

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

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

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

OA/ID Number: 90683
Folder ID Number: 90683-002

Folder Title:
Wednesday, May 27, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
V	0	0	0	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet
(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	05/27/92	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, May 27, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML15972
OA/ID Number: 90683-002
Date Closed: 10/1/2024
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee
Processed by:
Processed by:

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congressman Jim Nussle (R-IA)

DATE: May 26, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To call Congressman Nussle regarding the NIH Reauthorization conference report.

BACKGROUND: Jim Nussle is a strong pro-life Republican who voted against the NIH Bill when it came before the House in July. However, he is really struggling with next week's vote on the conference report.

KEY POINTS: -- I'm going to have to veto the NIH Reauthorization for at least 3 different reasons.

✓ -- First, it is about \$3.1 billion over our request. I have consistently supported major increases in funding for NIH. But, this bill is not even realistic given the limited resources we have.

✓ -- Second, Bill Barr has said there are real Constitutional concerns. Henry Waxman has created an advisory council that can overrule decisions of the Secretary of HHS.

✓ Then, there is the lifting of the moratorium of the fetal tissue ban. This ban is very narrow; it applies only to federal funding for research on tissue from induced abortions.

- The experts at NIH are convinced that there is adequate **scientifically suitable** tissue to meet our current research needs. That is why I issued an executive order establishing a Fetal Tissue Bank using tissue from ectopic pregnancies and spontaneous abortions.
- I need your vote against this bill. If we lose on this one, the Democratic leadership will bring up every tired liberal issue on their agenda and undermine everything we've been able to do together.

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

May 26, 1992

ACTION:

9 37/

concern on vote reversal

Alzheimer's moves him
"is enough into what you've
done on bench" etc.

guess - OK

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congressman Bill Zeliff (R-NH)

DATE: May 26, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To call Bill Zeliff regarding the NIH Reauthorization Conference Report.

BACKGROUND: Bill Zeliff is a generally pro-life Member who voted against the NIH Reauthorization when it came before the House in July. However, he is still undecided on next week's vote. Senator Bob Smith has called him about the vote but he is still undecided. In the past, he has indicated he will not let you down if he is needed.

KEY POINTS:

- I'm going to have to veto the NIH Bill for at least 3 different reasons.
- First, it is about \$3.1 billion over our request. I have consistently supported major increases in funding for NIH. But, this bill is not even realistic given the limited resources we have.
- Second, Bill Barr has said there are real Constitutional concerns. Henry Waxman has created an advisory council that can overrule decisions of the Secretary of HHS.
- Then, there is the lifting of the moratorium of the fetal tissue ban. This ban is very narrow; it applies only to federal funding for research on tissue from induced abortions.
- The experts at NIH are convinced that there is adequate **scientifically suitable** tissue to meet our current research needs. That is why I issued an executive order establishing a Fetal Tissue Bank using tissue from ectopic pregnancies and spontaneous abortions.

-- If Henry Waxman and the Democrats win on this one, they're going to bring up every tired idea on their liberal agenda. And, they're going to undermine everything we've been able to do.

-- I need your help on this one.

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

May 26, 1992

ACTION:

✓ 9:12 AM

Stick with fiscal
no on bonus.

strong supporter -
fiscal conservatism 3.1 bill = major issue
Parkinson's disease - keep open mind
on research.

Stay with you on fiscal issues
keep
(open mind
NN - things getting better
confidence, " "

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congresswoman Beverly Byron (D-MD)

DATE: May 26, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To call Congresswoman Byron regarding the NIH Reauthorization Conference Report.

BACKGROUND: Congresswoman Byron is a Democrat with a spotty pro-life record. She voted for the NIH Reauthorization when it came before the House in July. However, she has said that, as a retiring Member, the Democrat leadership will have little to say about her voting record the remainder of the year. She is apparently reconsidering her position on NIH.

KEY POINTS:

- I'm going to have to veto the NIH Bill for at least 3 different reasons.
- ✓ -- First, it is about \$3.1 billion over our request. I have consistently supported major increases in funding for NIH. But, this bill is not even realistic given the limited resources we have.
- ✓ -- Second, Bill Barr has said there are real Constitutional concerns. Henry Waxman has created an advisory council that can overrule decisions of the Secretary of HHS.
- ✓ -- Then, there is the lifting of the moratorium of the fetal tissue ban. This ban is very narrow; it applies only to federal funding for research on tissue from induced abortions.

-- The experts at NIH are convinced that there is adequate **scientifically suitable** tissue to meet our current research needs. That is why I issued an executive order establishing a Fetal Tissue Bank using tissue from ectopic pregnancies and spontaneous abortions.

✓ -- If Henry Waxman wins on this one, he's going to undermine everything we've been able to do together.

-- I need your help on this one.

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

May 26, 1992

ACTION:

(1) Alzheimer's - ~~problem~~ enormous
(2) Med. Research -
(3) This is a "tough one"
" Probably be in right place
when time to vote "

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congressman Floyd Spence (R-SC)

DATE: May 26, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To call Congressman Spence regarding the NIH Conference Report.

BACKGROUND: Congressman Spence is a strong pro-life Republican who voted for the NIH Bill when it passed the House in July. His previous vote plus Senator Thurmond's vote for the bill is making it very difficult for Spence to change his position. He remembers when you called him on the Budget Resolution in 1990 and he couldn't be with us. A request from you on this bill will be hard to refuse.

KEY POINTS:

- I'm going to have to veto the NIH Bill for at least 3 different reasons.
- First, it is about \$3.1 billion over our request. I have consistently supported major increases in funding for NIH. But, this bill is not even realistic given the limited resources we have.
- Second, Bill Barr has said there are real Constitutional concerns. Henry Waxman has created an advisory council that can overrule decisions of the Secretary of HHS.
- Then, there is the lifting of the moratorium of the fetal tissue ban. This ban is very narrow; it applies only to federal funding for research on tissue from induced abortions.

- The experts at NIH are convinced that there is adequate **scientifically suitable** tissue to meet our current research needs. That is why I issued an executive order establishing a Fetal Tissue Bank using tissue from ectopic pregnancies and spontaneous abortions.
- Henry Waxman really wants to win this one. And if he does, the Democrats will bring up every tired liberal idea on their agenda and it will undermine everything we've worked for during our years in Washington.

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

May 26, 1992

ACTION:

1) got him 8¹⁵
2) " try to stay with you!!
3)

12:30 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS (Annapolis/Harry Rosenthal, AP) -- President Bush told Naval Academy graduates that America will continue to have the "best trained, the best equipped and the most prepared battle-ready" forces in the world because "we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace." In a commencement address to 1,010 graduating midshipmen, Bush spoke about the need to maintain readiness and a strong national defense. "The fact is that never in the history of man has the world been a benign place," Bush said. "It will take hard effort to make it and keep it a better place. There is no substitute for America's strength and sense of purpose."

HAITI/TRADE (AP) -- President Bush is expected to sign an order banning foreign ships that do business with Haiti from entering U.S. ports, Administration officials say. Bush's expected move is a follow-up to a resolution approved by the OAS 10 days ago. When he would sign the order was not immediately clear. Once Bush's order goes into effect, the Europeans "will have to make a choice between doing business with Haiti and doing business with the United States," said an Administration official.

HAITI/ARISTIDE (West Palm Beach/Reuter) -- Exiled President Aristide has sharply criticized the Bush Administration for forcing boat people fleeing the island back to their homeland. In an interview Tuesday with (Palm Beach) The Post, Aristide said his people will never accept life under a dictator. "That is why Bush's plan to return fleeing Haitians won't work," Aristide said. Aristide, who also criticized the OAS for not enforcing an economic embargo, said Bush's plan won't stop the flow of people from Haiti.

DURABLE GOODS (Reuter) -- Strong demand in the transport sector during April helped push orders for expensive durable goods up for a fourth straight month, the Commerce Department said. Last month's 1.4 percent increase in orders followed a 2.3 percent gain in March, revised upward from a 2.1 percent raise.

AFGHANISTAN/DRUGS (Islamabad, Pakistan/UPI) -- The U.S. and Britain, concerned with illegal drug trafficking, have warned the new government in Afghanistan to destroy the poppy crop for harvest in some of its provinces or face aid cuts, Western diplomatic sources said Wednesday. The sources said both governments conveyed their concern in very strong terms to the new mujahedeen government in Kabul, indicating they might even reconsider their pledges for post-war emergency relief.

NATO CONFERENCE (Brussels/AP) -- NATO members endorsed plans for using the alliance's troops as peacekeepers in conflicts throughout Europe, opening the door to the deployment of its forces to war-torn Yugoslavia. But Secretary Cheney said the U.S. has no plan to send American soldiers to Yugoslavia. NATO ministers are to meet in Oslo next week to formally approve the expanded peacekeeping role. "I anticipate (foreign ministers) will endorse such a role for NATO in response to a request from the CSCE," Cheney said. "I would not expect that all governments would participate in all operations or that the United States would participate in each one."

###

Wednesday, May 27, 1992

1. PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Congressman Vin Weber (R-MN) (3:05 p.m.)

Would like a return call.

He want's to pass along confidential political information, and Nick Calio recommends a return call.

(Name and number has been passed to WH Operators to expedite outgoing call)

*Passed to Bill
Farrish for YB
to do from the plane.
1526 5/27*

3:30 P.M. NEWS UPDATE

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS (Annapolis/Thomas Ferraro, UPI) -- President Bush, speaking to the first class to graduate from the Naval Academy since the collapse of the Soviet Union, said the U.S. military must remain strong to preserve a safe world. Bush also made a pitch for his multibillion-dollar economic rescue package for the C.I.S. "We have proved we can win the war," he said, "but as a nation we have yet to prove that we can lead without an enemy on the doorstep. Now we must wage peace."

(Annapolis/Reuter) -- President Bush renewed his commitment to keep the U.S. military strong to meet unforeseen challenges in the post-Cold War era and warned of the "folly" of isolationism. "This I pledge as commander-in-chief: American forces will continue to be the best trained, the best equipped and the most battle-ready force in the entire world. We owe it to the generations coming up," he said to Naval Academy graduates.

KOLLEK VISIT (UPI) -- President Bush met with Mayor Teddy Kollek of Jerusalem and reaffirmed U.S. policy for an undivided Jerusalem. "Our policy is very clear on it," said Bush in response to a question during a picture-taking session in the Oval Office. "It has not changed." An aide said that the U.S. supports an undivided Jerusalem whose final status will be determined by negotiations.

QUAYLE/PEROT (Pueblo, Colo./AP) -- Vice President Quayle said Ross Perot could emerge as the chief rival of the Republican ticket. Quayle, in Colorado to address the graduating cadets at the Air Force Academy, made his comments in Pueblo, where his plane was diverted because of heavy fog in Colorado Springs. "It could well be that Ross Perot will be our major opponent this fall," Quayle said. He said that "would be unusual" but that the Republican campaign was preparing for such a possibility. "The unexpected has happened. We will take a Ross Perot candidacy seriously."

HAITI/REFUGEES (Port-Au-Prince/AP) -- The Coast Guard returned 587 more Haitian refugees to a nation suffering increasing political violence, including the killing of at least 16 people in the past week. Among the returnees were 335 boat people who were intercepted Tuesday under President Bush's executive order, said Coast Guard Lt. Larry Mizell in Port-Au-Prince.

IRAQ/SANCTIONS (U.N./Reuter) -- The Security Council decided to retain its sanctions against Iraq intact, after holding one of its periodic reviews of the wide-ranging curbs. "The unanimous view of the council was that there should be no change, that the circumstances did not justify change," British Amb. Sir David Hannay told reporters.

NEA/CONGRESS (AP) -- Arts officials complained to Congress that NEA chairwoman Anne-Imelda Radice had undermined their decision-making by denying grants approved by advisory panels. Susan Krane, curator of 20th century art at the High Museum of Art in Atlanta, said she and other members of a sculpture fellowships panel had suspended their deliberations because of Radice's actions and comments. She said Radice had "severely compromised" the peer panel review process for awarding grants.

###

--- Wednesday --- May 27, 1992 ---

```

      ##  ## ##### ##### ##      ##  ##      ## #####
###  #  # ###  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##
#  ### ##  ##### ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##
#  #  # ###  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##  ##
      ##  ## ##### ##  ##### ##  ##  ##  #####

```

--- THE DAILY BRIEFING ON AMERICAN POLITICS ---

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

(c) The American Political Network, Inc.

282 North Washington Street, Falls Church, VA (703) 237-5130

BOING! TWO MORE FORCED EXITS

"Outta House" list hits 68
(see #22): Alexander (D-AR),
Hubbard (D-KY) bounced. (#7)

MOTHER HUBBARD BARE TOO: Wife
Carol way short in KY 05. (#7)

READY TO ROLL OUT THE BERYL?
6/9 runoff for AR's Anthony
(D), 2 Dems in AR 03. (#7)

SENATE RESULTS: Kempthorne-
Stallings in ID (#4); AR's
Bumpers coasts to matchup with
GOP ex-preacher (#5); KY's Ford
to face GOPER Williams (#6).

ON THE HOUSE: 6/2 PRIMARIES

OH, NJ races to watch. (#23)
Part I of CA preview tomorrow.

NY SEN: HOW'S HE DOING?
Koch endorses D'Amato. (#20)

OH SEN: GLENN WEAKNESS?
Poll: Huge undecided vote as
he runs even with DeWine. (#21)

STORM UNDER THE BIG TENT (#19)

PEROT: GET A REAL JOB (#10-11)
Quits as CEO to concentrate
on campaign, hires pollster.

HAM ON THE SIDE? Add Carter
CoS Jordan to well-wisher list.

RETURN TO "HOT AND JUICY" (#12)

SPOTLIGHT

26 3-WAY STATE POLLS (#8)

Some are dated (early
April) but a look at all
available 3-way polls
(covering 26 states) shows
Bush leading in 16 states
with 193 Electoral votes,
Perot leading in 8 states
with 128 Electors, and
Clinton leading in AR only
(6 EV's). AZ is tied Bush/
Perot. New polls find Perot
leading in MT, Bush in OH.

Many southern states are
not included because they
have not been polled, but
the peril to Clinton seems
clear: He runs 3rd in 15 of
the 26 states -- and where
he's 2nd, most of the polls
were pre-May.

The 3rd-man-out theory
(people won't waste their
vote on one who can't win)
may work differently in
each state. Is that good
news for Clinton, or bad?

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====

"He has lost 12 pounds, about which he is distinctly proud.
And his battle with the bulge is the highlight of the week,
about which he is distinctly frustrated."

-- Cathleen Decker on Clinton, L.A. TIMES, 5/27. (#12)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: EC still deadlocked on carbon pacts; may have fumbled leadership role at Rio Summit.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: Less than 50% of schools offer subsidized breakfasts; over 5.5M kids go w/o each day.
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: GOP platform meet spurs Perot talk. Both sides say he will work to their advantage.
FROM TODAY'S HEALTH LINE: Chicago Hts. City Council bans IL Public Action from canvassing for national health care.

HOTLINE/DATABASE INDEX

AR (#1)
ID (#2)
KY (#3)
ID (#4)
AR (#5)
KY (#6)
RACES OF NOTE (#7)

WHITE HOUSE '92

ELECTORAL COLLEGE: First look at state-by-state polls. (#8)
UPCOMING STATES: NJ, OH and MT. (#9)
PEROT: No more halfway efforts. (#10)
PEROT: Hires Buchanan pollster, gains Carter WH fan. (#11)
CLINTON: Press coverage returns to the hot and juicy. (#12)
BUSH: How to get ahead in advertising. (#13)
QUAYLE: "Will he outshine Bush?" (#14)
URBAN AGENDA: Bush and Clinton's "political calculations." (#15)
AP DELEGATE COUNT: Clinton 104 delegates away. (#16)
BROWN: Predicts "sure defeat" for Clinton. (#17)
PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SCHEDULES (#18)

ISSUES '92

GOP PLATFORM: Let the abortion debate begin. (#19)

SENATE WATCH

NY: Koch endorses D'Amato (#20)
OH: Glenn falls in poll. (#21)
ON THE HOUSE: Retiree List (#22)
Briefings (#23)
Remaps. (#24)

GOVERNORS '92

MO: More heat for Webster (#25)
MT: Poll. (#26)

CALIFORNIA CABLE

SENATE "A": Still on TV, McCarthy attacks Levine's wife. (#27)
SENATE "B": Allen calls Seymour ad an urban flip-flop. (#28)

TV MONITOR (#29)

CORRECTION: Yesterday's HOTLINE incorrectly identified the source of a story reporting Bush aides are "ready to make peace" with Buchanan. It should have been attributed to U.S. NEWS.

? ? ? ? OVERLOOKED ? ? ? ?

On Friday, Ross Perot unveils his first Electronic Town Hall with 6 different participating communities. Last night, Sec/Educ. Lamar Alexander unveiled his own AMERICA 2000 Satellite Town Hall with 248 participating AMERICA 2000 Communities.

=====

LTS =====

*1 ARKANSAS: HOMEBOY JUST MISSES 70%

Results with 99% Dem and 96% GOP prcts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Clinton	336,883	68%
Uncomm.	90,603	18
Brown	54,896	11
LaRouche	13,888	3

GOP PRIMARY

Bush	45,392	87%
Buchanan	6,503	13

*2 IDAHO: THIS SPUD'S FOR YOU

Although the GOP primary was binding on delegates, the Dem primary was a "beauty contest." Dem delegates were selected in the by 3/3 caucus. Results with 96% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Clinton	24,973	50%
Uncomm.	13,988	28
Brown	8,382	17
Others	2,791	5

GOP PRIMARY

Bush	70,972	64%
Uncomm.	25,608	23
Buchanan	14,698	13

*3 KENTUCKY: THE GRASS IS ALWAYS BLUER ...

Results with 100% precincts reporting (USA TODAY, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Clinton	207,637	56%
Uncomm.	103,111	28
Brown	30,687	8
Tsongas	18,072	5
Others	10,380	3

GOP PRIMARY

Bush	75,318	75%
Uncomm.	25,706	25

*4 IDAHO SENATE: FRONT-RUNNERS SURVIVE LIVELY PRIMARIES

Results with 96% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27). GOPers: Boise mayor Dirk Kempthorne, businessman Milt Erhart, ex-state Sen. Min. Ldr Rod Beck. Dems: Rep. Richard Stallings (D-02), businessman Matt Schaffer, perennial candidate David Shepard.

DEM PRIMARY

Stallings	37,656	72%
Schaffer	8,329	16
Shepard	6,358	12

GOP PRIMARY

Kempthorne	65,846	58%
Beck	26,021	23
Erhart	22,424	20

*5 ARKANSAS SENATE: BUMPERS TO FACE HUCKABEE IN FALL

Results with 99% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27). Dems: Sen. Dale Bumpers, state auditor Julia Hughes Jones. GOPers: Baptist minister Mike Huckabee, physician David Busby.

DEM PRIMARY

Bumpers	323,475	65%
Jones	176,830	35

GOP PRIMARY

Huckabee	42,703	80%
Busby	10,951	20

*6 KENTUCKY SENATE: WILLIAMS TO DRIVE FORD THIS FALL

Results with 99% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27). Sen. Wendell Ford (D) was unopposed for the Dem nomination. GOPers: State Sen. David Williams, ex-KY Ch/Commerce head Philip

Thompson, pro-lifer Denny Ormerod.

GOP PRIMARY

Williams	49,918	61%
Thompson	25,017	30
Ormerod	7,158	9

*7 HOUSE RACES OF NOTE:

AR 01: ALEXANDER PICKED OFF BY FORMER AIDE

Dems: Rep. Bill Alexander (D-01), ex-Alexander aide Blanche Lambert. Cleburne Co. GOP chair Terry Hayes was unopposed. Results with 97% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Lambert	81,114	60%
Alexander	54,473	40

AR 03: HUTCHINSON CRUISES; DEM RUNOFF 6/9

Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt (R-03) is retiring. GOP: State Reps. Tim Hutchinson, Dick Barclay, banker Dryden Pence. Dems: Ex-chancery Judge John VanWinkle, businessman Don Nelms, Dr. Bill Harrison, '90 Dem nominee Dan Ivy. Results with 100% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

VanWinkle	34,837	39%
Nelms	23,056	26
Ivy	15,649	18
Harrison	15,085	17

GOP PRIMARY

Hutchinson	17,312	53%
Barclay	10,541	32
Pence	5,009	15

AR 04: MCCUEN GETS SECOND SHOT TO ROLL OUT THE BERYL

Dems: Rep. Beryl Anthony (D-04), businessman Pat Pappas, Sec/State Bill McCuen. GOP atty Jay Dickey was unopposed. Runoff 6/9. Results with 99% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Anthony	60,213	40%
McCuen	45,973	30
Pappas	44,855	30

ID 01: GILBERT TO FACE LAROCOO

Frosh Rep. Larry LaRocco (D-01) was unopposed. GOP: Ex-state Sen. Rachel Gilbert, developer David Doremus. Results with 92% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

GOP PRIMARY

Gilbert	33,502	73%
Doremus	12,164	27

ID 02: IT'S WILLIAMS AND CRAPO IN THE FALL

Rep. Richard Stallings (D-02) is running for Senate. Dems: State Aud. J.D. Williams, Ketchum mayor Jerry Seiffert. GOP: State Sen. pres. Mike Crapo, Ada Co. Commis. Gary Glenn. Results with 98% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Williams	14,919	71%
Seiffert	6,017	29

GOP PRIMARY

Crapo	44,979	68%
Glenn	21,169	32

KY 01: HUBBARD GETS KNOCKED OFF HIS CUPBOARD

Dems: Rep. Carroll Hubbard (D-01), '86 challenger Tom Barlow, ex-GOP nominee Charles Banken. GOP minister Steve Hammrick was unopposed. Results with 100% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

Barlow	40,014	48%
Hubbard	37,188	45
Banken	6,019	7

KY 03: MAZZOLI CRUISES; FACES STATE REP. IN FALL

Dems: Rep. Romano Mazzoli (D-03), teacher Ron Greene. GOP: State Rep. Susan Stokes, computer engineer/RTL endorsee Larry West, inventor Richard Lewis, perennial candidate Tommy Klein. Results with 100% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27).

DEM PRIMARY

Mazzoli	52,748	76%
Greene	16,758	24

GOP PRIMARY

Stokes	13,200	63%
Lewis	4,685	22
2 others	3,104	8

KY 05: CUPBOARD BARE FOR MS. HUBBARD, TOO

Rep. Hal Rogers (R-05) was unopposed. Dems: Carol Brown Hubbard, atty Bobby Rowe, state Sen. John Doug Hays, five others. Results with 100% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Hays	18,439	30%
Pillersdorf	10,581	17
Rowe	10,445	17
Hubbard	10,434	17
Cecil	5,057	8
Bingham	4,909	8
2 others	2,133	3

KY 06: BAESLER STEAMROLLS

Rep. Larry Hopkins (R-06) is retiring. GOP: Lexington council member Chuck Ellinger was unopposed. Dems: Lexington mayor Scotty Baesler, UPS driver Roy Tudor. Results with 73% precincts reporting (AP, 5/27):

DEM PRIMARY

Baesler	49,597	81%
Tudor	4,682	8
3 others	6,580	10

*8 ELECTORAL COLLEGE: FIRST LOOK AT STATE-BY-STATE POLLS

This is the first compilation of all known 3-way trial heat data from state polling. Of the 26 polls listed, all but the AK, MT and OH surveys have appeared in The HOTLINE before and have been drawn from the HOTLINE Database. The OH survey listed supersedes an earlier study by the AKRON BEACON-JOURNAL that showed Perot in the lead over Bush and Clinton 25%-23%-15%. Note that many state polls are dated in April before the full strength of the Perot effort was felt in most areas. For example, HOTLINE sources say the listed NJ poll that shows a comfortable Bush lead may be replaced soon with a survey showing a surge in Perot strength. Obviously, 24 states and DC (with a total of 203 electors) are not included in the listing -- and, of the polls listed, the sample size and make-up, the question asked and the margin of error all vary widely.

STATE	BUSH	CLINTON	PEROT	POLLSTER/DATE/MARGIN OF ERROR
ALASKA	37%	17%	28%	HOTLINE sources, early April
ARKANSAS	28	41	22	Mason/Dixon, 5/18-19, +/-3.5%
ARIZONA	37	15	37	KAET-TV, 4/25-5/3, +/-5%
CALIFORNIA	25	26	39	L.A. TIMES, 5/16-19, +/-3%
COLORADO	30	16	35	Talmey-Drake, 4/24-5/3, +/-4.4%
HAWAII	35	27	23	Honolulu STAR, 4/2-5, +/- 5%
INDIANA	46	18	30	PMR, 4/27-29, +/-3.5%
MASS' SETTS	31	20	27	Bannon Research, 4/29-30, +/-5%
MINNESOTA	36	28	25	PMR, 3/30-4/1, +/-3.5%
MONTANA	23	17	42	Univ/MT, 5/13-21, +/-4%
NEBRASKA	39	15	36	PMR, 5/5-6, +/-3.5%
NEW HAMP.	38	25	24	ARG, 4/9-16, +/-3.5%
NEW JERSEY	43	23	24	Eagleton Inst, 4/23-30, +/-3/5%
NEW MEXICO	29	25	31	KGGM-TV, 4/16-19, +/-4%
NEW YORK	34	27	20	Buffalo NEWS, 3/27-29, +/-3.5%
NO. CAROL.	39	26	27	Mason-Dixon, 4/26-28, +/-3.5%
OHIO	37	17	30	Ohio U, 5/17-21 (USA TODAY 5/27)
OKLAHOMA	32	19	34	SOONER SURVEY, 4/21-28, +/-4.3%
OREGON	31	21	42	Portland OREGONIAN/KATV, 5/4-7
PENNA	31	25	24	Cromer Group, 5/11-12, +/- 5%
SO. CAROL.	38	15	14	Greenville NEWS, 5/10, +/-3.5%
TEXAS	30	20	35	Texas A&M, 4/9-18, +/-4%
VIRGINIA	43	26	20	Potomac Surveys, 4/7-9, +/-3.5%
WASHINGTON	29	20	35	KOMO-TV, 5/8-12, +/-5%
W. VIRGINIA	32	28	25	Mason-Dixon, 5/4-7, +/-3.5%
WISCONSIN	36	29	20	Mil. JOURNAL, 3/29-31, +/-3/5%

*9 UPCOMING STATES: NJ, OH AND MT

NEW JERSEY (6/2): Addressing a Dem fund-raiser in Bridgewater, Gloria Steinem called Clinton "as honest and populist as Harry Truman, as intelligent and inspiring as Jack Kennedy. ... He's not just the available candidate, he's the best of all the available candidates." She spoke in the home of Betty Hutcheon, a Wellesley classmate of Hillary Clinton (Newark STAR-LEDGER, 5/27). In Trenton, Buchanan said he believes his campaign did "extraordinarily well" considering they took on an incumbent president: "We came close to going over the top. We didn't quite make it. But we had other objectives in mind than simply winning the nomination and getting the most delegates."

Buchanan "spoke glowingly" of Perot: "Perot is seen by the American people as the only candidate of change now and the only candidate who can shake up Washington" (STAR-LEDGER, 5/27). Ex-Gov. Tom Kean (R) criticized NJ's late primary date as "bad for the state." Bush and Quayle have not visited NJ, having sent daughter Doro and Sec/Trans. Andy Card as surrogates. Brown made his one appearance 5/26. Clinton visits today for a fund-raiser and a Hoboken appearance (Wald, STAR-LEDGER, 5/27).

OHIO (6/2): A poll, conducted 5/17-21 by Ohio U.'s Ctr for Political Communication, surveyed 586 adults; margin of error +/- 4% (AP/Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 5/27).

Bush	38%
Perot	30
Clinton	17
Undec.	15

MONTANA (6/2): The MT Poll, conducted by the Univ. of MT, surveyed 530 likely voters 5/13-21; margin of error +/- 4% (GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, 5/24).

3-WAY MATCH-UP		2-WAY	
Perot	42%	Bush	35%
Bush	23	Clinton	27
Clinton	17	Neither	26
Undec.	18	Undec.	12

Under banner headline, "Big Sky high on Perot," TRIBUNE's Peter Johnson reports Perot "draws his support almost equally between respondents who would otherwise support Bush or Clinton. But almost half of Perot's support came from those who were disenchanted with both Bush and Clinton." In addition, Perot's support "is about evenly drawn between men and women and across most education, income and geographical subgroups." Perot was backed by about 46% who consider themselves Dems or lean Dem, and by about 36% of GOP or lean GOP voters. Perot Great Falls coord. Elizabeth Reichelt said state backers "already have collected more than two-thirds of the 9,500 signatures, with more than two months to go" (5/24).

*10 PEROT: NO MORE HALFWAY EFFORTS

Perot is quitting his job as chair/CEO of Perot Systems, Inc., turning over his duties to ex-EDS pres. Morton Meyerson effective 6/1. But he "insisted the move wasn't intended to clear the way for him to run for the Oval Office": "No, you're reading too much into it." Meyerson said Perot would not return to the role, despite the Nov. results: "I'm chairman and CEO, win or lose. [But] if he comes back, naturally, he and his family will represent the largest single shareholders, and I'll treat them accordingly" (Ortega, W.S. JOURNAL, 5/27). Perot said he "needs to spend full time" on his campaign efforts (AP, 5/27).

DON'T CALL US: N.Y. NEWSDAY's Firestone reports, "In yet another allegation of intimidating business practices," ex-Perot Systems general counsel Richard Salwen sued Perot in 1990 "for instigating harassing telephone calls to [Salwen's] new employer after a financial dispute between the two men." The suit said Perot instructed Perot Systems pres. Patrick Horner to "threaten the Dell Computer Corp. with bad publicity if it did not fire" Salwen. Perot denied authorizing the calls, but agreed to a settlement 6 days after the charge was made. The settlement, which neither side will discuss at any length, ended a

longstanding disagreement between Perot and Salwen over a real estate transaction; that 2-year old case was actually amended to incorporate the harassment suit (5/26).

FROM THE TOWN HALL: C-SPAN will cover Perot's 5/29 FL rally/"electronic town hall" trial heat live, 2:00p EDT. Satellite owners can pick up the event on C-Band Telstar 302, transponder 9, vertical, channel 17. Ex-Carter press sec. Jody Powell, who managed a 26-state radio town hall for Carter in '77, said the format "should work for Perot, especially if he takes questions from skeptics, as well as supporters, to maintain credibility" (USA TODAY, 5/27).

ALSO: USA TODAY's Howlett examines Perot backers under header, "Disillusioned voters project hopes on Perot" (5/27). ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH editorial blasts Perot's "little inclination or ability to work with people." Bush and Clinton, compared to Perot "at least appear safe. Mr. Perot doesn't" (5/26). N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Nelson reviews the lack of progress on the deficit: "Perot's success is a damning indictment of this government. For all his glaring weaknesses, his smiling demagoguery, his blatant evasions, he looks no worse than what we have now" (5/27). NEWHOUSE's Benson reports CA backers say they have "three to four times" the 135,000 signatures needed to get Perot on the CA ballot. Bush and Clinton "aren't looking over their shoulder at Ross Perot anymore. [In CA], they're eating his dust" (5/27). U-Houston sociologist Wm Simon on the "Perot phenomenon": "It's common sense vs. sophistication. In some ways, it's a Frank Capra movie gone bad. The Perot candidacy may well change the nature of the presidency, and we should have seen it coming" (S.F. CHRONICLE, 5/27).

MORE THINKING THREE-WAY: W.S. JOURNAL's Shribman writes the idea "that it is easier to reach 34% than 50% may be a mirage. ... The danger for the Bush and Clinton campaigns, terrified of the unconventional Perot, is that they might move too swiftly to reassure their bases, thereby alienating the center." Clinton strategist James Carville: "You should still appeal to the public at large." States such as FL are now competitive; FL GOP chair Van Poole: "Now we're running as underdogs." Dem strategist Tad Devine: "Without Perot in the picture, it would be hard for Clinton to beat Bush ... Clinton would already be perched in the position of throwing some kind of 'Hail Mary' pass." Dem pollster Paul Maslin: "The map is being redrawn every day." Ex-Rep. Bruce Morrison, who in '90 lost a 3-way bid for CT Gov. to independent Lowell Weicker, "is trying to impress upon the Clinton forces" the importance of not being "dismissed as the runner who lags behind" (5/27). A senior WH official on the Bush team's 3-way plan: "We've got 40 options here on what to do, four competing power centers and no consensus. The only thing I can say is, thank God it's not August yet." W. POST's Balz & Devroy report, "virtually no one in GOP circles has anything good to say privately" about WH/campaign leadership. Another campaign official: "We keep reassuring ourselves with the pre-Perot reassurance, 'When the economy comes back, we come back.' So how come the economy has been coming back the last six weeks and we're still dropping like a rock?" (5/27).

*11 PEROT: HIRES POLLSTER, GAINS CARTER WH FAN

GOP strategist Ed Rollins told USA TODAY: "I have been talked to. Anybody who believes in change ... has to be tempted." Rollins said he'll "always be a Republican," but Perot "is trying to bring together Republicans and Democrats. I would

suspect his campaign ... will not be of one stripe" (5/27). Also: DALLAS MORNING NEWS reports Perot associates confirmed he has hired ex-Buchanan pollster Frank Luntz "to head a potential campaign research team." Luntz previously worked for GOP pollster Richard Wirthlin, who polled for Perot CoS Tom Luce's '90 TX Gov. bid (5/27). Luntz: "If this should ruin my political career, there's always teaching." Also: NBC's Tim Russert reports Jimmy Carter CoS Hamilton Jordan "told me that he is an enthusiastic and unapologetic Perot supporter, that he preferred to vote for the possibility of a Perot candidacy rather than what he described as the certainty of either Clinton or Bush being elected and doing nothing but work on the margins ... Jordan is not unusual, that's happening all across the country." WSJ's Al Hunt: "You could find Republican counterparts to Hamilton Jordan who would say the same thing." NBC's Katherine Couric asked how long Perot could "go without stating where he stands on issues." Hunt, with a grin: "Till November. Ronald Reagan did it." Russert: "I disagree a little bit. I think he will be a little more specific. I take him at his word that he will, in fact, release a comprehensive platform." Hunt: "Back in April, he was at 22 and 24 in the polls. Russert beat up on him and now he's at 34" ("Today," NBC, 5/27).

VEEP WATCH: Ex-Labor Sec. Ann McLaughlin, mentioned as a possible Perot VP, was unanimously elected president and CEO of the New American Schools Development Corp., the non-profit America 2000 R&D group for "break-the-mold" schools. The group, formed at the request of Pres. Bush and Sec/Educ. Lamar Alexander, is chaired by ex-Gov. Tom Kean (R-NJ) (NASDC release, 5/27). NBC roundtable of Tim Russert, Andrea Mitchell, and Al Hunt played the guessing game. Hunt: "He'd love to pick someone like Colin Powell. If he can't get him, I think he'd take a woman." Mitchell on retiring Sen. Warren Rudman (R-NH): "I know Rudman says absolutely not, but that's what he says now." Russert: "It's the most important decision Perot will make this summer because it will demonstrate to the American public just how serious he is about this job ... his ability to deliver someone who is equally serious will demonstrate his depth and capacity as a candidate ... If he wants to stay totally outside, I think he will take Peter Ueberroth ... If he wants to stay inside-outside then I think he would lean on someone like Rudman or Tsongas. And if he wants to go totally inside, my stealth candidate here is Howard Baker." Hunt and Mitchell said there was no way that Baker would accept ("Today," NBC, 5/27).

***12 CLINTON: PRESS COVERAGE RETURNS TO THE HOT AND JUICY**

L.A. TIMES' Cathleen Decker writes, "This much can be gleaned about ... Clinton from four quiescent campaign days: He has lost 12 pounds, about which he is distinctly proud. And his battle with the bulge is the highlight of the week, about which he is distinctly frustrated. If this part of the campaign were a television show, some media consultant would call it 'Growing Pains.'" As the campaign "experiments with what to emphasize and what to subordinate" for general election voters, "themes have come and gone with regularity." Besides some AR events and a "brief" Cleveland press conference, Clinton "was rarely seen in public" last week. "And in one of his few interchanges over the long weekend with reporters, he seemed pleased to talk only about one of his more successful ventures in recent weeks -- losing weight. ... Perhaps mindful, [Clinton] made a run into a Wendy's hamburger shop [5/25] and showed restraint by ordering only a

grilled chicken sandwich and diet Coke" (5/27). N.Y. TIMES and W. POST both noted the Wendy's run. W. POST's Lois Romano cites a Wendy's spokesperson who says the grilled chicken "has the same number of calories as a burger" (5/27). N.Y. TIMES reports Clinton said he has dropped from 232 to 220 (5/27).

OPERATION LITTLE ROCK: N.Y. TIMES' Richard Berke writes on the decision of the campaign to maintain its national HQ in Little Rock. In a "year when politicians are scrambling to distance themselves from Washington," Clinton "hopes to make a virtue of keeping his organization" in AR. The decision "has somewhat hampered the efforts to attract talent. For example, DGA exec. dir. Mark Gearan declined an offer to be communications dir. because he didn't want to move his family (5/27).

VEEP WATCH: PHILA. INQUIRER's Steve Lopez, covering a Phila. speech by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ): "The more he talked, the smaller George Bush and Ross Perot and Bill Clinton got." On Bradley's VP chances: "The ability is there. Not the will" (5/27). Bradley appears in Chicago today with IL Senate nominee Carol Moseley Braun (Braun release, 5/27). In Philly, Bradley reiterated his pledge to serve out his term. Buchanan, campaigning in NJ, called Bradley "probably number 1 or 2 on virtually everybody's list" for Dem VP: "He's well-liked. He's an attractive candidate" (Donohue, Newark STAR-LEDGER, 5/27).

IT'S MY STATE, AND I'LL STAY HOME IF I WANT TO: NY Gov. Mario Cuomo said he expects NYC Mayor David Dinkins "to play the host role" at the Dem Convention in NYC: "I don't expect to speak anywhere at the convention. And there's nothing surprising about that." Cuomo, on keynoting the '84 convention: "I had a once-in-a-lifetime opportunity. Why should they give you a second opportunity?" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 5/27).

*13 BUSH: HOW TO GET AHEAD IN ADVERTISING

N.Y. TIMES' Michael Wines reports the Bush campaign is "handing control of its \$40 million-plus advertising program" to Martin Puris and Clayton Wilhite, "two Madison Avenue executives with scant political experience." Puris, head of Ammirati & Puris Inc., and Wilhite, head of D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles North America, will head the "November Company," a "private corporation that will hold an exclusive contract for all Bush advertising in the general election." The ad group will work out NYC. Although Bush officials did not say so, the hiring of Puris and Wilhite is an "admission that Mr. Bush's previous media team," headed by Mike Murphy, Don Sipple and Alex Castellanos, "has not met expectations." Puris said the three will stay on "as members of five or six 'creative teams' under" Puris and Wilhite. Non-political advertising execs in the November Company include Ron Anderson of Bozell/New York; Gordon Bowen of McCann-Erickson/NY, Sean Fitzpatrick of McCann-Erickson/Detroit (creator of Chevrolet's "Heartbeat of America" slogan), Robert Gardner of Gardner Communications/S.F., and Jim Weller of Weller & O'Sullivan/L.A. Puris served as an unofficial adviser to Bush '88 media adviser Roger Ailes, and Wilhite said he was an adviser to Ford in '76. Puris and Wilhite said they plan to "concentrate, at least initially, on exposing the electorate to more" of what Bush manager Fred Malek "called 'the real George Bush.'" Puris: "The more people see of him, the better they're going to feel about him. He's an outstanding man." Wilhite said their ads "would seek to show Mr. Bush talking personally about his goals" (5/27).

GEORGIA PITCH: The Bush campaign holds a fund-raiser in

Atlanta "determined to walk away with half a million dollars and no bruises." Unlike previous events, there are no companies on the list of donors, and "campaign and dinner officials have been careful to stress the hard work of individuals (not corporations) who have sold 500 tickets to the dinner" (Sherman, COX NEWS/ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 5/27).

MICHEL'S CHALLENGE: W. POST's David Broder writes House Min. Leader Bob Michel's (R-IL) speech last week on Perot broke "the code of silence and showed the guts to plead for a Bush campaign that would say 'the only way' to break the impasse that is so frustrating to voters is to end divided government. ... Will Bush take the challenge? At the moment, his campaign is so desperate and defensive, in the face of the Perot surge, that no one knows" (5/27).

*14 QUAYLE: "WILL HE OUTSHINE BUSH?"

NBC's Jim Miklaszewski reported on the vice-president in NBC's 5th story: "When Dan Quayle took a swipe at Murphy Brown, he unleashed a whole new generation of Quayle jokes. Laughs aside, Quayle did manage to ignite a public debate on family values, a conservative favorite. That's more than his boss could do." Noted was Bush's Notre Dame speech. "The [WH] want's Quayle to be Bush's political pointman for conservatives and its hitman on liberals. ... But Quayle insists he's his own man. ... His staff says it's a different Quayle than the one seen four years ago." After video from the '88 Bentsen/Quayle debate featuring Bentsen's "JFK" remark, Miklaszewski: "He's more confident now. No longer the deer in the headlights." Quayle CoS Wm Kristol: "Better to be the headlights than to be the deer." Miklaszewski: "The question now seems to be, will Quayle somehow outshine Bush?" With his eye on a '96 bid, "Quayle is out to shore up his own conservative base," taking the lead on issues like legal reform and term limits. Miklaszewski: "Bush aides argue that Quayle ... has less responsibility and more freedom to play partisan politics. But many [GOPers], frustrated with [WH] inaction and the lack of an agenda, feel Quayle fills a political vacuum. That could spell trouble for Bush. ... One conservative [GOPer] says Quayle and his staff have more ideas and better political instincts, than the White House West Wing. And unless that changes, the ultimate Quayle joke could be on George Bush" (5/26). Barbara Bush on Murphy Brown: "I hope this won't influence young men and young women to think that having babies without the ideal family, is the way you start. ... I've never seen "Murphy Brown," but remember I'm 66" (CBS, 5/26).

*15 URBAN AGENDA: BUSH AND CLINTON'S POLITICAL CALCULATIONS

NEW YORKER's Elizabeth Drew looks at the "careful political calculations" of the Bush and Clinton camps following the L.A. riots: "Neither man seemed to act out of instinct, other than an instinct for caution." Clinton's advisers contemplated but then dropped the idea of a speech on the same spot where RFK delivered his address after learning about Martin Luther King's death. "But the idea of an ersatz event -- planning and discussing how to emulate something that had been spontaneous -- reveals instead the difference between those two men." Bush was advised "that he had to look as if he cared" and "there was debate" over how "programmatically" his response should be. One Bush adviser said the Bush's "swing group" of middle- and lower-middle class voters won't be "won over by [Bush's] dealing with the inner cities [because] their discontent lay elsewhere": "The current

situation is helpful to [Bush]. It allows him to be seen taking charge. ... But that's not going to make those people feel better about their issues" (5/25 issue).

***16 AP DELEGATE COUNT: CLINTON 104 DELEGATES AWAY**

The following estimates by the ASSOCIATED PRESS include pledged delegates won in primaries/caucuses, and Dem "super-delegates" not bound by current declarations of preference.

	DEMS (2,145 needed to nominate)		GOP (1,105 needed to nom.)	
	BEFORE 5/26	NOW	BEFORE 5/26	NOW
Clinton	1,977.5	2,041.5	Bush	1,414
Uncomm.	546.25	570.25	Buchanan	76
Tsongas	550	550	Uncomm.	16
Brown	394.25	394.25	Other	1
Others	27	27		
Undetrm.	5	5		

***17 BROWN: PREDICTS "SURE DEFEAT" FOR CLINTON**

Brown predicted "sure defeat" for Clinton 5/26 in a speech at the NJ Dem HQ. Brown said Clinton would be "outshined" by Perot and Bush: "Bush is going to make the case for the status quo. Perot is going to make the case for departure. ... At the thematic level Clinton will be marginalized." Brown had likened Clinton's bid to the voyage of the Titanic in the past "but generally stopped short of predicting a Clinton loss. This time he was more blunt." Brown: "Perot is leading, and it's a real threat to the [Dems]. The [Dems] with Clinton is headed for sure defeat." Brown also criticized Bush's Haitian refuge policy: "I don't think that just because Haitians are black they ought to be treated like subhumans. ... If that were Ireland, do you think we'd stop them? We'd be welcoming them with bagpipes" (Enda, PHILA. INQUIRER, 5/27).

***18 PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SCHEDULES**

	5/27	5/28	5/29	5/30	5/31
BROWN 213/449-1992 I. Wachtel	L.A. S.F.	Sac'mento L.A. CA Cleveland	L.A.	L.A. San Jose S.F.	San Diego
CLINTON 501/372-1992 J. Eller	NJ	San Jose Sac'mento CA	Sac'mento L.A. S.F.	OH	NJ
BUCHANAN 703/790-9292 G. Mueller	L.A. Nwprt Bch CA	Nwprt Bch San Diego L.A.	L.A. CA Phoenix AZ	Phoenix AZ S.F. CA	S.F. CA
BUSH 202/336-7080 T. Clarke	Annapolis Atlanta	Phoenix AZ	L.A. CA	Fresno CA Dallas TX	DC Camp David

(c) 1992 by the American Political Network, Inc. Any reproduction -- by photocopy, FAX, or other form -- in whole or in part, is a violation of federal law and is strictly prohibited without the consent of APN. All rights reserved.

Phone: 703/237-5130

FAX: 703/237-5149

Publishers: Doug Bailey, Roger Craver

Staff Writers:

Editor-in-Chief: Robert Balkin

Vincent Fusco

Managing Editor: Stephen Bilafer

Melodie Jackson

Associate Editor: Ned Lilly

Amy Silver

*19 GOP PLATFORM: LET THE ABORTION DEBATE BEGIN

The GOP Platform Cmte held a daylong hearing in Salt Lake City on social issues and "family values," including abortion. N.Y. TIMES' David Rosenbaum writes, "The 'Eleventh Commandment' -- that no Republican should speak ill of another in public -- was thrown to the wind" (5/27). Writing that GOPers "bared the depth and passion of their division over abortion rights," DALLAS MORNING NEWS' Susan Feeney reports, "There were rival news briefings, outdoor pickets and rallies as well as sharp exchanges during testimony before the platform committee" (5/27). BOSTON GLOBE's Renee Loth reports RNC chair Rich Bond "tried to strike a conciliatory note" in his opening statement, "but it was clear that neither side on the volatile issue was in the mood for compromise" (5/27). Bond: "If you happen to agree or disagree with our party posture on any issue, then you're still welcome in the party" (CBS, 5/26). USA TODAY's Mimi Hall writes the GOP's "long, hot summer of dispute over abortion ... has begun" (5/27).

SCENES FROM THE HALL: Republicans for Choice's Ann Stone: "Are Republican women going to desert and vote for Bill Clinton? I don't think so. I think the integrity factor will keep them from deserting and going to Clinton. Now will they go to Ross Perot? That's another question. The answer is yes" (NBC, 5/26). National GOP Coalition for Choice's Mary Dent Crisp: "Don't threaten us. Don't appeal to us with the same old party loyalty ploy to silence us. We will not be gagged." Nat'l Coalition for Life's Phyllis Schlafly: "Millions of Americans ... will not stand for President Bush saying he is personally pro-life while the platform is mushed up to appease the same crowd that runs the Democratic party" (CBS, 5/26). Rep. Bob Dornan (R-CA) called Crisp "Mary Dent-the-truth Crisp" and labeled her "about as disloyal a Republican as I've ever seen" (BOSTON GLOBE, 5/27). Platform chair Sen. Don Nickles (R-OK): "I don't see these sides coming together" (W. POST, 5/27). Pro-choice MA Gov. William Weld (R) sent a letter to the cmte: "If the party retains its inflexible, anti-choice position, I fear we run the risk of shutting out potential leaders, losing touch with mainstream America and forfeiting our role as the bulwark against government intrusion and the champion of individual freedom." Ex-Educ. Sec. Wm Bennett argued "a rigid stance against abortion was both morally and politically the right one." Bennett said the "source of political discontent" in the U.S. "is not that politicians have clung too carefully to principles, but that they have strayed from them" (N.Y. TIMES, 5/27). Schlafly called pro-choice billboards declaring 68% GOPers are pro-choice "a lie." Stone cited an '89 Harris poll for the 68% figure, adding a '91 Times-Mirror survey showed the number to be 71% (Robert Boyd, KNIGHT-RIDDER/PHILA. INQUIRER, 5/27).

TV COVERAGE: NBC's Tom Brokaw: "This fight goes well beyond a platform squabble." NBC's Lisa Myers: "The scene outside said it all. A couple hundred showed up for an anti-abortion rally, a couple dozen attended an abortion rights demonstration. ... Inside [RNC chair Bond] opened the party platform hearing by saying the GOP party has room for people of all views." Bond: "There is no litmus test on any issue in the Republican Party." Myers: "But Republican abortion rights activists promised to wage what they call 'political terrorism'

until the platform's anti-abortion language is changed. They claim the current platform could cost President Bush the election" (5/26). CBS' Susan Spencer: "There are more platform hearings to come, but today's does not bode well, perhaps, for a trouble-free convention for President Bush. Since the pro-choicers ultimate weapon is the threat of a nasty floor fight in Houston" (5/26). CNN's Dan Blackburn: "The debate here goes to the heart of what people on both sides of the abortion issue believe is basic to American values. ... It is unlikely that abortion-rights advocates will be allowed to make their case" at the convention "and the platform committee's deck appears heavily weighted towards maintaining its anti-abortion plank" (5/26).

BUSH: NBC's Myers: "Since 1976, the [GOP] platform has included progressively stronger language in support of a Constitutional amendment to outlaw abortion. Over the same period, George Bush's position has changed radically. ... Once he became Ronald Reagan's [VP], Bush flip-flopped. ... [GOP] officials in [CA] and other big states warn [Bush] cannot afford to lose Republican votes and still win their states. They want to soften the platform. ... Publicly, the Bush campaign opposes change. Privately, his advisers are split. They do agree that the last thing Bush could afford to do is appear to waffle" (5/26). CNN's Dan Blackburn: "Representatives of the Bush/Quayle campaign here make it clear they will oppose any effort to change the party's anti-abortion stand." National Women's Political Caucus pres. Harriet Woods said Bush/Quayle is "gambling": "Maybe they think there will be a three-way race ... and they can win with a very narrowly focused ideological group ... [but] there's going to be a vote out there that he's going to have to reckon with" ("Inside Politics," CNN, 5/26). W. TIMES' Ralph Hallow cited Bush aides who "indicated President Bush will not permit any change in the platform's pro-life plank." Crisp, calling the hearing just a "show": "They [Bush operatives] have it so wired that we get our hour in the sun and then we are shut out both from getting our language in the final platform in Houston and probably from taking our fight to the floor of the convention. ... if this is any indication of the control they have, it's going to be tough" (5/27). Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-UT) said, if Bush were to change his position again, "it would send the wrong message" (L.A. TIMES, 5/27).

STRATEGY: Ann Stone screened a 60-second TV ad scheduled to air in selected markets next month which states, "The Republican convention will decide if religious zealots will control the party." Stone said the group will spend \$125K to air the ad, "but was having trouble securing broadcast time because of its controversial nature and the 900 number" (BOSTON GLOBE, 5/27). Stone said she "had lined up support from four of the six state delegations required to bring the issue to the floor" of the convention. "But other sources said" only MA and perhaps CT "would be inclined that way" (Germond, Balto. SUN, 5/27).

*20 NEW YORK: KOCH ENDORSES "PIT BULL" D'AMATO

Ex-NYC mayor Ed Koch (D) "hailed" Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R) at D'Amato's official re-election kick-off. He called D'Amato someone who "battles for the common working stiff," and "the guy who came through for us. He's like a pit bull. He takes it between his teeth and won't let go" (Oliver, N.Y. POST, 5/27).

DEM STUFF: NY Dems convene in Albany 5/28 to select their primary "designee." The party "kiss of death" goes to the candidate who receives 50%+ of the delegates' votes, however, no endorsed non-incumbent has won a general election for Senate or governor since '68 when the current rules were enacted. In '80 none of four candidates won the designation, including NYC Comptroller Liz Holtzman (D). "That no-decision could be replayed this week" as AG Bob Abrams (D) and ex-Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D) "are vying for the designation" although "neither seems to covet it much" (N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 5/26). NEWHOUSE NEWS' Jonathan Salant writes Ferraro "has become the standard that the other [candidates] are comparing themselves to. ... Abrams paints Ferraro as a Washington insider. ... Holtzman emphasizes that she's to the left of Ferraro." Ferraro spokesperson Frank Wilkinson: "Her lead in the polls is not that great. What they're responding to is her impact on this race" (SYRACUSE POST-STANDARD, 5/23). Holtzman wrote a W. POST op-ed about a NYC pension fund developed by her office that is "helping lead the effort" for accountable management (5/26).

*21 OHIO: POLL SHOWS GLENN FALLING BACK TO EARTH

A poll, conducted by the University of Akron for the Akron BEACON JOURNAL, WJW-TV, and WHIO-TV, surveyed 629 adults from 5/6-16; margin of error +/- 4%. Tested: Sen. John Glenn (D) and LG Mike DeWine (R) (BEACON JOURNAL, 5/26).

GENERAL ELECTION MATCHUP

Glenn	30%
DeWine	24
Undec.	46

GLENN JOB APPROVAL

Exc/Good	32%
Fair/Poor	46
Very Poor	5
No Opinion	16

Writes BEACON JOURNAL's Steve Hoffman, "The poll and follow-up interviews provide ample evidence that Glenn is losing the aura of political invincibility he once enjoyed" (5/26).

OUTSIDER ADS DRAW FIRE: DeWine began airing TV spots last week portraying himself as an outsider and Glenn as "a Washington insider who's been there too long." The ad shows DeWine baking cookies and relaxing with his daughter and asserts "It's Mike DeWine for a change." Referring to DeWine's 8 years as a Rep., Glenn manager Dale Butland says the ad is "like Tammy Faye Baker claiming she has the natural look" (Grace, AP/CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, 5/25). Glenn issued a 30 page press release charging DeWine with "inattention and indifference to problems in the state's criminal justice system" (Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 5/23).

===== ON THE HOUSE =====

*22 THE LIST: NUMBER GROWS TO 68 WHO WON'T BE IN NEXT HOUSE

MEMBERS RUNNING FOR HIGHER OFFICE -- 13

CA 06	Boxer (D)	ND	Dorgan (D)
CA 12	Campbell (R)	OR 01	AuCoin (D)
CA 27	Levine (D)	UT 02	Owens (D)
CA 39	Dannemeyer (R)	WA 04	Morrison (R)
CO 03	Campbell (D)	WA 08	Chandler (R)
DE	Carper (D)	WI 05	Moody (D)
ID 02	Stallings (D)		

MEMBERS RETIRING -- 42

AL 02	Dickinson (R)	MI 11	Davis (R)
AL 07	Harris (D)	MI 14	Hertel (D)
AR 03	Hammerschmidt (R)	MI 18	Broomfield (R)
CA 25	Roybal (D)	MN 02	Weber (D)
CA 31	Dymally (D)	NJ 06	Dwyer (D)
CA 32	Anderson (D)	NJ 08	Roe (D)
CA 41	Lowery (R)	NJ 14	Guarini (D)
FL 04	James (R)	NY 03	Mrazek (D)
FL 10	Ireland (R)	NY 28	McHugh (D)
FL 16	Smith (D)	NC 01	Jones (D)
FL 17	Lehman (D)	OH 11	Eckart (D)
GA 01	Thomas (D)	OH 13	Pease (D)
GA 09	Jenkins (D)	OH 15	Wylie (R)
GA 10	Barnard (D)	OH 19	Feighan (D)
IL 11	Annunzio (D)	PA 05	Schulze (R)
KY 06	Hopkins (R)	PA 06	Yatron (D)
KY 07	Perkins (D)	PA 13	Coughlin (R)
MA 11	Donnelly (D)	PA 20	Gaydos (D)
MI 02	Pursell (R)	VA 06	Olin (D)
MI 03	Wolpe (D)	VA 07	Allen (R)
MI 08	Traxler (D)	WA 01	Miller (R)

MEMBERS WHO LOST PRIMARIES -- 9

AR 01	Alexander (D)
IL 01	Hayes (D)
IL 02	Savage (D)
IL 03	Russo (D)
IL 19	Bruce (D)
KY 01	Hubbard (D)
MD 06	Byron (D)
PA 04	Kolter (D)
WV 02	Staggers (D)

MEMBERS V. MEMBERS -- 4

IA 02	Nagle (D-03) v. Nussle (R-02)
MD 01	Gilchrest (R-01) v. McMillen (D-04)
MT	Williams (D-01) v. Marlenee (R-02)
OH 07	McEwen (R-06) v. Miller (R-10)

*23 HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS

NOTE: The following is a list of key races among several states holding 6/2 primaries.

NJ 06: Rep. Frank Pallone (D-03) and Assemblyman Bob Smith (D) are engaged in the bloodiest primary in the state. Pallone

is the likely winner, though most of the CD now is comprised of retiring Rep. Bernard Dwyer's (D-06) old territory. Pallone has attacked Smith for voting in favor of NJ's '90 tax hike. State Sen. Joe Kyrillos (R) should be the likely victor over '90 Dwyer challenger Paul Danielczyk (R) and ex-Labor Dept. official Grace Applegate (R) in the GOP primary. Kyrillos enjoys an edge since he hails from Middletown, which holds the bulk of GOPers in the CD (HOTLINE sources, 5/27).

NJ 08: The remap left retiring Rep. Robert Roe's (D-08) CD with a slightly higher Dem population. An intra-party war in Essex Co. left Dems unable to agree on a candidate. With ex-Assemblyman Herb Klein (D) is backed by one camp and Assemblyman Harry McEnroe (D) by another, those two lead among a 5 person field. On the GOP side, state Sen. Joseph Bubba (R), backed by Passaic Co. GOPers, seems to be favored against Passaic Co. Freeholder Norm Robertson (R) (HOTLINE sources, 5/27).

NJ 13: Retiring Rep. Frank Guarini's (D-13) open seat presents an opportunity for NJ to elect its first Hispanic Rep. The new 43% Hispanic CD stretches from northern Hudson Co. to Middlesex Co. along the eastern coast of north central NJ. Union city Mayor/state Sen. Bob Menendez (D), NJ's best-known Hispanic official, is favored against atty Robert Haney (D). Two-time Guarini challenger Fred Theemling (R) is the sole GOP candidate in the solidly Dem CD (HOTLINE sources, 5/27).

OH 06: Reps. Clarence Mibler (R-10) and Bob McEwen (R-06) have moved their battle to the airwaves with both showing "hefty campaign balances for the final days of the campaign." Miller began airing 6 radio ads last week that highlight his accomplishments and scrutinize McEwen's use of perks and his 166 House bank overdrafts. McEwen's ads feature testimonials from people about his work in Congress and support for senior citizens and farmers. As of 5/21, McEwen had raised \$47,872. Miller reported having \$109,541 in his fund (Lowe, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, 5/22). Miller has challenged McEwen to repay the U.S. Treasury \$10,000 for sending franked mail to the 10th CD, which Miller currently represents (Bradshaw, COLUMBUS DISPATCH, 5/23).

OH 10: "No member of the House better captures the devastation wreaked upon incumbents by the twin scandals of the House bank and the House post office" than Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D-20), "who is trying to survive" in a redrawn CD. 42% of the territory is new to Oakar. And she faces a "strong" challenge from Cuyahoga Co. Commis. Tim Hagan (D), who portrays himself as an outsider. Oakar has been running ads that say "she was always there for the people when they needed her and now they must be there in her hour of need." It appears likely that "Oakar's talk of bringing home the bacon will pay off with at least a narrow victory" in the 6/2 primary. Businessman Doug Bugie (D) and four other Dems are also running (Condon, COPLEYS NEWS, 5/27). Oakar is running a new 30-sec. ad, produced by Politics, Inc., which raises charges of illegal contracts and favoritism, as well Hagan's raising of the sales tax without decreasing the debt on Cleveland's "Gateway" project. After each charge, Hagan is shown saying, "I have to live with it" (Politics Inc. release, 5/27). Oakar withdrew from a debate last night sponsored in part by the Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, citing advice by her attorneys regarding a libel suit she has filed against the paper. Six Dems and five GOPers took part in the debate (PLAIN DEALER, 5/27).

OH 13: Fourteen Dems and six GOPers are seeking the seat being vacated by retiring Rep. Donald Pease (D). Ex-Sec/State Sherrod Brown (D) is considered the front-runner on the Dem side.

Brown has been endorsed by the PLAIN DEALER, as well as a host of Dem and labor officials. Millionaire developer/ex-state Rep. Jeffrey Jacobs (R), and millionaire Margaret Mueller (R), a three-time GOP nominee against Rep. Dennis Eckart (D-11), have engaged in an expensive fight. '90 Pease challenger William Nielsen (R) is also running (HOTLINE sources, 5/27).

*24 REDISTRICTING UPDATE

LA (-1): The state Sen. gave final passage to a new remap yesterday that creates a second black-majority CD and pits Reps. Richard Baker (R-06) and Clyde Holloway (R-08), and Reps. Jim McCrery (R-04) and Jerry Huckaby (D-05). Gov. Edwin Edwards (D) has said he would sign into law any bill approved by the Leg. The plan must also win DoJ approval (AP/MONROE NEWS STAR, 5/27).

MD (0): The Supreme Court upheld MD's remap. The action ended a suit brought by Anne Arundel Co. Dems and GOPers who complained the plan split the county into four CDs. The decision was not unexpected. The remap, drawn last fall by the General Assembly, created a new majority-black CD and insured the re-election of House Dem Caucus chair Steny Hoyer (D-05). The plan also aids Reps. Ben Cardin (D-03), Helen Bentley (R-02) and gives Rep. Tom McMillen (D-04) "a shot at winning" in his match-up with Rep. Wayne Gilchrest (R-01) (Balto. SUN, 5/27).

NY (-3): A court-appointed special master submitted a remap proposal that would create two new majority-Hispanic CDs and throw six Reps. into four CDs. Among those pitted against each other: Reps. Ray McGrath (R-05) and Norman Lent (R-04); Gary Ackerman (D-07) and James Scheuer (D-08); Bill Paxon (R-31) and John LaFalce (D-32). Because NY law does not require people to live in the CD they represent, it is likely that some incumbents "would run in different districts, forcing others, who on paper appears to have a district to themselves, to run against a colleague instead." The plan appears to leave Rep. Charles Schumer (D-10) with a choice of running in 60% Hispanic CD, or in a CD where Rep. Stephen Solarz (D-13) "may still have the upper hand" (Verhovek, N.Y. TIMES, 5/27). The state Leg., which has agreed on little except throwing Reps. Bill Green (R-15) and Ted Weiss (D-17) together, along with Reps. Frank Horton (R-29) and Louise Slaughter (D-30), has been stymied over the issue for more than a year. A U.S. District Court in Brooklyn has scheduled a 6/3 hearing on the proposal (Goldberg, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 5/28).

*25 MISSOURI: WEBSTER TAKES HEAT FOR STATE AWARD TO DONOR

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH's Terry Ganey reports workman's comp payments totalling \$65,000 to Morris Kessler, a leading contributor to AG William Webster (R), were made from MO's "Second Injury Fund," an "obscure" fund "defended by private attorneys appointed by Webster." The first \$40,000 settlement was approved by Wm Kelliher, an administrative law judge who now works for Kessler's law firm, and special asst. AG William Roussin, appointed by Webster and now a campaign fund-raiser for him (5/24). Webster campaign manager Tony Feather "said it was unfair to characterize Webster as being in control of the fund," adding, "There was no connection between the amounts of money Kessler had received and his campaign contributions": "I don't see how there can be because Bill Webster has no say in who receives settlements. ... The judges make the decisions on the settlements, and the judges are hired by the Division of Workers' Compensation. Webster has no say in their hiring. It's ludicrous to say that this is a fund he controls" (Ganey, POST-DISPATCH, 5/27). Treas. Wendell Bailey (R), called for an investigation and "said the way the fund was operating 'contains every element of a political kickback scheme.'" Bailey, on the relationship between Webster and lawyers who work with the Fund: "It seemed like the were all contributing the same amount of money, like dues in a club" (POST-DISPATCH, 5/26). Sec/State Roy Blunt (R) also "called for a federal investigation" into the operations of the Fund. Blunt: "Abuse of the system has to stop and needs to be investigated." LG Mel Carnahan (D) called the incident "abuse by insiders" (POST-DISPATCH, 5/27).

ENVIRO OFFENDERS: Spaniards John Suarez and Jose Boveda, both linked to a \$25,000 campaign controversial contribution returned by to St. Louis Mayor Vince Schoemehl (D), "have been involved in recycling operations" that have been cited by the EPA for activities "deemed improper" (POST-DISPATCH, 5/22).

*26 MONTANA: SMALL-SAMPLE POLL SHOWS ALL-FEMALE MATCH UNLIKELY

The Montana Poll, conducted by the U/MT Bureau of Business and Economic Research, surveyed 530 likely voters from 5/13-21; margin of error +/- 4%. Subsamples: 252 Dem LVs; +/- 6%. 187 GOP LVs; +/- 7% (GREAT FALLS TRIBUNE, 5/23). Tested: AG Marc Racicot (R), Auditor Andrea Bennett (R), state Rep. Dorothy Bradley (D), Lewis & Clark Co. Atty Mike McGrath (D), ex-state Supreme Court Justice Frank Morrison (D). Of the full sample of 530 LVs, 91 did not indicate which primary ballot they would choose. MT operates under an open primary system.

DEM PRIMARY

Bradley	34%
McGrath	23
Morrison	15
DK/Others	28

GOP PRIMARY

Racicot	57%
Bennett	20
Undec.	24

U/MT pollster Paul Polzin: "If I was Dorothy Bradley, I wouldn't be comfortable yet, but I'd feel good I still lead." Polzin "agreed McGrath and Morrison must gear their campaigns toward undecided voters, and said either will have a chance if he

could attract most of the undecided voters." Bradley backs a sales tax, a "highly volatile issue," while Morrison and McGrath strongly oppose" the idea. McGrath has been running ads attacking the plan as "the Bradley sales tax," and Morrison "is expected to begin harder-hitting ads soon." The MT Dem party and organized labor both "have traditionally opposed a sales tax." For the GOPers, the poll shows Racicot with a "surprising 3-1 margin" over Bennett. Polzin: "Racicot has a commanding lead at this time ...even if Bennett gets all the undecided Republican votes, she would still trail" (Peter Johnson, TRIBUNE, 5/23).

FINAL DEM BLITZ: Bradley will distribute 120,000 copies of her tax reform plan, which includes a 4% sales tax. She has also "struck back" with her own TV ad challenging McGrath's criticism of her tax plan. McGrath will make one final distribution of 125,000 handbills. McGrath manager Dave Hunter: "What we have to do is convince voters that Mike McGrath's plan to balance the budget is fairer and a better plan for the people than Dorothy Bradley's sales tax." McGrath is also planning radio ads in rural areas featuring the endorsement of ex-Gov. Ted Schwinden. Morrison plans to go on TV "criticizing Bradley and McGrath's tax plans and offering his own as the best alternative." Morrison consultant Tom Hujar claimed McGrath's plan would "raise income and property taxes" (Charles Johnson, TRIBUNE, 5/26).

*27 SENATE "A": STILL ON TV, MCCARTHY ATTACKS LEVINE'S WIFE

"For the second day in a row" LG Leo McCarthy (D) released an ad "personally attacking an opponent, or in this case, both of them." McCarthy's new spot opens with a photo of the U.S. Capitol and dissolves to pictures of Reps. Barbara Boxer (D-06) and Mel Levine (D-27) to the tune of "Happy Days Are Here Again." VO: "What recession? Happy days are here in Congress." The announcer then tells Levine and Boxer both voted for the congressional payraise. The ad then charges "Levine used improper influence to soak taxpayers for a phony government job for his wife ... until state investigators blew the whistle." Levine's wife was hired as a legal assistant at the state Public Utilities Commis. [PUC] in '80 while then-Assemblyman Levine sat on a subcmte that oversaw the PUC budget. The state personnel board eliminated her job due to "irregularities" in civil service law connected with her hiring (see HOTLINE 4/2). Levine: "McCarthy is resorting to the sleaziest of politics when he attacks my wife." Levine spokesperson Hope Warschaw: "The intimation that she needed her husband to get hired is inaccurate and untrue." McCarthy released another ad which describes his record on fighting crime. The ad begins with a "huge" headline from the now-defunct S.F. NEWS reporting how McCarthy was abducted at gunpoint as a young man. VO: "At 23, Leo McCarthy was kidnaped by a cop killer and forced to drive around all night with a gun to his head. He's been fighting crime and drugs ever since" (Roberts, S.F. CHRONICLE, 5/27).

GOP: Campbell was endorsed by both NARAL and CA NARAL 5/26. CA NARAL political dir. Cynthia Carey-Grant: "Campbell's commitment to protecting choice has been exemplary." CA GOPers for Choice PAC pres. Susan Harding: "Campbell has chosen not only to stand up for choice but to fight for it and risk his future for it" (Campbell release, 5/26). Also running: ex-TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn (R).

*28 SENATE "B": ALLEN CALLS SEYMOUR AD AN URBAN FLIP-FLOP

Sen. John Seymour (R) began running a new ad 5/26 calling for tough handling of rioters, "but in the same 30 seconds promotes education programs for welfare mothers and tax-cuts for inner-city businesses." In the ad, with riot footage in the background, Seymour tells viewers: "We can't be tough enough on lawbreakers. ... We built this country on law and order. Don't raise taxes for this." Ex-Civil Rights Commis. Bill Allen (R) criticized the ad as a "thinly veiled appeal to racial backlash" and a "flip-flop" on Seymour's position to support last week's urban financial bailout bill. Allen, who opposes the bill as a "handout" saying it "smacks of extortion," sent Seymour a letter "asking him to withdraw the ad." Seymour "defended" the ad and said the bill "does not necessarily mean additional taxes. He said the money ... could come from existing programs." At a Palos Verdes Peninsula GOP Women's luncheon with Rep. Wm Dannemeyer (R-39), Allen and retired dentist Jim Trinity (R), Seymour "sparked a give-and-take" with Dannemeyer about abortion. Seymour, a co-sponsor of the Freedom of Choice Act said the issue is "personal": "It is an issue that should be addressed by each woman, her family and her doctor and her God." Dannemeyer "interrupted Seymour in a heckling manner" and said Seymour's proposal would "extend women's rights further than the law

allows" and would "allow an abortion right up until the moment of live birth" (Shuit, L.A. TIMES, 5/27).

FEINSTEIN: In a front page "Column One" piece about women running for Senate, L.A. TIMES' Wilkinson writes Feinstein "does not put the same passionate emphasis on feminism" as "A" seat candidate Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-06). CA analyst Sherry Bebitch Jeffesaid Feinstein "is perceived as less intense, less strident ... She has paid her dues. There is an image there, and it is not threatening to men." Boxer has endorsed Feinstein over Controller Gray Davis (D), but Feinstein said Boxer's Dem rivals "have also been friends and supporters over the years" and has not returned the favor. (5/27). Also running: Controller Gray Davis (D).

===== TV MONITOR =====

*29 THIS MORNING: NBC's "Today" hosted W.S. JOURNAL's Al Hunt, NBC's Tim Russert and Andrea Mitchell on the presidential campaign; Yale pres. Benno Schmidt on education reform; and Lt. Tracy Thorne, Rep. Bob Dornan (R-CA) and Human Rights Campaign Fund's Tim McFeeley on homosexuals in the military. ABC's "GMA" also hosted Lt. Thorne, Petty Officer Keith Meinhold and Reserve Officers Association's Evan Hultman on the military ban; and L.A. Police chief Daryl Gates on his new book "Chief: My Life in LAPD." "CBS This Morning" hosted Whittle Commun. chair Chris Whittle and Yale pres. Benno Schmidt on school reform; and Oxford University's William Wallace on the Yugoslavian civil war (5/28).

LAST NIGHT: ABC, CBS, CNN and PBS' "MacNeil/Lehrer" led with genetic engineering. NBC led with the Supreme Court decision on the mail order tax. "M/L" focused on the Haitian refugee controversy with Reps. John Conyers (D-MI) and Clay Shaw (R-FL). CNN's "Crossfire" hosted ex-Foreign Service officer Michael Mennard and Carnegie Endowment's Jenonne Walker on the Yugoslavian civil war.

HA! NBC's Jay Leno on Quayle: "The Bush Administration is very worried about September 7, that's the big day ... that's the day CBS plans to rerun the 'Murphy Brown' episode and they're afraid Dan Quayle might think she had another child out of wedlock." On Clinton: "This whole controversy is starting to affect the other candidates ... yesterday Bill Clinton was asked where he stood on the Murphy Brown pregnancy and he said 'Hey I never even touched her!'" On Bush: "Bush was just at the University Notre Dame and given an honorary degree -- I'm not sure what the degree was in but I think we can pretty much rule out economics." On Bush's wealth: "President Bush's assets grew by over a million dollars ... so it's pretty obvious that he's not letting his son Neil handle his investments." On the fact that Perot hasn't announced his candidacy: "Are you starting to get the feeling that 'Perot' is the French word for Cuomo." On Jerry Brown's white water rafting trip with L.A. gang members: "I guess this is kind of like a 'boys in the woods' experience" ("Tonight Show," 5/26). Dennis Miller on Congress' failure to pass a middle-class tax cut: "The House refuses to sign anything that doesn't have 'Pay to the order of' on it" ("Dennis Miller Show," 5/26).

===== TV SOUNDBITE =====

"Back in April, he was at 22 and 24 in the polls.
Russert beat up on him and now he's at 34."

-- W.S. JOURNAL's Al Hunt on Perot and NBC "Meet the Press"
inquisitor Tim Russert, "Today," NBC, 5/27.

#

THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN

5/27

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

May 26, 1992

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
(DECL: OADR)

07

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Arnold Kanter, ^{ME} Acting Secretary

1. Poland: Walesa Calls for Government's Resignation. Lech Walesa called today for the resignation of Prime Minister Olszewski's government. Relations between the two have deteriorated since Olszewski took office last December due to disagreements over a number of issues, including control over national security policy, the May 22 Polish-Soviet Troop withdrawal agreement, and Olszewski's inept handling of key parliamentary votes. The next step is a no-confidence motion which could happen as early as Thursday. No alternative candidate has a clear parliamentary majority, although Walesa has likely been working behind the scenes with former PM's Mazowiecki and Bielecki and possibly right-of-center moderates to put together a broad-based center coalition. The jockeying to create a new government will stall progress on passage of Poland's 1992 budget, and on a new IMF program.
2. Colombia: Guerrilla Offensive. The guerilla Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) has launched a major offensive in the Colombian countryside extinguishing hopes for a negotiated settlement between the guerrillas and the government. Added to the recent telecommunications strike and sustained electricity rationing, President Gaviria's handling of the guerrilla negotiation process has brought his popular support to an all-time low. Gaviria has requested that you stop in Bogota on your return from Rio.
3. Philippines: Ramos Eyes the Future. With 75% of the precincts reporting, Eddie Ramos now leads by almost one million votes, followed by Mirriam Santiago and Eduardo Conjuangco. In a May 22 interview, Ramos has said his top priority is stability, followed by economic recovery, fighting corruption, environmental protection, and resolving the Philippine energy crisis. He also said he would review the entire range of US-Philippine relations, including our security relationship and he indicated he would continue to pay foreign debts.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

DECLASSIFIED
PER DOS WAIVER. November 6, 2015
By ME NARA, Date 6/17/24

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 5-27 TIME: 7:55
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Lamar Alexander

SUBJECT: Yes, veto Bill
, if it's like
House passed
bill

FOLLOW UP: _____

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: 5-27 TIME: 3 ³⁶ 07
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Vivian Weber

SUBJECT: _____

① votes OK on
Fetal tissue

② don't normally initiate
calls. Talking to Ed Rollins
considering go to work for
Perot. Asked him to go

FOLLOW UP: to do it - Bad for you Bad
for Rep Party

ask you to call him - ask
him to come to see you.

Form a team with Vivian
after election -

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



DATE: _____ TIME: _____
incoming / outgoing

WITH: _____

SUBJECT: go to Texas to
meet with Perot

Kind of campaign-go right
at our house

Rollins run it
Hamilton Jordan to be # 2

FOLLOW UP: Perot might in end
to take from us.

Very concerned
Thud Ed still wants to
Skinner very upset
about this

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

The President today announced the appointment of Eric D. K. Melby as Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Senior Director for International Economic Affairs on the National Security Council staff.

Mr. Melby has served as Director for International Economic Affairs on the NSC staff since September 1987. Prior to joining the NSC staff, he served as Special Assistant to the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (1985-87) and with the International Energy Agency (IEA) in Paris (1980-85). He has also worked for the Agency for International Development and was a Peace Corps Volunteer in the Philippines.

Mr. Melby received his B.A. from Haverford College and his M.A. and Ph.D. from the School of Advanced International Studies of the Johns Hopkins University. He is married to Pamela Tripp Melby and has two daughters, Alexandra and Sarah.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

The President today recognized the volunteers of STRIVE, Inc. of Newton, North Carolina, as the 783rd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. STRIVE volunteers help ex-offenders become responsible, productive citizens with meaningful employment opportunities and the hope of economic advancement.

Individuals who are on parole or probation agree to participate in the STRIVE program. Some 15 volunteers help these clients secure employment and housing, meet court obligations, obtain educational opportunities, and readjust to family life. By offering self-esteem classes, volunteers instill in the former offenders confidence that they can improve their own condition and become responsible citizens. Each participant voluntarily commits to achieving 25 self-improvement goals and to following the program's other guidelines. They meet weekly as a group for a session called "KICK IT," at which they discuss work, school, family life, and their rehabilitation progress. As necessary, they also meet individually with volunteer counselors to talk about personal or family problems.

Many STRIVE volunteers have developed lasting relationships with their clients, who often depend on the organization and its programs as a safety net and vehicle for success. The motto of the program is, "We are always here to give a hand, not a hand-out."

The President salutes the volunteers of STRIVE, Inc. for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT: Miah Homstad - (202) 456-6266

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

Presidential Determination
No. 92-27

May 26, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Determination and Certification Under Section 8
of the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security
Act: Ethiopia

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 8 of the Horn of Africa Recovery and Food Security Act (Public Law 102-274; 106 Stat. 115), I hereby determine and certify that the Government of Ethiopia:

- (1) has begun to implement peace agreements and national reconciliation agreements;
- (2) has demonstrated a commitment to human rights within the meaning of sections 116 and 502B of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961;
- (3) has manifested a commitment to democracy, has established a timetable for free and fair elections, and has agreed to implement the results of those elections; and
- (4) has agreed to distribute developmental assistance on the basis of need without regard to political affiliation, geographic location, or the ethnic, tribal, or religious identity of the recipient.

You are authorized and directed to report this determination and certification to the Congress and to publish it in the Federal Register.

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate James A. McIntyre, of California, to be United States District Judge for the Southern District of California. This is a new position.

Since 1963, Mr. McIntyre has served with the law firm of McInnis, Fitzgerald, Rees, Sharkey & McIntyre as a Shareholder, 1973-present; Partner, 1968-1973; and an Associate, 1963-1968. From 1974-1976, he served as an Adjunct Professor at the University of San Diego School of Law.

Mr. McIntyre was graduated from Brown University (A.B., 1960) and Stanford University Law School (J.D., 1963). He was born September 13, 1938 in Chicago, Illinois. Mr. McIntyre is married, has four children and resides in La Jolla, California.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President was pleased to welcome Jerusalem's Mayor Teddy Kollek back to the White House. Tolerance and respect for Jerusalem's diverse population have been outstanding qualities of the Mayor's long and wise stewardship of a city that is holy to three faiths. In addition to expressing his admiration for Mayor Kollek's contributions to fostering a climate of reconciliation, the President stated that U.S. policy toward Jerusalem was unchanged, namely, that Jerusalem must never again be a divided city and that its final status should be decided by negotiations.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

S. 452, which directs the Secretary of Agriculture to exchange Federal lands in Colorado for private lands in South Dakota.

S. 749, which renames the Mound City Group National Monument in Ohio as the Hopewell Culture National Historical Park, and revises the park boundaries to include four additional archeological sites.

S. 1182, which transfers jurisdiction over 10,173 acres of public lands from the Secretary of the Interior to the Secretary of Agriculture for inclusion in the Fishlake National Forest in Utah.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

May 26, 1992

Presidential Determination
No. 92-28

MEMORANDUM FOR THE SECRETARY OF STATE

SUBJECT: Eligibility of the Comoros to be Furnished
Defense Articles and Services Under the Foreign
Assistance Act and the Arms Export Control Act

Pursuant to the authority vested in me by section 503(a) of the Foreign Assistance Act of 1961, as amended (22 U.S.C. 2311(a)), and section 3(a)(1) of the Arms Export Control Act (22 U.S.C. 2753(a)(1)), I hereby find and determine that the furnishing of defense articles and services to the Government of the Comoros will strengthen the security of the United States and promote world peace.

You are authorized and directed to report this determination to the Congress and to publish it in the Federal Register.

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
AT THE NAVAL ACADEMY COMMENCEMENT

Annapolis, Maryland

10:45 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Thank you, Mr. Secretary, and thank all of you. Thank you, Larry Garrett. Please be seated. And may I salute our great CNO, Admiral Kelso, who's with us today; and our Superintendent Admiral Lynch; the several members of the United States Congress that are here today. I want to single out the Navy band, thank the Academy band; and Captain Bill Hines, the Senior Chaplain; and Midshipmen First Class Joe Lienert and Melissa Miceli for leading us in the National Anthem. Officers, members of the faculty, friends, parents -- the Brigade -- and, of course, the Class of 1992. (Applause.) As I said that the sun came out. (Laughter.) Now, thank you for this warm welcome.

Let me add a special salute to an honorary classmate of the Class of '92: Midshipman Rob Boehning -- a model of courage to his classmates. (Applause.)

Now, the real reason I came here today: I just wanted to salute the class that finally captured the Army mules. (Applause.) And to show you that I took Larry Garrett's remarks to heart, I will now tell you my favorite Billy Graham story -- about the guy, the graduation speaker, goes on and on and on. A guy sitting over here picks up the gavel, heaves it at him, misses, hits a woman in the front row, and she said, "Hit me again. I can still hear him." (Laughter.)

Look what you're in for. (Laughter.) No, they're double-spaced. (Laughter.)

As President, I've made it my mission to preserve three legacies of concern to all Americans. I spoke a few days ago at Southern Methodist University about the new economic realities -- about the promising job opportunities that we're going to have in the next century. At Notre Dame, my focus was the family -- because the first lessons in faith and character are learned at home. But today I want to speak about the great mission you've taken up as your own: preserving freedom, keeping the peace.

You take up your watch at a watershed moment -- as old order gives way to new. And just think of the changes, the remarkable changes that have taken place since you first came to Annapolis four years ago, for plebe summer way back in 1988. That was a different era -- another world, literally. Europe was a continent divided -- East from West. From Central America to the Horn of Africa to Afghanistan and Southeast Asia, the U.S. faced Soviet expansionism. Today all that has changed: Today, the "dominoes" fall in democracy's direction.

Today, the Wall, the Warsaw Pact, the Soviet empire -- even the Soviet Union itself -- all are gone, swept away by the most powerful idea known to man: the undeniable desire of every individual to be free.

MORE

We must recognize these events for what they were: a vindication of our ideals -- a testament to faith -- but also, a victory for the men and women who fought for freedom. Because this triumph didn't just happen. Imperial communism didn't just fall -- it was pushed.

Your generation will be the first to enjoy the fruits of that victory. Today, the threat of a lightning strike across the fields of Europe has vanished with the Warsaw Pact. The threat of nuclear war is more distant than at any time in the past four decades. As Commander-in-Chief, I think back often to the day I did what so many of my predecessors must have longed to do: to give the order for many of our nuclear forces to stand down from alert. And last week in Lisbon, we reached agreement with four of the new nations of the old Soviet empire -- Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Byelarus -- to make good on the great promise of the START Treaty that we signed just a year ago.

The end of the Cold War -- it means new opportunities for global prosperity. Free market reform is now sweeping away the dead hand of state socialism. Capitalism is recognized the world over as the engine of prosperity and social progress -- and nations are reorganizing themselves to unleash the limitless potential of the individual.

Governments can help foster free enterprise -- or they can put obstacles in its path. There is no question what course -- the course we must take. The United States will remain a forceful advocate for free trade.

But the promise of new prosperity must not blind us to the new challenges of new economic realities. Nations that lack the confidence to compete will be tempted to seek refuge behind the walls of protectionism. And we must fight the protectionist impulse here at home -- and we must work with our partners for trade that is free, fair and open.

Beyond this economic challenge, we must see clearly the dangers that remain. And, yes, since the day you came to Annapolis, we have made great gains for freedom. But we have not yet entered an era of perpetual peace.

Some see the great triumph I mentioned a moment ago not simply as cause for celebration -- but as proof that America's work in the world is finished -- is done. The fact is, never in the long history of man has the world been a benign place. It will take hard efforts to make and keep it a better place -- and there is no substitute in this effort for America's strength and sense of purpose. When other nations look to the United States, they see a nation that combines economic and military might -- with a moral force that's borne of its founding ideals.

Even in our new world, as old threats recede, new ones emerge. With the end of the East-West stand-off, ideology has given way to ethnicity as a key factor for conflict. Ancient hatreds -- ethnic rivalries frozen in time -- threaten to revive themselves and to reignite. We see it now in the war-ravaged Balkans -- in tensions within and among some of the new nations of the old Soviet empire. For all the overwhelmingly hopeful aspects of the new nationalism we see in the world -- for all the proud history and heritage we see reclaimed -- for all the captive nations now free: we must guard against those who would turn the noble impulse of nationalism to negative ends.

We will face new challenges in the realm of diplomacy: Where in the past we've relied almost entirely on established formal alliances -- the future may require us to turn more often to coalitions, built to respond to the needs of the moment. Where in the past, international organizations like the U.N., the United

Nations, had been paralyzed by Cold War conflict, we will see a future where they can now be a force for peace. Where in the past, many times the heaviest burdens of leadership fell to our nation, we will now see more efforts made to seek consensus and concerted action.

The United States will never rely on other nations to defend its interests -- but we can and will seek to act in concert with the community of nations to defend common interests and ideals. We saw a glimpse of that future in the Persian Gulf. Such a world puts a premium on nations certain of their interests, faithful to their ideals -- and on leaders ready to act.

We will face new challenges that take us beyond containment -- to a key role in helping forge a democratic peace. In the weeks ahead, Congress will be considering the Freedom Support Act -- to promote democratic reform in Russia and the other Commonwealth states. For all the pressure to focus our energies on needs here at home, and for all that we must do and will do to open new opportunities to every American here at home, we cannot fail in this critical mission.

When we think of the world you and your children will inherit, no single factor will shape their future more than this: whether the lands of the old Soviet empire move forward into democracy or slide back into anarchy or authoritarianism. The outcome of this great transition will affect everything -- from the amount of resources government must devote to defense instead of domestic needs to a future for our children free from fear.

And, yes, the aid that I have requested from the Congress is significant, but it is also a tiny fraction of the \$4 trillion that this nation spent to wage and win the Cold War. We owe it to those who began the task as well as those who will come up afterward to finish the great work that we have begun.

But if we hope to remain free and at peace in the world, a world that still holds dangers, we must maintain defenses adequate to the task. This defense rests on four key elements:

First, we must maintain a strong strategic deterrent. And, yes, our nuclear forces can and will be smaller in the future. But even in the aftermath of the Cold War, Russia retains its nuclear arsenal. And we learned in Desert Storm about the progress that Iraq had made toward building nuclear weapons of its own.

We must heed the lessons learned in the Gulf War, when a single Scud missile took the lives of more Americans than any other combat action in that war. And we cannot count on deterrence to stop a madman with missiles. We must deploy a defense against ballistic missile attack.

And second, security means forward deployment. From the 40 years of Cold War to the 40 days of Desert Storm, forward deployed forces have contributed to the world's stability and helped America keep danger far from its shores. Even in our new world, with the tremendous political transformation we've worked to bring about, the fundamental facts of geopolitics don't change. Forward deployed forces -- I'm talking about ground forces, and I am talking the United States Navy -- will keep America safe in the century ahead as they have in the century now coming to a close.

And third, the nature of the challenges we are likely to face will put a premium on rapid response. We live in a day when clear and present dangers are few, when new threats can emerge with little or no warning. Throughout history, our ability to project power has helped us keep the peace -- and, if need be, to win the war. And this I pledge as Commander-in-Chief: America's forces will continue to be the best-trained, the best-equipped and most

battle-ready forces anywhere in the entire world. We owe it to the generations coming up. (Applause.)

And fourth, even as we reduce our armed forces, we must retain the capability to reconstitute sufficient forces to meet the future threats that we may face. As we make significant cuts in our defense procurement, we've got to keep in mind that production lines for planes and tanks and ships cannot be turned on and off like water from a faucet. We've got to keep our technological edge -- keep our R&D focused on the next generation of weapons that you'll need to succeed.

In conclusion I just want to turn now to a final challenge, one that begins with a hard-won truth that shines through this century's great conflicts: America is safest at home when we stand as a force for stability in the world.

In many respects, reaffirming this truth in our new world may be the greatest challenge of all, because the history of this century reveals in the American character a desire to see in every hard-won victory a sign that America's work in the world is done. And such an urge is not unusual in democracies, it's a trait found in nations more interested in the quiet joys of home than in the glories of conquest abroad. But it can be devastating in a world that still holds dangers for our interests and ideals.

Winston Churchill made this point the theme of the last volume in his epic history of World War II. He called it: "How the great democracies triumphed -- and so were able to resume the follies which had so nearly cost them their life."

Once more, our challenge is to avoid the folly that Churchill warned of -- to remain engaged in the world as a force for peace. And we will do it with your help, through the leadership you provide. Today, John Paul Jones would say: "The measure of a ship is not its guns, but its courageous men and women." Your courage, your integrity, your ability to lead: these are the qualities on which our nation's security depends.

And more than once this century, America has proved its mettle. More than once, we've come late to conflict and turned back mortal threats to freedom. But as a nation, we have yet to prove that we can lead when there is no enemy on the doorstep. We have proved and proved again we can win the war. And now we must wage the peace.

Once again, to this wonderful graduating class, I wish you well. I wish you Godspeed. And thank you all for this warm welcome. And may I thank the families that have labored in sweat to provide this wonderful day for these wonderful Midshipmen, now to be Ensigns or Lieutenants. Welcome, congratulations to the Class of 1992. And may God bless the United States of America, the freest, greatest country on the face of the Earth. Thank you very much. (Applause.)

END

11:03 A.M. EDT

Bush at Mt. Paran Christian School

May 27, 1992

The president made a strong pitch to his white suburban supporters today on the issues of family values, school choice vouchers, patriotism and the balanced budget amendment (not to be confused with actually balancing budgets). You heard the remarks at the roundtable and the gym.

A little color. Setting for the roundtable was the usual horseshoe shaped table configuration in center of concrete block classroom, flanked by bookshelves, neatly filled with encyclopedias and Readers Digest condensed books, globes, blackboards inscribed with algebra problems and snippets of the Constitution. Banner on the wall read: Mount Paran Christian School, Academic Excellence In A Christ Centered Environment. There were both American and Christian flags arrayed side-by-side. In addition to the president, there were 25 students, parents and teachers. All were white, with the exception of one student, Marcelle Alexander.

Demarest says Mt. Paran was chosen because it best illustrates the kind of things Bush's education strategy advocates, especially family involvement and school choice. Not to be overlooked, however, is that the school is located in Cobb County, a Republican stronghold.

The gym was packed with about 1,000 students and parents. Very hot. You could hear that it was a very friendly crowd, agreeable on just about every issue.

Walls were papered with Welcome Mr. President banners. Bush sat on makeshift stage with bleachers filled with school children behind him.

School officials said the annual tuition ranges from \$3,200 to \$3,750, depending on the grade. School enrollment is 570. "About two dozen" of those are black students.

Greg McDonald -- Houston Chronicle
Dan Goodgame -- Time Magazine

daily 5/28

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: May 1, 1992

TO: Sec. Skinner

FROM: CLAYTON YEUTTER
Counsellor to the President for
Domestic Policy

Sam, looks like the Democrats totally
stiffed Lamar on his education bill.

If this holds, we ought to veto the
thing and take our case to the American
people with vigor!

[Handwritten signature]

*Clayton
I of sec
CB*

*How
QOTUS*

UNITED STATES
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION



NEWS

FOR RELEASE
May 20, 1992

Contact: Etta Fielek
(202) 401-3020

**STATEMENT BY U.S. SECRETARY OF EDUCATION LAMAR ALEXANDER
regarding H.R. 4323 - the Neighborhood Schools Improvement Act**

This bill is worse than awful. The only ones who should be happy are those who want schools to stay forever just like they are. The business-as-usual crowd said "no" to break-the-mold schools for communities, to more flexibility for teachers and to more choices of schools for families. Then, out of the blue, they created a new National Board of Education that would override state and local boards. There couldn't be a more inappropriate time for such a partisan act from a committee that once was bipartisan. The President should veto this bill if it ever reaches his desk.

###

OPTIONAL FORM 10 (7-90)

FAX TRANSMITTAL

of pages =

To	Rae/Gins-	From	Donell
Dept./Agency	OFD	Phone	401-0404
Fax #	456-7739	Fax #	401-1971

NSN 7540-01-317-7398

5009-101

GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20230

May 12, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: Barbara Hackman Franklin *BHF*

SUBJECT: Muenster West-East Conference of Ministers Meeting
May 7-9, 1992

At the invitation of Vice Chancellor and Economics Minister Moellemann, I participated in the West-East Economic Conference in Muenster to discuss trade, investment, and technical assistance for the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union.

Attending were the Economics Ministers of the G-7 nations, as well as those from Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Belarus, Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. The European Community, Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development were also represented. Business representatives from most of the countries were present as well. Jack Murphy, CEO of Dresser Industries, and Robert Kelly, CEO of Enron Europe, accompanied me.

The group had a very fruitful discussion about the need for private sector development as the key to creating free market economies in the new republics. Business representatives noted: (1) their keen interest in expanding trade and investment with the reform economies (2) their strong desire for the new republics to act quickly to institute reforms (3) the need for immediate decisions on currently pending projects, some of which have been pending a long time (4) that small and medium-sized businesses were important to creating a free market climate.

I discussed and distributed Commerce's report, published in March, on "Obstacles to Trade and Investment in the New Republics of the Former Soviet Union" which summarizes the difficulties experienced by U.S. businesses. We found broad support for our findings and recommendations among all the participants.

I also proposed that the Conference agree on a "set of principles" to promote private investment in the reform states. The Conference issued a "Summary of Conclusions" (attached) which includes the U.S. proposal. Adopting this summary was the most important accomplishment of the Conference. The Russians,

daily
328063

Barbara
Good Report!
Keep it up
Thank
GB
5-27

Ed. Hickey

Belarussians and Ukrainians were particularly vocal about the importance of such an agreed document as a means to build internal support for their reform programs at home and confidence among foreign investors.

Additionally, conference participants agreed that further meetings might be useful, and Minister Moellemann indicated that he would give a report on this Conference to the Economic Summit in Munich.

A final note: in a bilateral meeting Russian Economic Minister Nechayev articulated a dilemma. Their large munitions factories cannot make anything else and the need for hard currency drives them to export. If arms exports are not possible, he asks, what is to become of these facilities and those who work in them? His solution: that they continue to export arms. But, he did ask for our help in selling weapons in a manner consistent with international principles. Specifically, he asked our help in resolving differences over the sale of rocket motors to India. This is a State Department issue and we have alerted the appropriate officials. Note was made of Nechayev's comment, "We are flexible."

Attachment

cc: Secretary Baker
Secretary Brady
General Scowcroft

Summary of Conclusions
of the West-East Economic Conference
of Ministers of Economics, Industry and Trade
in Münster, 7 - 9 May 1992

At the invitation of the Federal Minister of Economics of the Federal Republic of Germany, the First Deputy Prime Minister of Belarus, the Prime Minister of Kazakhstan, the Vice Prime Minister and Minister of Economics of the Ukraine, and the Ministers of Economics, Industry and Trade of Canada, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, France, Hungary, Italy, Japan, Poland, Portugal, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America, as well as representatives of the Commission of the European Communities, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) met in Münster from 7 to 9 May 1992.

Giving special attention to the pivotal role of the private sector in economic reform, they exchanged views on policy measures and possible assistance to help accelerate the transition of the countries of Central and Eastern Europe as well as those of the former Soviet Union to market economies, and, in particular, necessary conditions for closer international business cooperation. Representatives of industry from participating countries took part and made valuable contributions based on their experience to date in the reform economies.

The participants agreed on the vital importance of encouraging rapid development of the private sector in the reforming countries and of accelerating foreign direct investment, which can play a major role in the economic reform process. They examined necessary policy measures by the reform states and addressed various areas of useful assistance by established market economies, including privatisation, the creation of a capable small and medium-sized enterprise sector, conversion from

military to civil production, enhancement of the role of trade, training in market economy skills, cooperation in environmental protection, and, in particular, framework conditions that are necessary for investment from the private sector. Participants also acknowledged the vital role of the international financial institutions and other specialised organisations in this context.

The participants expressed strong support for the reform efforts being undertaken. They recognised that the process of transition to market economies has advanced to different degrees among these countries and that some, in particular the Czech and Slovak Republic, Hungary and Poland, may well be in a position to share experience with and offer advice and technical assistance to others that are beginning the reform process, above all as regards privatisation. Participants also acknowledged that experience taken from established market economies may have to be adjusted when transferred to reform countries and that realistic time horizons should be assumed to take account of the differences featured by the reform countries both as a group and individually. In a bilateral learning process between established market economies and reforming states, creative solutions are called for.

Participants emphasised that the performance of market-based economies relies primarily on the freedom of individual enterprises to make their own decisions, while governments provide the overall framework for economic activity. The provision of a stable macro-economic framework ranks high among the necessary conditions for private economic activity.

Reform of Economic Structures

There is an urgent need to reform economic structures, e.g. to implement demonopolisation and privatisation which will promote management autonomy, entrepreneurial initiative and accountability. Even while enterprises remain state owned, breaking-up monopoly enterprises will actively promote competition. The established market economy countries and some of the more advanced reform countries agreed to provide, and, if

possible, extend help and advice on privatisation and on any mechanisms they had adopted to regulate monopolies. Participants also agreed on the importance of fostering the establishment of a healthy small and medium-sized business sector. The established market economies offered to share their experiences in supporting small and medium-sized businesses, including specialised government agencies, an appropriate legal framework, supporting financial institutions, training centers and advice on business start-ups. Participating countries agreed to encourage and facilitate the establishment of chambers of industry and commerce, small business consortia, trade associations and similar bodies in the reform countries and to foster links with their equivalents in the established market economies.

Conversion of Military Production

The conversion of military production to civilian uses is of key importance to help-market based structures evolve. Success in the conversion process requires the definition of a clear economic strategy integrating structural, institutional and micro-economic approaches. The high concentration of such military facilities in some areas has important implications for regional economic development. International cooperation at the corporate level could expedite conversion. The full range of information should be provided to enable prospective partners to assess the economic potential of military enterprises. Financial and ecological burdens inherited by these enterprises also have to be addressed.

Expanding International Trade

All countries agreed on the importance of trade and place a high priority on the successful conclusion of the Uruguay Round of Multilateral Trade Negotiations. As part of this process the reform states accepted the need to assume the obligations and disciplines of the international trading system.

Participants stressed the importance of market access, including in sensitive sectors, for the exports of the reform countries and

the value of measures such as trade preferences and regional free-trade agreements. The representatives of the reforming economies agreed on the need to continue traditional trade relations on a free-market basis, to avoid the introduction of new trade barriers against each other, and to look for ways to raise the level of trade within the region. Those who are not already Contracting Parties will seek to participate in the GATT system as quickly as possible.

To advance trade in general, problems of real pricing, functioning foreign exchange mechanisms, the lack of efficient banking operations and delays in external payments all have a bearing and need to be solved by the reform states.

In implementing current relief programmes, distortion of competition should be avoided and due consideration should be taken of commercial interests of trading partners in the region. The established market economies offer specific advice and assistance in building institutions that support trade, e.g. setting up export credit insurance and general trade-promotion schemes, in marketing and in training customs officials.

Promoting Private Investment

The participants agreed on the vital importance of contributions that private investments from established market economies will have to make to the reform process. To this end, framework conditions for private investors and the general conduct of business must be further improved and adapted to international standards and practice.

Drawing from the comments made by participants from industry, some key areas were identified for stimulating private investment, and participants agreed that the application of the following set of principles and recommendations would improve investor confidence and interest in the reform states:

- ensuring a positive investment climate in which investment flows are determined by market forces with fair and equitable

non-discriminatory treatment of foreign investors not less favorable than domestic competitors, avoidance of performance requirements, assured free transfers related to investments and fully convertible currencies;

- developing a secure and stable legal framework through adequate protection of investments including effective intellectual property rights, access to third-party arbitration, the effective enforcement of contracts and guarantees of prompt and adequate compensation in case of expropriation;
- facilitating market access through the dissemination of reliable and comprehensive economic data, transparent and stable commercial laws and regulations; active promotion of business contacts and streamlining admission procedures.

Fostering international cooperation, established market economies will seek to respond positively to requests for technical assistance and advice on matters such as legislation, procedures and the establishment and operation of bodies to promote inward investment. Responding to the reform efforts, insofar as applicable, they will also review their own incentives for investment, such as existing capital investment guarantee systems and other measures, including those for small and medium-sized enterprises.

Training

Participants from the established market economies agreed to encourage and, where possible, assist their enterprises to offer training positions for managers, supervisors and other staff in enterprises from the reform states. The governments of the reform states could establish centers for disseminating modern management and technological know-how with advice and technical assistance by the established market economies.

Environmental Protection

The transition process offers the challenge of simultaneously reforming the industrial fabric and overcoming environmental problems. Participants agreed that governments in the reform states, with advice and technical assistance from established market economies, should aim to set adequate environmental standards in line with international levels, ensure enforcement and promote the application of environmentally advanced technologies. In this respect, participants acknowledged the work underway in appropriate international bodies. They emphasised the major role played by proper economic mechanisms and incentives and stressed the role of private-sector investments which advance the introduction of cleaner technologies, together with the associated skills and know-how. They specifically pointed out that there is a need to clean-up past environmental pollution by reform states in order to avoid creating additional investment barriers.

Follow-up

Participants agreed to inform non-participating reform countries of the discussions held at Münster. They believed their meeting fruitfully addressed an area of special importance that deserves more attention in international efforts to provide assistance to reform countries. They agreed, therefore, to continue this consultation process and, together with business representatives, to review progress in the areas of cooperation identified at the Münster conference within one year.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 21, 1992

2 MAY 26 AM : 49

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

EDE HOLIDAY 

SUBJECT:

Secretary Franklin's Report on the West-East
Conference of Ministers Meeting May 7-9

Attached is a report prepared by Secretary Franklin, describing the discussions regarding trade, investment, and technical assistance for the newly independent states of the former Soviet Union. Also attached is the Summary of Conclusions, agreed upon by all the attendees, which Franklin feels was the most important accomplishment of the session.

Attachments

July 5-27

Name Bessie 5-27

☐ Yes, I will play

☐ No, I cannot play, but will attend the cocktail party (spouses welcome)

☐ Spouse will attend the cocktail party

☒ Cannot participate

☐ Contribution enclosed

Telephone _____

Handicap _____

Bessie Tack and I'll
I & Lee are there
Arnie are there
make the 4th
(50K skins)
of money
out!!

Alon Rhodes
ck for Rhodes
\$ 500
payable
make to
American
Cancer Society
& send directly
to Bessie
Smith

The Family and Friends

of

William C. Liedtke, Jr.

and

The American Cancer Society

Cordially Invite You to be Their Guest

at

**The Second Annual
Bill Liedtke Memorial Golf Tournament**

Monday, June 22, 1992

River Oaks Country Club

Entry Fee: Gratis

Reply Card Enclosed
RSVP by June 5th

THE BILL LIEDTKE MEMORIAL INVITATIONAL GOLF TOURNAMENT

Bill Liedtke loved nothing so much as to host a gathering of friends, whether at a hunting camp or on the golf course. This event has been created in that spirit:

A golf tournament, by invitation only.

This is an annual tournament committed to the prospect of good fellowship and old friendships, as well as to charity.

We would like to thank our underwriters for their generous support of this event and the worthy cause of supporting the American Cancer Society. Although you are invited to be our guest, we encourage all of you to support the fight against cancer with a donation to the American Cancer Society.

Please join my family and your friends and help us honor the memory of all those lost to cancer whose love of life included an ongoing struggle with OLD MAN PAR.

Bessie Liedtke

The Tournament Committee

P.S. Please join us at the cocktail party, even if you don't play golf.

P.P.S. Because the field is limited, playing spots will be filled in the order received.

Last summer, we held the first
Bill Liedtke Memorial Golf Tournament.
Our goal was to produce the finest
charitable golf event possible.

Well, the golfers who played last year
can attest that the golfing was wonderful.
We had a tremendous turnout for golf
and for the cocktail party.
Finally, we were overwhelmed
by the many contributions
from those who participated and,
moreover, from people who
couldn't come at all.

Thanks to all of last year's
participants and contributors,
we believe that we accomplished
our goal. So, to all of you
who were with us in '91, and to
those who wanted to be there
but couldn't, we present:

**The Second Annual
Bill Liedtke Memorial
Golf Tournament**

*I could arrange it for
you to "tee up" in the
fairway —————
Bessie*

Bessie Liedtke
808 Travis, Suite 1900, Houston, Texas 77002

daily

CC: Mrs. Bush (FYI)



5-27-92

Silviana Silver Force One

Dear Dr. Materson,

I was deeply
moved by your kind
words about Doris

(your letter 5-15)

What you see is

what you get" and

I got a loving daughter
who lifts her Dad up

and brightens my life.

Thanks for that

special letter
Sincerely
Sylvia

Fifth Anniversary
Adding Life to Years

Richard S. Materson, MD
Vice President for Medical Affairs
Medical Director

Shirley Green

May 15, 1992

cc Doro

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

Dear President Bush,

How can I express adequate appreciation for the great contributions to persons with disabilities that you and Mrs. Bush have made and are making last highlighted by your visit to the NRH Golf fund raiser at Avenel?

From the day I watched your historic signing of the Americans With Disabilities Act from the White House lawn, through the multiple visits by Mrs. Bush to our institution thrilling and honoring our patients and staff and renewing their courage and energy to succeed, to your honorable chair position and attendance at our Victory award ceremonies, I have been impressed with your meaningful contributions to and understanding of the precious human resources we conserve as persons with disability triumph over adversity and achieve renewed societal contributions.

What a joy to work with Doro. She is a wonderful woman. She is caring and devoted, friendly and efficient and genuine. With Doro what you see is what you get! She has been a valued contributor who all of her friends here at NRH wish maximum happiness as her upcoming marriage approaches.

So to the Bush family we offer our respect and gratitude. I hope that my staff and I can meet whatever requests you might have of us from time to time, and that our fruitful relationships can continue.

With greatest respect and appreciation,

Sincerely,

Richard S. Materson MD
Richard S. Materson, M.D.
Vice-President for Medical Affairs
and Medical Director

Newspapers from
Don Rhodes on
event in K-port

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

The President would like Marlin to see the attached "good" articles concerning his recent trip to K-port.

After Marlin has seen, please return to Robin for the President's personal files.

Thanks,

5/27

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

Mainers honor those who died in war



● At a Kennebunkport memorial service, President Bush pledges that the country will remain strong.

Associated Press

President Bush paid a Memorial Day tribute Monday to Americans killed in action. He said "this country will remain strong" even while cutting back on defense spending.

Accompanied by his wife, Barbara, Bush attended a brief wreath-laying ceremony at American Legion Post 159 in Kennebunkport. It was attended by several dozen people, including state and local law enforcement officers.

Mainers turned out for parades across the state. Hundreds of people lined Congress Street for Portland's annual Memorial Day parade, attended by Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell and U.S. Rep. Thomas Andrews.

INSIDE

A lost Marine comes home after 50 years. 2A
America honors its dead. 3A

Kennebunkport, Tom Willey, commander of American Legion Post 159, President Bush and Gov. John McKernan attend a Memorial Day wreath-laying ceremony.

United Press International

Large crowds also watched morning parades in Lewiston, Bangor and smaller towns throughout the state. But cool weather kept crowds light at many beaches and state parks on the traditional start of the summer season.

Bush said the nation will always remember Americans who fell in battle and will never stop trying to determine the status of those missing in action.

"We are very grateful that the Cold War is over, and that these kids here are growing up in a world with less fear of nuclear war," he said, borrowing a line from his re-election campaign speeches.

Bush said that even as the nation reduces defense spending, "We cannot go back to a hollow army. We cannot go back to the days of weakness that invite mischief and invite possible international terror.

"This country will remain strong," he said.

The memorial service was his last activity before returning to Washington from a four-day holiday at his vacation home at Walker's Point.

Earlier Monday, Bush played golf and gave a brief radio tribute to the memory of soldiers who died in the nation's wars.

"We must tell the stories of those who fought and died in freedom's

Please see HOLIDAY, Page 8A

HOLIDAY

Continued from Page 1A

cause," the president said in a radio broadcast. "We must tell their stories because those who've lost loved ones and those still enduring uncertainty need to know that a grateful nation will always remember."

He said Memorial Day is a time not only for picnics and parades, but a day to remember those "who died fighting for freedom or are still unaccounted for as a result of that noble cause."

"Because they fought, we have freedoms many all too often take for granted. And because of their sacrifice, our children can sleep soundly — without the threat of nuclear war hanging over their heads."

*The memorial service
was President Bush's
last activity before
returning to
Washington.*

In Portland, Mayor Thomas Allen, Mitchell and Andrews marched near the head of the parade, followed by several school bands and a contingent of scouts. The bands drew loud applause from the crowd as they broke into patriotic songs.

In a Memorial Day statement, Mitchell said the United States must begin planning to shift its economy from one built primarily on defense spending to one centered on civilian investment.

He criticized the Bush administration for failing to develop a policy to make that economic transition now that the Cold War is over.

"Preserving the quality of life for future generations is the least we can do to honor the sacrifice of those whose lives purchased our freedom and our good fortune to be Americans," Mitchell's statement said.

After a holiday weekend that began with record-high temperatures, Monday's cooler weather kept crowds light at many state parks and beaches.

At popular Sebago Lake State Park, the campground was full Friday and Saturday. But Sunday's driving rain in southern Maine sent about one-third of the campers

Bush Library Photocopy



Bush Library Photocopy

Staff photo by Chris Church

Kiley Hill, 10, left, and her sister Kristen, 7, of Windham huddle in their sweatshirts as they watch the Memorial Day parade Monday in Portland.

home early.

With temperatures in the mid-50s Monday afternoon, the crowd was light at Sebago's picnic grounds and beach. There also weren't many people at either Crescent Beach or Two Lights state parks along the

coast in Cape Elizabeth.

"The weather's not all that hot," said John Scott, a ranger. "It's not much of a beach day."

Traffic leaving the state on the Maine Turnpike moved smoothly throughout the day Monday, said

Tom Dede of the Maine Turnpike Authority.

"Our best hour was around 3 p.m. with about (3,200 vehicles per hour)," Dede said. He said traffic was slightly below normal for a Memorial Day weekend.

Bush Library Photocopy

STATE: Pilots 'bomb' ponds with fish; **SPORTS:** Sox' Gray recovering from stroke

Portland Press Herald

TUESDAY
MAY 26, 1992

©1992 Guy Gannett Publishing Co.

Volume 130, Number 290

50 CENTS
YORK EDITION, 36 PAGES

EST
1862

45 CENTS ★

Journal Tribune

The daily newspaper of York County, Maine

MAY 26, 1992

TUESDAY

President says he 'felt bad'

Sorry that ACT UP involved in parade

By MICHELE VALWAY

Journal Tribune Staff Writer

KENNEBUNKPORT — President Bush made a surprise visit to the American Legion Hall Monday morning after ducking clear of the Legion's downsized parade that included an AIDS activist group.

ACT UP's presence in Kennebunkport didn't creep into Bush's brief Memorial Day speech to a sparse crowd. But afterward he expressed interest in the parade and was apologetic to the post commander and his family for the activists' participation.

Sixty ACT UP members called Bush a murderer, blaming him for AIDS-related deaths and calling for greater resources to halt the spread of AIDS and to treat victims. Though activists and police planned for mass arrests, not one arrest was made.

There were strong contrasts in age, dress, openness of sexuality, and flags between the veterans' groups and the activists. (The ACT UP flag read "Bush AIDS Flag.") And while the veterans memorialized comrades who fell in war, the activists memorialized those who have fallen, and will fall, to disease.

Post 159 Commander Thomas Willey said Bush was apologetic "in a way" when he asked about the march from the Masonic Hall to Dock Square.

"He just wanted to know if there was any problem," Willey said, recapping his brief visit with Bush, Barbara Bush, Gov. John McKernan and U.S. Rep. Olympia Snowe.

The two couples were whisked into the Route 9 hall's parking lot in a single limousine approximately an hour after Bush and McKernan finished playing golf at Cape Arundel.

In the past, Bush has given a Memorial Day speech in Dock Square near a monument, dated 1909, to sailors and soldiers. But not Monday.

LOW PROFILE

Following his arrival Thursday, Bush had maintained a low-key profile, keeping appearances to the golf course three times in four days and church Sunday morning. He returned to the White House Monday afternoon.

Bush's comments to Willey and his wife Vi were his only acknowledgment that the AIDS activists were on his mind.

"He didn't want to infringe on the American Legion," Vi Willey said, referring to the reason Bush gave for not attending the post's parade.

"And he felt bad the ACT UP people had to be part of our parade. We assured him we didn't hold him accountable for that. He wondered how it went, and we said it went well," she said.

The scheduling of Bush's appearance at the American Legion with McKernan and Snowe was a well-kept secret. Past commander Clifford Higgins said a Bush aide called the Legion hall in between the veterans' salutes in Dock Square and Cape Porpoise.

"He does what he wants to — he's the commander-in-chief. It was still a shocker, though," Willey said. "Everybody got me by surprise."

At an outdoor lectern, Bush introduced McKernan's wife as Olympia Snowe-McKernan — a name she doesn't use professionally — and remarked briefly about the end of the Cold War and defense cuts.

"We must keep this country strong enough to repel any threat to our nation's security and as president I will do just that," he said.

■ BUSH

Continued on Page 3

■ BUSH

From Page 1

"We remember those who fell in battle. We honor them," he said. "We remember those who are unaccounted for, for those that are missing in action. We will never stop trying to have every single one of them accounted for."

As Willey raised the American flag from half-mast, Bush stood with his arms at his side and squinted toward the grey, hazy sky. Then he clasped his hands at his waist and whispered "Amen" following the Rev. Charles Whiston's benediction asking God to "keep a clarity in our vision, compassion in our hearts."

NO PROBLEMS

ACT UP/Portland was invited to march with legionnaires and ladies' auxillary members because activists had a constitutional right and veterans wanted to avert disruption along the parade route.

A combination of sheriff's deputies and state and Kennebunkport police outnumbered some marching groups. Marchers included approximately 20 veterans, a dozen ladies auxillary members, 125 students in two bands, nine Brownies and 60 ACT UP members. Activists handed condoms taped inside a pink flyer to anyone that would take one.

Memorial Day celebrants along

the parade route remarked it was one of the most subdued parades Kennebunkport had ever seen.

But as the marchers moved on to Cape Porpoise, ACT UP members lingered behind in Dock Square. Nine lay down on Route 9's pavement with white, wooden crosses at their heads and red, mini-carnations sprinkled about their bodies.

A large contingency of press, and a smaller group of parade-goers, encircled the display as activist Bee Bell's protest words echoed from a hand-held megaphone.

"Today we are commemorating a battle so bitter that we don't even have veterans. We just have our

dead," Bell eulogized.

But Kennebunkport business owner Lauren Libby refused to let Bell's statements go unchecked.

When Bell shouted that neither Bush, his administration nor Congress love people with Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, her words were drowned by Libby's cry: "Oh, give it a break!"

Libby said the media attention given to ACT UP coupled with the group's decision to converge on Kennebunkport on the official opening day of the tourist season upset her. Their harsh words for Bush and his wife angered Libby, too.

"The sensationalism of it all just

scared people off," she said, adding ACT UP would be more productive if members raised awareness in a "respectful manner," like cancer and diabetes foundations.

Some parents had forbidden their children from participating in the parade, and School Superintendent Leo Martin had pulled a third-grade group from the march. But other parents believed the parade, with or without AIDS activists, was too important to ignore.

Dianne Whiston, of Kennebunkport, said she was apprehensive at first about bringing her three children, aged 2-5, to Dock Square. But the apprehension was

short-lived.

"It's important for them to be here today," Whiston said.

Deborah Nichols brought four of her children, aged 5, 7, 8 and 16, from the family's Arundel home.

"AIDS is just a part of America right now," Nichols said, "and I want my children to know it's real."

Eighth-grader Alex Richter, 14, who marched while playing his saxophone, said he didn't mind sharing the parade route with ACT UP.

"I can feel for the ACT UP people. Their friends are dying from AIDS," Richter said. "They were supposed to do civil disobedience. I'm glad they didn't disrupt anything."

MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
May 27, 1992

ACTION

1. S. 452 -- Cooper Spur Land Exchange.
2. Letter to the New York City Relief Team re the homeless.
3. Letter to Senator Dole re former Congressman Charles Chamberlain's son's interest in being named U.S. Attorney for Michigan.
4. Military Nominations: List of Air National Guard Officers
5. Military Nomination: Admiral Paul D. Miller, USN.
6. Mail Sample.
7. Congressional Birthday Letters.
8. Response to Judy Culpepper, a county commissioner in Florida, re Fetal Tissue Research.
9. S. 838 -- Child Abuse, Domestic Violence, Adoption, and Family Services Act of 1992

CLASSIFIED

1. Contact with the Export-Import Bank regarding Iraq.

INFORMATION

1. Kaufman memo re Idaho, Kentucky and Arkansas Primary Results.
2. Kaufman Memo re Kentucky Primary and the Platform Hearings in Utah.
3. P. Brady Memo re Baine Kerr's Letter on Mr. McGowan
4. Calio Memo re Congressman Michel (faxed to AF1)

REMARKS

1. Naval Academy Commencement -- reading copy.
2. L.A. County Sheriff's Youth Athletic League.

3. Fundraising Event for Senator McCain.
4. Bush-Quayle Veterans Coalition.

SCHEDULE

1. Trip Notebook for Maryland, 05/27
2. Trip Notebook for Georgia, 05/27
3. And accompanying briefing papers for the White House on 05/28

May 27, 1992

Teeter:

Ross is having a town meeting soliciting questions from the audience. I hope he gets some controversial questions.

All Yours,

Rose passed to Teeter
verbally over the phone.

N.F.A.R.

RAN

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

MAY 27th , 19⁹²

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	7:07 AM	7:09	MR. KENNETH RAYNOR OFC: KENNEBUNKPORT, ME. 207-967-3494	TLKD-OK 7:08 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~RM~~			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	7:11 AM		MR. ROBERT M. TEETER RES: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-347-2200	TLKD WITH MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 7:44 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~XRM~~			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	7:23 AM		DIRECTOR RICHARD G. DARMAN OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 820	DIRECTOR RICHARD G. DARMAN ENROUTE TO OVAL OFFICE PER MS. SUSAN SLY 7:27 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~PM~~			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	7:27 AM		MR. ORLANDO F. FRILLES WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 842	TLKD WITH MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 7:32 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~XRM~~			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	8:10 AM	8:13	CONGRESSMAN FLOYD SPENCE WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-546-2452	TLKD-OK 8:12 A.M.
~~INC~~	~~XRM~~			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

MAY 27th 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	8:10 AM		CONGRESSMAN RALPH M. HALL OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-6673	LW PER MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 8:15 A.M.
INC OUT	PM AM			
INC OUT	PM AM			
OUT	8:10 AM	8:21	CONGRESSWOMAN BEVERLY B. BYRON RES: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-333-4455	TLKD-OK 8:19 A.M.
INC OUT	PM AM			
INC OUT	PM AM			
OUT	8:10 AM		CONGRESSMAN HAROLD ROGERS OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-4601	WCB PER MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 12:05 P.M.
INC OUT	PM AM			
INC OUT	PM AM			
OUT	8:10 AM	9:13	CONGRESSMAN WILLIAM H. ZELIFF OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-5456	TLKD-OK 9:08 A.M.
INC OUT	PM AM			
INC OUT	PM AM			
OUT	8:10 AM	9:37	CONGRESSMAN JIM NUSSLE OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-2911	TLKD-OK 9:34 A.M.
INC OUT	PM AM			
INC OUT	PM AM			
OUT	8:10 AM		CONGRESSMAN BUD SHUSTER OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-5999	CONGRESSMAN SHUSTER LEAVING FOR COMMITTEE MEETING WCB 10:18 A.M.
INC OUT	PM AM			

CONTINUED NEXT SHEET

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

MAY 27th , 19 92

	TIME			NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC			
OUT	AM			CONTINUED FROM PREVIOUS SHEET	TOLD MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA 10:21 A.M.
INC	PM				SIGNAL OPR #2 ASSISTED
OUT	AM				ON CALL
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	8:10 AM			CONGRESSMAN LARRY J. HOPKINS OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-4706	SIGNAL OPR: #2 COMPLETED CALL 1:27 P.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	8:32 AM	8:43		CONGRESSMAN CHARLES B. RANGEL OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-4365	CLEARED BY MRS. ROSE M. ZAMARIA TLKD-OK 8:34 A.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	9:13 AM	9:17		MR. NICHOLAS E. CALIO OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 610	TLKD-OK 9:15 A.M.
INC	PM				
OUT	AM				
INC	PM				
OUT	1:37 PM	2:01		MR. ROBERT M. TEETER OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-336-7090	TLKD-OK 1:43 P.M.
INC	AM				
OUT	PM				

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

MAY 27th, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT XXX	AM XXX		CONGRESSMAN ROBERT K. DORNAN OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-2965	TLKD-OK 2:46 P.M.
INC	2:24 PM	2:54		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT XXX	AM XXX		CONGRESSMAN VIN WEBBER OFC: WASHINGTON, D.C. 202-225-2331	PASSED INFORMATION TO SIGNAL OPR 20
INC	2:54 PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT XXX	AM XXX		MRS. BARBARA BUSH WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 870	TLKD-OK 2:57 P.M.
INC	2:56 PM	2:58		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT XXX	AM XXX		USHER'S OFFICE WASHINGTON, D.C. WHITE HOUSE ADMIN EXT. 597	TLKD-OK WITH MR. DENNIS W. FREEMYER 9:44 P.M.
INC	9:42 PM	9:44		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

May 27, 1992

	TIME		NAME	ACTION
	PLACED	DISC		
OUT	AM		Congressman Larry J. Hopkins Office, Washington, D.C. 225-4706	Tlkd-ok 1:25 PM via YANKEE ZULU
INC	1:24 PM	1:31		
OUT	AM		Congressman Vin Webber Office, Washington, D.C. 225-2331	Tlkd-ok 3:30 PM via Secure Satellite
INC	3:30 PM	3:45		
OUT	AM		Mr. Benno C. Schmidt Jr. Yale University New Haven, Connecticut 203-432-2550	LW with Ms. Crawley 3:55 PM
INC	3:49 PM			
OUT	AM		Secretary Lamar Alexander Residence, Washington, D.C. 328-7224	Tlkd-ok 8:18 PM via Secure Satellite
INC	8:15 PM	8:21		
OUT	AM		Congressman Dante B. Fascell Residence, Arlington, Virginia 703-521-4844	Tlkd-ok 8:24 PM via Secure Satellite
INC	8:23 PM	8:26		
OUT	AM		Mr. Brad Freeman Residence, Santa Monica, California 310-451-0242	Left Message on Answering Machine 8:30 PM
INC	8:28 PM			
OUT	AM		Mr. Baine Kerr Residence, Houston, Texas 713 622-8949	Tlkd-ok 8:41 PM via Secure Satellite
INC	8:28 PM	8:48		
OUT	AM		Mr. Benno C. Schmidt Residence, New York City, New York 212-860-0147	Tlkd-ok 8:35 PM via Secure Satellite
INC	8:34 PM	8:41		
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			
OUT	AM			
INC	PM			

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

Washington, D.C.
Annapolis, Maryland
Washington, D.C.
Atlanta, Georgia

LOCATION

DATE 27 May 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0702	South Grounds
0707	Oval Office
0941	South Grounds
0943	Depart South Grounds via Marine One
1002	Arrive Farragut Field Landing Zone, Annapolis, Maryland
1010	Depart Farragut Field Landing Zone via Motorcade
1015	Arrive Navy/Marine Corps Memorial Stadium
1245	Depart Navy/Marine Corps Memorial Stadium via Motorcade
1250	Arrive Farragut Field Landing Zone
1312	Depart Farragut Field Landing Zone via Marine One
1328	Arrive South Grounds
1335	Oval Office
1502	South Grounds
1506	Depart South Grounds via Marine One
1515	Arrive Andrews Air Force Base, Maryland
1525	Depart Andrews Air Force Base via Air Force One
1645	Arrive Dobbins Air Force Base, Georgia
1657	Depart Dobbins Air Force Base via Motorcade
1713	Arrive Mount Paran Christian School
1825	Depart Mount Paran Christian School via Motorcade
1844	Arrive Stouffer Waverly Hotel
1945	Depart Stouffer Waverly Hotel via Motorcade
2001	Arrive Dobbins Air Force Base
2010	Depart Dobbins Air Force Base via Air Force One

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Atlanta, Georgia
Washington, D.C.

DATE 27 May 1992

[illegible]

Bush at Mt. Paran Christian School

May 27, 1992

The president made a strong pitch to his white suburban supporters today on the issues of family values, school choice vouchers, patriotism and the balanced budget amendment (not to be confused with actually balancing budgets). You heard the remarks at the roundtable and the gym.

A little color. Setting for the roundtable was the usual horseshoe shaped table configuration in center of concrete block classroom, flanked by bookshelves, neatly filled with encyclopedias and Readers Digest condensed books, globes, blackboards inscribed with algebra problems and snippets of the Constitution. Banner on the wall read: Mount Paran Christian School, Academic Excellence In A Christ Centered Environment. There were both American and Christian flags arrayed side-by-side. In addition to the president, there were 25 students, parents and teachers. All were white, with the exception of one student, Marcelle Alexander.

Demarest says Mt. Paran was chosen because it best illustrates the kind of things Bush's education strategy advocates, especially family involvement and school choice. Not to be overlooked, however, is that the school is located in Cobb County, a Republican stronghold.

The gym was packed with about 1,000 students and parents. Very hot. You could hear that it was a very friendly crowd, agreeable on just about every issue.

Walls were papered with Welcome Mr. President banners. Bush sat on makeshift stage with bleachers filled with school children behind him.

School officials said the annual tuition ranges from \$3,200 to \$3,750, depending on the grade. School enrollment is 570. "About two dozen" of those are black students.

Greg McDonald -- Houston Chronicle
Dan Goodgame -- Time Magazine

Daily
Complete copies
in Pres. Bush file



THE PRESIDENT

5-27

Pres -
Interesting re
Grandfather Bush

FYI

GB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

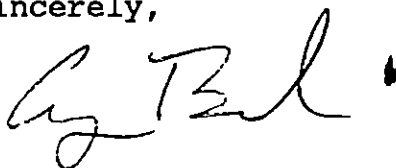
Dear Mr. McCoy:

Ambassador Zappala very kindly forwarded to me your good letter and the photograph that you wanted me to have of our grandfathers, taken when they were members of the 1883 Stevens Institute football team and recently printed in Sports Illustrated. From all of the Bushes, thank you for your thoughtfulness -- and our thanks to your mother as well. We are pleased to have the picture for our family archives. I was also pleased to learn of your grandfather's ties to Washington and of his distinguished career in public service.

You might be interested to know that the Sports Illustrated letters section also got me reunited, by mail, with Squash Collin, who was the subject of the letter that followed the one from the Stevens Institute President. Little did we think that that page would yield another piece of history these several years later. I was glad to have it.

Extra copies have been made of the photograph, and I'm returning one for you with my signature. It comes with appreciation and best wishes to you and all the McCoys.

Sincerely,



Mr. Thomas A. McCoy
Presidente
R. J. Reynolds Tobacco España, S.A.
Marques de Vallamagna, 6-8
28001 Madrid
SPAIN

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Joseph Zappala
American Ambassador
Madrid
SPAIN



Dear Joe,

Thanks for sending along Thomas McCoy's photo of my grandfather. I really appreciate having it, and I sent the attached off to him today.

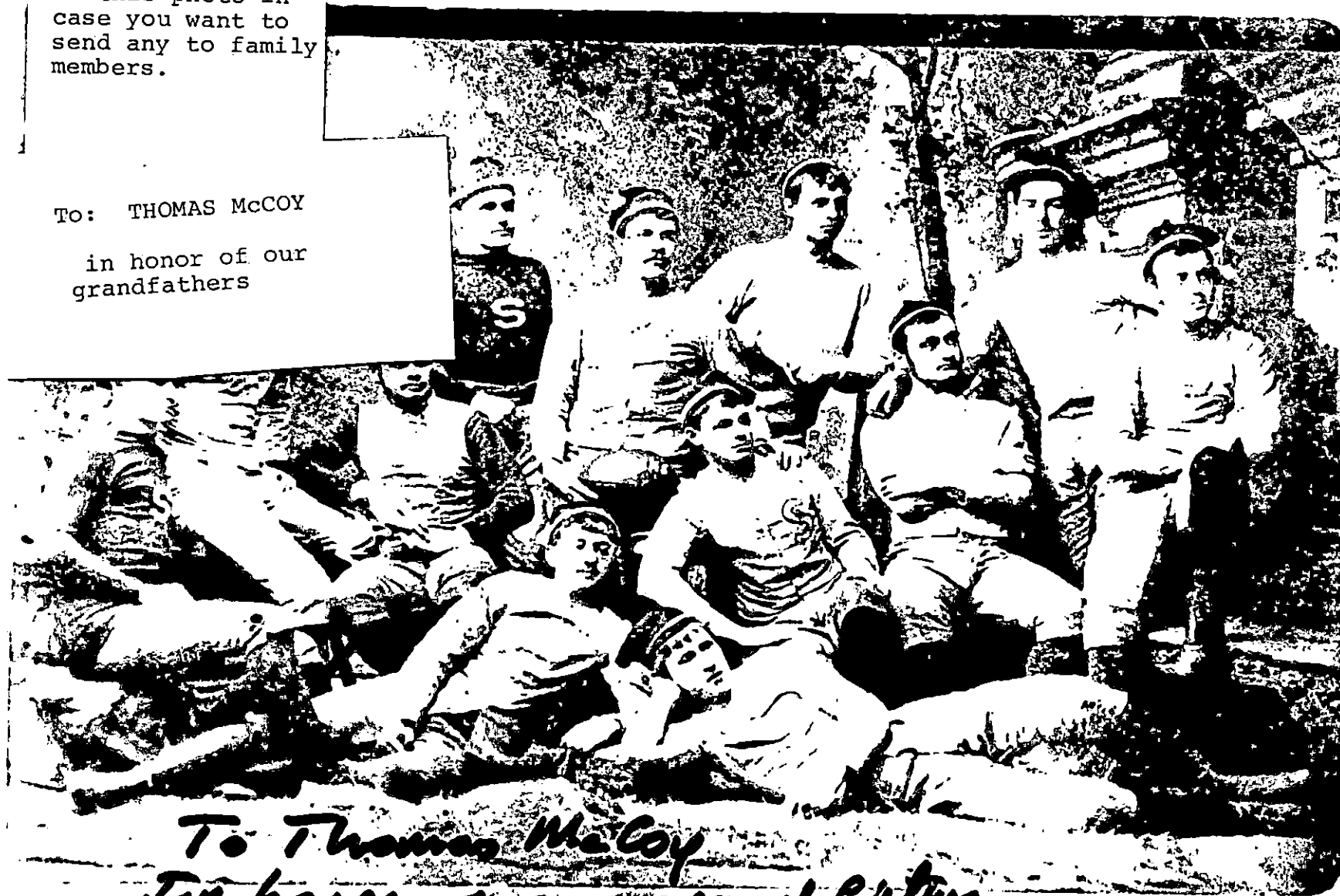
I know you and Carol are very busy with this Expo season, and getting ready for the summer Olympics. Barbara says a quick hello, and we both send our very best wishes.

Sincerely,

FYI: Sir, we
have extra copies
of this photo in
case you want to
send any to family
members.

To: THOMAS MCCOY

in honor of our
grandfathers



To Thomas McCoy
In honor of our grandfathers
May 27 '92
Up Bank

Hoboken.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Atlanta, Georgia)

For Immediate Release

May 27, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President is pleased that the House of Representatives, in passing H.R. 776, today made progress toward adopting a sound national energy strategy.

This legislation implements several key elements of the National Energy Strategy the President presented to Congress in 1991. It promotes energy efficiency and increases the use of renewable and alternative energy while providing much needed alternative minimum tax relief for independent oil and gas producers. This bill would also foster competition in wholesale electricity markets; reform the regulation of natural gas pipelines; and streamline the nuclear powerplant licensing process.

Although pleased with the progress, the President noted that the House bill needlessly locks up some of America's best prospects for domestic oil and natural gas production and restricts state prorationing authority, thereby interfering with the ability of states to properly regulate production of their own gas resources. While there is much work to be done, the President believes this bill forms a welcome bipartisan basis for moving to conference.

R2
REVISED

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

May 27, 1992

LUNCHEON WITH CAMPAIGN ADVERTISING TEAM

DATE: May 28, 1992
LOCATION: Roosevelt Room
TIME: Noon
FROM: SAMUEL K. SKINNER 

I. PURPOSE

To provide an informal opportunity for the President to become acquainted with the November Company creative directors who will be doing the fall advertising campaign for B-Q '92. (See attached.)

II. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Chief of Staff
Dick Darman
Marlin Fitzwater
Fred Malek
Bob Teeter
Martin Puris -- President and CEO, Ammirati & Puris
Clayton Wilhite -- President of North America, DMB&B
Ron Anderson -- Vice Chairman and CEO, Bozell
Gordon Bowen -- Executive Vice President, Chief Creative Officer, McCann-Erikson
Sean Fitzpatrick -- Vice Chairman North America, Executive Vice President Worldwide, McCann-Erikson
Robert Gardner -- President, Co-Creative Director, Gardner Communications
Bill McCullam -- independent consultant, copyrighter
Ted Shaine -- independent consultant
Jim Weller -- Weller and O'Sullivan Advertising
Judy Smith

III. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer only.

5/28/92
NOON
Roosevelt Rm

Fred Malek

Jim Weller
Weller & O'Sullivan
Advertising

Judy Smith

Sean Fitzpatrick
Vice Chairman
North America

Dick Darman

Robert Gardner
President, Co-Creative
Director,
Gardner Communications

Bill McCallam
Independent Consultant

Ron Anderson
Vice Chairman
& CEO,
Bozell

Chief of Staff

Bob Teeter

Martin Puris
President & CEO
Ammirati & Puris

The President

Clayton Wilhite
President
North America, DMB&B

Gordon Bowen
Exec. Vice President
Chief Creative Officer
McCam-Erikson

Ted Shaine
Independent
Consultant

Marlin Fitzwater

The Roosevelt Room

SIR ANGUS OGILVY AND
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS ALEXANDRA
C/O HIS EXCELLENCY, THE AMBASSADOR OF
BRITAIN
THE BRITISH EMBASSY
3100 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008



THE PRESIDENT

May 27, '92

Your Royal Highnesses -

Do you have a scrapbook?
If so here are a couple of reminders
to go in there. Reminders of a visit
that for the Bushes was
warm, full of laughter and just
plain fun. Please come back soon
and please tell Sir Angus
it was great seeing him
again -

Next time Camp David, old
clothes, no receiving line, open
fires and relaxation.

Respectfully

CC: (signed photo
and outgoing note
only)
Laurie Firestone
(FYI)
✓ Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Brent Scowcroft

23 APR 92 P31034-12 CP

The President



You Royal Highness and Sir Angus
with Respect - Best Wishes From Your Friend
in the White House -
Angus Throckmorton

I discuss
with
Brent
✓

Presidential Phone Calls

Aboard Air Force One



~~Desk~~
8:45
//

DATE: 5-27 TIME: 8:45
incoming / outgoing

WITH: Kerr

SUBJECT: BPR got letter from
Hans Mark

Clinton plan s. to
announce support
for Osprey on
June 5.

FOLLOW UP: Mark Believes
in Osprey - Clinton
wants to announce
just before Dem Convention
Osprey - Mark says want
to see about

Wednesday, May 27, 1992

1. PHONE CALL FOR THE PRESIDENT
FROM: Baine Kerr

Called and talked with Patty, but asked if you would call him at your earliest convenience.

He can be reached at (713) 546-8978.

*(No. has been passed to WH operators to expedite
outgoing call)*

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 27, 1992

Meeting with Los Angeles Times Executives

DATE: Saturday, May 30, 1992
TIME: 8:20 a.m.
LOCATION: Aboard Air Force One
FROM: MARLIN FITZWATER 

I. PURPOSE

To meet with Robert R. Erburu, Chairman & CEO, The Times Mirror Corporation; David Lavenhol, Publisher & CEO, The Los Angeles Times, Shelby Coffey III, Editor & Executive V.P., The Los Angeles Times.

II. BACKGROUND

Your meeting with the Los Angeles Times is an opportunity to obtain additional perspective on the Los Angeles situation and voice your views.

III. PARTICIPANTS

The President
Marlin Fitzwater
Robert R. Erburu, Chairman & CEO, The Times Mirror Corporation
David Lavenhol, Publisher & CEO, The Los Angeles Times
Shelby Coffey III, Editor & Executive V.P., The Los Angeles Times

IV. PRESS PLAN

White House Photographer

V. SEQUENCE OF EVENTS

Marlin Fitzwater will escort Los Angeles Times executives into the conference room for the meeting. You exchange greetings and the meeting begins.

DATE: May 27 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Earth Summitry

How Bush Achieved Global Warming Pact With Modest Goals

Talk of Skipping Rio Meeting
Put Pressure on Nations
Seeking Emissions Limits

The Europeans Come Around

By ROSE GUTFELD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Until two weeks ago, it looked as if next week's Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro would become a widely publicized global morality play, with President Bush cast as the villain.

He was the only major world leader unwilling to sign an agreement with firm limits on the "greenhouse" gases feared to cause global warming. Mr. Bush, who as a candidate in 1988 had promised to be the "environmental president," was in danger of being tagged in Rio as No. 1 Enemy of the Earth.

But in an extraordinary coup, made final in a crowded conference room at the United Nations on a Saturday evening, Bush administration negotiators persuaded the representatives of 142 other nations to reverse course. They all agreed to sign a vaguely worded pact that sets no binding timetables for reducing emissions, makes no commitments to achieving specific levels of emissions — indeed, makes no commitments to do anything at all.

How did the White House manage to set the global-warming agenda for the coming conference on its own terms? The key, according to people familiar with the talks, was a clever bargaining ploy devised by an influential but little-known State Department official. The heart of his strategy: to use the threat that Mr. Bush would boycott the summit to wangle an agreement that wouldn't lock the U.S. into costly requirements that could threaten economic growth.

U.S. Leverage

Robert Zoellick, an undersecretary of state, assumed the lead on the talks because his boss, Secretary of State James Baker, has recused himself on energy issues because of his financial holdings. Mr. Zoellick began arguing early this year that what little leverage the U.S. had came from the desire of other nations to have President Bush attend the Rio conference. If the leader of the world's only remaining superpower didn't show, they figured, the conference would be judged a failure. So as the summit drew nearer, Mr. Bush steadfastly refused to say if he would go, while allowing his advisers to carry on a quasi-public debate over whether or not he should.

Managing the issue within the administration was Clayton Yeutter, the domestic policy czar. "We felt we had a major challenge on our hands in dealing with the climate-change issue, with a substantial probability that it could provide a black eye to the president," he says. "In political terms, the conservatives of this country were frightened by the prospect of the president agreeing to a stabilization commitment . . . that could be potentially destructive to his chances of being re-elected."

The politically successful outcome mainly reflects the power the U.S. can still bring to bear in world affairs, despite fears that fiscal problems and a declining share of world output have weakened America's position in the post-Soviet world. "Some fear that we are in a period of protracted decline," says Sen. Tim Wirth, a Colorado Democrat who is sharply critical of the agreement. "To me, the negotiations were an affirmation of our immense power."

Election Year Effect

In retrospect, even officials who argued most strenuously against Mr. Bush's going to Rio now say it was inevitable he would. "You don't want to be the only guy on the planet who didn't show up," says a Bush campaign aide, especially in an election year. Moreover, Mr. Bush clearly wanted to go. A frequent flier to international confabs, he didn't like the thought of missing one of the largest gatherings of heads of state in history. Even if the U.S. couldn't reach agreement with other countries, he suggested to his advisers at one point, "maybe I should just go and explain to them why we disagree."

But by creating the impression that Mr. Bush might boycott the conference, Mr. Zoellick and his team were able to win concessions beyond their fondest hopes from European nations. The U.S. is the world's largest emitter of greenhouse gases, so "a treaty without the U.S. would not be very useful," says Bert Metz, an official of the Netherlands' ministry of environment.

No Commitments

Also, trading partners weren't willing to risk jeopardizing the relationship they have with the U.S. on a range of other issues, such as monetary policy. Finally, some Bush administration officials contend that other world leaders were actually grateful for the chance to sign a weak accord; there is uncertainty in some overseas capitals about whether tough emissions curbs are advisable or achievable, despite the rhetoric of environment ministers.

What the negotiators ended up with was a mild accord under which the developed nations will agree to try to bring emissions of greenhouse gases — such as carbon dioxide, methane and nitrous oxide — back to 1990 levels by the year 2000. But though they won't commit to any specific

Please Turn to Page A4, Column 2

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Earth Summitry: Bush's Implied Threat to Boycott Rio Meeting Won Him a Mild Global Warming Pact

Continued From First Page

action, the treaty still will mark the first international effort to control the gases, which many scientists believe will cause significant global warming by the middle of the next century, perhaps resulting in droughts, flooding and damage to marine and other ecosystems.

The treaty will set up a procedure for monitoring scientific advances so that modifications could be undertaken. Developing nations will establish policies designed to limit their emissions, which nevertheless are expected to rise substantially; rich nations will provide financial and technical aid to the developing world, although amounts haven't been agreed upon. The accord doesn't cover chlorofluorocarbons, the gases that damage the stratospheric ozone layer; they are being phased out under a separate agreement already signed.

Many environmentalists say that even stabilizing emissions would fall short of what is likely to be needed to combat global warming. This worries American industry and White House officials. They fear that a strong climate-change accord would slow economic growth now and set up an international regime that would press the U.S. to institute far more costly and sweeping measures in the next century.

Even the mild accord will give encouragement to lawmakers and environmentalists to push for stronger international and unilateral action, especially if the scientific evidence builds. But for now the Bush administration feels it has dodged a bullet.

The story of how the U.S. views moved from being scorned to being accepted began last December, with the departure of White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, a powerful critic of any action to head off global warming. Although others in the administration continued to oppose such action as anti-growth — including Budget Director Richard Darman, chief economist Michael Boskin and counselor Boyden Gray — the Sununu departure invigorated officials such as National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft who saw climate change

as a global issue that required presidential leadership. Meanwhile, environmentalists and Democratic presidential hopeful Bill Clinton began pounding the president for not committing to the summit.

Green Lights

As the debate grew, William Reilly of the Environmental Protection Agency tried to show that curbing carbon dioxide emissions didn't have to deter economic growth. To his delight, an obscure EPA program called Green Lights, under which companies voluntarily agree to install energy-efficient lighting, was proving a bigger energy saver than anticipated. The EPA believed that this and other actions undertaken through the Clean Air Act or the national energy strategy would be enough to bring emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000.

But the Energy Department, using different assumptions about growth and the likely penetration of new technology, contended that emission limits would be far costlier. Eventually a compromise was brokered by Robert Grady, deputy director-designate of the White House budget office, holding that programs already in the works would bring emissions in the year 2000 to within 1.5% to 6% of 1990 levels.

The involvement of Mr. Grady and Mr. Zoellick was crucial because they are proteges of Mr. Darman, who remains opposed to the accord both men helped produce. At one point, a frustrated Mr. Darman urged insertion of language saying "nothing in this agreement shall be interpreted as requiring any country to take measures that would result in growth of less than 3.25% a year."

Coming Around

Pressure for a compromise built at a February negotiating session at the U.N. and then at an April meeting in Paris with major U.S. trading partners. At first, U.S. negotiators' refusal to countenance time-tables or emission limits drew disdain from their European counterparts. But "they finally realized that we weren't kidding," says Robert Reinstein, a deputy

assistant secretary of state. The Europeans began to indicate a willingness to talk. Jacques Delors, president of the EC Commission, suggested to President Bush that the Europeans might give up on their aim of a long-term stabilization of greenhouse gases if the U.S. was willing to bring emissions back to 1990 levels by 2000. But Mr. Zoellick and others stuck to a single message: no timetables for emission reductions.

Meanwhile, Democratic Rep. Henry Waxman of California was drawing increasing support for legislation requiring the U.S. to unilaterally stabilize carbon dioxide emissions at 1990 levels. At a White House meeting, counselor Gray expressed concern that reaching a compromise on climate change would give great impetus to the Waxman bill. The president snapped back, according to participants. "Since when is Henry Waxman running this government?"

As this month's final negotiating session approached, the State Department's Mr. Zoellick moved into diplomatic high gear, seeking out foreign leaders who were most anxious to have Mr. Bush attend and sign a treaty. Word came that Britain might be willing to talk. Just days before the U.N. session was to begin, Mr. Zoellick and Britain's secretary of state for the environment, Michael Howard, met in Washington to cut a deal.

As other nations moved closer to the U.S. position, EPA chief Reilly and others continued to push for an agreement. "We cannot let the president go to Rio and end up standing against the entire world," Mr. Reilly argued. "We can and must get a climate deal he can support and America can honor."

Let's Do It

The result was the vague language that Mr. Bush found acceptable. Just before signing off on the U.S.-authored climate change agreement that has now been accepted at the United Nations, President Bush met with a small group of top policy advisers in the White House. "Well, let's go with it," he said. "I suppose I'm going to get beat up on the right and beat up on the left. So be it. Let's go with it."

To bring Europeans along, President Bush made several calls, including one to German Chancellor Helmut Kohl. And Mr. Yeutter, to allay fears in the business community, wrote to Democratic Rep. John Dingell of Michigan stating that "there is nothing in any of the language which constitutes a commitment to a specific level of emissions at any time."

The agreement was sealed at the U.N. when Jean Ripert, a Frenchman who chairs the U.N. committee that negotiated the climate-change accord, defended the vague agreement as the only one that would gain the U.S. signature — and get Mr. Bush to Rio. "The United States is not going to change its position," he said in arguing for its approval. On Saturday, May 9, the agreement was accepted with applause from the representatives of the 143 nations and others in the U.N. visitors' gallery. Recently, Rep. Waxman withdrew, for now, his legislative proposal demanding unilateral U.S. action.

But while the Europeans clearly lost on their wish for a cap on emissions into the next century, Mr. Metz, the Dutch environment official, says the U.S. also compromised. And he predicts that because of international pressure, emissions by the year 2000 will still end up at 1990 levels. Besides, he notes, "even when you have a treaty that's very clear, if countries don't want to live by it they don't."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Political Junkies Now Have Way to Buy, Sell Shares of Presidential Candidates

By STANLEY W. ANGRIST
Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
Forget public opinion polls. Now you can trade presidential candidates like stocks. With real money. And it's legal.

The Iowa Political Stock Market operates 24 hours a day, and it's open to anyone with an initial deposit from \$5 to \$500 and access to a computer with a modem so it can phone the market—actually a Gateway 386 desktop computer at the University of Iowa in Iowa City. Currently, more than 400 people, mostly students and faculty at 34 schools, are trading on the market.

"Not only is it fun, but it's addictive, especially when there is a lot of action like on primary or caucus nights," says Maggie Jesse, the economics department secretary at the university.

Placing and trading bets on presidential hopefuls and Democratic vice-presidential possibilities is legal because the Iowa market has been recognized as experimental by the Commodity Futures Trading Commission. Although they are called stocks, the bets being traded more closely resemble futures contracts. That's why the operators, all University of Iowa professors who charge neither commissions nor administrative fees, applied to the CFTC for sanction.

People who want to play the game must first open an account by sending a check to the administrators. As a result of an unpleasant experience in a previous election market, applicants must wait until their check clears before they get a password that permits trading.

Once they have signed on, the first screen shows the bid, ask and last prices for the shares of the Democratic nominees for president. People with passwords can enter bid and offer prices, as well as check their holdings. When another trader accepts, a trade takes place and the candidate's price blinks for a short while, like

Quoting Prices on the Candidates

Bid prices in cents per share, as of 2:00 p.m. EDT Tuesday, May 26, 1992, on the Iowa Political Stock Market

General Election—Two-Man Race

Bush	53.0¢
Clinton	41.8
Rest of field (Dem.)	1.0

General Election—Perot vs. Sum of Democrats and Republicans

Perot	28.0¢
Democrat/Republican Sum	70.0

Democratic Vice-President Possibilities (Winner-Take-All Race)

Bradley	8.0¢
Rockefeller	3.5
Tsongas	2.5
Kerrey	2.5
Simon	2.0
Rest of field	55.0

Source: Iowa Political Stock Market

stock prices do on conventional quotation devices. A menu guides traders to other markets or a "market news" screen.

The market was created by Robert Forsythe, Forrest Nelson and George Neumann of the economics department, and Jack Wright, a political scientist, to do research on markets as forecasting tools. Prof. Neumann says the group's hypothesis is that markets do a better job of predicting election outcomes than polls do.

"There is no incentive to tell the truth to a pollster," Prof. Neumann explains. "And markets like ours run continuously, not just when a pollster thinks there has been important news."

The Iowa group ran its first election market during the 1988 presidential election. Since then, they have helped set up or run markets for eight other elections, including a senatorial race in Iowa in 1990, and parliamentary elections in Germany, the Netherlands, Denmark and Turkey. In six of those nine elections,

the market came closer to forecasting the candidates' actual vote shares than did election-eve polls.

This election market began in January with two kinds of shares. The first set is based on the Democratic nominee for president and includes shares on former Sen. Paul Tsongas, Sen. Tom Harkin, Gov. Bill Clinton, Sen. Bob Kerrey, former Gov. Jerry Brown and a rest-of-the-field share. Investors can pay \$1 to buy a portfolio of these shares and then sell to other investors the shares of candidates in whom they aren't interested.

These shares are structured as winner-take-all. The shares of the Democratic nominee will pay a dividend of \$1 a share the day after the nomination. Early backers of Mr. Clinton will win big: his shares, now 95 cents, traded as low as 31 cents in mid-February. Brown shares recently sank to zero from 0.2 cent bid, though some optimistic holders continue to

Please Turn to Page C20, Column 4

Political Handicappers Get Chance To Trade Shares of U.S. Candidates

Continued From Page C1
ask 0.2 cent.

The second set of shares is based on who will win the presidency. These shares will pay a dividend based on the fraction of the vote actually received by the Democratic and Republican candidates; if a candidate gets 52% of the vote, holders will receive a dividend of 52 cents a share.

This spring, trading fell off as Mr. Clinton moved toward the Democratic nomination and President Bush seemed likely to be re-elected. Then Ross Perot began picking up steam as a third-party candidate.

Last week, the market introduced a \$1 combination of one Perot share and one share based on the fraction of the vote received by the Democratic and Republi-

can candidates combined. Perot shares couldn't simply be added to the market in the November race because the Clinton and Bush shares would drop too much, the professors said. Once bought, the Perot and the Democrat-plus-Republican shares can be traded separately.

At the same time, a winner-take-all market was opened in shares of potential Democratic nominees for vice president. The professors polled political reporters and Democratic party professionals to determine five likely candidates: Sen. Bill Bradley, Mr. Tsongas, Sen. Kerrey, Sen. Jay Rockefeller, Sen. Paul Simon and a rest-of-the-field share to cover other names. Shares of additional candidates will be added as needed.

George Daly, dean of the University of Iowa school of business admin-

istration, says his strategy of playing the "rest-of-the-field" shares for the Democratic nomination has nearly wiped out his account. The most recent computer run shows that 7% of all traders currently hold worthless or nearly worthless accounts.

Ms. Jesse, the economics department secretary, says her whole family is involved in the election market. "We have to watch our ten-year-old carefully. He sometimes makes trades in our account we think are unwise," Ms. Jesse says, adding that the market provides "great educational discussions at dinner time."

Jeffrey MacKie-Mason, a finance professor at the University of Michigan, says he has his students use the market in an advanced financial economics class to see how markets incorporate information. He notes that when the Iowa markets first opened in January, it took two to four hours for news to be reflected. But when the primary season got into full swing, he says, "the networks started announcing results at 8:01 p.m., then 30 seconds later, the market would start to move."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

In a Three-Way Presidential Race, the Old Rules Of Campaigning Suddenly Have Become Obsolete

By DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — This is suddenly a presidential race in three dimensions.

Ross Perot's ascension to the top levels of presidential politics first defied the conventional wisdom and now is about to render the two major parties' conventional political strategies meaningless.

The new math of national politics means that southern states that once were comfortably within George Bush's political base now are within the grasp of Bill Clinton. It means that some of the northeastern states that voted solidly for Michael Dukakis four years ago may lean to Mr. Bush. And it means that the big states that may hold the balance of political power could go for Mr. Perot.

All the usual roadmarks of politics—the traditional tactics, the customary marketing strategies, even timeworn notions about competitive states and decisions about campaign appearances—now are obsolete.

The dynamics of a three-way presidential race already are affecting how the candidates are positioning themselves for

CAMPAIGN
★
92

Political Handicapping

The Iowa Political Stock Market at the University of Iowa, open since January, lets political junkies buy and trade shares of presidential candidates and Democratic vice-presidential hopefuls. Last week, it added independent Ross Perot to trading. Story on page C1.

the November election. Strategists in both Mr. Bush's and Gov. Clinton's camps are deliberating how much to lean toward their parties' natural bases—not to win the support of 50% of the public, but to shore up the support of perhaps only the 40% or 42% that may be necessary to win a three-way race.

"In a two-way race you go for the middle," says Lee Miringoff, director of the Marist College Institute for Public Opinion. "In a three-way race you protect your base."

But the idea, currently circulating in political circles, that it is easier to reach 34% than 50% may be a mirage.

In the week after Vice President Dan Quayle excoriated the "poverty of values" that led to the Los Angeles riots and Gov. Clinton held a well-publicized fund-raiser with gays and lesbians in Los Angeles, top strategists in both parties now worry that the cautious approach of seeking only slightly more than a third of the electorate might be disastrous.

The danger for the Bush and Clinton campaigns, terrified of the unconventional Mr. Perot, is that they might move too

swiftly to reassure their bases, thereby alienating voters in the center. That could hurt either candidate if Mr. Perot fades or, in the more likely scenario, if his independent candidacy ends up stealing some supporters both from the GOP's base on the right and from the Democrats' base on the left.

"You should still appeal to the public at large," argues James Carville, a top Clinton strategist. "You win elections not so much with arithmetic but by telling the people where you want to lead them."

Some effects of the "Perot Shift" are already apparent. Mr. Perot leads recent polls in New Mexico, which Mr. Bush carried in 1988, and in Oregon, which Mr. Dukakis won. He is ahead in such critical states as Ohio, which the Republicans have carried in five out of the last six presidential elections, and has an impressive lead in California. The nation's biggest state has gone Republican in the last six elections, but in a recent survey Mr. Bush is in third place, 14 points behind Mr. Perot.

Until this month, too, Florida was considered comfortably Republican. "This was a safe state," says Van Poole, the GOP state chairman. "Now we're running as underdogs. We have to. There's a protest vote out there, and Albert the Alligator could get 30% in this atmosphere."

In the electoral college, where candidates are rewarded for winning states, the election takes on a new and unpredictable tint.

"Without Perot in the picture it would be hard for Clinton to beat Bush," says Tad Devine, who was campaign manager for Sen. Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, a Democratic presidential contender earlier this year. "In a two-way race the president would have enormous advantages and Clinton would already be perched in the position of throwing some kind of 'Hail Mary' pass. This is now a much more competitive race."

Ordinarily, Mr. Clinton wouldn't be competitive in most of the South, even though he is a native Arkansan. But the presence of Mr. Perot makes his prospects much stronger in Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama and South Carolina, and he may even be the favorite in Louisiana. "If you have Bush, Clinton and Perot all vying for the white vote and Clinton getting the black vote, it makes the South an area where Clinton could make inroads—something that couldn't happen in a two-way race," says Roger Stone, a GOP political consultant.

But at the same time, Mr. Bush now is considerably stronger in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and perhaps even Maryland. Much of the mountain West, customarily a redoubt of Republicanism, is considered a pocket of Perot strength. GOP polls bear this out in devoutly conservative Idaho and Utah, for example. And Mr. Perot is regarded as a genuine threat

Three-Way Street

How Perot affects the dynamics of the 1992 election

Without Perot

Bush 47%

Clinton 43%

With Perot

Bush 35%

Perot 30%

Clinton 27%

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

to win California and Texas, two states that alone account for 86 electoral votes, nearly a third of those needed to win the election.

"This is the wildest thing we have ever seen," says Paul Maslin, a Democratic political consultant. "The map is being redrafted every day."

The upheaval that Mr. Perot is vowing to bring to Washington is already roiling the two major parties. The Texas billionaire promises to be the first truly national third force in presidential politics. George Wallace was a factor in half the states in 1968. John Anderson was competitive in only a fifth of the states in 1980 and

Theodore Roosevelt, the ex-president who finished ahead of President William Howard Taft in 1912, wasn't much of a force in the South.

"This year will be different because there will be a bigger group of people in play," says James Squires, Mr. Perot's campaign spokesman. "You may not be able to find the movable group as easily as you used to."

The presence of a third force also makes it more difficult for candidates to make their appeals. "Bill Clinton can't as easily argue that it's time to clean up the mess in Washington for fear that everyone will vote for Perot," says Jack Pitney, a political scientist at Claremont McKenna College who studies third parties. "George Bush can't as easily argue that Clinton shouldn't be elected because he's part of the Democratic establishment, for fear that that too would push people to Perot."

Now the risks of negative campaign tactics may be even greater—a lesson that British politicians, who are used to the presence of three parties in their national elections, have learned. "The candidates have to watch their backs," says Lawrence Goldman, a specialist in American and British history at Oxford University. "They want to be critical of the government, but they have to differentiate themselves from the criticisms that the second party is making."

Three-way races eventually become two-way races, with one contender fading as the election approaches and often with one sprinting ahead. In Maine in 1974, for example, where three gubernatorial candidates were bunched together at the end, the independent, James Longley, finally surged ahead to win. The key in such races is not to be dismissed as the runner who lags behind—a principle that Bruce Morrison is trying to impress upon the Clinton forces right now.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Perot Planning to Drop Corporate Posts, But Denies Presidential Bid Connection

By BOB ORTEGA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Ross Perot said he is turning over his positions as chairman and chief executive officer of his fledgling computer-services company, Perot Systems, to Morton H. Meyerson effective June 1. But he insisted the move isn't intended to clear the way for him to run for the Oval Office.

Mr. Meyerson for years had been Mr. Perot's right-hand man at Electronic Data Systems Corp., where he was president and vice chairman from 1979 to 1986. More recently, he had been a computer industry consultant and private investor.

Although both men said they were pleased with Mr. Meyerson's decision to join closely held Perot Systems, they weren't exactly in sync on Mr. Perot's future role with the company.

Mr. Perot, who has yet officially to declare his candidacy, said he will remain a director and will be "very active" in Perot Systems, noting "it's a long, long, long step from here to winding up being stuck in Washington." Asked if this move was connected to his budding presidential campaign, Mr. Perot said, "No, you're reading too much into it."

The 53-year-old Mr. Meyerson said Mr.

Perot has "been MIA [missing in action] for a while from Perot Systems" as a result of his exploratory campaign. But, he added, "I'm chairman and CEO, win or lose," in November.

However, Mr. Meyerson said, "If he comes back, naturally, he and his family will represent the largest single shareholders" in Perot Systems, "and I'll treat them accordingly."

The Herndon, Va., information systems company expects to record revenue of more than \$200 million this year, according to Pat Horner, president and chief operating officer. But the company is actively seeking new contracts and Mr. Meyerson said he believes Perot Systems could post profit of \$100 million or more by 1998.

Mr. Perot founded Perot Systems in 1988 in direct competition with his first company, Electronic Data Systems, which was sold to General Motors Corp. four years earlier. Mr. Perot had raised so many hackles as a GM director that the auto giant bought out his shares in 1986.

In 1988, Mr. Meyerson turned down the positions he now has accepted. He said that four years ago he had too many other pursuits, and didn't feel "far away enough from EDS."

House Tax Panel Is Looking for Ways To Make Up Shortfall in Jobless Aid

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—House tax writers will consider limiting business deductions for executives' compensation sooner than planned in order to help make up an unexpected shortfall in funding for new jobless aid.

A bill extending emergency benefits for the long-term unemployed was due for a House vote this week, until new estimates showed that the legislation's financing provisions were about \$130 million short of its \$6 billion cost through fiscal 1997. Instead, the House Ways and Means Committee, which approved the measure last week, will meet again today to take up a revised version.

One change would limit a company's deduction for an executive's pay package — salary, stock options and other compensation — to \$1 million annually. But the effective date would be the start of this year rather than July 1, as originally specified.

The panel is expected to drop another provision aimed at getting larger advance installments from upper-income taxpayers who pay their estimated income taxes quarterly. Congress's Joint Committee on Taxation found that the provision, temporarily calling for payments 15% greater than a taxpayer's liability in the

previous year, wouldn't increase net revenue. Under current law, taxpayers can avoid penalties for underpayment by paying either the same amount they paid the year before, even if their income is increased, or paying 90% of what they expect to owe in the current year.

The new bill would retain a separate tax provision to extend the law phasing out personal exemptions that certain upper-income taxpayers can claim.

President Bush and Republican lawmakers, who favor a smaller package of extended jobless aid, have opposed the measure's tax provisions and other changes.

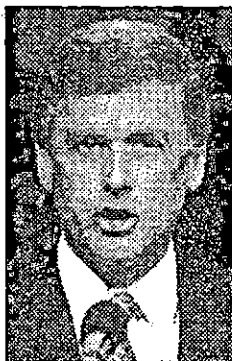
The various tax provisions are intended to finance emergency benefits for jobless workers who have exhausted the basic 26 weeks of state aid. The benefits, which would expire July 4 without an extension, would add as much as 26 more weeks of federal aid.

Another change would make effective in 1995, not 1994, some proposed alterations of the payroll-tax system that generally finances the unemployment compensation system. Those alterations would raise an employee's total wages subject to the tax paid by their employers, up to a projected \$28,200 in 1995 from \$7,000, while lowering the tax rate ultimately to 0.25% from 0.8%.



BY HARRY NALTCHAYAN—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Unmarrying Kind: Veeps Who Rent Glass Houses . . .



Landlord Quayle and his McLean house, above: In need of a value review? home raising her two children from a previous marriage.

■ As Dan Quayle criticizes the collapse of family values and Murphy Brown's husbandless motherhood, he may want to look in his own back yard.

The Quayles have been renting their McLean house to an unmarried couple, a doctor and a lawyer now at

enforced, legal complication. Peter Greenspun, a Virginia criminal lawyer, says that unmarried couples who live as husband and wife in the state "are in jeopardy of being in violation of various misdemeanor and felony statutes."

The Quayles, now living in a government mansion on Mass Avenue, rent their old house for about \$2,400 a month, according to his most recent tax returns. Pressed as to whether Quayle will take action now that he's aware of the situation, Beckwith said: "If the facts are as you say, then he hopes they get married."

The man, a surgeon in Virginia, said yesterday that he's never had contact with the vice president. "He was never involved in the [rental] negotiations. I don't even know if he knows about it."

The couple have been engaged for a year, according to the woman, who insisted on anonymity.

Quayle spokesman David Beckwith, when asked if this arrangement was not at odds with Quayle's recent public pronouncements, said: "He's got no idea who's renting the place. It's handled by a management company. It's against the law in Fairfax County to ask whether somebody's married."

But there may be another slight, if rarely



Clinton knows where the beef is.

Beefing Up on Chicken

■ Food lover Bill Clinton startled his six-car motorcade in Little Rock, Ark., late Monday night when his limo swung past the drive-in window at Wendy's en route from a rally. While the beefy candidate ambled inside to fetch the order himself, reporters speculated as to its quantity.

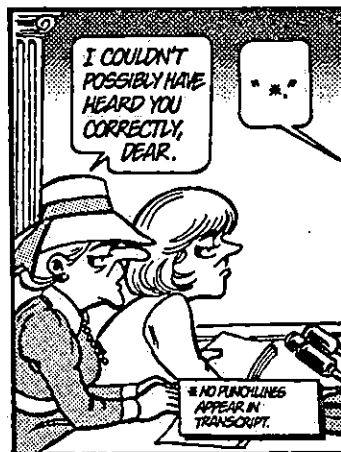
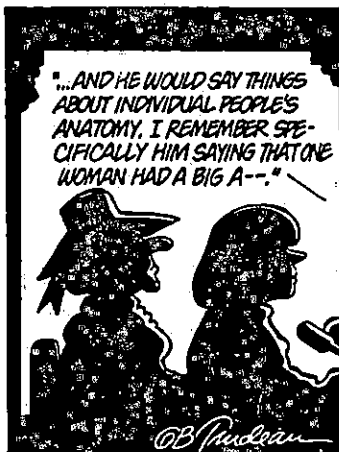
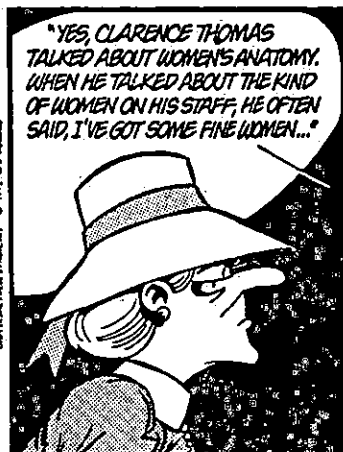
But Clinton, a junk food demon who's gained 25 to 30 pounds since the campaign began, seemed to show restraint: a grilled chicken sandwich and a Diet Coke.

"I'm trying, I'm really working at this," he told his fellow travelers. Earlier in the week, he allowed as how he's lost 12 pounds, bringing him down to a still-whopping 220. His goal is an even 200.

But he won't get there on Wendy's grilled chicken. A company spokesman says it has the same number of calories as a burger.

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

JUDY MANN

Beyond Murphy Brown

I called my editor the other day and told her she was going to have to start saving me from myself. There's no other way to put it: Vice President Dan Quayle and I were seeing eye to eye on something important.

It was his attack on cultural icon Murphy Brown, for—as he put it—“mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone and calling it just another ‘lifestyle choice.’” A few days before, I had written a column calling the show's story line “yet another cultural wipeout of fathers.” I'd like to think he read it here first. I guess.

The way Quayle put it was: “Even though our cultural leaders in Hollywood, network TV, the national newspapers routinely jeer at them, I think that most of us in this room know that some things are good and other things are wrong.” Quayle added, “Now it's time to make the discussion public.”

Okay. Now that the initial furor has died down, let us—for once—not forget the substantive issue that has been raised. Let's start the discussion, but let's broaden it. If Quayle is going to take on Hollywood and the entertainment industry, I want to see him do it right. Unwed motherhood may have gotten more of a glow from television the other night than our current culture needs. But the bloodletting we saw in Los Angeles was caused by violence. Homicide is the leading cause of death among black male youths. And research shows a far stronger correlation between viewing violence and actual behavior than viewing sex and subsequent conduct.

So although I happen to think Quayle is taking a fair shot at Murphy Brown, I'd like to see him broaden his attack. Why, for example, did the Bush administration select Arnold Schwarzenegger to be chairman of the President's Council on Physical Fitness and Sports? Schwarzenegger has made millions on “Terminator” movies—the very genre of ghastly violence that seems to have the most harmful effect on viewers. Schwarzenegger has just completed a 50-state Youth Physical Fitness Crusade. He can tell them, “Just Say No” to drugs and steroids, but where is his credibility to tell them to put down their guns? The dead are no longer physically fit.

We have, it seems, a problem of hypocrisy—or at best, misplaced emphasis.

The administration runs into trouble with its dicta on single motherhood by aggressively promoting an

anti-abortion agenda at the same time that public and private funding for birth-control research has slowed to a trickle. For the public to be convinced that the Bush administration is serious about curbing teenage and out-of-wedlock births, it is going to have to develop something more practical than a “Just Say No” program for hormones.

What was encouraging about Quayle's speech were indications that the administration is beginning to listen to some thoughtful conservatives who are promoting the idea that fathers have responsibilities toward the children they helped create. Further, there was a sense of compassion for single mothers living in ghettos.

Quayle spoke repeatedly of “values.” Conservatives tend to define moral values in the narrow context of sex. I would urge the vice president to define them through a larger prism that includes violent immoral acts such as the taking of another person's life.

Research done in the early 1980s, when sex was depicted less frequently and less graphically on the tube, does not provide evidence that any “changes in beliefs, attitudes and values regarding sexual practices take place” because of sex on television, according to an American Psychological Association task force.

The task force did find that exposure to sexual violence had a “strong impact” and can “indirectly contribute to antisocial behavior via the reinforcement of certain attitudes, perceptions and beliefs about violence against women.”

Viewing television violence promotes aggression. The task force cited a study of males at ages 8, 18 and 30 and found that viewing violence at 8 predicted aggression at 18 and serious criminal behavior at 30. “In magnitude,” the task force concluded, viewing “television violence is as strongly correlated with aggressive behavior as any other behavioral variable that has been measured.”

So I'd like to see Quayle expand his critique of the moral values on television and issue a call to the broadcast industry to tone it down, knock it off and show children that there are other ways of solving disputes than by gunning down their adversaries. I'd like to see him become as concerned about violence and aggression in boys and men as he is about sex and unwed motherhood in girls and women. The two, I suspect, are very much connected.

PRIMARY VOTES UNOFFICIAL RESULTS									
ARKANSAS				IDAHO			KENTUCKY		
Candidate	Votes	%	Delg.	Votes	%	Delg.	Votes	%	Delg.
DEMOCRATS	98% of precincts			89% of precincts			100% of precincts		
Brown	54,545	11	0	7,642	17	**	30,675	8	0
Clinton	333,859	68	30	22,744	50		207,569	56	34
Tsongas	*			*			18,072	5	0
Uncommitted	89,821	18	6	12,730	28		103,440	28	18
REPUBLICANS	95% of precincts			89% of precincts			100% of precincts		
Buchanan	6,474	13	0	13,642	14	2	*		
Bush	45,158	87	27	64,388	64	12	75,240	74	25
Uncommitted	*			22,976	23	4	26,779	26	10

*Not on ballot. ** Convention delegates were pledged earlier in caucuses. Primary vote expresses preference only. SOURCE: Associated Press

Hubbards, Alexander Lose in Primaries

Clinton Wins Democratic Majorities in Arkansas, Kentucky and Idaho

From News Services

Voters in Kentucky and Arkansas ousted two lawmakers caught up in the House Bank scandal.

Democratic primary voters in Kentucky ousted nine-term Rep. Carroll Hubbard Jr., who wrote 152 bad checks, and defeated his wife, Carol, who was seeking a House nomination from her home district.

In Arkansas, Rep. Bill Alexander (D) lost to a former aide while Rep. Beryl Anthony Jr. (D) won his three-way primary race although not by enough to preclude a runoff. Anthony and Alexander also wrote overdrafts in the House Bank scandal.

Meanwhile, Democratic presidential front-runner Bill Clinton easily won primaries in Kentucky, his home state of Arkansas, and Idaho while President Bush, who has clinched renomination, handily triumphed as well.

Texas billionaire Ross Perot flashed his appeal as "uncommitted" voters turned out in strength in Republican and Democratic races, ostensibly to express support for Perot.

Clinton seemed on track for clinching his party's prize next week, when California and five other states close out the primary season.

The prospect of a three-way general election campaign made the uncommitted showing all the more striking, particularly in Kentucky, where Perot supporters were urged in advance to use the uncommitted line to register their support for the Texan.

In the Democratic race in Ken-

tucky, the Arkansas governor won 56 percent of the vote to 28 percent for uncommitted in final returns. A fading Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. pulled 8 percent.

With 98 percent of Arkansas precincts reported, Clinton had 68 percent. Uncommitted polled 18 percent and Brown had 11. In Idaho, with 89 percent of the vote counted, Clinton was getting 50 percent, followed by 28 percent for uncommitted and Brown's 17 percent.

Asked if Perot were qualified to be president, Clinton seemed to depict his likely rival as a man who is vague on the issues. "That's a decision for the American people to make," he said. "I don't know him well enough to know."

On the Republican side, Bush had 74 percent in Kentucky to 26 percent for uncommitted. Conservative rival Patrick J. Buchanan was not on the ballot.

In Arkansas, with 95 percent of the precincts reported, Bush was leading by 87 percent to Buchanan's 13 percent. In Idaho, with 89 percent counted, Bush collected 64 percent of the vote to 23 percent for uncommitted and 14 percent for Buchanan.

In the Kentucky House race, Hubbard was defeated by businessman Tom Barlow 48 to 45 percent. Hubbard's wife, Carol, lost her bid for nomination from a different congressional district.

In Arkansas, Alexander, first elected in 1968, lost to former aide Blanche Lambert. With 99 percent of the precincts reported, Lambert won 60 to 40 percent. Alexander wrote 487 overdrafts.

Rep. Anthony, first elected in 1978 and the author of 109 bad checks, topped a three-way race but was under the 50 percent threshold needed to avoid a runoff. With 99 percent of the precincts reported, Anthony had 40 percent, Secretary of State Bill McCuen 30 percent and insurance man Pat Pappas 30 percent. There will be a June 9 runoff.

Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.) won easy nomination for a third term. He will face Republican Mike Huckabee, a former Baptist State Convention leader.

In Idaho, Rep. Richard H. Stallings won a three-way Democratic race while Boise Mayor Dirk Kempthorne outpolled two other Republicans to pick a successor to Sen. Steve Symms (R), who is retiring after two terms, in the fall.

There seemed no doubt Clinton would win the Democratic nomination, and he seemed on track to reach the target of 2,145 national convention delegates when California and five other states close out the primary season Tuesday.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

White House Faults Foes of Budget Plan

No Details Provided On Ending Deficit

By Ann Devroy and Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Bush administration yesterday attacked critics of the proposed constitutional amendment to balance the budget, saying the deficit could be eliminated without draconian spending cuts and tax increases but refusing to offer any details on how the White House would achieve it.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater opened his briefing yesterday by accusing the House Budget Committee of "crying wolf" in its study of the impact of a five-year transition to a balanced federal budget. The current deficit is expected to reach \$400 billion this year, and President Bush has never submitted an annual budget proposal that produced a balance.

The deficit has increased each year Bush has been in office and he has signed, not vetoed, continuing resolutions and appropriations bills negotiated with Congress that have resulted in deficits.

House Budget Committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.), responding to the criticism, said, "The wolf is there, and I don't know that the White House or anybody else should blind himself to that fact."

Panetta said at a news conference that if the president were serious about a balanced budget, he

The House Budget Committee was accused of "crying wolf."

would have no trouble summoning congressional leaders to immediately begin negotiating one.

Panetta said that the administration's proposals for balancing the budget, including a cap on future spending on entitlement programs other than Social Security, "wouldn't get you anywhere near a balanced budget."

But Fitzwater, blaming Congress for current deficits, said it should ignore the Budget Committee study and approve the amendment as a "rational" way to force a balanced budget. "We believe they are crying wolf," he said. "We can balance the budget by wise spending cuts and economic growth, without tax increases." Contrary to the committee report, he said cuts in "essential services" would not be necessary.

The study said balancing the budget would require massive spending cuts in programs that have always been protected, along with tax increases. It said if the government, for example, killed the space station, the superconducting super collider and Seawolf submarine, closed all veterans hospitals, reduced funding for community development, mass transit, airports, small business loans, arts, and maternal health care, it would still be less than halfway to the savings needed in the first year alone to begin to balance the budget.

Fitzwater, asked if the White House, as part of its support for the amendment, would produce a detailed plan to show how Republicans would achieve a balanced budget, said, "Well, let's have a balanced-budget amendment and maybe throw in the line-item veto and then we'll show you how to do it." He added, "There's no way to do it at this point, but my point, and I think many Democratic leaders is, let's have the discipline required and work it out."

Asked why the president had not offered a balanced budget this year, Fitzwater replied, "Because it's impossible to do without wrecking the economy and the government. That's why we need a balanced-budget [amendment] that sets the rules for all time, expresses the will of the country and of the government and gives the people time to plan for it and do it in a responsible fashion and get on with it."

Lawmakers are expected to vote on the balanced-budget amendment next month, with two-thirds approval of both houses required. Ratification by three-fourths of the states would be necessary to add it to the Constitution.

Meanwhile, Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.), a chief author of the balanced-budget amendment, said Panetta was wrong to release his deficit-reduction options without first conferring with other members of the Budget Committee. "Any deficit-reduction plan which is unilaterally developed is certainly destined for failure and, in fact, may even be designed for failure," said Stenholm, a member of the Budget Committee.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

The Pepperoni Pizza Pickle

Is It Cheese or Is It Meat? A Lesson in Slicing Up the Exception

By Malcolm Gladwell
Washington Post Staff Writer

This week, for the first time, the U.S. Department of Agriculture will propose letting Susie and Johnny buy fresh pepperoni pizza at their school cafeterias shipped in from a local pizzeria. They cannot do this now.

They can buy *cheese* pizza in their school lunchroom from a local pizzeria. They can purchase pepperoni pizza that was bought frozen and reheated in the cafeteria. But they never have been able to buy meat-topped pizza slices from Pizza Hut or Dominos or even the pizza joint down the road.

This may not seem like a big deal. But it is: 808 million slices of pizza totaling some 267 million pounds of cheese were sold in public school cafeterias last year, which amounts to a whole lot of dough.

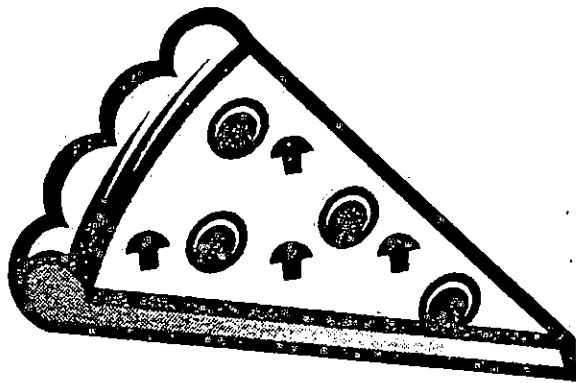
The meat-topped pizza problem also is a perfect example of the Byzantine and often baffling ways in which the federal bureaucracy goes about deciding exactly what students can and cannot eat at school and what is the best way to ensure the safety of that food. Which is why the USDA decision to let Johnny and Susie eat fresh pepperoni pizza has upset an entire coalition of consumer groups and turned into one of the biggest regulatory food fights in recent Washington history.

This is not an easy issue to decipher. In fact, the reader is cautioned against trying to duplicate the government's decision-making process in his or her own home. Consider instead, the following abbreviated explanations:

■ *All pizza is not created equal.* This is the nub of the problem. Cheese pizza is a dairy product regulated by the Food and Drug Administration, which does not mind who sells pizza in school cafeterias. But once pizzerias add pepperoni of more than 2 percent of the pizza's total weight (about 20 slices of meat per large pizza), the pizza becomes a meat product and subject to the rules of the Agriculture Department. The USDA has never allowed restaurants to resell their pizzas in cafeterias, which is how the whole pizza fight got started. Two years ago Pizza Hut went to the department and protested. The chain wanted to compete in the multi-million-dollar school lunch market with something more than 20 slices of pepperoni per pizza.

■ *Meat inspection is a universal principle, except in those instances when it is not.* Under USDA rules, any business that prepares food containing meat and sells it to another business that in turn sells it to the public has to meet a long list of sanitary regulations and is scrutinized daily by a federal inspector.

This typically applies to slaughterhouses and big food-processing plants. Restaurants, by long-standing tradition, are exempt. But when restaurants want to sell their food to something like a school cafeteria, which would then resell the food to someone like a student, the Agriculture Department has



THE WASHINGTON POST

always said that the restaurants are more like a food processor than a restaurant and have to meet all meat safety regulations.

Of course, over the years there have been exceptions. Sandwiches, for example. Bagel dogs. Pepperoni rolls. Hot dogs. Hoagies. For reasons that are largely mysterious, restaurants wanting to sell any of those to a school cafeteria for resale would get no argument from the USDA. All Pizza Hut wanted, then, was for pepperoni pizza to be added to that list of exceptions. After the Agriculture Department balked, Pizza Hut went to Congress last year and got a law passed requiring the government to lift the meat inspection rules for pepperoni.

What the USDA proposed this week is the explanation of how the department intends to justify something it never really wanted to do in the first place. It is a fascinating document.

■ *No slicing, no dicing, and pile on the pepperoni.* The USDA was creative. It said that if we cannot require inspection, we can at least ask that the fresh pizza-makers avoid doing the kinds of things that might lead to food poisoning. Like slicing pepperoni at the restaurant. Those selling to cafeterias now have to buy sliced pepperoni. The Agriculture Department also exacted a little revenge. To be called "pepperoni pizza," it said, pizzas sold to schools have to be more than 10 percent pepperoni by weight. That comes to about 100 pepperoni pieces per large pizza, which is about twice as much, apparently, as any pizza-maker wants to put on a pizza or any pizza-eater wants to eat. Pizza Hut, a company spokesman says delicately, will call its pizza "pepperoni-flavored."

■ *The best inspection is local inspection.* The key argument made by USDA is there still will be local officials making sure that local pizzerias selling to school kids are safe and sanitary. But local health officials are not the most rigorous of watchdogs. Who says so? For one, a coalition of consumer groups. The other is the Agriculture Department itself. In a 1986 report it was rather blunt: "Local health and state official visits do not have effects any better than chance on the sanitary conditions of plants."

Pizza, anyone?

Justices Allow Electioneering Ban at Polling Places

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Supreme Court yesterday upheld states' power to prevent election fraud and shield voters from intimidation by banning electioneering around polling places.

In a ruling with implications for all 50 states and the District, the court voted 5 to 3 to uphold a Tennessee law prohibiting activists from distributing campaign brochures or soliciting votes within 100 feet of polling places on Election Day. Maryland has a similar 100-foot limit, while Virginia bans electioneering within 40 feet and the District within 50 feet of polling places.

Mary Rebecca Freeman, a Tennessee political activist, challenged the law on free-speech grounds, arguing that it interfered with her ability to communicate with voters. The Tennessee Supreme Court agreed, saying that the state had failed to prove the need for the 100-foot "campaign-free zone."

In reversing that decision yesterday, Justice Harry A. Blackmun said for a four-justice plurality that the case "presents us with a particularly difficult reconciliation: the accommodation of the right to engage in political discourse with the right to vote—a right at the heart of our democracy."

Engaging in an extensive survey

of the development of the secret ballot and the history of election regulation, Blackmun concluded that a "wide-spread and time-tested consensus demonstrates that some restricted zone is necessary in order to serve the states' compelling interest in preventing voter intimidation and election fraud."

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Byron R. White and Anthony M. Kennedy joined Blackmun's opinion. Justice Antonin Scalia concurred separately on the ground that the polling place was not a "traditional public forum" and that reasonable, viewpoint-neutral restrictions on speech there were allowed.

Justice Clarence Thomas had not

yet joined the court when the case was argued in October and did not participate in yesterday's ruling in *Burson v. Freeman*.

Justice John Paul Stevens, joined by justices Sandra Day O'Connor and David H. Souter, dissented. They said the Tennessee law prohibited "classic political expression" and that the court erred in not forcing Tennessee to do more to justify the 100-foot radius.

"Although we often pay homage to the electoral process, we must be careful not to confuse sanctity with silence," Stevens said. "The hubbub of campaign workers outside a polling place may be a nuisance, but it is also the sound of a vibrant democracy."

How Perot's Presence Is Altering Campaign

Bush, Clinton Assess Options For a New Electoral Landscape

By Dan Balz and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

At a moment when they might be savoring the successful end of a long and difficult primary season, campaign advisers to President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton are scrambling to find the silver lining in the spring thunderstorm known as Ross Perot.

The sudden emergence of Perot as a serious presidential contender has prompted both Bush and Clinton to adapt their messages and reevaluate their electoral strategies while hoping the Texas billionaire's likely candidacy either fades as the summer goes on or hurts the other guy more. But it is the Republicans who sound more alarmed at the moment.

"We've got 40 options here on what to do, four competing power centers and no consensus," one senior White House official said. "The only thing I can say is, thank God it's not August yet."

Clinton's campaign is preparing to steal a page from Perot's campaign book by using new technologies to beam their candidate directly into voters'

See CAMPAIGN, A6, Col. 1

Presence of Perot Leads Clinton and Bush to Reassess Strategies

CAMPAIGN, From A1

homes, but for now both sides are spending their time analyzing Perot's appeal—the Democrats by looking at all available polls and the Bush campaign by conducting a series of focus groups with voters that have turned up disturbing news for the president.

The groups, conducted in five cities since late April with voters who supported Bush in 1988 but are now wavering, found that most of the participants now support Perot, according to sources, in part because of resentment against Bush for caring more about overseas concerns than those at home—despite seven months of White House efforts to dispel it.

Perot's likely independent candidacy and a three-way race upends conventional assumptions about the electoral map. For Clinton, the danger is that Perot's particular appeal in the West will rob the Democrats of states such as California, Oregon and Washington, without which Clinton probably cannot win the White House. For Bush, the fear is that Perot will undercut the traditional Republican advantage in the electoral college based on the South, where swing voters might defect from the Republicans to Perot's candidacy and the Democrats have a base that Clinton could exploit and carry states that have belonged to the GOP.

Advisers to Bush are examining three possible scenarios for the general election: a three-way race or two-way contests with either Clinton or Perot as their main opponent. Both camps believe Perot's popularity will decline, but there are doubters inside both campaigns. Most say the outlines of the election won't become clear until the fall.

A major threat to Clinton is that Perot's candidacy cuts to the core of the Arkansas governor's presumed appeal as an outsider who will shake up the Washington establishment. "We recognize that with the desire for change and the frustration of gridlock [in Washington], there are . . . voters who are looking for change and who come right out of the potential audience for a Democratic nominee," said Paul Tully, political director of the Democratic National Committee.

But Tully added that the advantage for Clinton over the longer term is that the people most attracted to Perot, according to opinion polls, are the white, suburban, non-ideological voters who have been a critical part of the Republican coalition



Barbara Walters sneaks something off the tray of Ross Perot at cafeteria in Texarkana, Tex., during filming Monday for ABC's "20/20" program.

throughout the 1980s. Once detached from Bush, they may be hard for the party to woo back, even if Perot's appeal is diminished.

"We regard this as another example of the breakup of the Republican presidential majority that operated throughout the 1980s," Tully said.

Four years ago, Bush was also trailing in the polls, but his campaign, at least, was putting itself on track. Bush's team knew its enemy—Massachusetts Gov. Michael S. Dukakis—and already was filming its first campaign assault. To the strains of "I remember you," scenes from Jimmy Carter's presidency flashed on the nation's TV screens, including charts of inflation,

unemployment lines and empty signs on gas station pumps.

By June 1988, the Bush team had digested the results of focus groups with New Jersey voters and identified the sharp "values" theme that would later focus on the furlough of Massachusetts prisoner Willie Horton, Dukakis's membership in the American Civil Liberties Union, and the Pledge of Allegiance.

Now, entering roughly the same period, the Bush team, at the White House and the campaign, is divided, frustrated and drifting from theme to theme almost every other week.

Virtually no one in GOP circles has any-

thing good to say privately about the White House or the campaign leadership. The main complaint appears to be that the new White House team headed by Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner "does not have enough experience or standing to formulate a message and impose the discipline to follow it through. With divided power centers, the campaign organization has engaged in a series of extended battles. 'The White House now is like Noah's Ark without Noah,' said one campaign source. 'They got two of everything except a leader.'"

"We keep reassuring ourselves with the pre-Perot reassurance, 'When the econ-

omy comes back, we come back,'" said another campaign official. "So, how come the economy has been coming back the last six weeks and we're still dropping like a rock?"

This official described Bush's response to the riots last month in Los Angeles as typical of the campaign's disjointed themes. He described Bush's visits to four urban areas in five days as a "ghetto du jour photo op" reaction that offered "a little bit on every side of the issue, a little anticrime, a little compassion, a little law-and-order, a little save-the-cities. Does anyone out there know what Bush's response was?"

Democrats see all of this as the good news in the Perot phenomenon, but they recognize that it will still take a significant effort by Clinton to win over voters, especially because of the doubts about his candidacy raised during the primaries. And they say the news media attention Perot has received, coupled with Clinton's cash shortage, has limited the Democrat's ability to reach voters during the past six weeks.

Clinton remains confident he will benefit in the end.

"When people look at the record, they'll want a real outsider . . . and they'll come back to Bill Clinton because I'm the one who's got a record of doing what others talk about," the likely Democratic nominee said in a local television interview in Cleveland last night.

Clinton's advisers spent part of last weekend in Little Rock devising a plan that in part will attempt to co-opt the Perot message of change and adapt the Texan's likely campaign style of using technology to reach voters.

"If every person in America could meet these three people, Bill Clinton would win in a landslide," said Mickey Kantor, Clinton's campaign chairman. "That's what we're going to try to do, in effect—let every voter meet Bill Clinton. There are new techniques and technologies available. There are all kinds of things we're working on."

Republicans and Democrats agree on one good thing about the Perot phenomenon—that he has come on so fast this far ahead of the general election. In the words of the DNC's Tully, "The people who [will] decide this [election] haven't checked in yet."

Staff writer Maralee Schwartz contributed to this report.

High Court Upholds Curb on Mail Order Sales Tax

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Mail order companies can't be forced to collect taxes from out-of-state shoppers, the Supreme Court ruled yesterday in a case closely watched by price-conscious consumers, the fast-growing mail order industry and financially strapped states, which estimated they could reap more than \$3 billion annually through such taxes.

But the court, acting in a case

from North Dakota, made clear that Congress could authorize states to collect such taxes. Bills that would authorize such taxes have been introduced in previous years in both houses of Congress but have made little progress.

The justices declined, 8 to 1, to overrule a 25-year-old precedent barring states from requiring mail order companies to collect taxes on sales in states where they have no substantial "physical presence," such as a sales force or retail outlet.

However, the court said in an opinion by Justice John Paul Stevens, "Congress is now free to decide whether, when, and to what extent the states may burden interstate mail order concerns with a duty to collect use taxes."

Justice Byron R. White dissented. He said the court should give the earlier ruling "the complete burial it justly deserves" and permit such taxes.

The mail order business has mushroomed in recent years, a re-

sult of technological advances such as telemarketing and cable television shopping networks and the growth of two-career couples and others who prefer shopping by mail, telephone and even fax. It has grown from a \$2.4 billion-a-year business in 1967, when the high court first blocked taxes on such sales, to an estimated \$183 billion-a-year industry today.

Revenue-hungry states have eyed such sales as a lucrative

See COURT, A4, Col. 3

High Court Upholds Curb on Mail Order Sales Tax

COURT, From A1

source of new income; 34 states, including Virginia, have laws on the books that, if the court had ruled the other way, would have allowed them to recover taxes on mail order sales. They estimate that the potential taxes would total more than \$3 billion, while the direct-mail industry estimate is about \$1 billion.

The direct-mail industry contends that such taxes would be hard to administer, forcing businesses to comply with the tax laws of more than 6,500 jurisdictions, and so expensive that smaller companies would be forced out of business.

Although residents are technically responsible for paying applicable state taxes on mail order goods they purchase, the reality is that states are out the money unless they have the companies collect it for them. The same situation would also apply to shoppers who have retail goods shipped from a store in one state to their homes elsewhere in order to avoid paying sales tax.

The legal issue is whether forcing states to collect taxes on sales in states where they do not physically operate would violate the constitutional guarantee of due process or impose an undue burden on interstate commerce. In the 1967 case, *National Bellas Hess v. Department of Revenue of Illinois*, the court invalidated the tax on both grounds.

In yesterday's case, *Quill Corp. v. North Dakota*, the court overruled itself in part, saying there was no longer a due-process problem with the taxes. But it said the taxes

would still interfere with interstate commerce unless they were authorized by Congress.

Quill Corp., which challenged the North Dakota law, is an Illinois-based office supply company that sells about \$1 million of goods a year in North Dakota.

The state supreme court upheld the state's authority to tax Quill, saying *National Bellas Hess* had been rendered "obsolescent" by "the tremendous social, economic, commercial, and legal innovations" of the intervening years.

POTENTIAL TAXES ON MAIL ORDERS

Here's how much money states could have raised on mail order sales taxes if their laws were enforceable. Top states, in millions, 1985-91:

Calif.	\$1,327
N.Y.	1,027
Pa.	741
Ill.	705
Texas	701
Fla.	660
N.J.	618
Ohio	587
Mich.	410
Tenn.	283

SOURCE: Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, KRT Graphics

THE WASHINGTON POST

North Dakota Attorney General Nicholas Spaeth, who argued the case on behalf of the state, said the ruling at least gives states "half a loaf," removing a potential barrier to congressional action with the due-process aspect of the ruling.

John Gaggini, who argued the case on behalf of Quill Corp., said that the ruling did not give North Dakota or other states "even a slice of bread." Direct marketers, he said, "couldn't have received a better decision."

In other action yesterday, the court:

■ Upheld the way Maryland legislators redrew the state's congressional districts after the 1990 census. Voting 8 to 1, the justices rejected arguments by the Anne Arundel County Republican Central Committee and others that the General Assembly erred when it split the county into four separate districts and allowed greater-than-necessary population variances in order to create a new, majority-black district in Prince George's and Montgomery counties.

The court acted to uphold a special three-judge court without hearing full argument in the case, *Anne Arundel County Republican Central Committee v. State Administrative Board of Election Laws*. Stevens said he would have heard oral argument in the case.

■ Made it easier for federal prosecutors to win extortion cases, ruling that the government in such cases does not need to prove that a public official demanded or requested a payoff.

Upholding the conviction of a DeKalb County (Ga.) commissioner snared in an FBI sting investigation of property rezonings, the court said the government "need only show that a public official has obtained a payment to which he was not entitled, knowing that the payment was made in return for official acts."

Justice Clarence Thomas, joined by Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justice Antonin Scalia, dissented, saying that the court's interpretation of the federal extortion law "is repugnant not only to the basic tenets of criminal justice . . . but also to basic tenets of federalism." The case is *Evans v. United States*.

■ Ruled 7 to 2 that workers who receive back-pay awards in employment discrimination cases must pay federal incomes taxes on the amount. The case, in which Thomas and Justice Sandra Day O'Connor dissented, is *United States v. Burke*.

Events Render California Candidates 'Invisible'

Despite Potential to Make History, Primaries for 2 U.S. Senate Seats Have Been Overshadowed

By Lou Cannon
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, May 26—In California, which still fancies itself on the cutting edge of political trends, this has become the year of the woman and of four nearly invisible primary contests for two U.S. Senate seats.

Despite an opportunity for Democrats here to make history by simultaneously nominating two women, the Senate campaigns have been overshadowed by the Los Angeles riots, the sinking California economy and the attention paid to independent presidential candidate Ross Perot.

Even though California has never before elected two senators in one year, scant media attention has been paid to the campaigns, which are being conducted largely through a barrage of television commercials.

The best known of the candidates is Dianne Feinstein, a high-profile former San Francisco mayor, who is heavily favored to win her race and face U.S. Sen. John Seymour (R) in November.

They are competing to fill the final two years of the seat originally held by Gov. Pete Wilson (R), who beat Feinstein for the governorship in 1990 and appointed Seymour, an obscure state legislator, to take his place in the Senate.

In the Democratic primary for

the six-year seat being vacated by retiring Sen. Alan Cranston (D), the fiery Rep. Barbara Boxer, a liberal from the San Francisco Bay area, is locked in a tight three-way battle with Lt. Gov. Leo McCarthy, the early favorite, and Rep. Mel Levine, who has made a late but well-funded run.

Polls say the race is too close to call, but Boxer's male opponents have made her the prime target of their political commercials.

Levine is spending more than \$4 million on television advertising, more than any other candidate in the four primaries.

His seemingly inexhaustible supply of commercials features endorsements from successful women, including a state assemblyman who observes that Levine "never wrote a bad check at the congressional bank."

Boxer wrote 143 such overdrafts, totaling more than \$41,000. Her campaign was briefly immobilized by the disclosures, but she apologized and has continued to run strongly.

On Monday, McCarthy unveiled a television commercial that attempted to revive the issue with a play on Boxer's theme that she would "shake up" the Senate. "She sure shook things up in the House Bank," says the announcer in the McCarthy ad.

Boxer nevertheless leads McCarthy in some public opinion surveys and trails him slightly in others. McCarthy, a traditional Democrat who emphasizes economic issues,

once held a big lead over his rivals. Though his overall lead has disappeared, he has an edge among older voters, who tend to turn out in disproportionately high numbers.

Boxer is the favorite of liberal activists, who also tend to vote heavily in primaries. She is expected to benefit the most from a low voter turnout.

Levine, an articulate centrist Democrat and the only one of the three candidates to support Operation Desert Storm, is widely known as the "stealth candidate" because he has spent most of his time fund-raising.

His schedules show entire weeks passing without a public campaign event.

Because of its population, now more than 30 million, and its size, California has long pioneered in electronic campaigning.

But most recent campaigns have also featured such recognizable events as debates, speeches, airport rallies and railroad whistlestops.

For Levine and many other candidates in California this year, such events have been the exception. Levine's defenders acknowledge that he has barely campaigned in a traditional sense.

But they say his campaign was framed by the recognition that media coverage would be diffused by the presidential primaries and the difficulty of giving attention to 11 major candidates in four Senate primaries.

Southern California television stations that were paying little at-

tention to the Senate campaigns have paid even less since the Los Angeles riots, although programs on nearly ever channel are crowded with a cacophony of political commercials.

The Los Angeles Times, which devotes heavy resources to political coverage, recently ran a story about the "invisible" campaigns on page one but has often relegated major stories about the campaigns themselves to inside pages.

While television commercials have also dominated the campaigning for the Republican nomination for the six-year Senate term, leading contenders Bruce Herschensohn and Rep. Tom Campbell have had several spirited face-to-face debates, some including outsider celebrity candidate Sonny Bono, the Palm Springs mayor.

There are no women competing in the Republican primary, but the issue of abortion rights could determine the outcome.

Campbell, who describes himself as a "compassionate conservative" and who Herschensohn calls a "liberal," is an abortion-rights supporter. Herschensohn, a former conservative television commentator, is opposed to abortion rights.

Bono also favors a woman's right to abortion, one of the reasons his longshot candidacy is viewed as harmful to Campbell.

Of all the contests in either party, the Campbell-Herschensohn race has been the most negative. Campbell, a Stanford economics professor, depicts Herschensohn as a

SENATE RACES IN CALIFORNIA

On primary day Tuesday, California voters will winnow down candidates to fill two Senate seats. The retirement of Sen. Alan Cranston (D) opens a seat with a full six-year term. And Sen. John Seymour (R), appointed by Gov. Pete Wilson as his successor upon becoming governor, must win the primary and November election to serve out the last two years of Wilson's term.

Full-term Senate candidates

Democrat

Barbara Boxer
Mel Levine
Leo T. McCarthy

Republican

Sonny Bono
John M. Brown
Tom Campbell
Bruce Herschensohn



Sen. Alan Cranston

Short-term Senate candidates

Democrat

Joseph M. Alioto
Gray Davis
Dianne Feinstein
David Kearns

Republican

William E. Dannemeyer
Sen. John Seymour



Sen. John Seymour

SOURCE: Congressional Quarterly

right-wing foe of Social Security whose support of a flat tax would help only the wealthy.

Herschensohn describes Campbell as a Democrat in Republican clothing, singling out Campbell's high rating from the American Civil Liberties Union and his support for various tax increases and the congressional pay raise. The state's oldest nonpartisan public opinion survey, the California Poll, has the two candidates virtually tied.

Seymour has a huge lead in every survey over his conservative opponent Rep. William E. Dannemeyer in the Republican primary for the two-year seat and Feinstein an even

bigger lead over State Controller Gray Davis in the Democratic primary.

Davis has attempted to capitalize the recent deadly riots in Los Angeles with commercials that declare, "A few thousand thugs—black, brown and white—terrorized all law-abiding citizens." The riots have also been raised by Levine, who has commercials denouncing "mob rule" and "anarchy."

Feinstein has largely ignored Davis, while Boxer and McCarthy have criticized Levine for what the lieutenant governor calls an attempt to "cynically exploit" the disturbances in which more than 50 persons died.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

GOP Confronts Split Over Abortion

Activists From Both Sides of Issue Debate Before Platform Committee

By E. J. Dionne Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

SALT LAKE CITY, May 26—The Republican Party, which dominated presidential elections in the 1980s with appeals to "traditional values," today found itself in the midst of a cultural and political war over abortion.

At a meeting of the party's platform committee at a hotel here and in competing demonstrations on the streets outside, partisans on both sides of the abortion issue used moral exhortations and hard-headed electoral calculations to battle for the heart of a party that has officially opposed abortion since 1980.

"The women of America will not be denied their fundamental right to choose," Mary Dent Crisp, chair of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, told the platform committee. "We are saying to the party leadership: Don't threaten us, don't appeal to us with the same old party loyalty ploy to silence us. We will not be gagged."

But Phyllis Schlafly, chairman of the Republican National Coalition for Life, warned against any compromise of the party's antiabortion plank. "The millions of Americans who are motivated by high moral principle," she said, "will not stand for President Bush saying that he is personally pro-life while the platform is mushed up to appease the same crowd that runs the Democratic Party."

Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.), chairman of the platform committee, which also considered crime, education and other domestic issues today, offered one of the few understatements of the day when he said: "I don't see these sides coming together."

Aware of the power of the abortion issue to erode his party's political base, Republican National Chairman Richard N. Bond struck a Solomonic stance, insisting on

See REPUBLICANS, A6, Col. 1

REPUBLICANS, From A1

his own opposition to abortion but welcoming Republican abortion-rights advocates to stay with their party.

"It's no secret that our party's position has been strongly pro-life, a position I happen to agree with," Bond said in an opening statement this morning. "But on this issue . . . I want to make one thing clear: There is no litmus test on this or any other issue in the Republican Party. We are a party of diversity, of openness, and not a single-issue party."

The divisions over the abortion issue come at a time when many Republican leaders are already alarmed over President Bush's poor standing in the polls and the rise of Ross Perot's independent presidential candidacy. And the stakes on the issue could be especially high this year, because the Supreme Court is expected to act this summer to modify or roll back *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that legalized abortion nationwide.

While party officials did manage to keep

the mood here civil during the official platform hearings, fierce arguments broke out in the hallways and leaders on each side of the issue accused their foes of everything from bad faith and party disloyalty to narrow-mindedness and opportunism.

"We really are in a cultural civil war," said Gary L. Bauer, president of the Family Research Council and a strong abortion foe.

"They say you have to be 100 percent the way they want you to be," said Ann E. W. Stone, chairman of Republicans for Choice, which Stone says has signed up 100,000 supporters and until now has been virtually ignored by party leaders. "Phyllis [Schlafly] better get used to it, because we are here to stay."

In the past, the Republican Party's opposition to abortion generally has worked in its favor. While the party used its antiabortion stance to pick up the votes of socially conservative, previously Democratic constituencies—especially among Roman Catholics and evangelical Protestants—it held onto most of the ballots of abortion-rights supporters who were also economic conservatives.

These voters, many of them well-educated suburban women, felt they could vote Republican in support of the party's economic platform because the Supreme Court had protected abortion rights. Now, with Republican Supreme Court appointees threatening to remove those protections, both Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic

"There is no litmus test on this or any other issue in the Republican Party."

—Richard N. Bond, GOP national chairman

nominee, and Perot are hoping for large-scale defections from these constituencies.

Both Perot and Clinton support abortion rights, while Bush opposes abortion except in cases involving rape, incest or threats to the life of the woman.

Republicans such as Crisp and Stone argue that modifying the party's opposition to

abortion is the only way to prevent substantial defections this fall. But Carol Long, director of public policy for the National Right to Life Committee, quoted Abraham Lincoln on the dangers of modifying positions of principle, arguing that by changing its abortion stand, the party could "open a gap through which more would pass out than pass in."

Some party leaders have been hoping to rewrite the platform language in a way that would keep the party on record against abortion while also suggesting openness to other points of view, or at least an awareness of the moral complexities of the issue.

But the firm stand against compromise taken today by abortion foes suggested that such moves might also have costs. "I cannot imagine a president who's already getting grief for having made a couple of major shifts would want to do another of those at the convention," said Bauer.

Bay Buchanan, campaign chair for her brother, Republican presidential challenger and abortion foe Patrick J. Buchanan, said inviting abortion-rights supporters to testify

here was an unnecessary concession. "You do not see the Republican Party establishment bringing rabid pro-taxers in to argue the need for increasing the marginal income tax rates," she said.

But the difficulties of gauging exactly how the abortion issue will play—even among those who feel strongly on the subject—were underlined at an antiabortion rally here attended by about 200 people.

Janalee Tobias, a 29-year-old mother of two and a strong abortion foe, said she was considering a vote for Perot despite his views on abortion, simply because she is dissatisfied with Bush, whom she supported in 1988.

Her stand would not surprise Sen. Orrin G. Hatch (R-Utah), who told reporters this morning: "The vast majority of people in both parties . . . will not place this issue in their top list of concerns."

But William J. Bennett, the former education secretary, said the party had to be careful because voters would ultimately judge it on its values. "Values aren't the add-ons," he said. "They are the very enterprise."

WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

*Rowland Evans
And Robert Novak*

New Muscle In Iran

Displaying national power on the scale of the late shah at his peak, Iran's Islamic regime has challenged U.S. supremacy with provocative maneuvers in the Persian Gulf and air attacks against armed Iranian expatriates in Iraq.

Hardly noticed in the West, Iran's supposedly "moderate" leader, President Hashemi Rafsanjani, may be testing President Bush's post-Desert Storm claim to be keeper of the vital Persian Gulf waterway to Japan and the West. Revealing wider aims, Rafsanjani has just signed another unannounced deal for Russian T-72 tanks, worth \$1 billion. Bush policy makers are concerned.

Secretary of State James A. Baker's task in trying to figure out the full dimension of Iran's ambitions was made harder by the shocking April 5 air raid across Iraq's border. The bombing was directed against military units of the People's Mujahedin, the growing anti-mullah political movement of Iranian dissidents whose well-armed military force is based in Iraq.

Worried about international repercussions of cross-border bombing, Tehran fabricated an elaborate cover story to explain the air strike. Iran stated in a letter to the U.N. Security Council that it was carried out in "self-defense" following an alleged Mujahedin raid on two Iranian villages.

This activity might possibly be politically inspired to divert attention at home from rising discontent with the Rafsanjani regime. A huge anti-regime demonstration in the city of Shiraz late last month was attacked by Revolutionary Guards. Dozens were reported killed, scores wounded and hundreds arrested.

But Bush administration policy makers think it far more likely that the regime is finally feeling its oats. Rafsanjani, big winner in the recent election, is eager to test his own strength and Iran's clout. Either way, Iran's assertion of regional power is one more depressing symptom of distress that has struck the United States in many places since the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Apart from Iran, the White House is more concerned than it admits that the long alliance of the United States and Turkey may founder in the ugly war between two former Soviet republics, Christian Armenia and Muslim Azerbaijan. Likewise, Washington's inability to stop Serbia's murderous destruction in Yugoslavia shows superpower weakness not envisioned in the aftermath of the Soviet fall.

But Iran is Washington's focus today. It has now become clear that the new rulers in Tehran differ from the shah in every respect but one: the insistence that Iran be treated as a major regional power with hegemony over the Persian Gulf and an important voice in lands adjacent to Iran, whatever Saudi Arabia or any other Arab state says.

The Persian Gulf "war games" played out by Iran's growing navy encompassed 10,000 square miles. The government-controlled Tehran press claimed that the exercise proved Iran has control over all traffic "in the crystal blue waters of the gulf" and can prevent an "enemy" from "penetrating into the strategic Strait of Hormuz." That enemy could only be the United States.

No effort was made by the United States or Britain, which also has naval vessels in the gulf, to intervene in the naval exercise, and there is no evidence that Tehran had any qualms on that score.

But Rafsanjani's regime exerted spin control to ward off negative international reaction to the outrageous border-crossing air strike by nine F-4s against the Mujahedin. The government claimed later that Mujahedin rebel forces had crossed into Iran and attacked two villages early on April 5 and that Iran responded immediately by bombing the rebel camp.

That story does not wash. One of the F-4s was shot down by the Mujahedin on the Iraq side of the border. Interviewed over Iraqi television, both the pilot and co-pilot said on April 9 that the air raid had been planned to take place March 20 but then was delayed until early April. Officials here support the pilots' word. Iran tried to sell U.N. inspectors on its fabricated story by creating phony scenes of carnage at the two Iranian villages.

That suggests serious future intentions that run against the grain of the new world order, a specter enhanced by the huge T-72 tank deal. Payment was made for 400 tanks, of which 200 are ready for delivery. What in the world are they for? White House policy makers wish they knew.

David S. Broder

Bob Michel's Challenge

The only real way to ensure accountability is to end divided government.

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) is one of those familiar Washington figures who usually draws more affection than deference. Since he came to Congress from Peoria in 1956, he has been known to colleagues as a great companion for a songfest or a round of golf. But as one of the permanently outnumbered Republicans, he rarely put his stamp—and never his name—on a major piece of legislation.

So there was great surprise last week that it was old-shoe Bob Michel, 69, who defined the political, constitutional and institutional crisis facing this country in 1992 more bluntly than anyone else in either party has done.

In a speech that reflected more of Michel's own reactions than any outside advice, he made four basic points:

■ The candidacy of Ross Perot could very possibly throw the choice of the next president into the House of Representatives, by denying any one of the three candidates—Perot, George Bush and Bill Clinton—an electoral-college majority. The inside-the-house politicking, with each state delegation casting a single vote, no matter its size—would be “an utter disaster” for the country, an outrage to the whole concept of popular sovereignty.

■ Perot as a possible president is a scary prospect, not only because “he doesn’t have a clue how to solve even one major issue,” but

because—to Michel's eye, at least—he has “the demagogue's gift for oversimplification” and could, if elevated to power, prove that “authoritarianism . . . can happen here.”

■ More important than Perot himself is the fuel that is powering his undeclared candidacy—“the frustration of the American people when all they see when they look to Washington is squabbling, partisanship, media hype and legislative gridlock.”

“If Ross Perot never existed,” Michel said, “those grievances would be real.”

■ The source of the frustration—the real reason the grievances exist—is “the fact of divided government in Washington. We have come to the point in American history where a president of one party simply cannot lead if the Congress is dominated by the other party.”

That is the ugly secret of American politics and Washington's failure. But it has been a long time since any major politician in either party stood up on his hind legs and said it to the people.

Back in 1960, John F. Kennedy campaigned by saying that it made no sense to elect Rep. Jones or Sen. Smith, good Democrats both, to Congress “and then put Richard Nixon in the White House.” He won—barely. Party loyalties, though weakened by the six years of divided government and the spread of ticket-splitting under Dwight D. Eisenhower, still meant something then.

But for 20 of the past 24 years we have had divided government—a Republican in the White House and Democrats controlling at least one and usually both houses of Congress. A whole generation has grown up thinking this is natural and normal.

The members of that “permanent” Democratic congressional majority certainly did not tell their constituents that they were wrong to split their tickets. They wanted to pretend that they would be “effective” no matter who was in the White House. Maybe they are bringing home the bacon, but they are not dealing with national problems.

Still less did Republican presidents and presidential candidates want to say, plainly, that it made no sense to elect them unless they had enough allies on Capitol Hill to pass their programs. Ronald Reagan came closest to doing it in 1980—and the results showed: a Republican Senate and a conservative-controlled House. But only for two years. He retreated into the usual Republican tolerance of divided government when the recession swamped the GOP in 1982.

Now Michel has broken the code of silence and showed the guts to plead for a Bush campaign that would say “the only way” to break the impasse that is so frustrating to the voters is to end divided government. Give one party—he'd prefer it were the Republicans—

control of the White House and Congress and if they fail to deliver, “kick us out” in the next election.

Will Bush take the challenge? At the moment his campaign is so desperate and defensive, in the face of the Perot surge, that no one knows.

Will a leading congressional Democrat step forward to say what Michel has said—that the voters are simply courting more frustration if they reelect Democratic congressional incumbents and then split their tickets for Bush or Perot?

What is needed is a steady drum-fire of messages from the leaders of both parties at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue informing the public of the lesson that has been forgotten: that the collective responsibility that results from giving one party at a time “a chance to govern,” as Michel put it, is the only real way to ensure accountability in a representative government.

What Bob Michel said is true. You can either vote for further frustration in the form of divided government, or you can pick a party to trust and hold to account, or you can put your country's future in the hands of Ross Perot and his promise to take charge—with all that is unknown about his real goals and all that is untested about his self-restraint in the exercise of vast power.

Crying Wolf

GEORGE BUSH, who has never come close to proposing a balanced budget himself, continues without apparent embarrassment to peddle the line that it could readily be done without either a large tax increase or cuts in essential services. You wonder how he can have failed for so long to follow his own prescription.

The House Budget Committee yesterday published estimates of the tax increases and/or spending cuts that would likely be required by the balanced budget amendments that Congress is now considering—and the president is virtuously supporting—in part to give themselves election-year cover for the fact that the budget is *not* balanced. The adjustments would be enormous, which is hardly a great surprise when you consider that more than 20 percent of the budget is currently borrowed and another 15 percent consists of the fixed cost of interest on past debt.

The president's response to the crushing figures and to the hypocrisy that they suggest was familiar. He sent out his press secretary, Marlin Fitzwater, to say that the budget committee was "crying wolf. We . . . believe there is plenty of room to cut spending in the budget without endangering essential programs. . . . We can balance the budget by wise spending cuts and economic growth without tax rate increases." And might the president want to begin to specify before the election which spending cuts were wise? "We have a budget out for this year," the press secretary said. "We don't intend to produce another one."

Nor does anyone else. The budget should indeed be put on the path to balance just now; the

whole idea of this amendment is instead to promise (again) to do it later. The administration will not even spell out how it proposes to finance all the programs that it professes to support under the current budget agreement. Congress, having adopted a budget resolution last week, is about to begin the appropriations process. Under the budget agreement, there are caps on appropriations to which the administration wants to adhere. The caps are tight, on domestic appropriations particularly. For any appropriation to be increased, another will have to be cut.

Last week it was disclosed that the administration had greatly underestimated the cost of the Pell grant program for low-income college students in its budget. It now thinks that it will need about another \$1.4 billion for the 1991-92 and 1992-93 academic years. The Pell money is provided through the appropriations bill on labor, health and human services and education. That bill is already overloaded. Where does the administration think the bill-writers should turn? Should they cut Head Start? Take the money out of future Pell grants? Make cuts in other college student aid? Cut cancer research? Cut the job training programs that both parties now have on their laundry lists of aid to the cities?

The White House hasn't said. When the pressure is on, it behaves in the same unprincipled style that it is so fond of ascribing (with cause) to Congress; it favors all of the above. The irony of this year is that the president is campaigning against the proceeds of his own policy. He denounces enormous deficits to which he himself contributed; he favors an amendment that would have proscribed his own behavior.

The New Pentagon Paper

THE REVISED version of a major Pentagon planning paper should restore a measure of calm to a rhetorical atmosphere that had been badly roiled by an earlier draft. The new document removes the provocative suggestion that the United States, in planning its post-Cold War strategy, should aim at nothing less than a—benevolent—world domination. While it keeps the United States very much in business as a global military power, it implicitly disavows the muscle-flexing unilateralism and the relative indifference to international cooperation evident in the earlier paper. No longer are democratic allies Germany and Japan regarded as potentially menacing "competitors." Nor is newly democratic Russia identified as a candidate for remilitarization.

"Defense Planning Guidance, FY 1994-1999" is the military's blueprint for planning, building and deploying forces in the coming crucial five years. It represents the command's best official judgment of the premises and uses of American power. But it also represents a kind of changeable military mood music, an after-the-fact accompaniment to force plans that actually were at least partly devised for another set of service, bureaucratic and political considerations. Thus is the music now being changed, but the earlier force plans remain in

effect. The forces that were meant to ensure that the United States had no challengers are now to be dedicated more to democratic partnership and international cooperation. The world that the new document depicts is notably more benign than the one described earlier, but the same "base force" requirement holds.

Does this mean the document is a sham? No. Figuring out future American strategy is a puzzle involving guesses whose worth won't be proven out for decades, or until a crisis looms. The military always wants to hedge, to have an extra option if things don't turn out right. It's an admirable professional impulse, but of course it must be fitted to the resources on hand and to the political inclinations of the electorate.

Right now the resources are constrained and the public seems to want the country to stay strong, though not to take on all the world's cares. Some of this represents a certain evolving view of the world and some the discovery, mostly by Democratic legislators, that reaping a "peace dividend" is not so politically urgent as sustaining defense jobs. From such gritty real-life factors as well as from abstractions about threats is high strategy spun.

William Raspberry

All for the Bottom Line

A balanced budget amendment ignores the rewards of long-term investment.

Quite soon, now, Congress will begin debating a constitutional amendment to require an end to the deficit spending that has distorted the federal budget, damaged the American economy and laid an unconscionable burden on generations yet unborn.

The balanced budget amendment is an old, mostly right-wing, idea and, it has been widely thought, not a very good one. But the notion has become a virtual avalanche, picking up weight and momentum from an unusual array of partisans. Conservative columnist George Will is a convert to the idea and so is liberal columnist Michael Kinsley. Conservative Republicans are gleeful at the prospect that the thing might at last be ratified, but so is Paul Simon, the moderate Democrat who is author of the leading balanced budget bill.

There's more: Though the Democratic leadership—Speaker Thomas Foley in the House and Majority Leader George Mitchell in the Senate—oppose the measure, it has 278 co-sponsors in the House, just 12 short of the number needed to pass it. With members of both houses anxious to avoid exacerbating their constituents' wrath, the likelihood is that the amendment will be passed and sent to the states for ratification.

And maybe by then, I'll be all for it. But not yet. The balanced budget amendment is a bad idea—and not merely because it does what recent presidents and congresses have lacked the courage to do: submit and pass budgets that, except under extraordinary circumstances, balance outlays with receipts.

It is a bad idea for other reasons as well. If economists are agreed on anything at all, it is that deficit spending is sometimes a necessary economic stimulant. The amendment would make deficit spending more difficult, though not impossible. A 60 percent vote of the full membership of both houses would be required for waiver of the anti-deficit rule. There is also the question of enforcement. Who would punish whom if the White House submitted, or Congress passed, a budget that contained more spending than revenues? Do we end up with government by federal court decree?

There's another bit of mischief that had escaped my notice until I saw it pointed out in a



BY TIM BRINTON

useful analysis by Robert Greenstein of the Washington-based Center on Budget and Policy Priorities: If the budget falls out of balance because the outlay and income estimates made at the beginning of the fiscal year proved wrong—if, for instance, the economy grew at a slower rate than predicted—midyear spending would have to be cut, perhaps precipitously. As Greenstein notes, the fiscal 1990 deficit, which the Office of Management and Budget had estimated (in July 1989) would be \$99 billion, was recalculated a year later. OMB's new estimate: \$218.5 billion.

Under the House version of the balanced budget amendment, the only way (aside from the 60 percent waiver) to adjust for faulty esti-

mates would be to cut spending—even if, for instance, the budget shortfall resulted from unexpectedly large claims on unemployment insurance brought on by economic hard times.

But my biggest objection to the balanced budget notion is the adamant refusal, in both houses, to distinguish between spending and investment.

You will, when the debate heats up next month, hear countless comparisons of federal budgeting both to family budgeting and to state budgeting. The point will be that Washington shouldn't be allowed to do what responsible families and states refuse to do: spend money they don't have.

But responsible families routinely differentiate between spending and investment. What head of household would argue that because the family is in debt (perhaps because the mortgage hasn't been paid off) it shouldn't borrow money to replace Dad's tools or to send Sis to college or to fix up a second house for rental.

As for the states (all but Vermont have balanced-budget requirements, you'll hear), they make precisely this distinction. What they require themselves to balance are their *operating* budgets, not their *total* budgets.

"This means," Greenstein explains, "that at the state level, investments in roads, bridges, school construction and the like are usually not subject to budget balancing requirements and can be financed through bonds or other borrowing measures."

It shouldn't have to be said that opposition to a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget is not the same thing as endorsing government prodigality. The refusal of the White House and Congress to take seriously the mounting federal deficit is one reason the American economy is in such bad shape.

But it is only one reason. Another is government's refusal to engage in long-term planning—that is, to undertake any program whose payoff would come after the next election. The balanced budget amendment, by forcing a focus on the current year's bottom line rather than on longer-term growth, would enshrine that shortsighted practice and make matters still worse.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

HIGH COURT INVITES MOVE BY CONGRESS ON MAIL-ORDER TAX

BAN ON STATES IS UPHELD

But Ruling Says Change in Law
Would Allow for Collections
on Catalogue Purchases

By LINDA GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The Supreme Court handed over to Congress today the delicate task of deciding whether states can tax sales made by national mail-order companies, thus taking a course likely to prolong rather than settle this multibillion-dollar debate.

The Justices reaffirmed their long-standing ban on state taxation of mail-order sales made by out-of-state catalogue companies, at the same time inviting Congress to remove the ban by legislation.

The ruling, in a closely watched case from North Dakota, was a disappointment to state tax officials, who had expected the Court to overturn a 25-year-old precedent and free them to start collecting as much as \$3 billion in tax revenues that the states estimate they now lose each year on sales of everything from clothes to computers. That figure includes perhaps \$200 million yearly for New York State and as much as \$100 million more for New York City.

Outlook for Negotiations

Dan Bucks, director of the Multistate Tax Commission, a group of 33 states' tax administrators that has been participating in talks aimed at a voluntary agreement on the issue, said the ruling "is likely to accelerate, rather than derail, progress toward a negotiated settlement between the states and direct-marketers."

If the negotiations fail, however, the states are likely to seek Congressional action.

A fight in Congress now seems all but inevitable, with the outcome uncertain and the stakes high not only for the financially needy state governments, but also for a direct-marketing industry that generates some \$200 billion in annual sales. The stakes are also high for the local retailers who must compete with the catalogue companies without the benefit of a similar exemption from taxes.

Effect on Consumers

For consumers, ordering from companies like Lands' End or L. L. Bean will at least for the time being retain the added appeal of freedom from sales tax.

Industry reaction was divided. "We're thrilled with the decision," said Mark Cohn, chief executive of Damark International Inc., a mail-order company in Minneapolis. "It is a victory not only for the industry but for the customer as well."

But Chip Orum, chief financial offi-

Continued on Page D13

Court Upholds Ban on States' Mail-Order Taxes

Continued From Page A1

cer for Lands' End, was less enthusiastic. "It's certainly not the worst case," he said. "It just sort of moves the venue from the Supreme Court into Congress. It is premature to make an assessment about the impact on the industry until we see what comes out of Congress."

The Court said that while it no longer viewed state taxation of catalogue sales as a violation of the constitutional guarantee of due process of law, such taxation did place an undue burden on interstate commerce. Because Congress has direct constitutional authority to regulate interstate commerce, Congress is now free to overrule that determination.

By a vote of 8 to 1, the Court overturned a 1991 ruling of the North Dakota Supreme Court that had permitted the state to collect a use tax on sales made to North Dakota customers by out-of-state catalogue companies. The appeal was brought by the Quill Corporation, an Illinois-based catalogue marketer of office supplies, which sells \$1 million worth of merchandise a year to some 3,000 North Dakota customers.

The state court ruling was itself an unusually direct repudiation of a United States Supreme Court precedent, a 1967 decision that barred states from taxing sales made by companies that have no physical presence within the state's borders.

The Original Case

The 1967 decision, *National Bellas Hess v. Illinois Department of Revenue*, was based on the Justices' interpretation of two constitutional principles, the guarantee of due process of law in the 14th Amendment and the prohibition in the commerce clause against state interference with interstate commerce.

The North Dakota Supreme Court declared that the 1967 decision had

In a victory for prosecutors, the Court ruled that a public official who takes a bribe can violate the extortion law even if the payment was not demanded. Page A17.

recent interpretations of both the due process and commerce clauses.

In an opinion today by Justice John Paul Stevens, the Justices subjected both aspects of the state court decision to separate analyses.

In a unanimous portion of the ruling, the Justices said the North Dakota court's due process analysis was correct. But on the interstate commerce clause, with only Justice Byron R. White dissenting, the Court said there had been no equivalent change in its approach.

Declaring that "our due process jurisprudence has evolved substantially in the 25 years since *Bellas Hess*," Justice Stevens said it was now clear that no matter where a company was situated, the "continuous and widespread solicitation of business within a state" made it fair for that state to collect a tax.

Change Is Acknowledged

"In modern commercial life it matters little that such solicitation is accomplished by a deluge of catalogues rather than a phalanx of drummers," he added.

On the commerce clause, however, Justice Stevens said the North Dakota court was wrong to discard the "bright-line test" of the *Bellas Hess* decision: a business is not liable for a sales or use tax in a state in which it has no physical presence.

While the 1967 test was in some respects "artificial," Justice Stevens said, it "has engendered substantial reliance and has become part of the basic framework of a sizable industry." Consequently, the Court should adhere to its precedent, he said.

Then, in an unusually direct approach to another branch of Government, Justice Stevens all but invited Congress to act.

rule the Supreme Court on a constitutional matter. But Article I of the Constitution gives Congress authority to regulate commerce "among the several states," and historically the Court has deferred to Congressional judgments on how to use this power.

Today, Justice Stevens said: "The underlying issue is not only one that Congress may be better qualified to resolve, but also one that Congress has the ultimate power to resolve."

Noting that Congress had considered and rejected several recent efforts to permit states to tax catalogue sales, Justice Stevens said the failure of these bills might "have been dictated by respect for our holding in

A political fight is likely: catalogue companies vs. local merchants.

Bellas Hess that the due process clause prohibits states from imposing such taxes, but today we have put that problem to rest."

The recent Congressional efforts had foundered on more than purely constitutional concerns. James P. Sweeney, a partner in the Arthur Andersen accounting firm who has followed the issue closely, said that there have been disagreements between state and local governments over which would have the right to collect the tax, as well as over what minimum threshold to set for tax liability.

"Ultimately, I think Congress will be sympathetic to the states, but it's going to take a long time to work it out," Mr. Sweeney said.

James W. Wetzler, the New York State Tax Commissioner, said today that he viewed the ruling as a setback and that he was not optimistic that

Congress would now help the states. "We have our allies, but the forces against us are powerful," he said. New York has estimated that the state would gain more than \$200 million a year in tax revenue from catalogue sales and New York City would gain \$50 million to \$100 million.

On Capitol Hill, an aide to Representative Jack Brooks, the Texas Democrat who heads the House Judiciary Committee, said that with time running out in the current Congressional session it seemed unlikely that the lawmakers would act on the issue this year.

In anticipation of the Court's simply overruling *Bellas Hess*, the states have been meeting with leading national mail-order companies during the last year and a half, hoping to work out a voluntary agreement on a uniform system for collecting state taxes. Another meeting, the third in recent months, is set for Wednesday in Washington.

By handing the matter to Congress, the Court avoided having to address a difficult issue on which it is now in flux: whether its constitutional rulings are inevitably retroactive. A group of big mail-order companies had warned the Court that the companies would face billions of dollars in retroactive tax liability. There is, however, virtually no chance that Congress would impose retroactive tax liability in this situation.

While seven Justices agreed with the outcome of the case, *Quill Corporation v. North Dakota*, No. 91-194, only four agreed with Justice Stevens's analysis of the commerce clause issue. They were Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist and Justices Harry A. Blackmun, Sandra Day O'Connor and David H. Souter. Three others — Justices Antonin Scalia, Anthony M. Kennedy and Clarence Thomas — said they would have upheld the commerce clause portion of the 1967 ruling as a matter of precedent, without undertaking any new analysis of the issue.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Headquarters

Trying to Make a Plus Out of an Arkansas Base

By RICHARD L. BERKE
Special to The New York Times

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., May 25 — While most voters probably do not know or care where a Presidential campaign makes its home, the decision is not without political consequences.

Both Jimmy Carter, whose campaign was based in Atlanta, and Michael S. Dukakis, who ran his organization from Boston, were accused of provincialism, of presiding over campaigns that were too insular and too reliant on local talent.

But in a year when politicians are scrambling to distance themselves from Washington, Gov. Bill Clinton hopes to make a virtue of keeping his organization in Little Rock.

In a few days, Mr. Clinton's headquarters will move from a cramped brown-brick building here, where nearly every closet and corridor doubles as an office, to four times the space in a building that housed The Arkansas Gazette until the newspaper closed in October.

The actual move is the final step in a process that has consumed some of the Clinton campaign's brightest political minds for weeks. With the primary season nearly over and planning for the general election under way, campaign officials agreed it was time to put everyone under one roof. But they anguished over whether even to keep Little Rock as the base for an enterprise that has aides sprawled from Washington to Los Angeles.

Talent Search Hampered

The decision has somewhat hampered the efforts to attract talent. Mark Gearan, who lives in Washington and is the father of a newborn baby, was named the campaign's communications chief but turned down the job when it meant moving. He will still assist the campaign.

But low-paying, high-energy political campaigns often attract people who would go to the moon if their candidate asked, so there is little public squawking by workers.

Bruce Reed, the deputy campaign manager for policy, moved here from Washington when the campaign began, but six weeks ago he moved back home to operate out of a Washington office, hoping the Clinton organization would move its headquarters there for the general election campaign. Now, Mr. Reed is preparing to leave his home again and return to Arkansas.

Washington was considered as a base because it offered instant access

Ross Perot stepped down as chairman of Perot Systems, turning over the helm to a longtime associate. Business Day, page D6.

to lawmakers and political veterans. That was also one reason it was rejected. "Especially in 1992," Mr. Reed said, "being a thousand miles away from the conventional wisdom is a good place to be."

Mickey Kantor, the campaign chairman who lives in Los Angeles and was said to be resisting Little Rock, insists it is a good idea. "I don't find it too much of a burden to have to change planes to get Bill Clinton elected President," he said. One of the objections to Little Rock was that there are no direct flights linking it to major cities.

The campaign is trying to get the most mileage it can out of making its headquarters here. At a rally last weekend, Senator David H. Pryor, an Arkansas Democrat, praised the Clintons because they had "not forgotten their roots."

It was only last September that Craig Smith, the national field director, broom in hand, opened the first office in a store that had been a paint shop.

On this move, a select group of aides meets behind closed doors at the headquarters every morning to render the most political of decisions: who sits where in the new offices. Fearing battles over issues like who gets a window or who gets closest access to the "power strip" of senior staff members, the committee has barred campaign workers from the new space until their deliberations are over.

"We decided that nobody could see it until the decisions were made," said Martha Phipps, the designated "space allocator" who is also assistant to David Wilhelm, the campaign manager.

The only plush office in the building is the wood-paneled publisher's suite, with leather furniture, a kitchen, bathroom, boardroom and bar. It was reserved for Mr. Clinton.

The Gazette offices look frozen in time. A yellowed copy of the final edition of the paper, dated Oct. 18, 1991, is lying on a shelf in the deserted newsroom. At the bottom of the front page was an article by Max Parker about Mr. Clinton's then-fledgling Presidential campaign hiring a manager.

Now Ms. Parker has become one of Mr. Clinton's press aides and has mixed feelings about the move. "I never thought I'd be walking back into that building," she said.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

The 1992 Campaign

White House

BUSH'S CAMPAIGN TRIES MADISON AVE.

2 New York Executives With Little Political Experience Will Devise Strategy

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — Reviving a strategy that helped catapult Ronald Reagan to re-election in 1984, President Bush's re-election campaign is handing control of its \$40 million-plus advertising program to two Madison Avenue executives with scant political experience.

The Bush organization has selected Martin Puris, president of Ammirati & Puris Inc., and Clayton Wilhite, president of D'Arcy Masius Benton & Bowles North America, to head a private corporation that will hold an exclusive contract for all Bush advertising in the general election.

Taking another leaf from Mr. Reagan's book, the Bush organization has given the new entity a catchy political name: the November Company. Mr. Reagan's campaign formed a similar private concern, the Tuesday Team, which employed the techniques of consumer advertising to market a political candidate.

Mr. Puris and Mr. Wilhite have been working with the Bush-Quayle organization for several weeks from offices on Avenue of the Americas in Manhattan, but their appointment was to be formally announced on Wednesday. The advertising group will remain at that location, with a full-time staff of about 15.

Not Meeting Expectations

Although campaign officials do not say so outright, the selection of the two men is an admission that Mr. Bush's previous media team, headed by three political advertising strategists, has not met expectations. Television commercials produced by the three for Mr. Bush's primary races in New Hampshire and Georgia were criticized as dull, stylistically outdated and ineffective in conveying Mr. Bush's re-election agenda.

The three — Michael Murphy, Alex Castellanos and Don Sipple — will join the November Company as members of five or six "creative teams" under Mr. Puris and Mr. Wilhite that will devise new advertising and plot media strategy, Mr. Puris said today.

They are the only political advertising experts in a corps of creative advisers that includes Ron Anderson, chief creative officer of Bozell/New York; Gordon Bowen, chief creative officer of McCann-Erickson/New York; Sean Fitzpatrick, a Detroit executive of McCann-Erickson who devised Chevrolet's "heartbeat of America" slogan; Robert Gardner, president of Gardner Communications in San Francisco, and Jim Weller, of Weller & O'Sullivan Advertising in Los Angeles. The experts will work either full or part time assisting Mr. Puris and Mr. Wilhite.

Mr. Puris and Mr. Wilhite run agencies that represent some of the nation's best-known brand names, from Budweiser beer to Pontiac and BMW automobiles, from Kraft foods to Milk of Magnesia and Stanley tools.

In that, the Bush campaign's advertising plans mirror those of Mr. Reagan's 1984 race, in which the Tuesday Team recruited architects of some of the nation's most familiar television commercials. That group shunned issues-oriented advertising for a theme, "it's morning in America," that associated Mr. Reagan with a swell of violins and a cloud of sentimental pictures.

Previous Informal Role

Mr. Puris, who will be chairman and chief executive of the November Company, served in Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign as an informal adviser to Roger Ailes, the New York advertising executive who was the campaign's chief media strategist. He has no other substantive political advertising experience.

Mr. Wilhite said today that he was an adviser to President Gerald R. Ford's 1976 primary-election campaign. He and other media advisers were replaced in the general-election race.

Frederic V. Malek, the Bush-Quayle campaign manager, said in an interview today that previous political experience "wasn't a necessity" for the President's advertising team because the campaign already had a wealth of political experts.

Mr. Puris and Mr. Wilhite said in an interview today that they would concentrate, at least initially, on exposing the electorate to more of what Mr. Malek called "the real George Bush."

Mr. Puris said: "My personal feeling, off or on the record, is that the more people see of him, the better they're going to feel about him. He's an outstanding man."

That appeared to be an acknowledgment that the campaign has so far not succeeded in a principal mission: to define Mr. Bush in the sort of favorable terms that will persuade voters to support his re-election.

In this spring's primaries, both Republican and Democratic political experts have frequently criticized Mr. Bush for failing to give people any compelling reason to vote for him. More recently, the President has responded with lists of goals and themes for his second term: "jobs, family and peace," the "five pillars of reform" in the Government and society, or his six-point "new America" agenda for the inner cities.

But so far none has caught fire with the voters.

Mr. Wilhite said today that the November Company's advertising would seek to show Mr. Bush talking personally about his goals.

"This is of such import that I don't want to be saying on Nov. 4 that I wish we'd taken that one step," he said.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Abortion Issue Rips Away Veil Of G.O.P. Unity

Party Platform Hearing Illuminates Deep Split

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

SALT LAKE CITY, May 26. — Abandoning their cherished public unity and sounding like the normally fractious Democrats, Republicans turned to name-calling today and challenged one another's moral values over the question of whether abortion should remain legal.

A daylong hearing of the Republican Platform Committee on social issues and "family values" turned into something of a bazaar where Republicans for and against legal abortion presented their wares. There were rallies and pickets, handouts and news conferences. The "Eleventh Commandment" — that no Republican should speak ill of another in public — was thrown to the wind.

Phyllis Schlafly, the president of Eagle Forum, a conservative group based in Alton, Ill., that is opposed to abortion, told reporters that Ann E. W. Stone, chairman of Republicans for Choice, was interested only in money and would "come out of this a rich woman."

Ms. Stone, an experienced fund-raiser for Republican and conservative causes, called Mrs. Schlafly a "religious zealot."

The Rug Is Raised

Over the last generation, Democrats have often clashed on divisive issues like the Vietnam War, civil rights and gun control. Sharp language was routine and sit-ins and walkouts were not beyond the realm.

Republicans have generally managed to sweep their doctrinal differences under the rug. Not since Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, who represented the conservative wing of the party, was challenged by Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller of New York in 1964 has there been a vote on a platform issue at a Republican convention.

Since 1980, the Republican platform has advocated a constitutional amendment to protect "unborn children," opposed government financing of any organization at home or abroad that supports abortion and favored appoint-

Continued on Page A18, Column 2

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Abortion Issue Rips Away Veil of Unity at Hearing on Platform

Continued From Page A1

ment of Federal judges who believe abortion is not a constitutional right. "The unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed," the 1988 platform states. While some Republicans have openly objected to those planks, the opposition was always muted.

But the likelihood that the Supreme Court will erode, if not completely overturn, abortion rights in the next few weeks has made the question a much more political one than in past years. The Court is reviewing a Pennsylvania law that restricts abortions, requiring among other things that wives notify their husbands of planned abortions. The possibility that the High Court will use that case to further curb access to abortion has led Republicans who favor legal abortion to begin questioning in earnest whether their party's stand is politically wise.

Governor's Sharp Remarks

For example, Gov. William F. Weld of Massachusetts, one of several prominent Republicans who is outspoken in favor of abortion rights, sent a statement to the platform committee asserting that "if the party retains its inflexible, anti-choice position, I fear we run the risk of shutting out potential

leaders, losing touch with mainstream America and forfeiting our role as the bulwark against government intrusion and the champion of individual freedom."

Still, nothing is likely to happen, at least not by the time the Republican National Convention is held in Houston this August. Ultimately, every plank, every sentence, every comma in the Republican platform will be written the week before the convention by President Bush's staff, and the President is adamantly against any change in the party's position.

William E. Bennett, the former Secretary of Education, argued today that a rigid stance against abortion was both morally and politically the right one. The source of political discontent in the country, he said, is not that politicians have clung too carefully to principles, but that they have strayed from them.

Ms. Stone and her followers hope they can at least force a floor vote on the issue at the convention to exhibit their strength and perhaps pave the way for a change in the 1996 platform. But even that seems improbable.

Under Republican rules, a vote will take place only in two circumstances: if at least 25 percent of the 107-member platform committee wants one, or if a majority of at least six state delegations call for a vote.

The Bush camp has stacked the platform committee, so a call for a vote there is out of the question. Ms. Stone says she has four state delegations locked up and seven or eight others that she may be able to persuade, but others on her side say they doubt that is the case.

Unlike the situation in some parliamentary democracies, American party platforms are binding on no one, so some politicians say they are unimportant. Others say, however, that platforms do outline in the broadest strokes the basic differences between the parties and thus fulfill an important purpose.

What all this will mean in the November election is anyone's guess. Despite complaints of a few party leaders like Gov. Robert P. Casey of Pennsylvania, the Democratic platform is certain to endorse legal abortion and government payments for abortions for women who cannot afford them. Ross Perot, who is considering running as an independent, has also said he supports abortion rights.

Polls show consistently that a majority of voters favor legal abortion. But no one knows how that converts into votes. Most voters, presumably, do not cast their votes entirely on the basis of their view on that one issue.

Is Compromise Possible?

Senator Don Nickles of Oklahoma, the chairman of the platform committee, suggested at today's hearing that some compromise was possible, say a requirement that parents be notified before a minor could have an abortion or limits on abortions a certain number of months into a pregnancy. But neither the supporters nor the opponents of abortion rights said they saw room for compromise, and Senator Nickles declared in the end: "I don't see these sides coming together."

The Bush camp's agreement to allow the hearing on abortion to take place was a concession to the political strength of the forces that favor legal abortions. On no other issue addressed today, not health or education, not welfare or aid to the cities, was anyone

allowed to testify who disagreed fundamentally with the President's position.

But that itself led to criticism of the President. Angela Buchanan, the sister and campaign manager of Patrick J. Buchanan, the conservative columnist who has challenged Mr. Bush in many primaries this year, called a news conference here to attack Mr. Bush for being so open-minded.

"You do not see the Republican par-

ty establishment bringing in rabid pro-taxers to argue the need for increasing the marginal income tax rate," she declared. "Only on the matter of gravest principle does the establishment of our party see an open question."

But Richard N. Bond, the Republican national chairman, took the stance that the party should be big enough for all comers. "There is no litmus test on any issue in the Republican Party," he said.



Don Grayson/The Denver News

Republicans against and for abortion demonstrating in Salt Lake City, where the Republican Platform Committee held a hearing on issues.



The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Why U.S. Bears Down on Belgrade

By DAVID BINDER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The immediate motive for sharper United States words and actions against the authorities in Belgrade in the Yugoslav conflict is revulsion at the killing of civilians and other violence by Serbian forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

News Analysis Beyond this, Administration officials said today, is the growing perception that the war in the Balkans has become a test for the United States and its principal allies on how to deal with security threats in post-Communist Europe.

"The biggest factor is the events on the ground, the atrocities against civilians, the ethnic purification drive by the Serbs in Bosnia," said a senior Administration official long involved in Balkan affairs. "But it has also become a defining moment on what kind of European security system we are going to have. There is an absence of U.S. power, an absence of power generally. People are worried that the whole area is going to pot."

Over the last year, the Bush Administration's policy toward the Yugoslav conflict has been on-again, off-again,

Beyond the violence, the crisis is seen as a security test.

seeming to be involved and then turning away, sometimes for months.

Baker Calls for Action

At the moment, with calls by Secretary of State James M. Baker 3d for international action to stop Serbian aggression in Bosnia and Herzegovina and with unilateral punitive moves by the United States against Belgrade, it is clearly in the on-again phase.

In London and again in Lisbon over the weekend, Mr. Baker said that some kind of international military intervention might even have to be considered if all else failed to stop the killing. But the Pentagon has not been asked to prepare for intervention.

Another factor behind the increased United States pressure on the Serbian leadership is the perception here that

the 12-member European Community has failed to intercede effectively in the Yugoslav crisis in the last 11 months and remains divided over what to do next.

"It is fairly clear that Washington has lost patience with letting Europe stay up front," a State Department official said in explaining Mr. Baker's latest moves.

Another Administration official with a background in Balkan affairs said: "Baker is telling the Europeans that something has to be done, but the United States is not going to police their neck of the woods. Europe has to take the first step if it is a matter of military action."

'Shift in U.S. Policy'

"We're looking at the first time since the 1930's that the United States deliberately stayed out of a European conflict," the official added. "It is a shift in U.S. policy. Earlier when confronting a security crisis, we would have become involved quite deeply."

"Our vital interests are not what they used to be. The third Balkan war in this century introduces the security problem of the future and there is no institution for defense or security to deal with it."

Still another factor is the reaction of the Administration, Mr. Baker in particular, to a recent tide of criticism of United States policy on Yugoslavia in American newspaper editorials and by columnists. "They respond to opinion makers to a degree you wouldn't believe," an Administration official said of the Baker State Department.

Administration officials say that diplomatic messages from Ambassador Warren Zimmermann, who was recalled from his post in Belgrade on May 16 as a sign of disapproval of the Belgrade leadership, also played a role in persuading Secretary Baker to take a stronger stand against the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic.

State Department specialists on the Balkans accused Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the Deputy Secretary of State, and the national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, both of whom served in Belgrade, of holding on too long to the idea of a federal Yugoslavia even after it was clearly doomed by nationalist rivalry. Mr. Zimmermann is also criticized on this count.

"Scowcroft and Eagleburger were obstacles," said a middle-ranking State Department official. "Because of that, we held on to Yugoslavia with our fingernails when it was already doomed."

'Comfortable' With Policy

But three Administration officials involved in formulating Yugoslav policy said Mr. Eagleburger was among those pushing for increased pressure on the Serbs in the last month.

"Larry is totally comfortable with the escalation policy," a colleague said. "In fact he was very much a leading part of it." Another official said, "He took a lead in the formulation and implementation of the latest policy."

Mr. Eagleburger, a former Ambassador to Yugoslavia, has been accused recently of being soft on the Serbs, a charge the policy makers say is off the mark although he himself acknowledges that he misread Mr. Milosevic when he dealt with him a decade ago.

Some members of Congress and some Croatian-American organizations have also accused Mr. Eagleburger of catering to Serbia because of business connections he maintained while in private life as president of Kissinger Associates, the New York consulting firm created by the former Secretary of State, Henry A. Kissinger, whom Mr. Eagleburger served in the 1970's.

During his time in New York, Mr. Eagleburger was on the board of directors of the now defunct American subsidiary of the Yugo automobile company, which was based in Serbia. He was also associated with the Ljubljana Bank of Slovenia.

At the time of his confirmation hearing before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1989, when his business connections were exhaustively explored, Mr. Eagleburger recused himself from any United States policy involvements with Yugoslavia for a year. He told friends and colleagues that he was reluctant to resume working on Yugoslav issues afterward but was gradually drawn into them by Mr. Bak-

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

U.S. Says There Are No Plans To Cut Nuclear Tests in Half

By ERIC SCHMITT
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The Bush Administration has no immediate plans to place new limits on United States tests of nuclear weapons, the White House said today.

The comments by the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, appeared to reject possible restrictions on testing that were outlined in an "options paper" that the Administration had prepared. But other officials said there had been no final decision.

Some officials seem to support limitations on the size and number of underground tests, but Mr. Fitzwater's remarks, coupled with strong opposition from Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, suggest any curbs face an uphill battle.

Talks in June With Yeltsin

Nuclear testing is expected to be discussed by President Bush at a meeting next month with President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, who has imposed a moratorium on Russian testing through the end of the year.

"While I'm sure there are those within the Government who consider this matter on a continuing basis and have changing views, there is no change at this time," Mr. Fitzwater told reporters today.

The proposals range from reducing the number of underground tests to 3 a year, from 6, in the next few years, to a broader policy that would eliminate virtually all testing by the United States by 1995.

"We feel we're down to a very low level right now," Mr. Fitzwater said. "There's no plans in the works at the moment to change that."

Some Seek Total Ban

Opponents of nuclear testing said today that anything short of a total moratorium would represent stalling tactics.

"If it's not a cessation of testing, it's a put-off that tries to take the pressure off the Administration for complete cessation," said Jack Mendelsohn, deputy director of the Arms Control Association, a private research organization here that promotes disarmament.

The Administration is coming under growing criticism from Democrats as well as from some allies to curb its nuclear testing in the post-cold-war era. France has said it would halt nuclear testing; Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada has sought a moratorium.

But last week China set off a one-megaton test, the largest underground test it had ever conducted and exceeding the 150-kiloton limit that Washington and Moscow agreed to in 1990.

Earlier this year, Mr. Yeltsin reportedly ordered a second underground

testing site prepared at Novaya Zemlya, a Russian arctic island, in case the current moratorium is lifted. The former Soviet test sites in Kazakhstan are no longer available to Moscow.

Democratic leaders in the House and Senate support legislation imposing a moratorium. A bill in the House has gained 218 supporters and could be considered by the full House as early as next week.

Opposition From Cheney

On March 31, three Democratic Senators — Sam Nunn of Georgia, Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee and Paul Simon of Illinois — warned in a letter to the President's national security adviser, Brent Scowcroft, that the White House was coming close to reneging on an agreement the Reagan Administration had made in 1986 to pursue "progressively more stringent limitations on underground nuclear tests."

Despite the collapse of Communism and the breakup of its Soviet rival, the Pentagon has vigorously fought any attempts to limit the nation's underground nuclear tests, in the Nevada desert.

The United States, however, has gradually reduced the number of underground nuclear tests from 18 in 1982 to 7 in 1991, according to the Arms Control Association. Six are scheduled for this year.

Walesa Sends a Letter Stating No Confidence

WARSAW, May 26 (Reuters) — President Lech Walesa of Poland, after months of pressing Prime Minister Jan Olszewski to resign, sent a letter to the Speaker of the lower house of Parliament today, saying he had lost confidence in the Olszewski Cabinet.

In taking the step, his strongest to date, Mr. Walesa said the Cabinet was provoking conflicts and destabilizing state procedures.

"This forces me to withdraw my support," he said. "I propose that solutions aimed at creating a new Cabinet are undertaken."

Mr. Olszewski refused to comment and met with representatives of the political parties that make up his minority coalition.

The Polish President, who came to prominence as founder of the Solidarity independent union in 1980 and who is the country's most popular political figure, seemed to stop just short of formally demanding the Prime Minister's resignation.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

Congress Urged to Lift Ban On Fetal-Tissue Research

By PHILIP J. HILTS
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The Reagan Administration official who first banned Federal financing of research involving fetal tissue said today that he now believed that the ban was a mistake and he urged the Bush Administration and the Congress to end it.

The former Secretary of Health and Human Services, Dr. Otis R. Bowen, said he ordered the ban in 1988 as a temporary measure until a scientific panel could review medical and ethical information. But he argued that it was now time to end the ban so the possibly life-saving research could go forward.

The ban has been endorsed by opponents of abortion rights, who fear that use of fetal tissue for research will

House-Senate conference, the bill is up for final approval. Congressional staff members on both sides of the aisle said they expected the House to approve the bill on Wednesday, but they were uncertain whether it would pass with enough votes to override a veto.

Science and Politics

In his statement today, Dr. Bowen said: "For the past few years I have been out of public life. However, I feel compelled to come back into the political sphere to talk about a world where politics should have no place: the world of scientific research."

Dr. Bowen said that when he put the ban into place he expected it would last only until a scientific panel appointed by the Reagan Administration answered a series of medical and ethical questions about the transplants. That panel reported in December 1988 that the experiments should go ahead, that they would not encourage abortion, but that a number of safeguards similar to those for other organ transplants should be put in place to prevent profiteering with the fetal tissue.

"That should have been the end of it," Dr. Bowen. "The safeguards should have been put in place and the research should have proceeded. I regret that the Administration did not take the advice of the Reagan-appointed panel and the publicly funded research in this area has been needlessly stopped."

In an effort to draw votes away from the current bill, the President said last week that he had directed the Department of Health and Human Services to try to establish centers to collect fetal tissue for experiments, but only tissue from miscarriages and ectopic pregnancies, which must be ended by surgery, not by a standard abortion.

The move was immediately denounced by supporters of the bill, who noted that scientists had already tried using this kind of tissue, but had found it very rarely suitable for research because it was usually defective or diseased, and because it was only available in medical emergencies.

Dr. James O. Mason, Assistant Secretary for Health, said he was disappointed by Dr. Bowen's comments. He said he was "sorry that Dr. Bowen did not look at the data behind the fetal tissue bank" proposed by Mr. Bush, which he said could work and still leave the ban in place.

Charges of mixing politics and science.

encourage women to have abortions. But scientists say the tissue offers promise in treating Parkinson's disease, diabetes and other conditions.

Bill Would End Ban

A provision to overturn the ban, along with many other important health-policy matters, is in a bill to reauthorize spending for the National Institutes of Health. A final House vote is expected on Wednesday or Thursday, and Senate action is expected within days.

The bill also contains rules requiring scientists to include women and minorities when possible in scientific research, new research money for breast cancer and ovarian cancer and new rules to curb scientific misconduct.

President Bush, who has never had a veto overridden, has threatened to veto the bill if the ban on fetal-tissue research is lifted. But because supporters of fetal-tissue research, women's groups and a variety of medical organizations support the bill, a veto might be overridden.

The bill passed the Senate, 87 to 10, on April 2. The last House vote on the measure was last summer, and it was approved, but not by enough votes to override a veto. Now, after revisions in

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992



Agence France-P

Some of the first group of Haitian refugees to be intercepted at sea and returned to Haiti waiting to be processed in Port-au-Prince.

HAITIANS RETURNED UNDER NEW POLICY

To Be Interviewed for Asylum
in Haiti, Not at Navy Base

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The Coast Guard returned the first boatload of Haitians to Port-au-Prince today under President Bush's new policy of accepting no more refugees at the United States naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba, the White House announced.

The decision to return Haitians without giving them immigration hearings

Guantánamo has been bitterly denounced by human rights organizations.

The policy has been to grant refugee status only to those who can establish during interviews at Guantánamo that they are political, not economic, refugees. Human rights groups say the stricter policy is morally indefensible, runs counter to the identity of the United States as a nation of immigrants and will only encourage other countries to follow suit.

Clinton Is Critical

The change also drew criticism from Gov. Bill Clinton, who has all but locked up the Democratic Presidential nomination. Asked in Little Rock, Ark., today whether he approved of the Bush policy on Haiti, he said:

"If I were President, in the absence of clear and compelling evidence that they were not political refugees, I would give them temporary asylum here until we restored the elected Gov-

New Rules Force Return of 38 to Haiti

Continued From Page A1

ernment of Haiti. I would turn up the heat and try to restore the elected Government and meanwhile let the refugees stay here."

Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of Brooklyn, said he would introduce either a resolution or a bill to require the Administration to interview Haitian boat people on the high seas to determine whether they were entitled to refugee status.

Mr. Bush's new guidelines were announced Sunday in an effort to stem the outflow of refugees. Haitians have been taking to sea in flimsy boats by the hundreds in recent days.

Today, the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, announced at a briefing that "a handful of Haitians were rescued at sea this morning and are being returned." There were 38 Haitians on the boat.

'Most Rational Approach'

A State Department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, said that the refugees were told they could apply for asylum at the United States Embassy in Port-au-Prince, and that 17 had agreed and were taken to the embassy to fill out forms.

Mr. Fitzwater said the Haiti issue was a "difficult" one but that Presi-

Humane, says the U.S. Cruel, say others.

dent Bush's change in policy — which seemed to take many State Department officials by surprise — was necessary.

"We have thousands of people on the seas that are being threatened — 18 died yesterday or the day before — and people are dying every day on these little ships that they're trying to take out," he said. "The most rational approach in terms of safety and humanitarian concerns is to try to process these applications at the embassy, and those that are qualified are then granted asylum."

Nevertheless the new policy was roundly denounced by human rights organizations.

"I empathize with the Government," said the Rev. Richard Ryscavage, head of the Office of Migration and Refugee Services of the United States Catholic Conference. "They are in a difficult bind. But this policy is a national tragedy because it represents a turning of our backs on our very core tradition of

receiving newcomers." Father Ryscavage's office is under contract from the Justice Department to provide social and legal services to Haitian immigrants.

'Short-Sighted Quick Fix'

Father Ryscavage said the new policy was a "short-sighted quick fix that will ultimately backfire, because unless you deal with the core issues you will have continuing emigration, and the core issue is not migration — the core issue is Haiti."

Lionel Rosenblatt, executive director of Refugees International, said the policy "only gives other countries license to turn back refugees from around the world without the right to assert political-refugee status."

Mr. Rosenblatt recalled that in 1980, tens of thousands of Cubans fled to Florida quickly by boat, and that President Jimmy Carter hurt politically because he was seen as having lost control of the situation.

"That was an election year and this is an election year," he said.

Hard Choices for the U.S.

More United States officials are acknowledging that something needs to be done if Haiti is going to be stabilized, but they insist that they are caught between two fundamental problems.

On one side, they say, is the fact that the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the democratically elected President who was ousted Sept. 30, was an imperfect democrat at best. Father Aristide intimidated many opponents with threats to unleash his political supporters on them, and thus his return to Haiti is still looked upon with great ambivalence by many in the military, in business and in Parliament.

On the other side, officials say, is the fact that the coalition of army, business and parliamentary figures who ousted Father Aristide have not coalesced into



Thirty-eight Haitian refugees stopped at sea were returned to their country immediately yesterday under a new Bush Administration policy. A refugee was fingerprinted by police officers after being returned.

a coherent political force that could run the country.

Power in Port-au-Prince today is so widely dispersed that many of the sanctions introduced by the Organization of American States have had little

political impact but an enormously negative economic impact.

Therefore, some officials say that what is needed in Haiti is some sort of international apparatus or peacekeeping force. It could insure that Father

Aristide's return would not unnerve the opposition or leave him feeling vulnerable to another coup. This could provide some time for the country to introduce the political and economic reforms needed for a long-term solution.

The New York Times

Copyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

THE NEW YORK TIMES, WEDNESDAY, MAY 27, 1992

THE MEDIA BUSINESS

Advertising | Stuart Elliott

Sprint Faces an \$80 Million Question, Thanks to Quayle

THE brouhaha over Vice President Dan Quayle's efforts to turn a television sitcom into a morality play has created a dilemma for J. Walter Thompson San Francisco and the Sprint Corporation.

Sprint is the sole advertiser now using Candice Bergen, the actress who portrays Murphy Brown in the ponymous series that Mr. Quayle attacked in a now-famous speech on May 19. Since 1990, Ms. Bergen has been the exclusive spokeswoman for print in a series of irreverent television commercials, the centerpiece of print's spirited battle to lure long-distance telephone customers from its two larger rivals, A.T. & T. and ICI.

As a result of Mr. Quayle's castigation of the Brown character's decision to bear a son out of wedlock, Thompson and Sprint must now confront the \$80 million question (the company's estimated annual advertising budget): Should the campaign starring Ms. Bergen continue and, if so, should the controversy be addressed?

So far, the answers seem to be, respectively, yes, and, too soon to tell.

There is "no reason at all for us to pull her," Sherry Paul, the senior vice president and deputy general manager at Thompson San Francisco, said yesterday.

"We do very extensive tracking," he added, referring to consumer re-

search, "and Candice is working for us better than we could have ever dreamed, in terms of our image and building our brand."

Jorge L. Rodriguez, the vice president of advertising and marketing communications for Sprint, said no decision had yet been made about basing future commercials on the Brown-Quayle dispute.

"I do want to be very clear that whatever we do," he added, "would essentially leverage Candice Bergen, and not get into the fray on the political side or take a point of view."

The firestorm points up the promises and pitfalls of celebrity endorsements. When a star is the beneficiary of positive publicity, a marketer can reap the rewards. For instance, just as Ed McMahon's departure from "Tonight" generated appreciative coverage, American Family Publishers, which has long used him as a spokesman, has him on the air in spots promoting a summer sweepstakes.

By contrast, when a star's headlines are deemed problematic, abrupt changes in marketing plans often ensue. For instance, the Nestlé Chocolate and Confection Company shelved a campaign for its Crunch bar, featuring Magic Johnson, after he said that he had tested positive for the virus that causes AIDS.

Thompson and Sprint must decide "who is their spokesman, Murphy Brown or Candice Bergen," said Jeff Atlas, the chairman of Atlas Citron Haligman & Bedecarré in San Francisco. He said Ms. Bergen was the endorser, and as a result, "you don't do anything, because Dan Quayle attacked Murphy Brown, not Candice Bergen."

A different opinion was voiced by Daryl Travis, the president of Arian, Lowe & Travis Advertising in Chicago.

"I'd try to take advantage of it," he said, "with a light-hearted twinkle in the eye, something that when you saw it would bring a smile to your face regardless of what side of the issue you're on."

Nat Whitten, the co-creative director at Weiss, Whitten, Carroll, Stagliano in New York, offered one suggestion.

"Have Candice Bergen call Dan Quayle on her Sprint line," he said, "and that way you could have both views."

One party thrilled with the contretemps is CBS, which hopes to make the series an even more alluring attraction to those advertisers undaunt-

ed by furor.

"There's no question 'Murphy Brown' will be heavily promoted for the fall," said George Schweitzer, the senior vice president of CBS marketing and communications in New York. "It is a flagship show that has helped define what CBS is."

The series, which begins its fifth season in September, is CBS's highest-rated entertainment show. As a result, during the 1991-92 season, it was CBS's most costly series for advertisers, at an average of more than \$300,000 for each 30-second spot. That money bought large audiences; more than 38 million people tuned in on May 18 to watch the episode that Mr. Quayle railed against as having glorified unwed motherhood and eroded family values.

Diane English, the comedy's creator, is expected to appear this morning at a CBS fall-season presentation to advertisers in Manhattan. Underlining CBS's commitment to "Murphy Brown," Ms. English's new sit-

com, "Love and War," has been awarded the coveted time slot of 9: P.M., Eastern time, on Mondays, following "Murphy Brown."

Accounts

• Nynex Corp., New York, is examining its media-buying arrangements according to a report in this week's Inside Media magazine, and might be considering a review of its estimated \$75 million account, now divided among six primary agencies. Nynex spokeswoman declined comment on the report.

• Knorr/Brazil, São Paulo, Brazil, unit of Corn Products Co., to L. Burnett, São Paulo, for its instant children's soups, previously at Soll Interamerican, São Paulo. No billing were disclosed.

More Media Business
news appears on page D19.



J. Walter Thompson

Candice Bergen, Sprint's exclusive spokeswoman, in a television commercial for the company.

COVER STORY

Telling people to seek visas 'surrealistic'

White House
cites humane
reasons:
'People are
dying in those
old ships'

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti
— On the U.S. Consulate building, behind a high wall and iron gates, hangs a hand-printed notice: "Closed for all services except for American citizens. No immigrant visa services are available."

The sign — written in English in a country where French creole is the language and many people don't read — reflects the confusion among Haitians, and in Washington, over the fate of the thousands of people who want to leave their impoverished nation.

This is the consulate Haitians are being told in Voice of America broadcasts to visit if they want to come to the United States legally as political refugees.

"What do you think would happen if I went to the U.S. Embassy?" asks Vilson Destin, 20, of Les Cayes, after being returned to Haiti Tuesday morning by the U.S. Coast Guard.

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

COVER STORY

U.S checks for mistreatment

Continued from 1A

He had been on a 15-foot boat with 19 others that was intercepted Sunday night — hours after President Bush ordered the Coast Guard to turn back all refugee-laden boats.

In recent weeks, more than 12,500 refugees have been plucked from rickety boats as they tried to flee to the USA. Most say they fear persecution from the military regime that ousted elected President Jean-Bertrand Aristide in September.

Bush's order ignited a howl of protests from refugee advocates. They are threatening to sue to block the order, saying it violates U.N. conventions on refugees.

Specifically, they say, the policy prevents Haitians from making a case for asylum on grounds of being persecuted, as required by the U.N. treaties signed by the United States.

"It's a surrealistic proposition," says Jean Claude Bajeaux, leader of Haiti's Ecumenical Center for Human Rights, referring to the idea that Haitians go to the U.S. Embassy.

The U.S. diplomatic compound "is built like a high-security fortress. No Haitian, intimidated and traumatized, would dare approach it," says Bajeaux, a head of the Socialist Congress of Democratic Movements.

Meanwhile, U.S. government monitors are scouring Haiti's towns and countryside to determine whether Haitians returned aboard Coast Guard cutters are being mistreated — as Haitians in the USA and their advocates charge.

State Department spokesman Richard Boucher says embassy officers have contacted more than 2,000 repatriated Haitians and "in no case found evidence of mistreatment connected to their repatriation."

But violence is prevalent in Haiti. A gunman Tuesday killed a prominent businessman whose brother was the leading campaign fund-raiser for the ousted Aristide.

The slaying was at least the 16th in the capital area in the last week; all appear to be tied to politics.

Meanwhile, 38 Haitians stopped at sea since Bush issued his order were returned Tuesday by the Coast Guard, which burned their boat.

And today, 500 more are to be returned from Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where the Coast Guard had taken refugees picked up before the order.

"This is really a shameful day for our country," says Miami lawyer Ira Kurzban, who works with the Haitian community. He's leading an effort to sue the Bush administration by challenging the forced-return order.

But Sen. Richard Lugar, R-Ind., of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, defended the policy.

Determining which Haitians are economic refugees and which fear political persecution, Lugar says, "can best be done in Haiti, where the conditions can best be seen."

Says White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater: "We simply have to be concerned about the immigration rules for all people who want into this country from all countries."

Nevertheless, Bush's decision — in fact his entire policy on dealing

with the Haitians since Aristide was overthrown — is coming under growing criticism.

► Lionel Rosenblatt, executive director of Refugees International, says the policy "violates one of the fundamental international human rights provisions: the right to political asylum or refuge."

► Bill Frelick, senior policy analyst for the private Washington-based U.S. Committee for Refugees: "This creates a really frightening precedent ... (countries) can return refugees to torture, to death, to execution, to sharks at sea. In a sense it could be the end of asylum."

But some of the harshest criticism has come from Congress.

"It's just an illegal, immoral thing that we're doing," says Rep. Charles Rangel, D-N.Y. "There's no precedent in history where a country can just stop people from leaving and arbitrarily returning them."

Haitians in the USA, especially in the Miami area, believe there is something Bush should do — a naval blockade of the Caribbean nation, which shares the island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic.

They say a blockade would force the junta to return democracy.

The South Florida Haitian community hopes Aristide will spur support for their homeland and its refugees. He's now visiting the USA from exile in Venezuela. He meets today with Miami business leaders.

One of the issues that further complicates the Haitian problem is that it has triggered charges of racism in U.S. immigration policy.

Rangel, a member of the Congressional Black Caucus, says the policy wouldn't be in place if the refugees weren't black or poor. "It's a racial thing, it's an economic thing and it's a political thing because it's an election year. People don't want poor black folks coming here."

"Do you really believe if these people were coming here from Europe that they would be treated this way?" he asks.

That point was also made by Stephen Legomsky, a law professor at St. Louis' Washington University. He tutored Gene McNary on immigration issues before McNary became commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

Legomsky says a more subtle type of racism is involved, although he doesn't think the administration's policies are racially motivated.

"But at the same time," he says, "I don't think the American public would stand for this policy if these were boatloads of refugees from Ireland or Italy."

But Fitzwater seems to dismiss any hint of racism when he says the policy "is not a question of not wanting any one nationality."

The forced-return policy, Fitzwater adds, "is consistent with the Constitution" and is driven by humanitarian reasons because "people are dying every day in these old ships that they're trying to take out."

Contributing: Juan J. Walte, Deborah Sharpe, Jessica Lee, Johanna Neuman

Outsider Perot attempts to bring insiders aboard

By Judy Keen and Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

Ross Perot, who's selling himself as the presidential campaign's ultimate outsider, is wooing Washington insiders.

The tycoon, whose Texas confidants have been running his all-but-official campaign, has authorized aides to approach political pros with job offers — a contradiction of his renegade reputation.

He's recruiting a Madison Avenue ad team and trying to lure heavy hitters like Ed Rollins, Ronald Reagan's 1984 campaign manager and White House political director.

"I have been talked to," says Rollins, whose wife Sherrie heads the White House Office of Public Liaison. "Anybody who believes in change ... has to be tempted."

In another leap toward making his candidacy official, Perot Tuesday resigned as chairman of Perot Systems, which he created in 1988. He'll

stay on the board of directors. Rollins says he'll "always be a Republican," but Perot "is trying to bring together Republicans and Democrats. I would suspect his campaign ... will not be of one stripe."

Says Mort Meyerson, a Perot aide who takes over Perot Systems: "We talk to people no matter what species they are."

Scott Miller, who worked for Democrat Michael Dukakis in 1988, has offered his services.

Also on board: Frank Luntz, who polled for Republican Pat Buchanan. "If this should ruin my political career," he says, "there's always teaching."

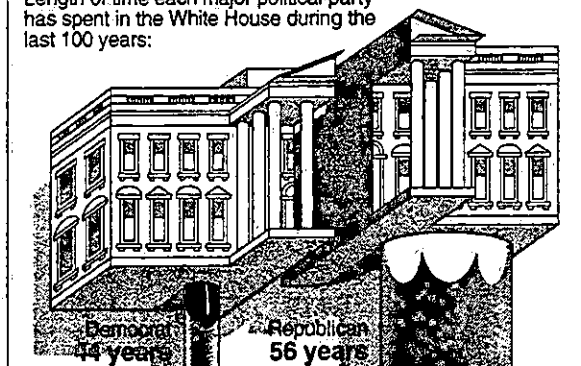
► Campaign methods, 5A

USA SNAPSHOTS®

A look at statistics that shape the nation

Party of the president

Length of time each major political party has spent in the White House during the last 100 years:



Source: USA TODAY research

By Ron Coddington, USA TODAY

GOP fighting over its abortion stance

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

SALT LAKE CITY — Republican abortion rights supporters alternately cajoled and threatened party leaders Tuesday, saying they should reverse the GOP's long-held opposition to legal abortion.

The party's platform now calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

Abortion rights supporters vowed to take the fight to August's GOP convention, warning of November defections.

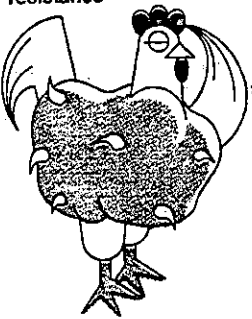
"Pro-choice voters are becoming single-issue voters. ... It should alarm you," said Ann

Stone, leader of Republicans for Choice.

But Phyllis Schlafly, head of the Republican National Coalition for Life, said, "the American people ... respect public officials who have strong convictions and stick to them."

► 'No litmus test,' 3A

Chicken genes added to potatoes increase disease resistance



Diet dilemma: Mixing food genes

By Anita Manning
USA TODAY

New guidelines that raise the possibility that potatoes might someday contain genes from a chicken have vegetarians and religious scholars scratching their heads.

The Bush administration Tuesday cleared the way for biotechnology firms to produce genetically engineered vegetables, grains and fruits that, in

most cases, won't require special testing or labeling.

Adding the genes of animals, insects and others might help foods resist disease, lengthen shelf life and boost size.

The consumer "will enjoy better, healthier food products at lower prices," said Vice President Quayle, announcing the FDA guidelines.

Some see problems. If a pig gene is used in another food, "I would say Muslims wouldn't

eat it," says Issa Smith of the American Muslim Council.

Gene-altered foods that could pose dietary problems:

► Tomatoes with Antarctic flounder genes, which reduce freeze damage.

► Tofu with a gene from cattle, to make it taste like beef.

Calgene Inc., of Davis, Calif. — likely to be first out next year with a tomato containing bacteria genes to keep it from ripening too fast — plans to la-

bel its product.

Most vegetarians can accept the benefits of genetic engineering, says Paul Obis, editor of *Vegetarian Times* magazine. "The use of a gene from a flounder or something does not constitute having a sentient being give its life for a meal."

But "On a personal level, it just seems pretty weird to me."

► Biotech boost, 3B
► Editorial, 8A

IN WASHINGTON

FETAL TISSUE: Otis Bowen, the Health and Human Services secretary who, under President Reagan, first enforced the government's ban on federal funding of fetal tissue transplantation research, said Tuesday that the Bush administration's continuation of that policy is wrong.

Bowen said a Bush compromise plan using tissue only from miscarriages or abortions to save the mother's life is scientifically worthless because it will be unable to provide tissue free from infections and genetic defects.

Fetal tissue transplants are believed to hold promise for treatment of Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease, diabetes and spinal cord injuries. The House may vote this week on a measure that would lift the government ban on fetal tissue research. But President Bush threatens a veto.

NUCLEAR TESTS: White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said there were no plans to reduce the number of U.S. nuclear weapons tests but did not bar future cuts. "We feel we're down to a very low level right now and there are no plans in the works, at the moment, to change that."

IRAQ REPORT: *The New York Times* reported today that the United States is sponsoring a campaign to flood Iraq with counterfeit currency, in order to destabilize the government of Saddam Hussein. The *Times* said stores in big cities had equipment to test large bills. It said Baghdad is imposing life sentences for those circulating bogus currency. The CIA refused comment, the *Times* reported.

Grass-roots bid grows ever greener

Texas billionaire Ross Perot appears well on his way to getting his name on ballots in almost every state.

So far, seven states have added Perot's name to the slate of fall presidential candidates: Wyoming, New Jersey, Kentucky, Delaware, Maine, Utah and Tennessee.

Three months ago Perot said he would run if volunteers could gather enough signatures to get his name on the ballots in all 50 states.

He plans to announce his intentions next month.

Richard Winger of *Ballot Access News* says Perot is on the ballot or has made solid progress toward getting on the ballot in 35 states.

Petitions have been submitted but not certified in several states, including Texas and Florida. But up to 15 states and the District of Columbia have only fledgling Perot organizations, some because of late deadlines.

— Debbie Howlett

Abortion issue's status elevated

Convention floor fight threatened

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

SALT LAKE CITY — The Republican Party's long, hot summer of dispute over abortion — a deeply divisive issue that could affect President Bush's re-election campaign — officially has begun.

At a party platform hearing here Tuesday, Republican abortion rights supporters put party leaders on notice that they will not keep quiet while the party adopts another platform opposing abortion — even if that means taking on Bush, an abortion opponent.

"Don't threaten us, don't appeal to us with the same old party loyalty play," said Mary Dent Crisp, head of the Republican Coalition for Choice. "We will not be gagged."

But abortion opponents also made a strong showing here, drawing hundreds of supporters for a rally and speakers who said the party's opposition to abortion was good election year politics.

"If they change it will be a real detriment to the party," said Pat Smith of Delta, Utah, who attended the rally. "People will be so disgusted they'll vote for independents."

Said Carol Long of the National Right to Life Committee: "Abortion is the one issue that has caused millions of Democrats and independents to vote Republican in the last three presidential elections."

If the platform committee again adopts a call for a ban on abortion, abortion rights supporters say they will bring the fight to the GOP convention in Houston in August — forcing delegates to vote on the stand.

To force a floor vote on a single issue — which hasn't happened at a GOP convention since 1964 — a majority of delegates from six states would need to back the move.

Ann Stone of Republicans for Choice says four state delegations are already lined up —



RALLY: Abortion foes fill Salt Lake's Symphony Hall plaza Tuesday as Republicans meet in the Marriott Hotel across the street.

The differences through the years

Republicans and Democrats first adopted party platform positions on abortion in 1976 and have frequently amended them since. Here's how they've compared over the years:

THE REPUBLICANS

1976: "We affirm our beliefs in many elements that will make our country a more hospitable environment for family life ... a position on abortion that values human life."

1980: "While we recognize differing views on this question among Americans in general — and in our own party — ... we affirm our support for a constitutional amendment to restore protection of the right to life for unborn children."

1984: "The unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed. We therefore reaffirm our support for a human life amendment."

1988: Same language as in 1984.

THE DEMOCRATS

1976: "We fully recognize ... concerns many Americans have ... (but) it is undesirable to attempt to amend the U.S. constitution to overturn the Supreme Court."

1980: The party "recognizes reproductive freedom as a fundamental human right. We therefore oppose government interference in the reproductive decisions of Americans."

1984: The party "supports the 1973 Supreme Court decision on abortion rights ... and opposes any constitutional amendment to restrict or overturn that decision."

1988: "The fundamental right of reproductive choice should be guaranteed regardless of ability to pay."

although she would not reveal which states, saying she fears White House pressure on those delegates.

A Supreme Court ruling on abortion, expected to be out by July, could further inflame the party dispute.

The high court is reviewing a Pennsylvania law limiting abortion and both sides say justices will likely use the case to further erode abortion rights

or even overturn *Roe vs. Wade*, the 1973 ruling legalizing abortion nationwide. If that happens, Stone says the GOP "risks a major voter backlash."

However, abortion rights supporters acknowledge they face an uphill battle in attempting to change the party's position because:

► Bush, who supported abortion rights before he became Ronald Reagan's running mate

in 1980, won't be willing to back a platform change, in part because he will be accused of flip-flopping.

► Party members will be reluctant to support an abortion rights plank inconsistent with the views of its president.

► GOP leaders don't want to risk alienating conservatives.

Angela Bay Buchanan, chairwoman of her brother Patrick Buchanan's GOP presi-



By Al Hartmann, Salt Lake Tribune
STONE: Says four delegations are ready to force a floor vote

dential campaign, lashed out at party officials for "legitimizing the pro-abortion position" by allowing abortion rights supporters to testify.

Although GOP officials don't want to offend conservatives, they know it's good politics to welcome divergent opinions.

"There is no litmus test on any issue," says GOP Chairman Richard Bond. "If you happen to disagree ... you are still a Republican."

Contributing: Judy Keen

► Platform hearing, 1A

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Seeking adventure on the midway

What if they gave a party and nobody came? If you believe the conventional wisdom, this may be the year we get to see.

"Everybody" says George Bush is a nerd and Bill Clinton's a jerk. Some early fans are beginning to read Ross Perot as the three-card monte man from the midway.

Nobody ever went broke betting against the conventional Washington wisdom, but all the Perot talk is making some of the coolest heads nervous. And some not-so-cool heads, too.

At the White House, where timidity is a social grace and terror is served with the tea and crumpets, Sam Skinner, the chief of staff, leads the Alfred E. Neuman Brigade: "What, me worry?"

Nicholas Brady, a nice man who doesn't have a clue to what a national campaign is about, and Robert Mosbacher, the campaign "chair," agree with Mr. Skinner that Mr. Perot won't last beyond Labor Day.

Mr. Skinner is the man who boasted that his boss didn't have to be nice to conservatives because they didn't have anywhere else to go, sending a lot of them to Pat Buchanan and sending the president's poll numbers as far south as Patagonia. Mr. Brady, who is said to be the president's soul brother, so to speak, is the man who urged Mr. Bush to present his fall-back position along with his non-negotiable position in his famous challenge to Congress to get moving. (Nobody moved, naturally.)

You might think that even a team like this one could defeat a jerk and a three-card monte man, and maybe they will. If they do, they will no doubt read it as a mandate for George Bush to stay just as supple and supine as he is. If they're not worried, maybe every other Republican ought to be.

The realistic alternative, according to the conventional wisdom, is Slick Willie, who, despite his battering of ghostly nobodies yesterday in his home state, remains this year's sacrificial jerk, in the tra-



Mr. McGoo

dition of Mr. McGoo (the first candidate he ever loved), Fritz Mondale (his passion role model) and the little Duke (whose name he put in nomination at Atlanta four summers ago). Like to like, though Mr. Slick is the man who was supposed to bring the party in from the cold.

Mr. Slick is scared, too, and when a modern Democrat gets scared his instincts drive him, like a lemming in heat, to an

orgy of self-abuse. Mr. Slick, who acts "conservative" in Arkansas — pro-business, anti-labor and willing to let his generous friends dump chicken guts into once-pristine Ozark streams — is taking the bait to "get liberal."

Time magazine, which recycles conventional wisdom as it goes stale but is nevertheless not always wrong, reports that Slick Willie will soon put the serious make on blacks, "woo women" with appeals for abortion rights (where was he when Murphy Brown really needed him?) and romance the organized homosexual lobbies with a promise to put one of their speakers with AIDS before the Democratic National Convention in New York City in July.

It's not clear what this would do for anybody, beyond further identifying AIDS as a disease of homosexuals, though when this is brought to his attention Slick Willie may then invite a drug addict to speak, too.

Some of the Bushies are said to have "chortled privately" (the only polite place to chortle) at the prospect of Slick Willie rendering himself as absurd as a 48-year-old man chasing an 18-year-old beauty queen by engaging in such public pandering. Well might the Bushies be, but for the prospect that the next day President Bush would suggest inviting similar speakers to the Republican convention in Houston, just to show that he was only kidding.

Some Democratic strategists are so frightened they're urging Slick Willie to save a place among the addicts and the ailing for the Rev. Jesse Jackson. Says Mike McCurry: "With Perot stirring the pot, you'll have to hold your base any way you can. Some people might want to write off Jackson as a has-been, but he remains the most effective political voice that blacks have ever had."

And if not effective, at least noisy, and in '92 noisy is maybe all we deserve.

NATION

MORE NATIONAL NEWS
ON PAGE B6

Bush not likely to budge on pro-life platform

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

SALT LAKE CITY — Despite impassioned testimony by pro-choice Republicans, officials yesterday indicated President Bush will not permit any change in the party platform's pro-life plank.

Bush operatives overseeing the GOP's platform committee hearings here on abortion and other "values" expressed this certainty privately and a pro-choice leader conceded as much after testifying before the abortion panel.

Mary Dent Crisp, National Republican Coalition for Choice chairman and long a leader of the pro-choice forces in the GOP argued that most Republican women and voters

in general favor a pro-choice position.

But in an interview afterward, Mrs. Crisp summed up her view of the openness of the panel, which took testimony from partisans on both sides of the issue, by calling the hearing "just a show."

"It's been an exercise in futility," said Mrs. Crisp. "They [the president's operatives] have it so wired that we get our hour in the sun and then we are shut out both from getting our language in the final platform in Houston and probably from taking our fight to the floor of the convention."

"We're going to try, but if this is any indication of the control they have, it's going to be tough," said Mrs. Crisp. Platform language will be for-

mally adopted at the party's National Convention in Houston in August.

Because the Supreme Court may overturn its landmark *Rowe vs. Wade* decision that legalized abortion, some Republicans have agonized over whether a softening of the party's pro-life position might help the GOP in the fall elections.

The night before the hearings began here, however, Republican National Chairman Rich Bond, referring to the president's re-election committee, said the "Bush-Quayle people don't want any substantive change" in the pro-life plank.

In hallway discussions yesterday, Bush operatives James Ciccone and B.J. Cooper said as much.

Mr. Bond agreed a Ross Perot candidacy would would split the pro-

choice vote between Mr. Perot and likely Democratic nominee Bill Clinton and that it would be particularly foolish for Mr. Bush not to retain pro-life support.

Phyllis Schlafly, Republican National Coalition for Life chairman, expressed confidence the Bush campaign strategists and party leadership will not permit a change in the pro-life plank.

"The president's operatives have decided they will not change the plank at all," Mrs. Schlafly said in an interview.

Mr. Bond's opening remarks at the hearings yesterday caused some to wonder, however, if he was making a gesture to the pro-choice faction.

"It's no secret that our party's position has been strongly pro-life, a

position I happen to agree with," he said. "But," he went on, "there is no litmus test on this or any other issue in the Republican Party. We are a party of diversity, of openness and not a single-issue party."

Echoing the "big tent" definition of the GOP offered by the late Lee Atwater when he became party chairman, Mr. Bond said the party welcomes those who disagree on abortion or any other issue.

Republicans for Choice Chairman Ann Stone, who said she has been negotiating with unnamed top GOP officials for concessions in the platform, said the incorporation of Mr. Bond's words into a preamble would be a start toward a compromise but not enough "if that's all there is to it."

Mrs. Dent agreed. Pro-life leaders

who testified yesterday said they would find the incorporation of such language utterly objectionable for the opposite reason.

Bay Buchanan, sister and campaign manager of GOP challenger Pat Buchanan, said Mr. Bond's words, while acceptable in yesterday's forum, would be totally unacceptable even in a preamble to the platform because it "would legitimize the pro-choice position."

Mrs. Buchanan said that she feared a conspiracy among Mr. Bush, Vice President Dan Quayle and Mr. Bond to compromise. But Mr. Cooper dismissed that notion, saying, "We have no plans to change the language and the president's position on the issue hasn't changed."

Go, Mo

Ronald and Nancy Reagan joined friends and family in rallying round eldest daughter Maureen on Memorial Day to support her bid for the 36th District congressional seat from California. Also attending the rally in Redondo Beach were the candidate's husband and campaign media relations manager, Dennis Rezell, and her brothers, Mike and Ron Reagan Jr.

Ms. Reagan will be facing 10 other candidates in the June 2 Republican primary. "Having Maureen in Congress fighting for human freedom and dignity will be a continuation of all we worked to achieve," Mr. Reagan said. "I call it Reagan Revolution II."

Pass the perks

Members of Congress bring vast quantities of liquor and a variety of other consumer goods home from their international junkets without checking through customs, according to the New York Guardian newspaper. The booty ranges from art to sneakers (1,000 pairs, in one case), according to the story. One congressman had three vans meet his jet at 3 a.m. at Andrews Air Force Base to unload his haul from a trip to Southeast Asia, the story said, quoting a former congressman as a source.

Lawmakers arriving at Andrews simply have to turn over their declarations to customs officials. There are no inspections. "We don't do inspections here at Andrews," a Customs Service official is quoted as saying. "We don't hassle anyone."

No big deal

So what happens if the Electoral College fails to give a clear majority to any presidential candidate and the presidency has to be settled by the House of Representatives — and it can't reach a decision by next Jan. 20? It's going to take Ray Bradbury to write his way out of this "what if" scenario. But

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Maybe not even sci-fi author Ray Bradbury can forecast this ending.

some pundits are giving it the old college try. A few of the possibilities have been collected by the Political Hotline.

One idea is that when the House can't muster the votes to put anyone in as president, the Senate goes ahead with its responsibility to select a vice president. Thus Sen. Bill Bradley, picked as the running mate for Bill Clinton, becomes president and selects his own veep.

Or, since neither congressional body has acted by Jan. 20, Speaker Tom Foley succeeds to the presidency in accordance with the rules. But he refuses to resign from the House, so the job goes to the next in line, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell.

But what if Mr. Mitchell balks?

Then Secretary of State James Baker III gets the job, being next in line of succession.

In another variation, Ross Perot's vice presidential choice, Jeane Kirkpatrick, is named acting president.

An option no one in the Hotline roundup considered, apparently, would be to give the people a real break and leave the office vacant. With no one to sign bills, Congress would have to go find real jobs. The federal bureaucracy would probably chug right along without even noticing there's nobody at the helm.

Appetite for owl

We've had a bit of fun in the past speculating on what sort of cuisine might turn up at the 50 States Party sponsored annually by Renaissance Women, and we've always been put properly in our place as a result. The idea of the event is that a representative recipe is served from each of the 50 states, and of course we speculated on what dish might represent certain states that seem to have little in the way of anything unique to offer.

Well, this year we are prepared to assist a participant in the event by offering — as suggested by the teaser that appeared during the week of our absence — a recipe for Spotted Owl Gumbo. It could serve as the official dish of any of the Northwestern logging states, particularly Washington or Oregon. We are deeply indebted to a longtime friend and fellow cynic for sharing his "old family recipe." It'll knock your socks off, with lots of garlic, onions and rum. Our sampling suggests it could use another splash or two of hot sauce.

All right, all right, call off the green nazis! No, we didn't butcher a cute little owl. The recipe includes substitutions — eagle, quetzal or, more likely, crow.

Details of the 50 States event, to be held June 13, are available from Renaissance Women at 703/241-4106.

PC 101

The University of Massachusetts at Amherst has revised its non-discrimination code to include pedophiles as a protected minority, according to Heterodoxy, the newspaper of the Center for the Study of Popular Culture. Previously the university's Affirmative Action and Non-discrimination Policy had excluded "persons whose sexual orientation includes minor children as the sex object," but no more.

"Is there no behavior which U Mass and other enlightened campuses will agree deserves simply to be called *deviant*?" the publication asks.

Breakfast of champs

Commerce Secretary Barbara Franklin entertained her Japanese counterpart, Minister Kozo Watanabe, at a breakfast meeting last week. The Japanese delegation expressed a unanimous wish for eggs and muffins at the breakfast, while the new secretary stuck to her usual oatmeal. As the meeting commenced, Mr. Watanabe decided he'd have some oatmeal, too. Mrs. Franklin saw to it that Mr. Watanabe got his oatmeal and two extra bags decorated with American and Japanese flags to see him through the remainder of his visit.

Why all the fuss about the fibrous foodstuff? Seems Mrs. Franklin's breakfast choice sparked a fond memory for Mr. Watanabe. As a youngster in postwar Japan, he told her, Yanks in the occupation forces had shared breakfasts with him — bowls of good old all-American oatmeal.

— John Elvin

Agreed: AX falls on social projects

By Frank J. Murray
and Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The White House and the House Budget Committee chairman agreed yesterday that entitlement programs must be cut to balance the budget but clashed on how to achieve those spending reductions.

President Bush feels it's politically impossible to cut such entitlement programs as Medicare and food stamps without a constitutional amendment to spread voter blame to both parties, said White House Press Secretary Martin Fitzwater.

"There are political pressures on both us [the administration] and the Congress that make it difficult," Mr. Fitzwater said as he criticized the House committee's objections to the proposed balanced budget amendment.

But Rep. Leon E. Panetta, Budget Committee chairman, said the amendment is unneeded to make these politically sensitive cuts as he unveiled three plans to balance the budget during a news conference.

"We have all of the constitutional power we need to do the job," the California Democrat said. "And the American people have all the constitutional power they need to for us to do the job."

Mr. Panetta said that a balanced budget amendment would require about \$560 billion in federal savings over the next five years, including deep cuts in Social Security, Medicare and defense.

While an amendment will require the president and Congress to balance the budget, it won't provide them with "the backbone or the guts" to make the hard choices in slashing spending and raising taxes, he said.

Mr. Panetta, hoping to head off the proposed amendment by showing see BUDGET, page A8

BUDGET

From page A1

how difficult it would be to implement, said, "I'm not trying to scare anybody, but I'm also not trying to kid anybody."

The White House, however, was skeptical of Mr. Panetta's description of the profound cuts he said would be caused by the amendment. "We believe they are crying wolf," Mr. Fitzwater said at his daily news briefing before the release of the House committee report.

"We need a balanced budget [amendment] that sets the rules for all time, expresses the will of the country and of the government, and gives the people time to plan for it and do it in a responsible fashion," Mr. Fitzwater said.

He also accused the committee of misrepresenting the situation by saying domestic needs can be financed only by what the president's spokesman described as "gutting our national defense."

In the three budget-balancing plans described by Mr. Panetta, entitlement programs are targeted for the deepest reductions over the next

five years.

One plan calls for acquiring about \$330 billion in savings without raising taxes by reducing Social Security, Medicare and military retirement benefits.

Another \$130 billion would be collected from defense spending cuts, and about \$100 billion would be garnered by eliminating such non-defense programs as the space station, the superconducting super collider and the national endowments for the arts and humanities.

The other plans endorse varying combinations of tax increases and similar spending reductions.

"A substantial amount of the deficit reduction should come from spending cuts because we clearly need to reduce spending," Mr. Panetta said.

"But tax increases are needed as well, for two reasons," he added. "First, they are the only way to ensure that the wealthy make a significant contribution to deficit reduction. Second, without the assistance of revenues, some of the spending cuts will cause unnecessary harm to the elderly, the poor and many others."

Mr. Panetta said that, if Mr. Bush wants a balanced budget, all he has

to do is pressure Congress into a negotiation like the 1990 budget agreement.

But Mr. Fitzwater defended the president's call for a balanced budget amendment, saying, "Most people believe the federal government should live within its means. . . . The point is we need that kind of fiscal pressure and discipline."

In reply to repeated questions, he said the reason Mr. Bush has not proposed balanced budgets — in which projected revenue equals anticipated spending with no borrowing — is because of political pain to the side

that takes such a radical position before political opponents are ready to go along.

"It's impossible to do without wrecking the economy and the government," Mr. Fitzwater told reporters.

The 1991 fiscal year ended with a \$268.7 billion deficit, the 1992 deficit was budgeted at \$399.4 billion, the largest in history, and the fiscal 1993 budget projects a deficit of \$351.9 billion. Deficit estimates are frequently changed by spending within a budget year and roller-coaster interest rates.

Our country's sophisticates — East or West, rich or poor, in office or out — don't need a party line to all sound alike. They somehow do it naturally, repeating the same responses to the same issues in the same tone. It's uncanny.

Take (please) the almost uniform gliberal response last week to Dan Quayle's criticism of what might be called the Murphy Brown ethic. From the lead paragraph in the initial New York Times story to the last, dismissive simper at week's end, all struck the same, uniform note: amusement. And not just amusement, but the same kind of amusement: low-key, condescending, dismissive, superior. Nothing so vulgar as a hearty guffaw.

To begin where many of the trendier do, here is the opener of Michael Wines' story in the New York Times last Thursday: "Thailand is in turmoil, the federal deficit is ballooning and hot embers of racial resentment still smolder in the ruins of inner-city Los Angeles. But today the high councils of government were preoccupied with a truly vexing question: Is Murphy Brown really a tramp?"

How amusing. Nor was the Times the only authority figure entertained and maybe just a little exasperated by the vice president's choice of a sitcom to symbolize what's wrong with the country. The president of the United States appeared amused, too, once he found out who Murphy Brown was, namely Candice Bergen's televised alter ego and new, unwed mother. Then he went from amusement to exasperation.

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the Arkansas Democrat Gazette in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.

Out of the mouths of veeeps . . .

After all, here he was holding a press conference with the prime minister of Canada, all set to discuss something important like international trade, and the only thing these media types wanted to talk about was a TV show. Can you believe it? This country's kulturkampf, or Culture War, has been going on at least since television replaced the movies as our guide to life, but George Bush still hasn't noticed that there's a war on. It's one between life-as-sitcom and life as explained by young fogeys like Dan Quayle:

"Children need love and discipline. They need mothers and fathers."

Some of our other leaders are not

as oblivious to the Culture War; they're combatants. Hillary Clinton, the co-candidate for president, was on the stump in California when Murphy Brown became the issue. She accused Mr. Quayle of "trying to blame the Los Angeles riots and the social problems in this country on a TV sitcom." False. The vice president was citing the Murphy Brown script — in which having a baby sans husband comes across as kind of cute and fashionable — as a symbol of mod America's wacky moral compass, and how it got that way. It was a passing reference that became the centerpiece of the whole debate.

Mrs. Clinton, whose Tailored Woman's view of America is always

politically correct, wondered if Mr. Quayle "lives in the same America we live in, if he sees the same things we see." Why, I thought that was the essential problem Mr. Quayle had with the popular sitcom. How many unwed mothers fit Murphy Brown's profile? How many glamorous, well-paid television anchorwomen will one find among the appalling statistics on teen-age pregnancy in this country? What kind of role model is Murphy Brown? Answer: a powerful one. Television is our substitute for art in 1992; life imitates it.

An idea: The next time teachers of high school English come to their study unit about propaganda, why assign only books, even good ones? The subtexts of today's society can often be found in television scripts. Let the class examine "Murphy Brown" and "L.A. Law" and spot the messages they're sending. Literature can't help but make moral judgments; what judgments is our popular culture making for us?

Who is seeing the real world? The scriptwriter who depicts having a baby alone as just another Lifestyle Choice? Maybe it's someone as unlikely as Dan Quayle, who says: "Ultimately, marriage is a moral issue that requires cultural consensus and the use of social sanctions. Bearing babies irresponsibly is, simply, wrong. Failing to support children one has fathered is wrong. We must be unequivocal about this." There was a time when Mr. Quayle would have been repeating the conventional wisdom. But in this mod world, such views become not just unconventional but controversial.

While other politicians blame the opposition's economic programs for the problems of American society, the vice president seems to understand that the trouble goes deeper: "It would be overly simplistic to

see GREENBERG, page G4

GREENBERG

From page G1

soft on Dan Quayle. The vice president also serves as the Official National Joke. Yet last week he made more sense than all our querulous leaders put together.

The object of this kulturkampf isn't anything so transient as political power. The outcome will determine our popular culture, which in turn may determine everything else. Rap music, tee-vee sitcoms . . . if you seek their monument, just look around — at South Central Los Angeles, or the shape the American family is in.

A crafty Englishman once observed that he cared not who made a nation's laws so long as he could write its ballads. Sophisticates doubtless were amused, but that guy knew where cultural power lay.

blame this social breakdown on the programs of the Great Society alone. It would be absolutely wrong to blame it on the growth and success most Americans enjoyed during the 1980s. Rather, we are in large measure reaping the consequences of decades of change in social mores."

He's getting warm. Any day now somebody besides an occasional curmudgeon or fundamentalist preacher is going to note that this nation is in spiritual trouble, and it's shaping our whole culture. I grow



Decisive declaration . . . short of the mark

Yeah, Dan Quayle was being trivial and maybe cynical to target Murphy Brown in his speech on American social dislocation.

He allowed the elite media to focus on (and smirk at) his slamming of a popular TV show instead of paying attention to the deeper moral questions he raised.

No doubt he hoped to trap liberals into defending unwed motherhood in order to make political hay with average bourgeois Americans and to keep the conservative Republican base from wandering off into Ross Perot's camp.

And, as his critics say, Dan Quayle has spent precious little time working on the problems of urban America or hanging around with blacks, even though black conservatives have more intelligent things to say about the plight of the poor than any other group.

On the other hand, the main burden of what he said in San Francisco was fundamentally correct: "The lawless social anarchy which we saw [in the Los Angeles riots] is directly related to the breakdown of family structure, personal responsibility and social order in too many areas of our society."

And he was also right to accuse television, the movies, magazines and the music and advertising industries of having contributed to the "poverty of values" that afflicts American society.

For 20 years, for fun and profit, they have soaked America in a bath of sexuality, doing their best to make Hugh Hefner's Playboy philosophy ("anything goes") the official behavior code of the United States.

According to the Center on Media and Public Affairs, from the mid-1950s to 1970, 38 percent of tee-vee portrayals of extramarital sex made it seem morally wrong. Since 1970, the number is 7 percent. Sixty-three percent of the time, adultery is not disapproved of. Prior to 1969, the center found, tee-vee portrayed fewer than one instance of extramarital sex in every 30 shows. Now the average is less than one in six.

But Murphy Brown's giving birth out of wedlock is scarcely the best (or worst) media example Mr. Quayle could have picked. The character played by Candice Bergen, after all, decides to forego abortion.

She'll undoubtedly be a good, if harried, mother — though not a typical one. Only 15,000 of the nation's 10.1 million single mothers are women between the ages of 35 and 44 with incomes of more than \$50,000 per year.

Despite modernist claims that the two-parent family is no longer typical, 73 percent of American children still live in that old-fashioned style.

A better contemporary target for

Mr. Quayle would have been the movie, "Basic Instinct," the movie industry's newest attempt to stretch an "R" rating up to the line of hard pornography. Both for sex and violence, it's a new low in Hollywood decadence — the latest lunge in what former Judge Robert Bork calls America's "slouching toward Gomorrah."

The country is, as Mr. Quayle argued, "reaping the whirlwind of decades of changes in social mores." Most members of the baby boom generation went through their years of casual sex, drug use and self-indulgence and returned to middle class values as they matured. The poor, with less to fall back on, did not.

The statistics on this question are impossible to refute.

In 1950, 1.7 percent of white babies were born to a never-married mother, and 16.8 percent of black babies. In 1990, whites are up to 16 percent and blacks are at 66 percent.

Almost half of all white children living with single mothers are below the poverty line, and about 70 percent of black and Hispanic children.

Eighty percent of black children living in two-parent households are not poor. And 70 percent of Hispanics and 92 percent of whites similarly situated are not poor. The problem is that only 38 percent of black children lived in two-parent households, compared to 80 percent for whites.

As Mr. Quayle said, "The anarchy and lack of structure in our inner cities are testament to how quickly civilization falls apart when the family foundation cracks. Children need love and discipline, they need mothers and fathers. A welfare check is not a husband. The state is not a father. . . . Marriage is probably the best anti-poverty program of all."

Liberals can say, justifiably, that Mr. Quayle understated the extent to which racism still poisons American society. He implied it's a problem that's behind us, and he never mentioned recent studies showing that blacks are still routinely discriminated against in housing and bank credit.

He also understated the corrosive psychological effects of past racism on many black Americans — their conviction that they can't make

it in American society and their use of white racism (with encouragement from white liberals and most black civil rights leaders) as an excuse for not trying to make it.

And he also neglected to mention that it's only now, in the wake of Los Angeles, that the Bush administration is really pushing an urban agenda of enterprise zones, "weed and seed" action against crime, ownership of public housing, and welfare reform.

But as one black conservative after another has suggested, blacks themselves simply will have to study, work and discipline themselves out of poverty because government can't do it for them.

Walter Williams of George Mason University, for instance, argues that, "If women would say, 'I'm not going to have babies until I'm married and both parents are working,' we wouldn't have a poverty problem."

In an era when low-skilled jobs simply don't exist in adequate numbers to employ uneducated ghetto males, the only answer is for black kids to stay in school — and for education systems to be reformed to teach those who are willing to learn.

The one thing Dan Quayle has personally done to help the poor was to sponsor, as a senator, the Joint Training Partnership Act, the federal government's basic program for job training.

Within the White House, Mr. Quayle and his staff have taken the side of Housing Secretary Jack Kemp in urging action on a conservative anti-poverty agenda. Mr. Quayle has spent more time cultivating conservatives than promoting an anti-poverty agenda, though.

Politically, his speech was surely a plus for the Bush-Quayle ticket. You could tell by the fact that Hillary Clinton stopped defending Murphy Brown-modern values and began stressing the importance of families.

What's more, Mr. Quayle's speech was decisive, which is more than one can say for most Bush speeches. It's no surprise to learn that the woman who helped Mr. Quayle draft his speech, Lisa Schiffren, was passed over for a job as a speechwriter for the president.

J Danforth Quayle's sermon about family values in which he made his now-famous attack on the sitcom "Murphy Brown" made a decent enough point when he blamed the Los Angeles riots on a "poverty of values." But he didn't go far enough.

His prescription for correcting our social ills certainly wouldn't hurt. No one but a blockhead would oppose marriage, intact families, socially responsible television programming and holding individuals accountable for their behavior.

But if he really wants to exert moral authority, he should talk about the root causes of urban unrest, not just the symptoms. In particular, if he wants to talk about a poverty of values, he should talk about white racism.

I know it is not chic these days to talk about racism. Even the media avoid bringing up the word. One enterprising sociologist, Professor Joe Feagin, at the University of Florida, conducted a recent computer database search of articles analyzing the Los Angeles riots in major newspapers and magazines and couldn't find the phrase "white racism" used even once.

Today's media prefer neutral-sounding euphemisms like "racial divide," terms that address the symptoms but step lightly around the root virus, white racism.

We were more candid with ourselves 25 years ago when the Kerner Commission that President Lyndon Johnson appointed to investigate the riots of the '60s declared white racism to be the most important reason America was moving toward "two nations," one black, one white, separate and unequal.

Sure, the commission acknowledged, others committed racist or discriminatory acts, too. But white racism, institutional and personal, was by far more pernicious.

It was a rude wake-up call for a nation that unfortunately has chosen to punch the "snooze" button ever since.

Now the Los Angeles riots have issued another wake-up call. If we continue to deny the role white racism continues to play in perpetuating the economic and social ghetto in which so many blacks, including many middle-class blacks, live, we Americans will be little more than a national version of the alcoholic who refuses to get past the denial stage, the necessary first step to recovery.

Twelve years of Ronald Reagan and George Bush, helped along by a few congenial blacks who yearn desperately to deny the obvious (I won't say I have not occasionally been one of them), have encouraged even some liberals to believe racism no longer plays much of a relevant role in keeping poor people poor.

Yes, race is playing a less significant role compared to class in Amer-

ican life. But no one knows better than President Bush and Mr. Quayle, when they aren't being too full of themselves to acknowledge it, the important role racial undercurrents, play in their predominantly white constituency.

Figure it out. Foreign policy, Mr. Bush's usual strength, has faded as an issue, along with the Soviet threat, and the administration's efforts to beat the recession have not won many points either. That leaves "values" as the administration's pet issue. It's cheap, it's easy, and the Bush campaign can pick and choose values that appeal to the most pristine moral sensibilities while driving a convenient wedge between the ghetto and the GOP's predominantly white, suburban constituency.

"Marriage is the best anti-poverty program of all," says Mr. Quayle.

Oh? How about a job? Isn't it economic independence that leads to strong marriages, not the other way around?

President Johnson's commitment to fighting poverty, despite the propaganda you hear these days from his critics, made significant progress in reducing the nation's poverty rate.

His civil-rights reforms did even more to open the doors of opportunity to those of us who had been waiting at the threshold, ready by virtue of good education and, yes, strong family values, to step inside, once the law forced barriers against African-Americans to relax.

But, after some of us escaped the ghetto, the politics of white backlash slammed the door on the rest, trapping millions who needed help the most.

We in the black community who can provide successful role models certainly must do our part to engage the young people in the neighborhoods and restore moral values where we have moral authority.

But Dan Quayle, a newcomer to the ghetto, has the moral authority to help white America do its part, too.

As the Bush campaign's hit man on the Right, Mr. Quayle commits a disservice when he castigates the thugs who beat up white motorists during the riot in South Central Los Angeles but gives a light touch to the thugs in police uniforms who beat up Rodney King.

Or when he attacks the looters of stores in South Central Los Angeles but gives a pass to the looters of savings and loans or the bigots who continue to charge a "black tax" to minorities on jobs, loans, housing, goods and services.

Or when he attacks Murphy Brown, a fictional television character, for having a baby out of wedlock, without mentioning, say, the millions of working fathers who abandon their child support.

I guess that's what makes "values" such a tempting campaign issue. It lets you pick and choose which outrages you want to get outraged about.



Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call, the newspaper of Capitol Hill.

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Less pop in population explosion?

Hardly an explosion

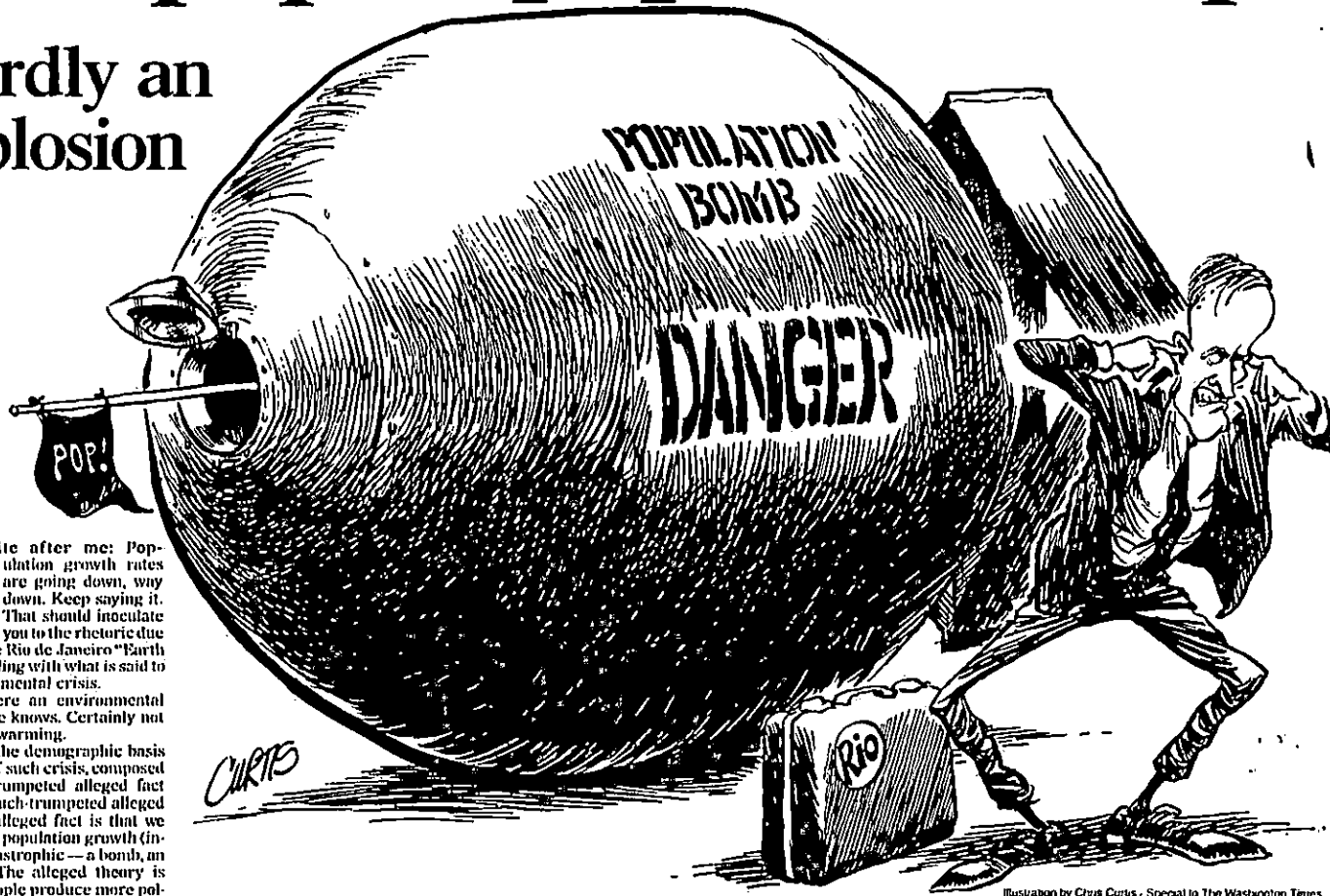


Illustration by Chris Curtis. Special to The Washington Times.

Recite after me: Population growth rates are going down, why down. Keep saying it. That should inoculate you to the rhetoric due soon from the Rio de Janeiro "Earth Summit," dealing with what is said to be an environmental crisis.

But is there an environmental crisis? No one knows. Certainly not about global warming.

Consider the demographic basis for the idea of such crisis, composed of a much-trumpeted alleged fact linked to a much-trumpeted alleged theory. The alleged fact is that we face runaway population growth (inexorable, catastrophic — a bomb, an explosion!). The alleged theory is that more people produce more pollution.

Face the fact first: The keystone demographic datum is the "Total Fertility Rate" (TFR). That represents the number of children a woman will bear in her fertile years. In modern countries, a TFR of 2.1 children per woman ultimately yields a population that neither grows nor shrinks, but merely "replaces" itself. In the poor Less Developed Countries (LDCs) the replacement rate is 2.4.

In 1960-65, according to U.N. data, the global TFR was 5.0. In 1990, according to the new Population Reference Bureau's "Population Data Sheet," the rate was 3.3 — a 34 percent decrease in slightly more than one generation.

Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Whatever will be thrown at us in terms of environmental theory, the population aspect of it is less than the purveyed nightmare.

Explosion? Hardly. And the drop is more than it seems. Only 2.1 is needed for stability in a modern country. By that standard, the global TFR has gone 59 percent of the way down toward replacement. In one generation.

But, ah ha, it is said, the population explosion is not occurring "globally." In modern countries the TFR is already down to a below-replacement 1.9. It's in the LDCs where "the people bomb" is said to be on a short fuse.

Indeed, LDC rates are higher.

The LDC/TFR was 6.1 in 1960-65. But by 1990 it was 3.8 — 62 percent of the way down toward the LDC replacement rate. In one generation. Compare that to CNN's recent purple prose: "as the planet's population grows exponentially. . ."

Consider the most populous LDCs: In Mexico, in 1960-65, the TFR was 6.8. By 1990, it was 3.8. In Brazil: 6.2 and 3.1.

Consider the two Asian giants: China 5.9 to 2.2, India 5.8 to 3.9.

In North Africa, Egypt's TFR fell from 7.1 to 4.4. The slowest drops are

in black Africa. Nigeria scores 6.9 and 6.5. (But U.N. estimates had Nigerian population at 117 million. A good census was finally taken in 1990 — counting 88 million!)

This doesn't mean that global population won't grow from the current 5.4 billion. It will. But by how much? The United Nations has just issued projections. The "medium" scenario is based on an ultimate global drop to a 2.1 TFR and yields 10 billion by 2050 — substantial growth. (All figures exclusive of Murphy Brown's baby.)

But — and about time — U.N. demographers have hinted at what happens if, as the whole world modernizes, the whole world comes to resemble the modern world.

In a "medium-low" scenario, the ultimate TFR is dropped marginally to 2.0 children per woman, yielding a population in 2050 not of 10 billion,

but of 7.8 billion. Interesting: The so-called "medium-low" scenario is based on assumptions closer to the current 1.9 rate in modern countries than is the "medium" scenario. Shouldn't it be the one called "medium?"

What happens when the assumptions go down a bit more? The so-called "low" scenario is keyed to a 1.7 TFR — higher than the current 1.5-1.6 rates in Japan and Western Europe. Long-term, in 2150, the "medium" scenario yields a stable population of 11.5 billion, "medium-low" yields 5.6 billion, while "low" yields 4.2 billion — a billion fewer than now! Such are the games demographers play.

What it all means is that we do not confront a relentless, bomblike circumstance. Whatever will be thrown at us in terms of environmental theory, the population aspect of it is less than the purveyed nightmare.

Crisis on command

George Bush goes to Rio. And George Bush should feel right at home with the Rio crowd. The core "cross-cutting" issue at the Earth Summit is a long-time interest of George Bush: Reduce population growth; let there be fewer human beings.

The Sierra Club, representative of the organizations that urged Mr. Bush to go to Rio, attributes the "many crises" of the environment to the "one cause" — population growth. And the draft of the Earth Charter calls for yearly expenditures on demographic activities of \$7 billion, much of it to flow from the rich countries to the poor countries.

To the typical delegate in Rio, human beings are simply the source of bad things: carbon dioxide that the environmental movement believes is surely warming the world and will wash whole countries away, industrial pollutants that befoul our air and water, consumer waste that will supposedly leave us nowhere to dwell, and putative exploitation of the natural resources of the poor countries that will lead to exhaustion of supplies and shortages.

Mr. Bush will have to listen to a lot of speeches in Rio before he hears that humans are creators and builders, the sources of miracles of new knowledge. He will not hear that humanity has finally succeeded in the millennia-long quest to beat back death, and to provide a decent standard of living for most of the world's population. He will not hear that though the rich countries consume a very large proportion of resources, they also create an even larger proportion of resources, including the natural resources that have no useful existence without the knowledge invented in the rich countries. He will not hear that the United States and the West are the source of both the mass entertainment and the high culture that enrich the world through the electronic communications developed in the rich countries.

The simple fact is that the Rio gloom-and-doom about a "crisis of

see SIMON, page G4

Julian Simon, professor of business administration at the University of Maryland and adjunct scholar at the Cato Institute, is the author of "The Ultimate Resource" and "Population Matters."

SIMON

From page G1

our environment" is all wrong scientifically. Even the Environmental Protection Agency acknowledges that our air and our water have been getting cleaner rather than dirtier in the past few decades. Every agricultural economist knows that the world's population has been eating ever better since World War II. Every resource economist knows that all natural resources have been getting more available rather than more scarce, as shown by their falling prices over the decades and centuries. And every demographer knows that the death rate has been falling all over the world — life expectancy has almost tripled in the rich countries in the past two centuries, and almost doubled in the poor countries in just the past four decades.

It is now also clear that population growth does not hinder economic development. In the 1980s, there was a complete reversal in the consensus thinking of population economists about the effects of more people. In 1986, the National Research Council of the National Academy of Sciences completely reversed the earlier "official" worldview it expressed in 1971. It noted the absence of any statistical evidence of a negative connection between population increase and economic growth. And it said, "The scarcity of exhaustible resources is at most a minor restraint on economic growth."

This U-turn by the scientific consensus of experts on the subject has gone unacknowledged by the press, the anti-natalist environmental organizations, and the agencies that foster population control abroad. And though the Reagan administration built this body of scientific fact into its 1984 stand at the World Population Conference in Mexico City, the Bush administration has done nothing to base policy on it.

Indeed, President Bush is on record as an old-time believer in the old-time gospel that population growth is a bad thing. He even wrote a foreword to a 1974 book, "World Population Crisis," authored by a vehement anti-populationist, Phyllis Piotrow. And though from time to time the president makes conciliatory gestures toward the anti-abortion groups — a very different

issue than population growth — he seems never to have turned his back on his earlier anti-natalist stand. So he should feel right at home in Rio.

The agenda of the environmental movement is to reduce population growth, whatever it takes to do so. Hence the movement applauds the coercive Chinese program that punishes people for having more than

Population growth doesn't hinder economic development.

one child. They cheer on this system that forces women to insert IUDs, then monitors them with X-rays every three months causing who knows what genetic damage, then punishes them economically if they evade the abortionist.

The environmental activists also favor the Indian program of monetary incentives for sterilization that led to such gross abuses that Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was forced out of office as a result. And the population-control activists have used their influence with the State Department to activate population-control programs in Africa that use the money of our aid programs to leverage African governments into population control programs.

There operates an unholy symbiosis with money as the medium of contact. The United States wants to buy population control abroad. The poor countries, and the elites in the poor countries, want a flow of money from "North" to "South," which will provide them a windfall. But the city slickers get suckered by the pretended rural yokels, because much of the money winds up in junkets, such as the \$40 million spent on the Rio Earth Summit, and in other rackets.

A few wrong moves at Rio by Mr. Bush and population control will eventually blow up in the face of the United States. The motivation of the United States will be called racist, and with good reason, especially in Africa and Latin America. Maybe Mr. Bush will not lose office because of this issue, as Indira Gandhi did, but the United States could suffer a severe backlash in its relations with the Third World. Let's hope that Mr. Bush thinks long and hard before he further abets population control.

U.S. Bid to Oust Regime Underlies Haiti Problem

Embargo Succeeds Only in Crippling Economy

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

As Americans debate the wisdom of President Bush's order to halt the influx of Haitians, even his supporters concede that the problem was caused by U.S. policy. Washington's intent was to oust Haiti's military bosses but until now it has succeeded only in crippling the island's economy.

U.S. policymakers were widely applauded last October when they spearheaded a decision by the Organization of American States to

NEWS ANALYSIS

impose a hemispheric embargo against Haiti. The move, intended to pressure the military into reversing the coup that ousted civilian President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was cheered as a signal that the United States, once considered too willing to tolerate Latin American military dictatorships, was determined to face down challenges to democracy anywhere in the hemisphere.

At the time, the OAS resounded with confident predictions that Haiti, the poorest and weakest country of the region, would buckle quickly.

It hasn't worked that way. The trade embargo has cut off most of the island's exports and imports and put at least 150,000 of Haiti's already impoverished people out of work. But the misery and privation caused by the embargo has left Haiti's military rulers and their supporters in the island's business class unmoved.

In part, that is because of the intense fear inspired in these groups by Aristide, a Roman Catholic priest whose populist preachings have won a great following among the Haitian masses. His promises to end the entrenched privileges of the army and the wealthy led to the coup, and the bitter denunciations he has directed against his enemies from his exile has solidified their belief that his return would be the prelude to a wave of vengeance and must be resisted at all costs.

An even greater problem has been a belief among Haiti's current rulers that there are distinct limits to how far the United States is willing to carry its campaign against them. According to people familiar with sentiment on the island, there is widespread feeling there that if the dic-

tatorship sits tight, Washington eventually will tire of the struggle.

To back up that view, Haitian government leaders reportedly cite U.S. unwillingness to plug the leaky embargo with a naval blockade or even to cut the transportation links that permit many Haitians to fly to Miami or other Caribbean ports and return with suitcases full of embargoed goods. The United States, they note, also has chosen not to make an issue of the European Community's refusal to honor the trade aspects of the embargo.

Many diplomats say in retrospect that the Bush administration also made a serious mistake when it modified the embargo to permit American businesses with assembly operations on the island to keep doing business. That move was dictated by the fact that these businesses originally had been induced by the U.S. government to invest in Haiti and were providing jobs for many of the country's poorest people. But these nuances were lost on a Haitian government and public that interpreted the move as further proof of U.S. unwillingness to stay the course.

The administration's critics argue that tougher action is necessary to make an impression on the Haitian military. But U.S. officials say that some of the more drastic courses being suggested, such as establishing a blockade or even sending a military force onto the island, are not in the cards. Other OAS members are unwilling to go that far, the officials say, and in the absence of clear-cut domestic and international support, Bush has no intention of resorting to military action in an election year.

The most immediate new step, the officials say, will be a stronger effort to enlist greater European Community support for the embargo. But, they warn, many EC members are reluctant to cooperate because of the effects this would have on the Lome Convention, which grants former colonies of EC countries trade preferences within the community.

Many of the former colonies, such as those in Africa, are also under military dictatorships. Some EC members, notably France, which retains close ties with its former African colonies, reportedly fear that curtailing trade with Haiti because it is under a dictatorship would touch off demands that the same principle be applied in Africa and elsewhere.



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

ly after being picked up at sea debark from Coast Guard cutter in Port-au-Prince.

return of people" whom out" as not being political in Haiti, "where the re- than [in] Vietnam, we not ng economic migrants [to political refugees can't en- done anything like this the have gone ballistic," he gine what the British are eatens the whole principle out the world."

ed about the implications y, which they see as a vi-

olation of international agreements, met yesterday in Geneva. One concern is that it appears some of those leaving may be bona fide political refugees, said Victoria Butler, spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Washington. "What happens to those people?"

"A second major concern," she said, "is that there are between 17 and 18 million refugees in the world today," fleeing Somalia and Ethiopia into Kenya or moving from Burma into Bangladesh. "What happens if these countries that are housing hundreds of thousands of refugees just decide to do the same" as the United States, she asked.

Refugee Groups Vow Challenge To Bush's Policy

By Al Kamen
Washington Post Staff Writer

Refugee advocates yesterday angrily denounced President Bush's decision to return all Haitian boat people found on the high seas as a violation of international and U.S. law and said they would attempt to undo it—either in federal court or through new legislation.

Critics, who acknowledged it would be difficult to persuade either Congress or the judiciary to overturn the policy, also said the move could damage multinational efforts to encourage countries to accept refugees.

The first legal challenges might come in the next few days, according to lawyers involved in planning the efforts. Lawyers for the refugees will likely ask a federal judge to halt the repatriations, arguing that the lack of any procedure under the new policy to even consider boat peoples' claims for asylum violates international and U.S. law.

Administration officials said they were confident that while they might lose in lower courts, the conservative-dominated Supreme Court would ultimately back the administration's right to do as it pleased in foreign policy. Bush said Sunday that because refugee facilities at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, were full, the Coast Guard was to intercept Haitian refugees at sea and force them back to their island home. Haitians have been fleeing in intermittent waves since a Sept. 30 coup overthrew President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

And while refugee advocates and congressional critics compared the new policy to the infamous rejection of a Jewish refugee ship, the *St. Louis*, as it fled Nazi Germany in 1939, several said there were not enough votes in Congress to change the policy.

Rep. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.), a leading critic of the administration's policy, denounced the new procedures as "untenable and hypocritical." Rangel said he expected to meet with House leaders today, and he hoped to "get a congressional response, but I doubt we can do it. Congress doesn't have the courage to get involved in something that might bring Haitians into their districts. It's just a sad day. This is no way to treat people." He said the U.S.-backed embargo of Haiti helped fuel the exodus from that troubled island.

Rep. Stephen J. Solarz (D-N.Y.) said that summarily returning all people intercepted on the high seas was "palpably in violation of important international conventions" on refugees and "makes us in effect agents of a repressive regime."

Solarz acknowledged it would be difficult to change the policy, but said it was "not necessarily impossible" to get congressional support for a return to the Reagan administration policy on Haitian boat people, which at least allowed for shipboard interviews of potential refugees' claims.

Solarz, who chairs a House subcommittee on Asian and Pacific affairs, noted that the Bush administration had objected to Britain's policy in Hong Kong of returning economic migrants to Vietnam.



Haitians returned directly after being picked up at sea debark from Coast Guard cutter in Port-au-Prince. AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

"We objected to the return of people" whom the British "screened out" as not being political refugees, he said. But in Haiti, "where the repression is even worse than [in] Vietnam, we not only are not permitting economic migrants [to enter] but now even political refugees can't enter. If the British had done anything like this the administration would have gone ballistic," he said. "I can only imagine what the British are thinking now. This threatens the whole principle of first asylum throughout the world."

U.N. officials, worried about the implications of the new U.S. policy, which they see as a vi-

olation of international agreements, met yesterday in Geneva. One concern is that it appears some of those leaving may be bona fide political refugees, said Victoria Butler, spokesman for the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees in Washington. "What happens to those people?"

"A second major concern," she said, "is that there are between 17 and 18 million refugees in the world today," fleeing Somalia and Ethiopia into Kenya or moving from Burma into Bangladesh. "What happens if these countries that are housing hundreds of thousands of refugees just decide to do the same" as the United States, she asked.



Haitians picked up at sea by cutter Eszanaba await processing in Port-au-Prince. Eventually, 17 applied at U.S. Consulate to seek asylum.

Cutter Ferries 38 to Haiti Under New Rules

Policy Canceling Asylum Interviews at Guantanamo Confuses Boat People

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Foreign Service

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti, May 26—The Coast Guard cutter Eszanaba unloaded 38 Haitians here today—the first to be returned to their homeland under the Bush administration's new policy designed to keep the boat people off the high seas.

The return was marked by confusion, misinformation and anxiety as American and Haitian Red Cross officials attempted several times to explain to the fearful returnees that they were free to apply for asylum at the U.S. Consulate here.

Of the thousands of Haitians who have been returned here by the Coast Guard since a bloody army coup last fall, those arriving today were the first not to have been given the chance to apply for political asylum in the United States.

In an executive order Sunday, President Bush shifted U.S. policy by ordering the Coast Guard to return all Haitians rescued at sea immediately to their country, without interviews or processing by U.S. immigration officials. As for those boat people who believe they should be admitted into the United States as political refugees, the White House recommended they apply at the consulate here.

Most of today's returnees, on hearing this read in Creole, reacted with vacant stares and whispered asides to journalists that they were afraid of retaliation from the army if they appeared at the consulate to apply for asylum.

A U.S. Embassy official initially told journalists that three of the boat people had asked to apply for asylum at the con-

sulate. It turned out that the three he was referring to were children in need of medical attention.

The other returnees seemed confused about their options until journalists informed them they could still apply. A Red Cross official then repeated the explanation, and eventually 17 returnees were taken to the consulate for a preliminary interview.

"What do you think will happen if I go to the embassy?" asked Destin Wilson, 20, who said he paid \$120 for his passage and had been at sea for five days before the Coast Guard intercepted his rickety boat Monday. "Do you think I'll have problems with the army?"

U.S. officials insist there is no risk involved for Haitians who apply for asylum. But judging from recent experience, neither is there much hope for success.

Of 279 Haitians who have contacted the consulate since February, nine have been admitted to the United States with plausible claims that they merit political asylum. That works out to about two individuals a month.

Another 113 were turned away by the consulate without an interview and 72 were rejected after speaking to an officer. Seven have been approved for entry to the United States but are awaiting health and other clearances, and six others are having their stories checked. An additional 72 are awaiting interviews, which are taking place at a rate of six a day.

The small rate of success for Haitians seeking to leave the poverty and violence of their homeland by applying to the consulate is in stark contrast to the experience of some 34,000 Haitian boat people

who have been rescued by Coast Guard ships since last fall and processed by U.S. immigration officials at the U.S. Naval Base in Guantanamo, Cuba.

About a third of the 27,000 already interviewed there—some 9,000—have been cleared for entrance into the United States by the Immigration and Naturalization Service since last fall.

The Bush administration has said facilities here will be expanded but until now the consulate generally has not accepted walk-ins. Instead, it has required all applicants to write or phone for an appointment. The overwhelming majority of Haitians are illiterate and have no access to a telephone.

The Bush administration, in announcing the new policy Sunday, said it was necessary because the processing facility and accommodations at Guantanamo were overwhelmed and the seven Coast Guard cutters in the area were full of Haitians as well.

"The safety of Haitians is best assured by remaining in their country," the White House statement said.

One embassy official said today that according to his personal estimate, some 80 to 88 percent of all Haitians would go to the United States if they could. The official added that in his view, only two to five of every 1,000 Haitian refugees picked up by the Coast Guard had plausible claims for political asylum. Another estimated that no more than 5 percent deserved to be admitted to the United States.

Other U.S. officials said that what they characterized as naive INS interviewers, unfamiliar with social realities in Haiti,

See HAITI, A24, Col. 1

By
Paris, May
tween France
trade, security
jeopardizing eff
sus for the Atl
erbativ rivalrie
ing to European
The continui
negotiations and
a new European
new era of distr
ington, the dipl
such policy clast
tal conflict over
relationship that
French Presi
has said that E
superpower and
independence fr
defense and eco
the French govt
suede its Europe
only prudent be
seems bound to
lationism as its
ties worsen.

While German
still strives to m
ington, key pa
ment—such as
headed by Klau
the French per
official said "the
of our concerns
we have the c
them."

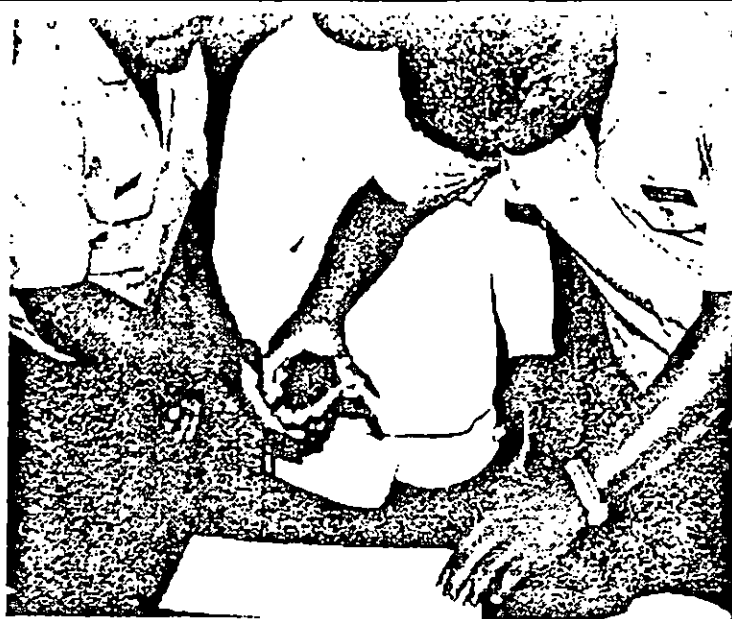
Kohl and Mitt
that a planne
Franco-German
to complement,
North Atlantic
building up Euro
But its real pur
officials acknowle
arations for an a
ipation of the d
troops are withdr

The Bush adm
governments of
lands, have warne
initiative could d
functions and ult
ican pullout by e
U.S. leadership c
military command

[In Brussels to
several NATO
ings about the co
reported.

[A senior U.S.
on condition of a
tions were conce
argument that
strengthen NAT
Secretary Malcol
still a lot of wa
how the Franco-C
ate and what its
would be."

["You should n
NATO, said Spar
lian Garcia Varga



One of initial returnees under new rules is fingerprinted by Haitian police.

Cutter Returns 38 Haitians Under New Asylum Strictures

HAITI, From A21

were hoodwinked by the boat people they interviewed at Guantanamo into granting so many requests for political asylum.

To establish a plausible claim for political asylum and be admitted to the United States, Haitians must prove that they fall into at least one at-risk category: that they have a justifiable, immediate fear for their lives; that they hold a sensitive position in a persecuted political or religious organization or held one in the government of ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide; or that they worked in such positions as radio journalists that are likely to attract repression.

The torrent of Haitian boat people began after the violent army coup that ousted the democratically elected Aristide Sept. 30. The United States and other countries in the hemisphere responded with a crippling economic embargo that

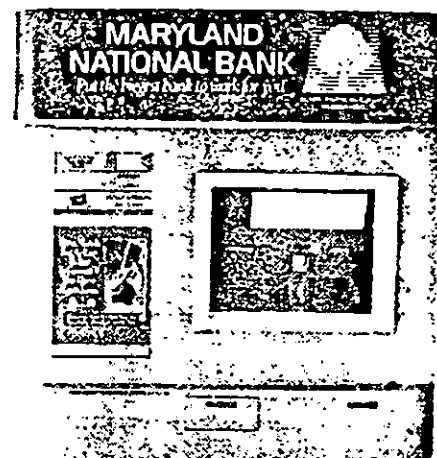
cost some 150,000 Haitians their jobs, according to U.S. government estimates.

Today, Aristide lives in exile in Venezuela, military repression continues against those who overtly demonstrate their support of the ousted leader, and Haiti's main export has become people, who say they are fleeing a land devoid of hope, liberty and employment.

Aristide, who won a landslide victory in this country's first free elections in December 1990, continues to command the support of a large majority of his countrymen, by all available evidence.

In a poll last month by Radio Metropole, the most respected radio news station in Haiti, about 60 percent of respondents said they thought Aristide or his choice for prime minister, Rene Theodore, were the leaders "capable of managing the current crisis." The next most popular answer, former president Leslie Manigat, was backed by just 16 percent.

that our checks
are the most
we've put up
throughout



With a Maryland National or A
quick access to your money. No matter

308 ATM's
24 hr. Phone Access
To Account Information
Multiple Account Access At ATM's
Checking Statements at ATM's
No-Fee Checking
With Direct Deposit
Free Automatic Savings Service
90-Day Money-
Back Guarantee*

Because you can get
308 ATMs,** at no ex
bank in Maryland or th
Plus, you can take
matic transfers between
deposit. And our free l
account information 24

To open an account

Security branch office. Or call Maryland
at 1-800-833-4ASB, Monday-Friday

*If you're not satisfied, we'll close your account and refund the money you've paid for check
may access both banks' ATMs for cash and account balance information. All other b

HAITIANS RETURNED UNDER NEW POLICY

To Be Interviewed for Asylum
in Haiti, Not at Navy Base

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, May 26 — The Coast Guard returned the first boatload of Haitians to Port-au-Prince today under President Bush's new policy of accepting no more refugees at the United States naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba, the White House announced.

The decision to return Haitians without giving them immigration hearings at Guantánamo has been bitterly denounced by human rights organizations.

The policy has been to grant refugee status only to those who can establish during interviews at Guantánamo that they are political, not economic, refugees. Human rights groups say the stricter policy is morally indefensible, runs counter to the identity of the United States as a nation of immigrants and will only encourage other countries to follow suit.

Clinton Is Critical

The change also drew criticism from Gov. Bill Clinton, who has all but locked up the Democratic Presidential nomination. Asked in Little Rock, Ark., today whether he approved of the Bush policy on Haiti, he said:

"If I were President, in the absence of clear and compelling evidence that they were not political refugees, I would give them temporary asylum here until we restored the elected Gov-

Continued on Page A10, Column 1

Beachfront Owners Face Possible Insurance

By CORNELIA DEAN

A small piece of legislation, an amendment to a housing bill pending in the Senate, is pitting environmentalists against property owners in a furious battle over some of the nation's most valuable real estate: the beach.

The amendment's purpose is to limit Federal flood insurance protection of coastal property at high risk from erosion. Environmental groups say the flood insurance, unavailable or prohibitively expensive on the private market, has encouraged destructive and dangerous development of the nation's shores. They say it must be cut back.

Property owners and developers, outraged and panicked at the prospect of losing a benefit they have enjoyed for years, call it a thinly disguised Federal land grab.

Property's Value May Drop

In exchange for continued insurance benefits, the measure would outline areas prone to erosion where new construction or substantial improvements would be limited or prohibited. In the areas of imminent erosion, property owners would be paid to relocate or raze their buildings. If they chose to stay put, their insurance benefits would be limited and they would lose coverage after their next claim.

No one can say exactly how much land or how many structures would be affected by the change. The areas prone to erosion have not been mapped in detail, a process that would take at least five years. But because erosion is widespread, the revisions in the insurance program could affect tens of thousands of buildings worth billions of dollars and might greatly reduce the value of much of the vacant beachfront property in coastal states.

The proposal passed the House last

Proposal in Senate Pits Landowners Against Environmentalists

year, 388 to 18, after a series of hearings at which scientists told of erosion threatening at least 70 percent of the coast, insurance experts said the Federal Government faced billions of dollars in potential damage claims and environmentalists testified that the cheap Federal insurance was encouraging people to build on beaches that were better left alone.

The proposal has moved to the Senate, where it is now attached to a housing bill that is expected to come up for a vote in a subcommittee of the Senate Banking Committee in the next few weeks. But since the insurance revisions were passed by the House, builders, real estate agents and beachfront property owners have mounted a vigorous counterattack.

At national conferences, local meet-

ings and in letters to Congress, they have argued the Federal Government deprive them of the use of the beach. The changes would send them plunging, they say, without insurance.

'Causing Great Harm'

"This would put people in the position of having 100 percent cash," the Florida Beach Preservation Association said in a position paper criticizing the changes. "Altogether there would be a collapse in property values, causing a loss to hundreds of thousands of dollars."

The lobbying campaign, which once appeared to have progress toward passage, New Jersey lawmakers are now pushing the measure in the House to Senator Alfonse M.

Continued on Page A1



Former General Who Turned Against Ma

Fidel V. Ramos, a leader of the coup that ousted Ferdinand Marcos, met yesterday with I-

New York, Amid Doubts, Br

By MICHAEL SPECTER

Faced with a welter of new Federal and state regulations, New York City will soon embark on a recycling program that could quickly become one of the most costly and ambitious in the nation.

But after three years of the city's halting, anemic attempts to begin recycling, even the new program's most committed supporters question wheth-

er New York can make it. On paper the goals seem reasonable, but the plan would rapidly accumulating here from its current 6 percent of the city's waste to at least 40 percent by the end of the decade.

By September, all residents of Manhattan will be required to separate their garbage into plastic, glass, and metal, and the program will expand to the rest of the city.

INSIDE

New York Redistricting Plan

A new proposal for redrawing New York's Congressional districts would help Hispanic candidates and hurt several incumbents. Page B1

Family Fare at North

Defying the industry's narrow fare structure, Northwest Airlines is sure to allow an adult to fly for the price of a child. Page B1

Fake-Money Flood Is Aimed At Crippling Iraq's Economy

By YOUSSEF M. IBRAHIM
Special to The New York Times

AMMAN, Jordan, May 24 — Iraq's economy is the target of an American-led destabilization campaign to pour vast amounts of counterfeit currency into the country, Arab and Western officials here say.

The fake dinar notes are being smuggled across the Jordanian, Saudi, Turkish and Iranian borders in an effort to undermine the Iraqi economy, said the officials here who closely monitor the situation inside Iraq. Those officials said counterfeit dollars are being smuggled into Iraq in smaller quantities to further confound the banking system. The officials, who insisted on not being identified, said the countries behind the separate counterfeiting operations included Western nations, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Israel.

The fake currency is openly discussed in the press and by the people in

Iraq. The counterfeiting problem has become serious enough to be loudly denounced by the Government, which is taking measures to curb it, including instituting life sentences for cooperating in circulating counterfeit dollars or dinars and death sentences for those who smuggle them into the country.

Efforts in High Gear

The fake currency has contributed to Iraq's severe inflation problem, which is aggravated by the fact that the Iraqi Government is printing money at uncontrolled speed to pay inflated salaries and cover the costs of reconstruction.

Over the last few months, the destabilization efforts seem to have shifted into high gear, officials here say, particularly after the United States was reported in February to have authorized full-fledged covert operations against Iraq.

[In Washington, Mark Mansfield, a spokesman for the Central Intelligence Agency, declined to discuss the dumping of fake currency in Iraq. "As a matter of policy we don't comment on such allegations," he said.]

Along with international economic sanctions against Iraq, those measures have had mixed results since the Persian Gulf war ended in February 1991. They have clearly helped weaken the

News Summary	A2
Obituaries	D19-21
Weather	C4

Arts	C14-22	Media	D17, D19
Bridge	C18	Op-Ed	A21
Chronicle	B7	Politics	A18-19
Crossword	C18	Real Estate	D6
Editorials	A20	Sports	B9-15
Education	B8	TV Listings	C21
Health	C12	Word and Image	C18

New Rules Force Return of 38 to Haiti

Continued From Page A1

**Humane, says
the U.S. Cruel,
say others.**

ernment of Haiti. I would turn up the heat and try to restore the elected Government and meanwhile let the refugees stay here."

Representative Stephen J. Solarz, Democrat of Brooklyn, said he would introduce either a resolution or a bill to require the Administration to interview Haitian boat people on the high seas to determine whether they were entitled to refugee status.

Mr. Bush's new guidelines were announced Sunday in an effort to stem the outflow of refugees. Haitians have been taking to sea in flimsy boats by the hundreds in recent days.

Today, the White House spokesman, Marlin Fitzwater, announced at a briefing that "a handful of Haitians were rescued at sea this morning and are being returned." There were 38 Haitians on the boat.

'Most Rational Approach'

A State Department spokesman, Richard A. Boucher, said that the refugees were told they could apply for asylum at the United States Embassy in Port-au-Prince, and that 17 had agreed and were taken to the embassy to fill out forms.

Mr. Fitzwater said the Haiti issue was a "difficult" one but that Presi-

dent Bush's change in policy — which seemed to take many State Department officials by surprise — was necessary.

"We have thousands of people on the seas that are being threatened — 18 died yesterday or the day before — and people are dying every day on these little ships that they're trying to take out," he said. "The most rational approach in terms of safety and humanitarian concerns is to try to process these applications at the embassy, and those that are qualified are then granted asylum."

Nevertheless the new policy was roundly denounced by human rights organizations.

"I empathize with the Government," said the Rev. Richard Ryscavage, head of the Office of Migration and Refugee Services of the United States Catholic Conference. "They are in a difficult bind. But this policy is a national tragedy because it represents a turning of our backs on our very core tradition of

receiving newcomers." Father Ryscavage's office is under contract from the Justice Department to provide social and legal services to Haitian immigrants.

'Short-Sighted Quick Fix'

Father Ryscavage said the new policy was a "short-sighted quick fix that will ultimately backfire, because unless you deal with the core issues you will have continuing emigration, and the core issue is not migration — the core issue is Haiti."

Lionel Rosenblatt, executive director of Refugees International, said the policy "only gives other countries license to turn back refugees from around the world without the right to assert political-refugee status."

Mr. Rosenblatt recalled that in 1980, tens of thousands of Cubans fled to Florida quickly by boat, and that President Jimmy Carter hurt politically because he was seen as having lost control of the situation.

"That was an election year and this is an election year," he said.

Hard Choices for the U.S.

More United States officials are acknowledging that something needs to be done if Haiti is going to be stabilized, but they insist that they are caught between two fundamental problems.

On one side, they say, is the fact that the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the democratically elected President who was ousted Sept. 30, was an imperfect democrat at best. Father Aristide intimidated many opponents with threats to unleash his political supporters on them, and thus his return to Haiti is still looked upon with great ambivalence by many in the military, in business and in Parliament.

On the other side, officials say, is the fact that the coalition of army, business and parliamentary figures who ousted Father Aristide have not coalesced into



Thirty-eight Haitian refugees stopped at sea were returned to their country immediately yesterday under a new Bush Administration policy. A refugee was fingerprinted by police officers after being returned.

Iraqi Economy Feels Strain Of a Flood of Fake Money

Continued From Page A1

publican guards.

"He is looking like a big fish in small

a coherent political force that could run the country.

Power in Port-au-Prince today is so widely dispersed that many of the sanctions introduced by the Organization of American States have had little

political impact but an enormously negative economic impact.

Therefore, some officials say that what is needed in Haiti is some sort of international apparatus or peacekeeping force. It could insure that Father

Aristide's return would not unnerve the opposition or leave him feeling vulnerable to another coup. This could provide some time for the country to introduce the political and economic reforms needed for a long-term solution.

The New York Times

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS, Publisher 1896-1935
ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1935-1961
OWELL E. DRAYCOSS, Publisher 1961-1963
ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER, Publisher 1963-1992

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR., Publisher
MAX FRANKEL, Executive Editor
JOSEPH LELYVELD, Managing Editor
WARREN HOCE, Assistant Managing Editor
DAVID R. JONES, Assistant Managing Editor
CAROLYN LEE, Assistant Managing Editor
JOHN M. LEE, Assistant Managing Editor
ALLAN M. SIEGAL, Assistant Managing Editor
JACK ROSENTHAL, Editorial Page Editor
PHILIP M. BOFFEY, Deputy Editorial Page Editor
LANCE R. PRIMIS, President and General Manager
RUSSELL T. LEWIS, Executive V.P., Deputy Gen. Mgr.
JOHN M. O'BRIEN, Executive V.P., Deputy Gen. Mgr.
WILLIAM L. POLLAK, Executive V.P., Sales
JAMES A. CUTTE, Sr. V.P., Marketing
ERICH G. LINKER JR., Sr. V.P., Advertising
ELISE J. ROSS, Sr. V.P., Systems and Technology
MICHAEL J. KURTZ, V.P., Human Resources
KAREN A. MESSINEO, V.P., Controller
JOSEPH M. MULLIN, V.P., Production
CHARLES E. SHELTON, V.P., Circulation

Backward Priorities on Haiti

President Bush's cruel decision to have the U.S. Coast Guard turn back Haitian refugees on the high seas marks the low point of a failing American policy. The American-supported trade embargo has failed to dislodge Haiti's repressive coup leaders and only harmed the Haitian poor. And now the order to rebuff refugees at sea without a hearing trashes American commitments to humanitarianism.

Mr. Bush insists that he's acting out of concern for people who are risking their lives in makeshift boats. Besides, he says, the Haitians are fleeing poverty, not political repression.

But repression is fierce, and until the U.S. finds more effective ways to restore democracy, Mr. Bush's stated concerns ring hollow.

Haiti was economically desperate long before last September's coup overthrowing the country's infant democracy. Since then, its poor have been politically terrorized as well. And haphazard enforcement of a trade embargo, sanctioned by the U.S., has only worsened their plight. The leaders of Haiti's coup have capitalized on gaping loopholes in the embargo that allow oil to be imported from Europe. That has left them with little incentive to complete negotiations to restore

Now that the base has reached capacity, Mr. Bush orders the Coast Guard to halt all refugee boats and send them back. The Administration insists that anyone wishing to flee Haiti must apply at the U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince. But that would expose applicants to reprisals and exclude those who can't get to the capital.

The Administration's new policy has its priorities upside down. The U.S. turns its back on desperate Haitians but fails to do all it can to address the reasons for their flight. Instead of ordering the Coast Guard to intercept helpless boat people, the Administration needs to enlist European support for oil sanctions. A tight oil embargo could make the coup leaders compromise quickly. But if not, the O.A.S. and the Administration ought to consider a naval blockade. The best way to help the refugees is to oust their oppressors at home.

The Democrats Standing Small

Characterizing the beings.

animals over the interest favoring the interest: Species Act aims to the interests that it Among those who s and there is no effect comes ahead of all h it doesn't matter. An Species Act: "One job, L. Plummer write of it May 11), Charles C. M. In "The Noah Prin To the Editor:

The Owl's B

black and Latino men ; illies. Most important, th ; ke, with higher unemp ; tino men continues in it ; Marginalization of bl ; males and 4 percent to 1 ; of their bachelor degr ; universities awarded on ; tion. In 1988-89, those ; an increase in the colle ; has declined in recent ; New York metropolitan ; uate enrollment of bla ; On the college level, th ; suspended at an early ag ; and labeled as special f ; often separated within ; early age. Black and Lat ; young black and Latino ; start falling children, ; The study found that c ; institutions. ; tino men are deeply ro ; and social problems of bl ; Service, concludes that th ; Urban Research Center in ; and written by Walter Sia ; commissioned by our o ; "Cause for Alarm," a re ; Black Men" (editorial, Ma ; plight of young black me ; I commend you for spoli ; To the Editor:

For Young

THE NEW YORK TIMES EDITORIALS/LETTERS WEDN

eight-month failure to negotiate a new contract for its teachers.

Our schools are already coping with a serious teacher shortage, and without competi-

It's time for the mayor and other city officials to make an equal commitment.

It's time to give New York City's children the schools and the teachers they need to keep their hopes alive.



United Federation of Teachers

Sandra Feldman, President
260 Park Avenue South, New York, NY 10010.

ively sheltered anufacturing, is ving standards. tality is a font on and vigor. century is the h a wellspring, Henry Ford's bly, Japan has ies and prac- and ought to be pe, and Amer- y of issues to ese about. But lustrial base is cm.

to Try t Party

end the trial of the
unt could ensue.

Committee and their
who unsuccessfully
to seize power in the
on last August. After the
sup. Yeltsin banned the
Party in Russia.
Rumyantsev, a Russian
petitioned the Constitu-
ent earlier this month to
constitutionality of the
Vigorously opposed
individual Communists
Please see RUSSIA, A3

's Keep lonia a om Nation

WILLIAMS
TALK
... President
seems genuinely
how to bring life to
... the only former
... that has gained
... without provok-
... an leader has also
withdrawal of the
without either side
... as a scratch.
... y former Commu-
his impoverished
has managed to
anquility despite
... by Greece and
... ion by bellicose
... see GREEKS, A3

ELINE CALIFORNIA

IONS
vs Redux
lornet
Case

tery was en-
s Somebody
ing an and
... the ...



U.S. Returns 1st 38 Refugees Directly to Haiti

By KENNETH FREED
TIMES STAFF WRITER

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—
Wilson Destine was confused and
afraid when he walked slowly off
the U.S. Coast Guard cutter Escan-
aba here Tuesday morning. Instead
of the good life of Miami, he was
back in Haiti.

The 20-year-old Destine, who is
from the famine-stricken city of
Gonaives, and 37 others made up
the first group of Haitian boat
people brought here under a new
executive order by President Bush
requiring the Coast Guard to pluck
them from the sea and return them
without considering any request
for refugee status.

Destine had abandoned his wife
and 2-year-old son last Thursday
after paying \$20 for passage on a
homemade sailboat carrying him
and 19 others toward Miami. He
was seeking, along with thousands
of others, to escape the economic
and political misery afflicting this
tiny country since a Sept. 30 coup
overthrew the elected government
of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

"I had to go," he said. "There
was no work and no food. I haven't
had any work since the embar-
go"—a reference to the American
and hemispheric economic boycott
established to force the current
military-backed regime to restore
Aristide to office.

"We are very happy to be res-
cued," Destine said as he waited for
a Red Cross bus at the Port-au-
Prince dock. "But this is not what
we were looking for."

At the minimum, he had hoped
to be picked up and taken to the
U.S. naval base at Guantanamo
Bay, Cuba, where past refugees
Please see HAITI, A3

this rule, but without success.
Relying on a blizzard of post-
cards, the "direct marketing" in-
dustry has stalled measures in
Congress that would lift the tax-
free status of the industry.

"Targeting people is their busi-
ness, and they are very good at it,"
said a congressional aide, who
asked not to be identified. When-
ever Congress has considered such
legislation, "we get boxes and boxes
of postcards," he said.

Companies such as Sears and
J. C. Penney are usually required
to collect sales taxes on mail orders
because they also have retail out-
lets in a state. But the Supreme
Court has said states may not
collect money from out-of-state
firms that do not have offices,
stores or employees within the
state.

Operating under this tax-free
umbrella, mail-order sales have
boomed in the United States, up
from \$2.4 billion a year in 1967 to
Please see COURT, A8

Skepticism Greet Meeting Between Blacks, Koreans

By PATRICK LEE
and PENELOPE McMILLAN
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

Widespread skepticism surfaced
Tuesday over the announced rap-
prochement between black gang
members and Korean-American
merchants, with a spokesman for
the business owners saying that
proposals to create jobs and secure
financing to rebuild South Los
Angeles are still preliminary.

Meanwhile, new information
emerged about the criminal past, a
1988 fraud conviction, of James H.
Stern, the self-styled minister and
black community leader who first
broached the talks.

The unusual "summit" Monday
between a handful of gang mem-
bers and Korean-American mer-
chants had been hailed by some
community leaders as the first step
of an effort to bridge a chasm of

racial distrust and hostility that
was in part blamed for the targeted
looting and arson of Korean-
American-owned businesses dur-
ing the riots.

But David Kim, president of the
3,600-member California chapter
of the Korean-American Grocers
Assn., said Tuesday that the meet-
ing produced "no signed agree-
ment."

"We're very interested in what
they are offering," Kim said. "But
we have to take their suggestions
to the Korean community [in
meetings later this week]. We have
not concluded anything yet."

The proposals include placing a
branch of a Korean-American-
owned bank in South Los Angeles
to provide loans to African-Ameri-
cans, providing good-paying jobs in
Korean-American businesses to
four members of each of the area's
Please see FACT, A12

Las Vegas' Glitter Hides Seething Racial Tensions

■ Unrest: Violence, which erupted after the King
verdicts, is continuing. A decline in tourism is feared.

By DAN MORAIN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

LAS VEGAS—Behind the flow-

the reports of ongoing urban tur-
moil here. "As long as there aren't
riots on the Strip, you can still

HAITI: 38 Refugees Are Sent Straight Back

Continued from A1

have been quartered while their claims for political refugee status are processed.

At the most, he was counting on a new Coast Guard directive that allowed any seaworthy vessel to continue on to Florida—a directive overridden by the new presidential order. In either case, he said, he was hoping he would be allowed to seek asylum in the United States.

Rather than reaching either Miami or the tent city at Guantanamo, Destine's boat was stopped Monday. Its passengers were hauled aboard the Escanaba, where 18 other Haitians were already waiting, having been picked up from two other boats stopped during the weekend.

Bush's executive order, issued Sunday, eliminated both Miami and Guantanamo as possibilities, leaving only the option of applying directly to the U.S. Embassy in Port-au-Prince.

The directive was Bush's answer to a huge increase in Haitians seeking to reach Miami over the last six weeks. The refugee tide had swollen the Guantanamo facility to its capacity of 12,500. All told, more than 34,000 Haitians have been picked up since the exodus began in the weeks after the coup.

In arguing that the Bush order is not a brutal rejection of the hopes of Haitians with legitimate claims

to political asylum, U.S. officials said refugees may still apply for a hearing at the American Embassy.

But the scene at the Port-au-Prince dock Tuesday was far from comforting for the returnees, who seemed confused and frightened by the process—so much so, in fact, that only one man asked to be taken to the embassy.

According to U.S. officials, the refugees were "clearly told" of their options when the cutter docked.

However, the explanation was through an American interpreter. Another explanation was given at a processing center by a Haitian Red Cross official. "I didn't believe it," said one refugee, reflecting ordinary Haitians' almost automatic suspicion of any official.

Finally—and only after reporters commented that the refugees did not appear to understand what was happening—the Red Cross made another try as the Haitians were sitting in a Red Cross bus.

Only then did any of the Haitians show any interest. Destine, for example, asked one reporter if he would get into trouble if he went to the embassy. When told there are no guarantees, he said: "I don't want to ask, then. I don't want to get into trouble."

This brought a round of "Yes, that's right" from other passengers.

Only one refugee, Emile Millot of Abritot, said he wanted to try the embassy. He later showed up there along with 13 other Haitians, a number that took the embassy staff by surprise. Their chances of getting a hearing appeared slim, based on the experience of other refugees who have applied directly to the embassy since U.S. officials began processing such claims in February.

The first obstacle is a requirement that any application be made first by letter or telephone, a difficult prospect in a country with few phones and one of the world's highest illiteracy rates.

To date, only 279 such requests have been made, and of those, 113 were rejected out of hand, leaving only 166 judged as having a right to an appointment.

Of the 166, just 86 have been interviewed by the single U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service agent sent here on temporary duty; the rest are still waiting. Eight others were ruled ineligible by embassy officials without an interview.

Of the 86 interviewed, 70 are waiting for medical clearance or a private sponsor in the United States, meaning that after nearly four months, only 16 Haitian refugees applying for asylum under the only option provided by the Bush order have been sent to the United

States.

But even those 16 face an uncertain future, since they still must undergo a hearing before an immigration judge before winning the right to live legally in the United States.

Privately, U.S. officials say this is the way it should be, that nearly all the boat people are economic refugees simply looking for a better life, something American law excludes in considering asylum requests.

When asked why, then, that nearly a third of all the boat people reaching Guantanamo were judged by immigration agents to have a legitimate right to a hearing in the United States on their asylum requests, one U.S. official in Haiti said, "The INS people were overly lenient."

"I would say that 0.1% or 0.2% should have been let in," he added.

He attributed the higher Guantanamo rate to INS agents who do not know the situation in Haiti and "to efforts to put off political pressure" from Congress and Haitian refugee advocacy groups.

In New York, Michael Ratner, a lawyer with the Center for Constitutional Rights, said Tuesday that Bush's executive order "is a flagrant violation of the refugees' international rights." He referred to a United Nations protocol on the status of refugees, which was signed by the United States in 1968

Let Haitians Stay in U.S. Temporarily, Clinton Says

LITTLE ROCK, Ark.—Gov. Bill Clinton, drawing a sharp distinction between President Bush's policies and those he would follow as President, said America should allow Haitian refugees to stay pending resolution of their asylum appeals.

"We should continue to press for restoration of the elected government of Haiti, and until then I think the refugees should be given temporary asylum," Clinton told reporters here after voting in Tuesday's Arkansas primary.

Clinton said his difference with Bush on the issue stemmed from split philosophies.

"He [Bush] wants to send them back, even if some of them die on the way," Clinton said, "and I would let them stay here pending the restoration of a democratic government."

While Bush has said that the Haitian boat people are economic refugees, not political, Clinton disagrees.

"Insofar as they're economic refugees, it's in large measure because of the embargo that we're supporting," he said. "I think we should be supporting the embargo, but I think in the interim, while they are waiting for the restoration of the government, they should be given temporary asylum here."

Clinton did not say what he would do to ensure the return of the elected government, beyond saying that "we should continue to press" for it.

— Times Staff Writer

and which prohibits returning a refugee to a country where he or she is likely to face persecution.

Of the more than 34,000 Haitians stopped at sea since October, Ratner said, about 35% have eventually been permitted to come to the United States to pursue asylum claims. Thus, he added, "even by

the government's own standards, they are sending back that 35% who would be found to have fears of persecution. It's shocking in those terms."

Ratner said he will file a lawsuit this week to challenge the policy.

Special correspondent Mike Clary in Miami contributed to this story.

GREEKS: Macedonia

Continued from A1

Gligorov has even succeeded in soothing ethnic frictions where his Balkan neighbors have so miserably failed. But alone among former Yugoslav republics, Macedonia languishes in a diplomatic purgatory. More than half a year after declaring independence, the state remains thoroughly isolated because of a standoff with Greece

The U.S. government has been pushing Greece to drop what one diplomat termed "an irrational issue," but Secretary of State James A. Baker III made clear to Gligorov during a Washington visit this month that the United States would not move ahead of Europe on the question of recognition.

Macedonian leaders have offered to call their state New Macedonia



RUSSIA: Communist Party Trial?

Continued from A1

for trial as "overly dangerous."

But in today's Russian political context—where pro-Yeltsin forces sense that die-hard Communists are strongly entrenched and gaining in strength—exposing the party's misdeeds over its 73-year rule could be an effective way of snuffing out nostalgia for the simpler days of one-party rule.

"All the papers are filled with descriptions of how the democrats are now ruining the country," Rymanshev said in an interview outside the courtroom.

after unsuccessfully asking the high court to slap a moratorium on Yeltsin's ban so party bodies could meet again and choose representatives for the trial.

But the hearings will go ahead whether Gorbachev and the other ex-party officials attend or not, the Constitutional Court ruled.

A spokesman for Gorbachev contacted Tuesday night left his leader's options open.

"We are not planning our actions so far in advance," Alexander A. Likhotal said by telephone from the private foundation now headed by the former Soviet

SIR ANGUS OGILVY AND
HER ROYAL HIGHNESS PRINCESS ALEXANDRA
C/O HIS EXCELLENCY, THE AMBASSADOR OF
BRITAIN
THE BRITISH EMBASSY
3100 MASSACHUSETTS AVENUE, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20008



THE PRESIDENT

May 27, '92

Your Royal Highnesses -

Do you have a scrapbook?
If so here are a couple of reminders
to go in there. Reminders of a visit
that for the Bushes was
warm, full of laughter and just
plain fun. Please come back soon
and please tell Sir Angus
it was great seeing him
again -

Next time Camp David, old
clothes, no receiving line, open
fires and relaxation.

Respectfully

CC: (signed photo
and outgoing note
only)
Laurie Firestone
(FYI)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Brent Scowcroft



SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Wednesday, May 27, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (20 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:40 am	<u>The President departs for</u> <u>Annapolis, Maryland</u>	South Lawn (Trip Notebook to be forwarded in the morning)
10:15 am	<u>Arrives U. S. Naval Academy</u> <u>for Commencement Address</u> (McBride)	Annapolis
1:15 pm	<u>Arrives White House</u>	South Lawn
1:15 pm (45 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm (15 min)	<u>Meeting with Teddy Kollek,</u> <u>Mayor of Jerusalem</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately)	Oval Office
2:15 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:55 pm	<u>The President departs for</u> <u>Atlanta, Georgia</u>	South Lawn (Trip Notebook to be forwarded in the morning)
5:10 pm	<u>Arrives Mount Parin School</u>	Atlanta
5:20 pm	<u>Roundtable Discussion with</u> <u>Parents, Students and Faculty</u> (Rollins)	
5:50 pm	<u>Address Mount Parin School</u> (Rollins)	

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	05/27/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, May 27, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/1/2024	OA/ID Number: 90683-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

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

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

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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



6:35 pm

Arrives Stouffer Waverly Hotel
for Bush/Quayle '92 Fundraising
Dinner
(Kaufman)

8:00 pm

Departs Atlanta for Washington

9:45 pm

Arrives White House

South Lawn

7:06 POTUS In

7:34 Darman In

7:44 Skinner In

8:12 Darman, Skinner Out

8:22 Robert C. Laughter In

8:29 " " Out

8:34 Scowcroft, Howe, (b)(3) In

9:05 (b)(3) Out

9:12 Scowcroft, Howe Out

1:13 POTUS South Grounds

1:35 POTUS In

2:06 Richard Haass, Fitzwater, Scowcroft In

2:09 Mayor Teddy Kollek, Zalman Shoval,
Mark Parris In / 2:12 Fitzwater Out

2:31 Mayor Kollek, Shoval, Parris Out

2:34 Scowcroft, Haass Out

2:35 Fred Malek In

2:43 Fred Malek Out

2:47 Skinner In

UNP 05/26/92
7:00 pm