Home                        |
| 9-year-old girl | Head              | Gang member         | Retaliation                  | Infection, wound  | 6                | Home                        |

# Women, minorities lag at Annapolis

The GAO said female midshipmen were cited more often than while males for breaking rules.

By David Hess  
INQUIRER WASHINGTON BUREAU

WASHINGTON — Women and minorities are trailing behind white males at the U.S. Naval Academy due in part to the macho traditions of the school and to lingering sex and racial biases, congressional investigators report.

In every area of the academy's scholastic, physical training and military curriculum, female and minority students have fared worse than their white male counterparts — including living up to the rigorous honor code, investigators concluded in its report, which has not yet been officially released.

In its 22-month study, the General Accounting Office said female midshipmen were cited more often than white males for minor and major rules infractions.

During the 1989-90 academic year, seven of 115 freshmen women, or 6.1 percent, were convicted of more serious conduct offenses such as drunkenness, compared with nine out of 1,155 freshmen men, or 0.8 percent.

Women were more likely than men to be charged with honor offenses, such as lying, cheating and stealing, and less likely to have their cases dropped. In academic year 1990-91, for example, 14 of 412 women, or 3.4 percent, were charged with an honor offense, compared with 82 of 3,980 of men, or 2.1 percent.

Although that GAO does not explicitly explain the differences, its investigators suggest that younger female midshipmen are held to tougher disciplinary standards than their male colleagues.

The higher incidence of violations among females and minorities, the

GAO speculated, could be related to the greater stress they say they feel at the academy.

An Annapolis commander, Michael John, said yesterday that the GAO report was "still in a draft stage and we haven't seen it yet."

However, he added, "our own survey taken this year, using the same questions and methodology as GAO, indicates we're closing the gap in performance between men and women."

For instance, John said, the average grade for senior women actually exceeds that of senior men at the academy. On a 4-point scale, men had an average grade point of 3.34. Women averaged 3.37.

John also said the academy had added several women to the faculty so that now, 89 of the 602 teachers are women.

The GAO report was requested by Sen. Sam Nunn (D., Ga.), Sen. John Glenn (D., Ohio) and Rep. Albert G. Bustamante (D., Texas). The investigation followed reports of sexual and

racial hazing during the late 1980s, including a highly publicized incident in which a female midshipman was handcuffed to a urinal and jeered by fellow students.

GAO investigators emphasized that academy authorities had taken vigorous action to minimize sex and racial biases and have outreach programs to help women and minorities cope with built-in stresses.

Even so, the GAO found that a significant percentage of white male midshipmen believe that women do not belong at Annapolis. Investigators also found minority midshipmen are proportionately more likely to be found in violation of the rules than whites, suggesting racial bias in enforcing standards.

Last September, 4,270 midshipmen were enrolled at the academy. Women made up 10 percent, blacks 6.5 percent, Hispanics 6.5 percent, Asians 5 percent and American Indians 1 percent of enrollees. Women were first admitted to the academy in 1976.

FROM  
THE "WHITE HOUSE"  
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. David L. Brennan  
Chairman of the Board  
The Brenlin Group  
670 West Market Street  
Akron, Ohio 44303



THE PRESIDENT

May 22, 1992

Dear David,

It was good seeing you. I agree with you about the  
futility of "fussing over details of cutting."  
Further, I agree on caps; but here's what I have  
proposed (see attached sheet).

Thanks for the advice. May your life be full of  
ringers!

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush".

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

Encl. - Copy of  
Notre Dame Speech

# THE BRENLIN GROUP

670 WEST MARKET STREET

AKRON, OHIO 44303

(216) 762-2420

FAX (216) 762-4604

DAVID L. BRENNAN  
CHAIRMAN OF THE BOARD

May 20, 1992

The Honorable George Bush  
President  
United States of America  
The White House  
Washington, DC 20501

Dear Mr. President:

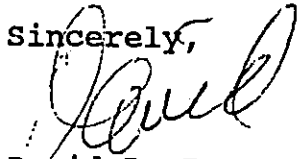
I would just like to emphasize this point: the Republican Party needs an issue that responds to the real concerns of the American public. All of us realize that living beyond our means ultimately results in bankruptcy. Instinctively, every American understands this. If you will come out four square with a promise that the government will spend no more dollars during your second term than are currently being spent, until the budget is balanced, the economy will go into orbit. Long term interest costs would drop by a third, and commitments of capital to business projects would take off.

How can this be done? \$1.5 trillion is currently more than 25% of our GNP. This is the highest percent of spending by the federal government in history. You should pledge to manage the economy of government programs within this overall cap. You should urge the public to vote for those who will support you in Congress with this program. The message is simple. It is direct. The people will understand. Whether you also cut income taxes (which I recommend) is really immaterial. Your pledge to cap all spending in absolute dollars makes the method of raising revenues relatively unimportant.

President George Bush  
May 20, 1992  
Page Two

I know there are those who will disagree with this approach. Anything short of this commitment merely makes you look like a "me too" Democrat. Fussing over the details of cutting this program or adding that program is what we've been doing for 40 years under the Democrats. It is time to stop that nonsense. Government must be capped as to its overall costs, and this is the program that will do it.

Sincerely,



David L. Brennan

DLB/mab

Dear Daniel :  
It was good seeing you.  
I agree with you  
about the futility of "fussing  
over details of cutting". Further  
I agree on caps ; but here's  
what I have proposed (see  
attached sheet).

~~It~~ ~~Good seeing~~

Thanks for the advice  
May your life be full of  
rings !      Sincerely

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(South Bend, Indiana)

For Immediate Release

May 17, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT  
AT COMMENCEMENT CEREMONIES

University of Notre Dame  
South Bend, Indiana

3:03 P.M. CDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Father Malloy. It is really wonderful to be back here at Notre Dame. Whenever I visit the campus or meet a group of Notre Dame alumni, I feel this sense of family -- and at Notre Dame that truly means more than just words; I think it's at the very core of what this institution is all about. And with this honorary degree that I am so very proud to have, I am proud to become a Domer. Thank you for the honor. Thank you for the privilege. (Applause.)

I want to salute all of the honorary degree recipients. A pleasure to be among such distinguished educators and public servants. I want to single out again Father Malloy, whose graciousness means a lot to me. A special greeting to the man we all respect so much, Chile's President Aylwin, who has done so much for democracy not just in Chile, but in our whole hemisphere. We're grateful to you, sir. (Applause.)

And another old friend I'm proud to share this dais with. He doesn't vote with me much; I don't vote with him much, but we're good friends and have been for a long time, and I respect him -- Pat Moynihan -- Pat, glad to be with you. (Applause.)

And may I pay my respects to the outstanding faculty of Notre Dame. They put up with a lot and have done a great job, I'll tell you. (Applause.)

And to our distinguished Provost, don't worry, sir, there's a provost opening in a junior college just outside of Nome, Alaska. And I'm sure you'll qualify. (Laughter.) But thank you for your warm introduction to me, thank you.

Now to the graduates. For you graduates, these have been four long years. But I first want to say -- I want to congratulate -- I don't know where they are, but the Class of 1992, and I want to pay a special tribute to the family -- to the parents, the family members and the friends. At today's ceremony are a group of second generation Domers -- 25 percent of the graduating seniors have a parent who attended Notre Dame. (Applause.) For you graduates, these have been four long, tough years. And now comes the hardest part -- sitting through the commencement speech. (Laughter.)

But Billy Graham put it very well when he told, after a speaker had gone on a long time -- a man sitting over here where Pat is, picked up the gavel, heaved it at the guy that was speaking, missed him, clipped a lady in the front row, who said, "Hit me again I can still hear him." (Laughter.)

Let me first say I'm not here in the mode of politics, I'm here to tell you the values that I strongly believe in. (Applause.) Those values can be summarized by the three major legacies that I certainly want to leave behind for my grandchildren -- hopefully, for yours -- jobs, both for today's workers who are actively seeking work and for graduates entering the work force;

strong families, to sustain us as individuals, to nurture and encourage our children, and to preserve our nation's character and culture; and peace -- peace around the world, on our streets, and in our schools, as well.

Yesterday, I spoke down at Southern Methodist where I focused on the economy and ability to generate jobs. Next week it will be the Naval Academy, when I focus on our hope for a more peaceful world.

Freedom has swept around the world. You heard Chile's President paying homage to that -- from the snows of Siberia to the sands of the Gulf. Because we and our allies stood strong and principled, our children and our grandchildren now sleep in a world less threatened by nuclear war. That is dramatic change, and it's something good that we can take great pride in. (Applause.)

Now we must concentrate on change here in America as well -- in ways no less dramatic or important. We're taking a fresh look at government and how we solve national problems. In Lincoln's words, "We must think anew, act anew."

Preparing young men and women for lives of leadership, service and meaning: each is part of this fantastic Notre Dame tradition -- a tradition that has generated a host of inspiring stories. I was particularly moved when I heard about Frank O'Malley's role in saving the bricks of your administration building. Most of you know the story -- the masonry was deteriorating and some thought the time had come to replace it. Instead, Professor O'Malley reminded all who would listen, "These bricks contain the blood of everyone who helped to build Notre Dame." (Applause.)

Today, that 150-year heritage is fully yours, too. But your preparation began long before you walked in the shadow of the dome. Your parents instilled in you character and a moral bearing. They sacrificed so that you could experience the Notre Dame education -- an education that's rooted in timeless faith and in a tradition of excellence; and in the process inculcating into each of you the worth of serving others.

I hope each of you has also made a commitment to helping others and attacking some of the major problems facing American society -- become a mentor, a community organizer, a Point of Light.

At the heart of the problems facing our country stands an institution under siege. That institution is the American family. Whatever form our most pressing problems may take -- ultimately, all are related to the disintegration of the family. (Applause.)

Let us look objectively at a few brief and sad facts. In comparison with other countries, the Census Bureau found that the United States has the highest divorce rate, the highest number of children involved in divorce, the highest teenage pregnancy rates, the highest abortion rates, the highest percentage of children living in a single-parent household, and the highest percentage of violent deaths among our precious young. These are not the kind of records that we want to have as a great country. (Applause.)

In Philadelphia the other day, in the inner city in what they call the Hill Area, I talked to a barber there, Mr. Buice, who is one of the leaders of the community there. And I said, "Do these kids come from broken families?" He said, "Sir, it's a question of babies having babies." Tears coming into his eyes. We've got to do something about this. And unless we successfully reverse the breakdown of the American family, our nation is going to remain at risk.

Senator Moynihan, way back -- way back, early in 1965, you gave us fair warning. You predicted with astonishing accuracy

the terrible trends that would result from the breakdown of the family -- and today, with respect, sir, you continue to sound the alarm. The Senator and I agree, if America is to solve her social problems, we must, first of all, restore our families. (Applause.)

In addressing the problems associated with family breakdown, nothing is more critical than equipping each succeeding generation with a sound moral compass. As Notre Dame has expanded it has never lost sight of its profound spiritual mission. Indeed, this institution takes seriously its role in building the character of our young people and the strength of our families -- for those are the leading indicators of our future as a culture.

When we instill faith in our youth, faith in themselves, faith in God -- we give them a solid foundation on which to build their future.

As Pope John XXIII said, "The family is the first essential cell of human society." The family is the primary and most critical institution in America's communities.

In January -- I'll never forget this meeting -- I met with some mayors from America's League of Cities, including Mayor Tom Bradley of Los Angeles. They came together -- small-town Republican Mayor from North Carolina; middle-size city mayors; large city mayors -- and they told me of their concerns for their cities, their municipalities. But most of all, the mayors came together on one key point, and they were unanimous: Their major concern about the problems in the cities, in their view -- the people on the front line -- was the decline in the American family. One result of that meeting is this commission on America's urban families. And I hope it comes up with some good, positive, constructive answers.

It is clear that we all know that putting America's families back on track is essential to putting our country back on track. You may ask how we can proceed when we don't all agree on the causes of the problem or the remedies. I believe that one place to begin is by supporting Pope John Paul II's most recent encyclical calling for a new social climate of moral accountability in which to raise our children. (Applause.)

And leadership in that task can and should be led by the nation's churches -- kids need to learn faith to help them understand the larger family. And we are one nation under God. And we must remember that. And we must teach that. (Applause.)

Starting today, as you go from this fine institution to face the challenges of your adult life, the decisions you make will have one of two effects: either you will add to the problems of family breakdown or you will help rebuild the American family.

And you see, I am absolutely convinced that today's crisis will have to be addressed by millions of Americans at the personal, individual level for governmental programs to be effective. And the federal government, of course, must do everything it can do, but the point is government alone is simply not enough. (Applause.)

In my view, government can, and we must, provide parental choice of the best schools for our children, whether public private or religious. (Applause.) The G.I. Bill says here's some money, go to the college of your choice. Choice should apply to all levels of education. (Applause.) Parents must read to their children and instill a love of learning. And government can, and we must, fight crime. But fathers and mothers must teach discipline and instill those values in their children. (Applause.) Government can and we must, foster American competitiveness. But parents must teach their children the dignity of work and instill a work ethic in the kids.

And to paraphrase that fantastic philosopher, Barbara Bush -- (laughter and applause) -- "What you teach at your house is more important than what happens at the White House." And she is absolutely correct on that. (Applause.)

All of us realize that merely knowing what's right is not enough. We must then do what's right. And today, I'm asking you to carefully consider the personal decisions that you'll make about marriage and about how you will raise your children. Ultimately, your decisions about right and wrong, about loyalty and integrity -- and, yes, even self-sacrifice -- will determine the quality of all the other decisions that you'll make.

And as you think about these decisions, remember: It is in families that children learn the keys to personal economic success and self-discipline and personal responsibility. And it is in families that children learn that moral restraint gives us true freedom. It is from their families that they learn honesty and self-respect and compassion and self-confidence.

And you would do well to consider the simple, but profound, words of Notre Dame's own Father Hesburgh when he said: "The most important thing a father can do for his children is to love their mother." (Applause.) Think how this vitally important commitment from fathers to mothers would radically transform for the better both the lives of thousands of our nation's hurting children and their struggling mothers as well.

In many respects, I feel here at Notre Dame that I'm preaching to the choir, because here at Notre Dame, you have benefited from the legions of great men and women of conviction and faith. And here, there is a tradition of passion for addressing the staggering needs of the day. And Notre Dame's Alumni Association is the prototype for other universities in sponsoring service projects and working toward the restoration of faith and the family in America.

In fact, at this very moment, the Notre Dame alumni group out there in Los Angeles is in the midst of a massive food and distribution project to assist residents affected by the violence in South Central L.A. (Applause.) And when that food is distributed and the riot-torn areas are rebuilt, I hope that the alumni group and thousands of others who are helping will stay involved in this and other urban areas. Government alone cannot do what needs to be done by itself. People who care must help. (Applause.)

And since becoming President I have had an opportunity to see a groundswell of Americans who are working -- and working hard -- to restore our nation's faith and heal the wounds that have undermined our nation's families.

These Americans are devoted to rebuilding, restoring America -- from the ground up, family by family, home by home, community by community. And I was impressed to learn that more than two-thirds of Notre Dame's students participate in community service -- two-thirds -- (applause) -- ranging from working with the handicapped children at Logan Center to assisting former prisoners at Dismas House. And fully 10 percent of your graduates plan to go into social service careers. And to paraphrase Pope John Paul II: "The ultimate test of your greatness is the way you treat every human being, but especially the weakest and the most defenseless ones. (Applause.)"

Let me challenge all of you to find a place to serve in some capacity -- definitely as models, but also as mentors -- remember each of us has a contribution that only we can make. And let me remind you as you assume the mantles of tomorrow's leadership that children tend to shape their dreams in the images that they have seen. Show how a good education prepares one for a full, productive life. Show what it means to be a person of strong principle and

integrity. Demonstrate how concerned individuals, by working in partnership, can transform our communities and nation.

And lastly, in a society that can sometimes be cold and impersonal, bring warmth and welcome. In a fragmented society, be a force for healing. In a society cut off from moral and spiritual roots, cultivate grace and truth. And in the face of the uncertainties of the future, affirm your purpose and realize your promise. Together, we can lift our nation's spirit. And together we can give our material, political and economic accomplishments a larger, more noble purpose -- to build God's kingdom here on Earth.

There is no surer way to build our nation's future than with the mortar and the bricks of moral values and strong families. If you will add your blood to the bricks, the future will echo, then as now, "Never bet against Notre Dame or against the United States of America."

Thank you all, and good luck to this class of 1992, and to the entire Notre Dame family. (Applause.) And may God bless our great country. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

3:24 P.M. CDT

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

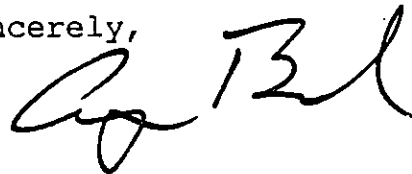
Dear Messrs. Coffman and Nagel:

Thank you for your kind letter of May 13. I was fortunate to meet with firefighters on my recent trip to California. I will never forget all that I learned from the experiences they shared with me.

The California State Firefighters' Association can be proud of the professional men and women firefighters who were dedicated to serving the people of Los Angeles during a time of crisis. They went beyond the call of duty and the Nation is thankful.

Best wishes and keep up the good work!

Sincerely,



Mr. Daniel P. Coffman  
Mr. Eldon C. Nagel  
California State Firefighters'  
Association  
3246 Ramos Circle  
Sacramento, California 95827

Reading File



**CALIFORNIA STATE  
FIREFIGHTERS' ASSOCIATION**

3246 Ramos Circle • Sacramento, CA 95827 • (916) 368-2578 • (800) 451-CSFA • (916) 368-8191 FAX

ORGANIZED NOVEMBER 10, 1922

May 13, 1992

The Honorable George Bush  
President of the United State  
1600 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear President Bush:

On behalf of the California State Firefighters' Association (CSFA) and our 28,000 members, the CSFA Board of Directors sends our deepest appreciation for the recognition you bestowed upon California firefighters and fire service professionals during your recent visit to our state. We would also like to thank you for visiting one of our members, Firefighter Scott Miller of Los Angeles City Fire, who was convalescing from injuries incurred during the Los Angeles riots.

It is recognition by prominent individuals like yourself that emphasizes the important and dangerous job that fire service professionals do on a regular basis.

Once again, thank you for taking the time to commend the exemplary job that the fire service professionals performed during the troubled times.

Sincerely,

  
DANIEL P. COFFMAN  
President

From the desk of  
**George Bush**

  
ELDON C. NAGEL  
General Manager

DPC/ECN:jrs

Rob, w  
Draft  
an appropriate  
reply

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary  
(Kennebunkport, Maine)

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NOTICE TO THE PRESS

May 22, 1992

On Wednesday, May 27, President Bush will travel to Annapolis, Maryland to address the U.S. Naval Academy Commencement, and to Atlanta, Georgia for a Bush/Quayle Fundraising Dinner. There may be additional events in Atlanta and we will let you know as soon as more details become available.

We will transport the travel pool by helicopter to Annapolis and have buses for the remainder of the Press Corps. At the conclusion of the commencement in Annapolis, the President will return to the White House with the travel pool, and the Press Corps will be transported directly to Andrews or back to the White House.

Following is an outline schedule for Wednesday:

- 8:00 am Press assemble at Northwest Gate of the White House and board press buses.
- 8:15 am Press Buses depart White House en route Annapolis.
- 9:00 am Travel Pool assembles in White House briefing room and boards vehicles for transport to Pentagon.
- 9:15 am Press buses arrive Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium.
- 9:40 am THE PRESIDENT boards Marine One and departs White House en route Annapolis.
- 10:00 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Farragut Field and boards motorcade.
- 10:05 am THE PRESIDENT departs Farragut Field en route Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium.
- 10:15 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium.
  - \* Address U.S. Naval Academy Commencement  
(10:30 am - 12:40 pm)  
Open Press  
Remarks
- 12:45 pm THE PRESIDENT boards motorcade and departs Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium en route Farragut Field.
- 12:55 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Farragut Field, boards Marine One, and departs Annapolis en route White House.
  - NOTE: Press Bus #1 will return to White House.  
Press Bus #2 will go directly to Andrews.
- 1:15 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives White House.
- 1:50 pm White House Press Corps check-in at Andrews Air Force Base.
- 2:20 pm Press Charter departs Andrews en route Atlanta, GA.
- 3:00 pm THE PRESIDENT departs the White House en route Andrews Air Force Base.
- 3:20 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews en route Atlanta.

## POOL REPORT #2

Bush plays golf, slowly  
22 May 1991

No news; precious little color. Bush took an unusually long time (2:40) to finish his 18 holes at Cape Arundel, and your pool was kept at an unusual distance. The President was joined by Scowcroft, Ken Raynor and an unidentified fourth man, and did not utter a word to reporters as he began and finished the round.

Bush wore green pants, a white LSU shirt, and white golf hat, and was at full speed behind the wheel of the golf cart by the time he reached your waiting pool. He smiled and waved to a shouted question about the Senate urban aid package. On the 14th tee some 90 minutes later, Mr. Smooth made a somewhat awkward drive but turned and tipped his hat to the galleries waiting on the clubhouse steps.

On the 18th fairway, Bush tapped his ball a foot or so backward in search of a better lie, then sent a hefty divot flying as he hit his iron shot. Demonstrating his commitment to the environment, he tracked the divot down and scooped it up with his club, then walked back 15 feet back to tamp it into the ground.

Bush took a shortcut back to the clubhouse and emerged from behind a clump of trees to speed back the pack. Scowcroft trailed within shouting distance, but only tipped his hat to a question about the possible expulsion of Yugoslav diplomats.

The President was back inside his compound by 4:30 p.m. and was expected to remain there for the evening.

Douglas Jehl, Los Angeles Times

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

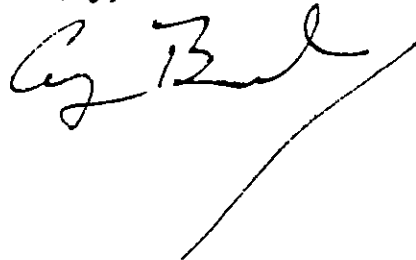
May 22, 1992

Dear Tony:

I did some checking and it would be seen as a gratuitous interference in the affairs of Mexico if I weighed in on Abelardo Garcia. He sounds like a terrific guy, and if he's related to you that must make it so. I do hope you understand though that any interference would be counterproductive. You are my friend and I hate to say no to any request, but on this one, I must.

Thanks for your wonderful letter and faithful support.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush", with a long diagonal line extending from the bottom right of the signature.

Mr. Tony Salinas  
P.O. Box 759  
Hebbronville, Texas 78361

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

*From the desk of*  
**George Bush**

*Director*

**Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page**

*Handwritten: Kennedy*  
**Tony Salinas**

P. O. BOX 759

HEBBRONVILLE, TEXAS - 78361

OFFICE PH. 512 - 527 - 3261

HOME PH. 512 - 527 - 4777

May 13, 1992

*Handwritten: CB*

President George Bush  
The White House  
Washington, D.C.

Dear President Bush,

Thank you very much for meeting with me last month reference government minority contracts. I know that you have been extremely busy, especially in light of the Los Angeles situation and for this reason I did not thank you earlier.

Also, please let me know if you were able to do anything reference my cousin, Abelardo Garcia, from the state of Tamaulipas, Mexico. It is very important to my family that he be given special consideration in his bid for governor.

I look forward to hearing from you in these matters.

Your friend,

*Handwritten signature: Tony Salinas*  
TONY SALINAS

**PUSH . . . PRESIDENT BUSH "92"**

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3502

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

2 MAY 22 PM 2: 52

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *[Signature]*  
SUBJECT: Reply to Letter from President Menem of Argentina

Purpose

To advise President Menem that we are giving active consideration to participation in an exposition in Buenos Aires later this year to commemorate the quincentenary of the voyage of Columbus.

Background

The City of Buenos Aires, with full support from the Argentina Government, has decided to organize an international exposition to commemorate the quincentenary of the first voyage of Columbus to the New World. The exposition, called America '92, is intended to be the counterpart of similar events in Genoa, Italy, and Seville, Spain. It is planned for the October-December 1992 period. One of the themes of the exposition is the Enterprise of the Americas Initiative.

In a letter dated April 28, 1992, President Menem invited the United States to participate in America '92. In our proposed response, you assure President Menem that we are giving this matter active consideration.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Argentine President Menem at Tab A.

Attachment

Tab A Proposed Reply to President Menem of Argentina

DECLASSIFIED  
PER NSC WAIVER, #204-02  
By MC NARA, Date 7/1/92

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

cc: Vice President  
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

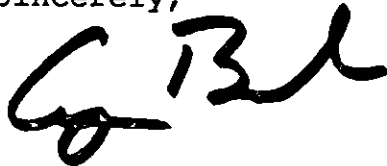
Dear Mr. President:

I appreciate very much your invitation for the United States to participate in the America '92 fair being held later this year in Buenos Aires. I am sure the fair will be an impressive showcase of the best that our hemisphere has to offer and a fitting celebration of the quincentennial of Columbus' first voyage to the New World.

I am very hopeful that the United States will be well represented. The United States Information Agency and other government agencies already are looking into ways in which they can support the success of America '92. The Deputy Director of our Christopher Columbus Quincentenary Jubilee Commission is planning a trip to Buenos Aires to survey the fair grounds and discuss how the United States can best participate.

Thank you again for your kind invitation. I am certain that America '92 will be an event in which we can all take great pride.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush", is written over the word "Sincerely,".

His Excellency  
Carlos Menem  
President of the Argentine Nation  
Buenos Aires

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

*daily  
Answered*

DATE: May 22, 1992

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To: Phil Brady

I know Jacques Torczyner whose letter to Len Garment is attached. Please have someone prepare a substantive reply

"Dear Jacques,

Our good friend Len Garment called to my attention your letter to him dated May 15 . . . ."

*From the desk of*

**George Bush**

*Dictate*

The Honorable Leonard Garment  
Dickstein, Shapiro & Morin  
2101 "L" Street, N.W.  
Washington, D.C. 20037

4059

ITE HOUSE  
INGTON

1992

2. *Per your request  
at Tab B*

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT *BS*  
SUBJECT: Letter to Jacques Torczyner

Purpose

To reinforce our argument that this Administration's record as regards the Middle East is worthy of support.

Background

As you know, Len Garment forwarded to you a copy of a letter he had received from Jacques Torczyner. Mr. Torczyner's letter is on balance a critical and somewhat tendentious assessment of our Middle East policy. I do not agree with some of his views, both as regards what we have done or what we should do. The prepared response does not engage him on the details but is friendly and constructive in tone and does make clear that we are not writing off the support of the Jewish community come this November.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the letter to Jacques Torczyner at Tab A.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Jacques Torczyner  
Tab B Letter from Len Garment forwarding Jacques Torczyner's letter

*From the desk of*

**George Bush**

*Send  
bcc  
to  
Garment*

Please send blind  
cc to Leonard Garment  
after letter has  
been dated.

Address attached.

Vice President  
Chief of Staff

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

Dear Jacques:

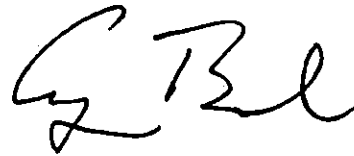
Our mutual good friend Leonard Garment took the liberty of sharing with me your letter to him of May 15. I appreciate having the benefit of your insights, your recommendations, and even your criticisms.

Without responding to each and every one, let me simply say that I have acted out of conviction, and that as you note, there are some historic accomplishments (including the defeat of Iraq and the destruction of much of its arsenal) to point to, accomplishments that have promoted the welfare of Israel and the United States alike. I recognize, too, that we have not always gotten things exactly right, especially on matters of tone. All I can do in this regard is pledge to do better.

I look forward to working to promote peace in the Middle East and Israel's security with whatever government emerges from Israel's upcoming elections. Similarly, I look forward to a dialogue both broad and deep with members of the Jewish community. No one, least of all me, is writing off their concerns. To do so would not only be foolish -- I think our record is one deserving of support -- but it would be wrong. There is much that can and needs to be done to improve the situation here at home and in the Middle East, and we can best do these things working with, rather than against, one another.

Jacques, I am glad to have had the benefit of your thinking, and hope that this letter provides you a better idea of where I stand on issues that concern the two of us and many of our common friends.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. B. L.' with a stylized, cursive flourish at the end.

Mr. Jacques Torczyner  
110 East 59th Street  
Suite 4042  
New York, New York 10022

Blind cc:  
Len Garment

LEONARD GARMENT

Dear GB,

The attached, from a  
Republican friend, and former  
President of The Zionist Organiza-  
tions of America is worth  
a look. I haven't seen him  
in years, but remember him  
as a less-than-winning personality  
with a penetrating and shrewd  
political judgment. Best, Len

JACQUES TORCZYNER

110 EAST 59TH STREET

SUITE 4042

NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022

TELEPHONE: (212) 339-6037/8

FAX: (212) 318-6175

May 15, 1992

Mr. Leonard Garment  
2101 L Street, N. W.  
Washington, DC 20037

Dear Len:

It was good to talk to you today. We are far away from the 1968 campaign. I'm attaching to this letter some notes of what I remember from candidate Richard Nixon's trip to Israel in 1967.

We are now in the midst of a presidential campaign. A year ago President Bush looked invincible and no really good democrat wanted to run. That is why the democrats had such a poor initial selection of candidates and that finally their choice is Governor Clinton. For a while I thought there would be a Willkie-like revolt at the convention and someone would be drafted to run, but this now seems out of the question.

The Perot candidacy is also troublesome. He is known to contribute generously to the Shaare Zedek Hospital in Jerusalem. You have no doubt read his seven-minute speech at the American Jewish Committee.

President Bush has made two grave mistakes -- the declaration last spring that East Jerusalem is part of the administered territories and the main one, his September 12th statement, generally interpreted as an anti-Semitic remark.

The achievements of the administration are positive; the repeal of "Zionism is Racism" at the U.N., the tremendous support to solve the Russian and Ethiopian Jewish problems, the continued aid, both military and economic, to Israel. The peace process is also a great achievement for the administration and, for the time being, the United States is not interfering in the various discussions. The only negative statement was made this week by Mrs. Tutwiler, when she said that the United States supports a resolution adopted in 1948 asking for the return of the Palestinian refugees to Israel.

I do not want to speak about the role Richard Haas, Dennis Ross and others play. I only want to stress the change of attitude of the Jewish community which realizes now that the Vice President is our friend. Also the recent events in Los Angeles have strengthened politically a great friend of Israel, Jack Kemp.

What should be prevented is that the republican party believes it has no chance to get the Jewish vote and that the democratic party believes that it has us in its pocket.

.....

May 15, 1992

I am not sure that it is wise for the President to appear before large Jewish audiences. It is also wrong to believe that the administration can split the Jewish community. The few who support the freezing of the settlements (like the American Jewish Congress) ARE THOSE WHO WILL NEVER VOTE THE REPUBLICAN TICKET.

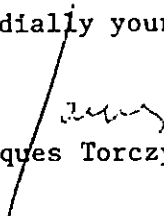
I have a few concrete suggestions:

1. The president is going to Warsaw at the beginning of July. He MUST go to Auschwitz and make a strong speech, not only about the past, but the dangers facing the Jews in Europe with the rebirth of a strong and militant anti-Semitic movement.
2. The President should meet with the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish Organizations and not make it a joint meeting with the republican Jewish coalition. The last time the White House made the list of invitees and it was counterproductive.
3. The issue of the loan guarantees was mishandled by all concerned. It is also regrettable that the impression is created that the administration prefers Rabin to Shamir. I can predict that Rabin will be a much more difficult negotiator than Shamir. The people of Israel want peace, but they trust the Likud to be able to carry it out. A LIKUD IN OPPOSITION MEANS NO PEACE.
4. The real campaign starts after Labor Day. Wherever possible, the President should meet with the Jewish community in informal gatherings and without confrontation. In general, the attitude of the Jewish leadership is to tone down the shrill utterings, but both sides have to behave differently and it is the administration's responsibility to initiate this quieting down process.
5. In view of the high regard in which President Nixon is now held in this country, I suggest a meeting of the Conference of Presidents of Major American Jewish organizations with the former President. I have tried to invite him, but he has not appeared before Jewish audiences where he will be well received, especially at the present time.

For the last three years I have been a member of the U. S. Observer Team at UNESCO and have seen the magnificent way in which John Bolton has defended the interests of Israel in this forum. I have also known the Secretary of State, Mr. James A. Baker, III, for many years and have the highest regard for him and consider him a personal friend. He also has the Madrid Conference to his great credit.

I hope to hear from you after you receive this letter and, in the meantime, I send you, as always, my best personal regards.

Cordially yours,

  
Jacques Torczyner

JT:hc

# CANDIDATE RICHARD M. NIXON'S VISIT TO ISRAEL

JUNE 1967

I had been active in the 1960 presidential campaign. In May 1967, the favorite candidate mentioned for the 1968 election was Governor Scranton of Pennsylvania.

In May 1967 I called Rosemary Woods and asked her if the former Vice President would be willing to visit Israel. She told me that he was very busy in his law firm and would shortly go to Kenya.

At that time I was President of the Zionist Organization of America and had excellent relations with the Rafi party formed by the previous close friends of David Ben Gurion, who was now in the opposition. Then started the Six-Day War and the miraculous Israel victory.

Shortly thereafter I had the visit of Leonard Garment, a partner of Vice President Nixon in his law firm and in charge of the Jewish campaign. I got in touch with General Moshe Dayan who had become, in the meantime, Minister of Defense, and around the 20th of June the former Vice President visited Israel. It is then that he saw the Golan Heights, realized how small the country was and how important it was to keep it secure in the fact of strong Arab opposition.

*In the Vice President*  
On July 1, 1967, I organized a luncheon at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel in New York. President Eisenhower had a luncheon there at the same time at which he launched his latest book and King Hussein of Jordan had a press luncheon on the same floor.

Vice President Nixon made a speech that I reproduced in the official house organ of the Zionist Organization of America. The only paragraph that he removed from the printed speech was the one in which he recommended the building of "Potemkin villages" for the Arab refugees. He kept every word he wrote in this article when he became President. The historic role of President Nixon during the Yom Kippur was made him a hero in the State of Israel that continues to this day.

*war*

*JT*  
Jacques Torczyner

JT:hc

5/15/92

# Press Release *for your information*

## National Jewish Democratic Council

711 Second Street, N.E. Suite 100 ■ Washington, D.C. 20002 ■ Tel. (202) 544-7636 ■ Fax (202) 544-7645

### NJDC Officers

Mort Mandel, Chair  
Cleveland, OH  
Stuart Elzenstat, Vice-Chair  
Washington, D.C.  
Monte Friedkin, Vice-Chair  
Boca Raton, FL  
Steve Grossman, Vice-Chair  
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Eather R. Landa, Secretary  
Salt Lake City, UT  
Sheldon Cohen, Treasurer  
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Gary Rubin  
West Des Moines, IA  
Ronald Rubin  
Philadelphia, PA  
Linda Sher  
Chicago, IL  
Melvin Swig  
San Francisco, CA

### DNC Liaison

Lynn Cutler, Vice Chair  
Democratic Nat'l Committee

### NJDC Staff

Steve Gutow  
Executive Director  
Lewis Roth  
Press Officer

Contact: Lewis Roth (202) 544-7636

## NJDC Sees Jewish Democratic Vote As Pivotal In '92

May 14, 1992 Washington, D.C.--The National Jewish Democratic Council today released a study on Jewish voting patterns that shows how an increase in Democratic voting by American Jews could be a major factor in helping the Democratic Party win the White House this year. The group also released a summary of its 1992 grassroots plans for its membership, as well as the testimony that it will present at the Democratic National Platform Committee hearing on May 18th in Cleveland, Ohio. For a complete copy of all three documents, call Lewis Roth at (202) 544-7636.

According to NJDC Executive Director Steve Gutow, "The Democratic Party needs to take advantage of the tremendous opportunity that Bush has given it to significantly increase Jewish support for its presidential candidate. The American Jewish community historically gives Democratic candidates about 70% of its votes. But Bush has so alienated American Jews with his hostile attitude towards Israel, manipulation of racism, opposition to abortion, and weakening of the separation of Church and State, that it's quite possible that Jews could give 90% of their votes to Democrats this year.

"The NJDC is building a network of grassroots chapters across the country to get its members involved in the elections, especially in states with large Jewish populations that Dukakis barely lost in 1988 like California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Maryland. A bigger Jewish Democratic vote would have almost wiped out Bush's margin of victory in these states and brought the Democratic candidate close to capturing 106 more of the 270 electoral votes needed to win the White House.

"Given Bush's record, the American Jewish community will be highly motivated to get involved in the political process. In a year when large numbers of voters could be turned off and stay at home, American Jews will be turned on and at the polls."

In 1988, Republicans won California by 3.5%; a 20% Jewish increase in voting Democratic would narrow that difference to 1.54%. Illinois went for Bush by 2.1%; a 20% Jewish increase would narrow that difference to .8%. Maryland voted Republican by 2.9%; a 20% Jewish increase would narrow that difference to .3%. Pennsylvania voted for Bush by 2.3%; a 20% Jewish increase would narrow that difference to .7%.

The NJDC plans to set up organizations in these four states as part of its 1992 election efforts. Seven other states with large Jewish populations--New York, Connecticut, Florida, Massachusetts, New Jersey, Ohio, and Michigan--also may receive attention, as could Colorado, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Missouri, Texas, Utah, Washington, and Wisconsin.

On May 18th, the NJDC will also raise the Jewish profile within the Democratic Party by presenting oral testimony at the Democratic National Platform Committee hearing. The group's testimony will call for Democrats to work towards ending racism, anti-semitism, and sexism by addressing America's economic and social needs in the wake of the L.A. riots. The NJDC will also encourage the platform to commit Democrats to repairing the damage Bush has done to U.S.-Israel relations, reaffirming the Party's support for abortion rights, and asserting their commitment to maintain the separation of Church and State.

May 22, 1992

Dear Jaime:

I really appreciate your letter of May 5. It was great seeing you again. I am sure you have seen some of the attached information on our America 2000 education program and our six education goals. I am sure you know one of these goals is to move ahead on math and science.

These are not easy times for our country, and kind words like yours mean a lot. Warm regards to you, Fabiola, Fernando, and Jaimito.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Mr. Jaime Escalante  
Foundation for Advancements  
in Science and Education  
Suite 215  
4801 Wilshire Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90010

P.S. Here's a little souvenir for your scrapbook taken in Maine a while ago. Barbara and I will be here for Memorial Day weekend.

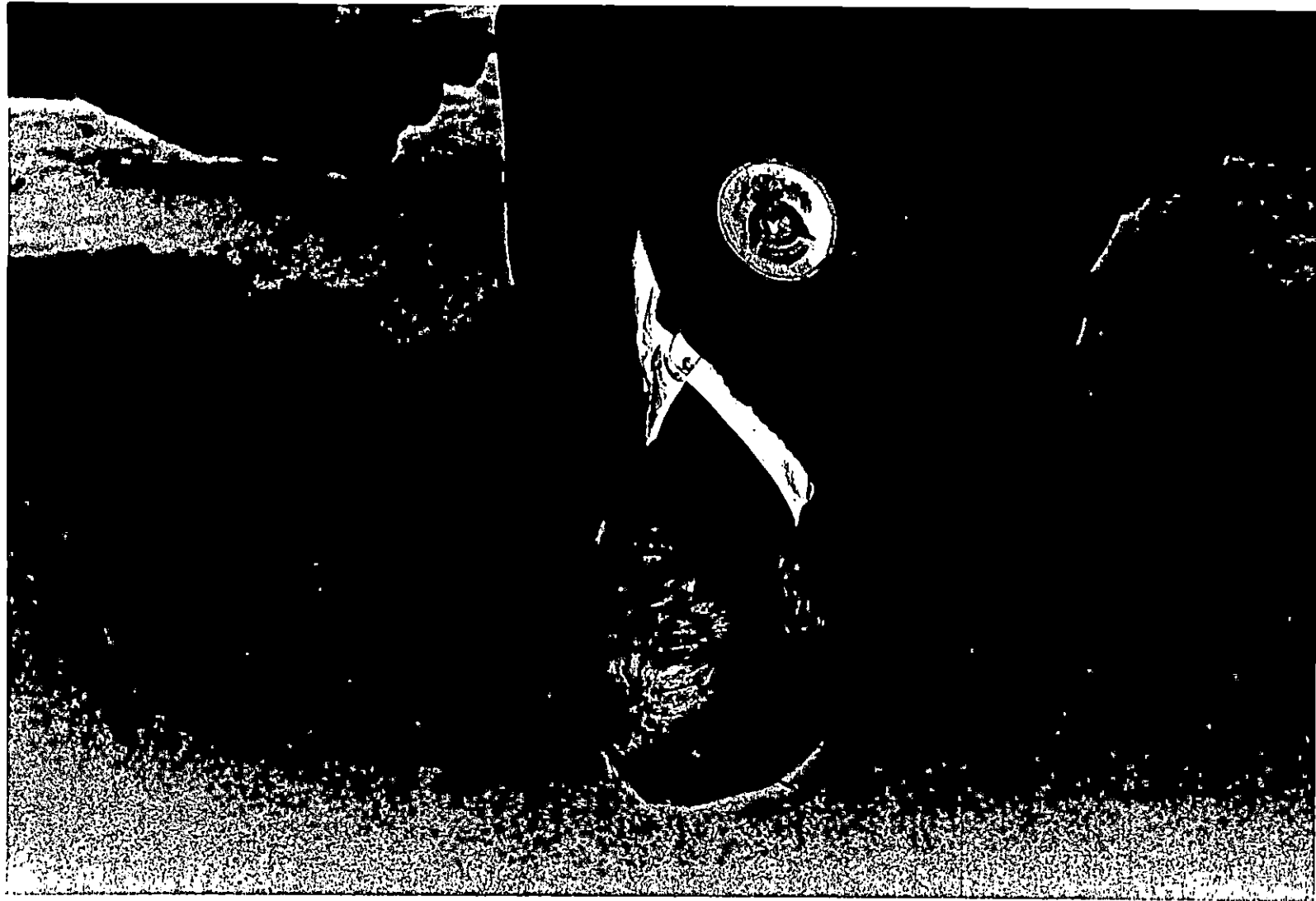
GB/PDB/JG/jt (5PRES)

cc: w/copy of inc to Rose Zamaria

Enclosures: Autographed photo of the President  
4/16/91 Fact Sheet on America 2000  
4/18/91 America 2000 Fact Sheet  
4/19/91 Presidential Wire

To Jaime e Fabiola Escalante - Fernando e Taiwito, too  
With High Esteem, Your Friend, *Ag. Bant*

May '92



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

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

Dear Jaime:

I really appreciate your letter of May 5, and it was great seeing you again. I am sure you have seen some of the attached information on our America 2000 education program and on our six education goals. I am sure you know one of these goals is to move ahead on math and science.

These are not easy times for our Country, and kind words like yours mean a lot. Warm regards to you, Fabiola, Fernando and Jaimito.

Most sincerely,

✓ Mr. Jamie Escalante  
Foundation for Advancements in  
Science and Education  
Suite 215  
4801 Wilshire Boulevard  
Los Angeles, California 90010

P.S. Here's a little souvenir for your scrapbook taken in Maine a while ago. Barbara and I will be here for Memorial Day weekend.

8  
m<sup>a</sup>+h

...who needs it?!

*Shirley Green  
cc R. Porter*

May 5, 1992

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

Dear Mr. President:

It was a great pleasure to see you again. Thank you for inviting me to visit with you.

I am greatly honored by the beautiful Presidential pins which you presented to me. As you know, I will be wearing the tie clasp whenever I make a speech or give a workshop.

Events here in California during the past week have demonstrated forcefully how vital our efforts to educate this nation and in particular, its minorities are. Reaching the National Education Goals never was more important than now. I know that education is the only hope for some people who, otherwise, have little to look forward to.

I appreciate everything that you are doing for education and I pledge myself to assist in anyway that I can both now and during your second term. In this regard, I spoke with Mr. Roger Porter and expect to see him again soon.

I also want you to know that Fabiola and our sons, Fernando and Jaimito, pray for you daily. Our prayers will continue in the sincere hope that your decisions will continue to reflect the higher spiritual existence of Mankind and that even in the most difficult of times you never lose sight of that wondrous quality that differentiates Man from beast.

Very best regards,

*Jaime Escalante*  
Jaime Escalante

Encl:

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

Made possible by grants from

ARCO



IBM

328204  
Starring  
JAIME ESCALANTE  
on PBS  
September 4, 91  
at 8 p.m.

MATH...WHO NEEDS IT?  
is produced by  
FASE Productions,  
the producers of the  
educational series  
FUTURES.

*Dictated*

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

This Letter  
was found on  
my desk. UNSURE  
Where IT came  
from.

A stylized, cursive handwritten signature, possibly reading "John" or "John F.", written in dark ink.

X7133

SEARCH - QUERY  
00001 272277

272277            DOCUMENT=            1 OF            4

OPID            JV  
DOCDATE        910911  
RECTYP        IBA  
MEDIA          L  
STAFF          PRESIDENT BUSH  
                PRBUSH  
NAME           MR. JAIME ESCALANTE  
ORG            FOUNDATION FOR ADVANCEMENTS IN  
                SCIENCE AND EDUCATION  
STREET        SUITE 215  
                4801 WILSHIRE BOULEVARD  
ADDR           LOS ANGELES                    CA 90010  
SUBJECT        APPRECIATION FOR THE PRESIDENT 'S PHONE CALL  
                ON LABOR DAY AND SUPPORT FOR THE PROGRAM,  
                "MATH...WHO NEEDS IT?!"  
SUBCODE        FG001-08  
                ED                    FG001-05  
INDCODE        4610  
RPTCODE        MI  
ACTION        COGEE ORG 910923 CP2 A 910926  
COMMENTS      FOR THE PRESIDENT 'S READING FILE  
                SEE ALSO ID 276047 AND 276056

I0607 \* End of document.

SEARCH - QUERY  
00004 272870

272870            DOCUMENT=            1 OF            1

OPID            TJ  
DOCDATE        910819  
RECTYP        IBA  
MEDIA         L  
STAFF         ROGER PORTER  
              PDPORT  
NAME           ADMIRAL JAMES D. WATKINS (USN) RET.  
TITLE         SECRETARY OF ENERGY  
ADDR           WASHINGTON                    DC 20585  
SUBJECT        ON SEP 4 91 AT 8PM (EST), PBS WILL AIR A ONE  
              HOUR TELEVISION SPECIAL ENTITLED "MATH ---  
              WHO NEEDS IT?" -- THIS PROGRAM IS HOSTED  
              BY THE RENOWNED EDUCATOR, JAIME ESCALANTE.  
SUBCODE        PR015-01  
              UT001-01 ED            FG025            FG006-07  
INDCODE        1140  
ACTION         RM RSZ 910924 C 910924  
COMMENTS      I HOPE YOU & YOUR STAFF WILL HAVE AN  
              OPPORTUNITY TO WATCH THIS PROGRAM.

I0601 \* End of documents in list. Press ENTER or enter another command.

From the desk of  
**George Bush**

cc: given to  
Sam Skinner  
6/25/92

Mayon White  
of Cleveland

---

Plain-Deaken Publishers  
suggest I write.

Document Originally  
Attached to  
Following Page

PD

Daily 5/22  
TR 187-02

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

Dear Alex:

I enjoyed our visit. I fired off the attached letter to Mayor White. I hope it's on target.

Thanks for taking the time to ride to Parma with me.

Warm best wishes.

Sincerely,

*Cy Bush*

Mr. Alex Machaskee  
President and Publisher  
The Plain Dealer  
1801 Superior Avenue  
Cleveland, Ohio 44114-2198

P.S. I was not overly pleased with White's comments, but it's a crazy political year. Great seeing you.

Nancy - done  
Index that  
GB gave to  
SS action of  
letting Machaskee  
know

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

Dear Mayor White:

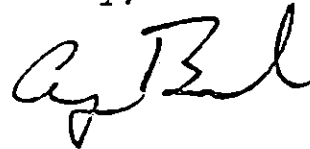
In Cleveland yesterday, I learned of the great job you did and are doing in bringing key elements together in Cleveland to help the entire city.

I understand that you personally spent hour after hour on the streets to calm the passions. Then you got the Roundtable, the Growth Association, and Cleveland Tomorrow to come together to see what could be done to preserve Cleveland's order and to help those in need of assistance.

I congratulate you on setting a fine example for other cities around the country.

Good luck.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Michael R. White  
Mayor of Cleveland  
601 Lakeside Avenue  
Cleveland, Ohio 44114

## A CLASH OF VALUES

President Bush wasn't about to let Bill Clinton have the wholesome issue of family values all to himself Thursday in Cleveland.

While Clinton was across town unveiling a package of new proposals aimed at preserving the American family, Bush repeated his commitment to the same issue. And Bush only mentioned "Murphy Brown" once.

Bush declined to respond to reporters' questions throughout his brief visit here Thursday, including repeated queries about polls that show him trailing Ross Perot. Instead, the President stuck to his scripted speeches at the fund-raiser and later to a group of about 1,600 people at St. Josephat Ukrainian Catholic Cathedral in Parma, where he was honored by the leaders of numerous ethnic groups.

The President canceled an announced visit to the 3rd District police station, where he was to shake hands with some of Cleveland's finest in front of the national media. Bush's aides said the police-station stop, which was on his official schedule distributed to the news media, was canceled because of scheduling problems.

But Gov. Voinovich said he advised the President to cancel the stop at the police station. Voinovich said the attention generated from such a visit "would detract" from Bush's appearance before the ethnic leaders.

Mayor Michael White, a Democrat, said that if Bush had made a campaign visit to the police station, he would have felt compelled to respond. The mayor, who declined an invitation to meet the President at the airport, said: "What I'm trying to say to you is the man was here for his reelection.... I'm opposed to his reelection, and the use of public facilities would have been used for a political purpose."

(Steve Luttner, Cleveland Plain Dealer, 1A)

### Bush Should Turn Off TV, Get To Work, Clinton Says

**CLEVELAND** -- The presidential campaigns of President Bush and Gov. Clinton crossed in the glare of T.V. lights here Thursday and turned what might have been "Family Affair" into "Family Feud."

Clinton fired the first volley when he accused the Bush Administration of blaming T.V. for problems facing American families while offering few solutions and accepting no blame.

Bush, hosting a \$250,000 fund-raiser just eight blocks away, shrugged off the attack, saying simply: "There are all kinds of ways that we can help."

Conservative White House aides, meanwhile, called reporters' attention to Clinton's recent speech to homosexuals and suggested Clinton can't have it both ways.

"Heaven forbid that we should do election-year politicking, but while Dan Quayle was talking about family values, Clinton was wooing gay groups.... That's the dilemma he faces," said an Administration official.

(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A9)

###

THE WHITE HOUSE  
WASHINGTON

ESTIMATED TRAVEL TO PORTLAND  
IS 3 HOURS SINCE THERE ARE  
NO HELOS AND THERE WILL  
BE MEMORIAL DAY TRAFFIC.

LIKE TO GO No  
INVITE WINNERS TO POINT  
MAYBE NEXT YEAR  
CHECK PAPER TO SEE WHO WIN. *mel to follow up w/names. 5/23*

Memorandum

To: Robin MacLean, Secretary of the President  
From: Dale Jenkins, Lead Advance  
Date: May 22, 1992  
RE: Horseshoe tournament

*Regretted w/Jenkins.*

-----

I have spoken to Ms. Linda Olson of Channel 6 News in Portland. Ms. Olson told me that Bob Elliott is a reporter for Channel 6 and was previously with NBC. He is participating in a horseshoe tournament on Saturday, May 23 in Portland with the Red Cross to raise money for the victims of the Hurricane Bob in January.

Mr. Elliott, knowing that The President plays horseshoes, thought he might be interested in participating in this tournament and has extended an invitation.

Should the President wish to attend or extend an invitation to Mr. Elliott and/or the winners to Walker's Point for a game of horseshoes, please let us know and we will get further details.

Attachment - Channel 6 FAX

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

Please Inform the President →

The President Bush,  
Red Cross, State  
of Maine  
Horse Shoe Tavernament

SAT May 23 →

Starts on  
West TV  
channel 6

Thurs 11 PM - News

Watch tonight's newscast at  
11 PM for Details

GB to non-Suppo

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 22, 1992

Dear Michael:

I heard about your call to Gregg Petersmeyer's office and please let me put you at ease. What you do in politics is your business, and I respect that enormously. The main thing is that you have pitched in in an unprecedented, positive way to further the Points of Light concept. For me that overrides any little news story on political preference.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mr. Michael Eisner  
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer  
The Walt Disney Company  
500 South Buena Vista Street  
Burbank, California 91521

P.S. Thanks for all you do -- a true Point  
of Light.

JAN'S