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

OA/ID Number: 90686
Folder ID Number: 90686-001

Folder Title:
Friday, June 5, 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. Outline	Re: Drop-By Meeting with Russian Ambassador Vladimir Lukin [originally closed as 01a]. (2 pp.)	6/4/92	(b)(1)	S
02. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made Meeting with Russian Ambassador Vladimir Lukin [originally closed as 01b]. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
03. Report	Re: [Government Report] [originally closed as 01e]. (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/05/92	(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: Friday, June 5, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: cap6130

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Date Closed: 9/9/2019

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Cc: daily
6/5

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 3, 1992 02 JUN 3 P8:3

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: ROGER B. PORTER *RBP*
SUBJECT: Letter from Jack Valenti

Jack Valenti has written on behalf of the Motion Picture Association (MPA) to raise several concerns regarding the Uruguay Round.

The U.S. film industry is a major exporter. As Valenti points out, it derives over 40 percent of its revenues overseas. Accordingly, MPA has aggressively challenged foreign barriers to U.S. films. It is particularly concerned about the European Community's broadcast directive, which imposes quotas on U.S. television programming. Its other priorities are ensuring a fair, non-discriminatory distribution of European copyright royalties ("national treatment") and protecting the "contract rights" of U.S. film companies.

USTR is pursuing these issues vigorously in the Uruguay Round. It may be exceedingly difficult, however, to persuade the EC to phase out its broadcast quotas. USTR is also working on Valenti's concerns about "national treatment" and "contract rights."

The principal objective of Valenti's letter is to ensure that his issues get high-level attention. He is concerned that the film industry's issues could be abandoned in a rush to an agreement.

The attached draft has been cleared with USTR and the NSC.

Recommendation

That you sign the attached response.

Attachments

Tab A Letter to Jack Valenti
Tab B Incoming

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

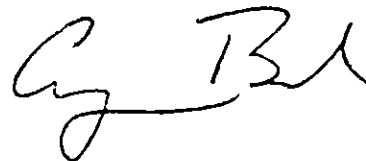
Dear Jack:

Thank you for writing on behalf of the Motion Picture Association to offer your thoughts on concluding the Uruguay Round.

I am convinced that the United States has entered a new era in which our access to global markets is vital to jobs, growth, and economic leadership. My instructions to Ambassador Hills are to negotiate a good Uruguay Round package, one that opens markets, expands American exports, and strengthens the global trading system. While the negotiations have been long and difficult, we have held the line against pressures to accept a watered-down agreement.

You make an excellent point about the importance of overseas markets to the American film industry. I know that Ambassador Hills fully appreciates your concerns about discriminatory foreign barriers to U.S. films and is doing her utmost to address them. Thanks again for your support, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "G. Bush". The signature is fluid and cursive, with the first name "G." and the last name "Bush" clearly distinguishable.

The Honorable Jack Valenti
President and
Chief Executive Officer
Motion Picture Association
of America, Inc.
1600 Eye Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20006


MOTION PICTURE ASSOCIATION
OF AMERICA, INC.
1600 EYE STREET NORTHWEST
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20006
(202) 293-1966
FAX: (202) 452-0823

Patty Presock

5/28

02 MAY 29 A 9:04

Phil:

POTUS has not seen, but
should since it's from Valenti
and he sent it to the
President (personal/confidential)

JACK VALENTI
PRESIDENT
AND
CHIEF EXECUTIVE OFFICER

Thanks.

Dear Mr President

Patty

I come to you because I think it wise and appropriate to alert you to a possible problem, of more than casual proportions.

The GATT talks may be heading toward a resolution if the agriculture tangle can be soothed and fixed. As it looks it might be.

Then we come to the potential problem: How one of America's most valuable trade prizes -- U.S. movies and TV programs -- will be treated in whatever is the final accord.

American films/TV programs/home video in 1991 attracted revenues of over \$5.6 billion in the international marketplace. In 1990, we returned to this country some \$3.5 billion in SURPLUS balance of trade, at a time when the phrase "surplus balance of trade" is seldom heard in the White House and on Capitol Hill.

American movies and TV programs have no peer in the world, which is why they are the USA's most wanted exports. They are dominant in just about every country where they are exhibited. The European and Asian goliaths of electronics, manufacturing and communications are unable to clone them, or duplicate them or match them. No wonder what we create, make and market is the envy of the world.

But all that is in danger. Hoisted on the spears of the European Community negotiators are banners reading 'Quotas,' 'National Treatment' and 'contractual rights.' Right now the EC has in place stern Quotas which prescribe how many hours of

European TV schedules may be granted to American programs. Right now, there is no standard of 'National Treatment' wherein American creative works are treated precisely like works of EC-origin. Right now, the EC is demanding that in any creative visual work, the 'director' becomes the author, not the producer, nor the company which invested all the funds to make the work. All three of these artificial hedgerows are intolerable to the American film/TV industry.

Ambassador Carla Hills and her band of first-class, skilled professionals are holding the line against the assaults of the EC bureaucracy. But what I fear, and fear mightily, is at two minutes to midnight when the pens are poised to sign, will the American movie/TV program be sacrificed 'in the larger cause?'

Mr. President, I know your plate is full. But I pray you will give this plea attention. I pledge you that if American visual products are thrown over the side in the final GATT agreement, then you will, in the years ahead, surely bear witness to the slow unraveling of one of America's most valued and valuable exports. Today some 40% of all the revenues of the American film/TV companies is extracted from international markets. Our profits are in international markets. Therefore, if those markets are increasingly barred to us, if our entry into these markets is hobbled, if our fair share of the audience is shrunk through artificial barriers, then the American movie/TV industry as we know it now will be shriveled.

The clock is ticking, Mr. President. Before the alarm goes off, I hope so very much you will make sure that a great American trade asset is allowed to compete fairly and openly throughout the world.

Sincerely,

and warmly
Jack

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

RZ

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1992

02 JUN 5 P1:50

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: SENATOR CLAIBORNE PELL (D-RI)

DATE: JUNE 5, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To seek his support for a balanced budget amendment in the Senate.

BACKGROUND: Senator Pell was an early supporter of the Simon balanced budget resolution. Senators Mitchell and Byrd, however, have been pressuring him to vote against the resolution. A call from you should offset this pressure.

KEY POINTS:

- I am calling to urge you to support the Simon balanced budget amendment that will come before the Senate in the next couple of weeks.
- I am convinced, more than ever, that Congress, and the Administration, need this discipline to stop these harmful deficits. We have tried many other approaches, but, obviously, none have worked thus far.
- Claiborne, we are saddling our grandchildren with too much debt. The deficit is on the verge of being completely out of control. We need to act now.
- So, I ask you to support the Simon resolution and oppose all efforts to kill the balanced budget legislation.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1992

12 JUN 5 P1:49

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALL BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: SENATOR WARREN RUDMAN (R-NH)

DATE: JUNE 5, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To ask him to come down to the White House next week to discuss the Balanced Budget Amendment.

BACKGROUND: Senator Rudman will be influential in the Balanced Budget debate, which may begin in the Senate as early as the week of June 15. There is a strong campaign building against the resolution in the Senate, spearheaded by Senators Mitchell and Byrd. Senator Rudman has supported balanced budget amendments in the past, but has been keeping his own counsel thus far. An actively supportive Rudman can be very helpful; an actively opposed Rudman can be fatal.

KEY POINTS:

- I would like to have you down next week to discuss the balanced budget amendment.
- I know there is a counter-offensive against the resolution in the Senate. I want you to know that I am firmly committed to the idea. This is not a political effort on my part.
- Warren, you know how difficult it is to get Congress, and the Administration for that matter, to make tough fiscal decision. I truly believe that we can make great progress on the deficit in the near term by having that balanced budget requirement hanging over our heads.
- Under the Simon resolution, the Administration would have to submit a balanced budget before Congress would have to pass one. I stand ready to do this.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

R

2 JUN 5 P4:11

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALLS BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congressman Lee Hamilton (D-IN)

DATE: June 5, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To persuade Congressman Hamilton to support the Stenholm (D-TX) Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

BACKGROUND: The House is scheduled to begin consideration of the various balanced budget Constitutional amendments on Wednesday. Recorded votes are expected on Thursday.

Congressman Hamilton is genuinely undecided about whether to support the Stenholm amendment. In general, he is reluctant to amend the Constitution but understands the need to impose some fiscal discipline in the current system. Congressman Hamilton's commitment to support the Stenholm amendment is vital in achieving the two-thirds margin needed to pass.

KEY POINTS: -- I'm calling to ask for your help in passing the Stenholm balanced budget amendment. I know you have some reservations about amending the Constitution. I can understand that. Normally, I'm not a big fan of amending the Constitution either.

-- But a couple of things outweigh that concern. First, the current system is out of control. And this is not a partisan thing. We all bear some of the blame for that, just as we all bear the responsibility for getting it back under control.

- But the other factor to take into consideration is what we're doing to future generations. What about those who have no voice in this debate: our grandchildren and great-children? Who's protecting their Constitutional rights?
- They're the ones who have to live with the consequences of our continuing to pile up hundreds of billions of dollars of debt, year in and year out. We are borrowing against their future and that has got to stop.
- I am now more convinced than ever that the time has come to move a balanced budget amendment forward. Can I count on your help?

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

June 5, 1992

ACTION:

R

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

2 JUN 5 P4:11

RECOMMENDED TELEPHONE CALLS BY THE PRESIDENT

TO: Congressman George Brown (D-CA)

DATE: June 5, 1992

RECOMMENDED BY: Nicholas E. Calio *NEC*

PURPOSE: To persuade Congressman Brown to support the Stenholm (D-TX) Balanced Budget Constitutional Amendment.

BACKGROUND: The House is scheduled to begin consideration of the various balanced budget Constitutional amendments on Wednesday. Recorded votes are expected on Thursday.

Congressman Brown is genuinely undecided about whether to support the Stenholm amendment. In general, he is reluctant to amend the Constitution but understands the need to impose some fiscal discipline in the current system. Congressman Brown's commitment to support the Stenholm amendment is vital in achieving the two-thirds margin needed to pass.

KEY POINTS: -- I'm calling to ask for your help in passing the Stenholm balanced budget amendment. I know you have some reservations about amending the Constitution. I can understand that. Normally, I'm not a big fan of amending the Constitution either.

-- But a couple of things outweigh that concern. First, the current system is out of control. And this is not a partisan thing. We all bear some of the blame for that, just as we all bear the responsibility for getting it back under control.

- But the other factor to take into consideration is what we're doing to future generations. What about those who have no voice in this debate: our grandchildren and great-children? Who's protecting their Constitutional rights?
- They're the ones who have to live with the consequences of our continuing to pile up hundreds of billions of dollars of debt, year in and year out. We are borrowing against their future and that has got to stop.
- I am now more convinced than ever that the time has come to move a balanced budget amendment forward. Can I count on your help?

DATE OF
SUBMISSION:

June 5, 1992

ACTION:

SECURE

**Presidential Phone Calls
Camp David**



DATE: 6-5- TIME: 4 17
incoming/outgoing

WITH: Bunt.

SUBJECT: Tracy refused to grant
injunctions Bunt

FOLLOW UP: _____

Presidential Phone Calls
Camp David



DATE: 6-5 TIME: _____

WITH: Bill Reilly in Brazil incoming/outgoing

SUBJECT: re Leahy NYT

FOLLOW UP: _____

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

Bill Rilly

FROM THE PRESIDENT

6-5

4 PM

To:

embarrassed
Brouthers on 6/10 doubt

As they were working on
it but then really
embarrassed.

Colin Kelly to say

One of 2 reporters
sold it - other

McIntosh

2nd reporter calls
and offer him it

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

To:

Reveling

① *With Schneider
NYT
Interview Material
AM*

② *Jas. Brooke
got FAX from
DC*

Wershoff - had

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Letter to him
U got him
come out well
C-7 trying to help
us.
UK trying help
financial language
Forestry - Census
trying - trying

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE:

FROM THE PRESIDENT

TO:

Libby 11th to
fly down.

June 5, 1992



R2
for personal
file

Annoyed at the leak on the front page of the NYT which humiliated Bill Reilly, I made a statement of support to the press during the Brutland photo op. Then faxed to Reilly the supportive statement. I called Bill. He tells me the story was leaked to the writer by the Comp. Councils McIntosh.

"One of the two reporters involved told 'us' this. A 2nd reporter was told that hwe could be faxed rthe document

Keith Schneider NYT interviewed McIntosh yesterday. Reporter Jas Brooke got the FAX from NYT DC office.

Bill is gopign to check. I asked if I could confront the McIntosh with this via VP he said no. He asserts that they have been doing thisd for some time.

ask Sam if that reporter wasin WH???-"

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

FROM THE PRESIDENT



June 5, 1992

Dear Chase:

Yes, I'll keep Harry Truman in mind.

These times have been weird, but I am convinced of two things:

1. I'll win
2. Perot will self destruct.

Rich Bond and many others disagree on Point 2; but I think it is beginning to happen.

Keep those Unterisms coming my way. Love to D.

FROM THE PRESIDENT

LETTER FROM CHASE UNTERMEYER

JUNE 2, 1992

Dear GB:

This letter is to offer unsolicited advice on the campaign -- Remember the 1948 election.

That was one of only two tough elections this century won by incumbent Presidents. (The other was Woodrow Wilson in 1916.) You recall that in addition to a GOP ticket composed of the governors of the two largest states, Truman had to worry about a Democratic left that had split off with Henry Wallace and a right wing that had split off with Strom Thurmond.

When I say to remember 1948, I don't mean the cartooned way people tend to think of it: "Give 'Em Hell Harry" campaigning against Congress. That was not the real story of that election; that was just the style Truman adopted for the race. The real story is that he preserved the Democratic coalition that elected FDR four times (union members, minorities, and the Solid South). The base held together just enough for the Democrats to win again.

Therefore, HST's lesson for GB in '92 is to gear everything you and the campaign do to the old-fashioned, grass roots politics of preserving the Reagan-Bush coalition one more time. Your reelection may come down to a simple matter of whether the GOP delivers its bedrock vote to the polls in the right number of states to yield an Electoral College majority. This could well do the trick in which there is low voter turnout born of general disgust with politics.

Thanks for letting me opine.

All is well and progressing at VOA. I had an excellent 3-week swing through Africa, ending with nine days for South Africa (where Diane joined me). In July we go to Morocco to drop in on Freck and Vanessa Vreeland.

Our best to you and BPB.

Chase

daily 6/5



June 5, 1992

Brent:

Attached is a memo
from Robson on Antall
of Hungary, apparently
very sick.

I'd like to call him
to wish him
well. Please set up for
Monday.

GB

4

FROM THE PRESIDENT



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

June 5, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

John E. Robson

GER

Earlier this week I was in Budapest and had a long and wide-ranging visit with Prime Minister Antall. He appeared a bit pale but was alert, strong and on top of things. After the formal meeting we met one-on-one for a few minutes. I told him privately that he was greatly admired and respected in the U.S. and that was why we were so concerned about his health. He referenced your letter and expressed his deep appreciation for your attention to his problem. He said he was or would be undergoing radiation and chemotherapy and that the treatment was in no way interfering with his work. In fact, he said, the illness had made him better arrange his priorities because "an officer surrounded by enemy troops thinks more clearly." He expressed optimism about the future and specifically and emphatically asked me to pass along to you his warmest personal regards.

daily

Mr. H. Wayne Huizenga
Chief Executive Officer
Blockbuster Entertainment
Corporation
901 East Las Olas Boulevard
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301

CC: 
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)



THE PRESIDENT

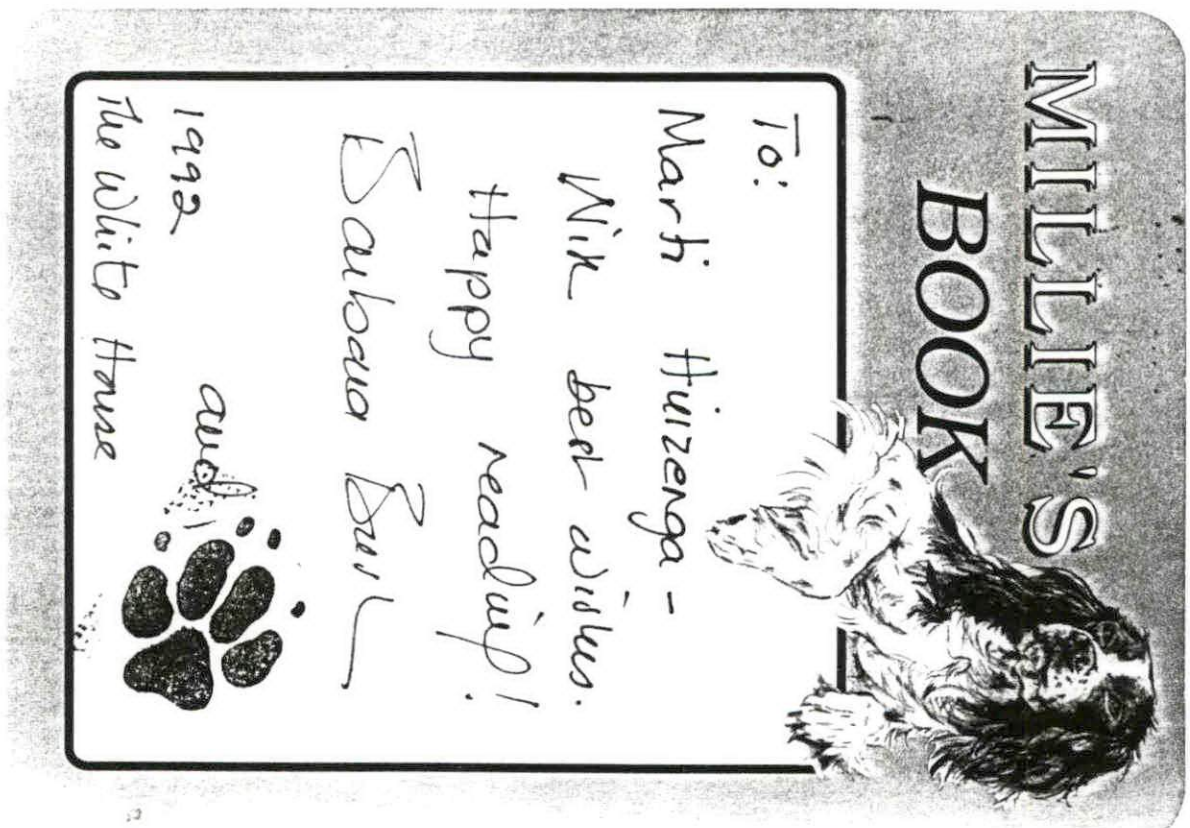
June 5, 1992

Dear Wayne,

Neil told me that your Marti had a Millie's Book.
Perhaps this book plate from Barbara will fit in the
front of the book somewhere.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,



FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Daniel S. Goldin
Administrator
National Aeronautics and Space
Administration
600 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20546



THE PRESIDENT

June 5, 1992

Dear Dan:

It was great to see you at Goddard last Monday.
I really enjoyed the tour and it was a pleasure
meeting some of the NASA team.

The Space Center served as a perfect venue to
announce our new environmental initiatives. Thanks,
too, for your kind introduction.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Bill Clinton".

CC: Rose Zamaria
(2 cc)

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Dr. John Klineberg
Director
Goddard Space Flight Center
Code 100
Greenbelt, Maryland 20771



THE PRESIDENT

June 5, 1992

Dear John:

Just a quick note of thanks for all you and the people of Goddard did to make last Monday's event such a success.

Goddard provided a wonderful venue to announce our new environmental initiatives. Thanks, too, for the all-too-brief tour of the Space Flight Center.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", written in a cursive style.

CC:
Rose Zamaria
(2 cc)



June 5, 1992

Brent:

Attached is a memo
from Robson on Antall
of Hungary, apparently
very sick.

I'd like to call him
to wish him
well. Please set up for
Monday.

GB

A handwritten mark, possibly initials or a signature, consisting of a stylized 'A' or 'M' shape.

FROM THE PRESIDENT



THE DEPUTY SECRETARY OF THE TREASURY

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20220

June 5, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: John E. Robson

Earlier this week I was in Budapest and had a long and wide-ranging visit with Prime Minister Antall. He appeared a bit pale but was alert, strong and on top of things. After the formal meeting we met one-on-one for a few minutes. I told him privately that he was greatly admired and respected in the U.S. and that was why we were so concerned about his health. He referenced your letter and expressed his deep appreciation for your attention to his problem. He said he was or would be undergoing radiation and chemotherapy and that the treatment was in no way interfering with his work. In fact, he said, the illness had made him better arrange his priorities because "an officer surrounded by enemy troops thinks more clearly." He expressed optimism about the future and specifically and emphatically asked me to pass along to you his warmest personal regards.



THE PRESIDENT

Dear Tom -

Thanks for your note
re: Antall, a good man.

GB

6-5-92

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable John E. Robson
Deputy Secretary
U.S. Department of the Treasury
15th and Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20220

(By Courier)



June 5, 1992

Dear Jack,

I got a message from New York stating that you had given a real stem winder in New York at the State Convention- very supportive and strong.

Many many Thanks,

Hangin !

GB
GB

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Jack Kemp
Secretary
U.S. Department of Housing and
Urban Development
451 Seventh Street, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20410

FROM THE PRESIDENT

Daily 6/5

To Ron Kaufman
1992



5,

With Reference to Lynn Lawson's memo, please be sure that whoever was concerned in NY understands that our withholding decision on Rio was not vacillation, but rather using or proposed presence to leverage the negotiations .It is important, the issue having been raised that the record is set straight.

(see last para Lawson memo to me 6-1-92

I will write a note to Sec. Kemp, thanking him for his stellar performance.

GB

h

cc: Sam Skinner

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 1, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR ~~RONALD C. KAUFMAN~~ THE PRESIDENT

FROM: LYNN LAWSON
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR
OFFICE OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS

SUBJECT: NEW YORK REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE MEETING

The New York Republican State Party convened yesterday. The three hundred GOP members unanimously endorsed Senator Al D'Amato as the Republican candidate for the U.S. Senate general election. D'Amato addressed the group promising to, "stand up for the little guy."

Elections for Republican National Committee positions were also held. Knowing that he did not have the votes, Dick Rosenbaum withdrew from the contest for National Committeeman. He proceeded to deliver a fervent speech on the importance of including an abortion-rights plank in the national convention platform. Rosenbaum had held the National Committeeman position for 15 years. Joe Mondello was elected as Republican National Committeeman. Mondello is the current Republican County Chairman in Nassau County, the strongest Republican county in the state. The President supported Mondello for the National Committeeman post in 1988. Eunice Whittlesey was re-elected as National Committeewoman. She has served in that position since 1977.

According to State Chairman, Bill Powers, Secretary Kemp delivered the "greatest support speech" that Powers has ever heard. Kemp's remarks were extremely supportive of the President and the Administration.

Bill Powers held an executive session with his county chairman and aggressively declared the importance of their performance in support of the President (and in preparation for the gubernatorial election in 1994). He identified a certain percentage for each county to produce and told the chairmen that if that percentage was not met, they would be replaced. He told the group that it is not Perot that is being tested, but rather their own operations.

Powers did mention that there was a fair amount of discontent throughout the membership regarding what they identified as a lack of a message from the President. They specifically cited economic leadership and referenced the Rio trip, stating that it was important to have made a decision and moved ahead rather than having publicly debated whether it was correct or incorrect to attend.

MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
June 5, 1992

ACTION

1. Message for the 1992 Republican National convention program (again)
2. Message for the Eisenhower Leadership Award presentation to General Scowcroft
3. Letter to David Hibbs Donnan re Los Angeles disturbance
4. New York Republican State Committee Meeting Letters to Richard Rosenbaum, Eunice Whittlesey, and Joseph Mondello
5. Daily point of light letter for June 9, 1992 (to be framed for presentation)
6. Thank you letters requested by the President for the Arizona Leadership.
7. Response to Jack Valenti re the Uruguay Round.
8. Proposed Executive Order Entitled "Blocking Property of and Prohibiting Transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)."
9. Response to Mary Fisher re her Testimony at the Platform Hearings on AIDS.
10. Response to Elvis Mason re Dallas Event.
11. Recommended Telephone Calls to Senators Pell and Rudman and Congressmen George Brown and Lee Hamilton re the Balanced Budget Amendment (faxed to Mil. Aide at Camp David).

CLASSIFIED

1. Presidential Letters for Mali's Presidential Inauguration.
2. Memo on Poland Strategy and Letter to Lech Walesa.

INFORMATION

1. Deland memo re the President's meeting with Prime Minister Brundtland on 06/05

2. Kaufman note attaching the APN Bulletin Board -- quote from Ed Rollins

REMARKS

1. Radio Address - Reading Copy.
2. PM Major Arrival.

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 5, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

President Bush last week approved a National Space Policy Directive establishing a focussed national effort to improve the world's ability to detect and document changes in the Earth, especially the global climate.

This policy directive, which was developed by the National Space Council chaired by Vice President Quayle:

- Establishes a comprehensive, multi-agency effort to collect, analyze, and archive space-based observations on global change. This Space-based Global Change Observation System (S-GCOS) will be led by NASA with participation from other government agencies.
- Directs that NASA's Earth Observing System (EOS) be developed using small and intermediate sized satellites. Through the use of advanced technology and reduced design complexity, these satellites can be acquired more quickly and at less cost than previously planned. This will allow the timetable for obtaining critical data on global change to be accelerated.
- Assigns global change observation functions, including the development of technology, the collection of data, and the archiving of information, to NASA and the Departments of Energy, Commerce (NOAA), Interior and Defense.
- Encourages international cooperation in global change observation from space and directs the Department of State to provide support to the implementing Agencies.

This directive augments previous Presidential directives and recognizes the recommendations of the Earth Observing System Engineering Review Panel.

#

Attachment

SPACE-BASED GLOBAL CHANGE OBSERVATION

I. Introduction

The U.S. Global Change Research Program (USGCRP), is a key component of the nation's overall approach to global stewardship and is one of the nation's highest priority science programs. This program's goal is to provide a sound scientific basis for developing national and international policy relating to natural and human-induced changes in the Earth system. The ultimate success of the USGCRP depends upon an integrated set of ground- and space-based observation and research programs. The United States is planning and implementing a series of satellite missions that include NASA's Mission to Planet Earth, related environmental satellites, and activities of other agencies to provide these global observations for the next several decades. For the purposes of this document, these systems are collectively referred to as the Space-based Global Change Observation System (S-GCOS).

II. Objectives

a. General

The Space-based Global Change Observation System will provide space-based global observations which together with other observations and studies, coordinated through the U.S. Global Change Research Program, will provide the scientific information to help understand the Earth system.

b. Specific

In support of the USGCRP the S-GCOS shall:

1. Improve our ability to detect and document changes in the global climate system to determine, as soon as possible, whether there is global warming or other potentially adverse global environmental changes; and, if changes are detected, determine the magnitude of these changes and identify their causes.

2. Provide data to help identify and understand the complex interactions that characterize the Earth system in order to anticipate changes and differentiate between human-induced and natural processes.

3. Provide for a data system to manage the information collected by S-GCOS as an integral part of the Global Change Data and Information System, consistent with the USGCRP data policy.

4. Provide for the development and demonstration of new space-based remote sensing technologies for global change observation and identify candidate technologies for future operational use.

III. Implementing Actions

This directive provides guidance to agencies developing, deploying, operating or supporting S-GCOS elements to acquire and manage relevant observations and data sets for the USGCRP.

a. International Cooperation

It is recognized that the goals and objectives of the U.S. Global Change Research Program can best be achieved through the mutually-reinforcing research of all nations and many organizations and programs which require a large measure of bilateral and multilateral cooperation. Accordingly, participating agencies may explore, in accordance with this directive and established procedures, international cooperation in space-based global change observation.

b. Interagency Coordination

Space-based Global Change Observation System activities are conducted in the context of the USGCRP. The Federal Coordinating Council on Science, Engineering, and Technology (FCCSET), through its Committee on Earth and Environmental Sciences (CEES), is responsible for developing and coordinating the USGCRP, and for the activities and requirements of the USGCRP and, therefore, for the Space-based Global Change Observation System. All S-GCOS agencies shall participate with other USGCRP agencies and the CEES in the development and coordination of the Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan. The provision, management, and exchange of data will be a key element of the USGCRP.

The CEES will coordinate the interagency development of the Global Change Data and Information System (GCDIS) which integrates appropriate observations, regardless of platform basing mode or orientation of data (land, oceanographic, atmospheric, or space). All agencies involved with S-GCOS will participate with other USGCRP agencies in planning for the GCDIS, with a goal of maximizing the system's interoperability. Data sets intended for the GCDIS shall be responsive to the requirements of, and be accessible to, global change scientists and U.S. Government authorized research and operational users.

c. National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA)

The National Aeronautics and Space Administration is the lead agency for planning Space-based Global Change Observation System activities, and is responsible for developing and operating the NASA component of the S-GCOS. This component shall be developed to provide maximum program flexibility within budget constraints. As part of the USGCRP, NASA shall:

1. Lead the development and preparation of a coordinated interagency Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan, to be delivered to the National Space Council (NSpC), National Security Council (NSC), the Office of Science and Technology Policy (OSTP), and the Office of Management and Budget (OMB) by the CEES through FCCSET. This plan will guide agencies' S-GCOS activities.

2. Continue with the Mission to Planet Earth by conducting the ongoing development, operation, and scientific use of instruments and satellites designed to observe and monitor processes that govern key aspects of global environmental change.

3. As part of the Mission to Planet Earth, develop the Earth Observing System (EOS), comprised of intermediate and small sized satellites as recommended by the EOS Engineering Review Panel.

4. Plan and develop, in an incremental and evolutionary manner, the EOS Data and Information System (EOSDIS), which is the NASA part of the data and information system for S-GCOS. This data and information system shall be compatible with other parts of the USGCRP Global Change Data and Information System, and able to incorporate, as appropriate, currently available Earth observations, such as those from Landsat, and provide an active archive for S-GCOS system data sets. Prototype versions of this system, using existing Earth observations, shall be constructed to demonstrate system utility and functions.

5. Develop new instruments and space systems for global change monitoring, utilizing technologies from NASA and other S-GCOS agencies. A plan for related NASA research and development activity shall be integral to the interagency coordinated Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan.

d. Department of Energy (DOE)

The Department of Energy shall participate with NASA and the other appropriate S-GCOS agencies in developing satellite systems to maintain data continuity for the understanding of the Earth's radiation budget, starting in 1995, consistent with the Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan.

The DOE shall participate with other S-GCOS agencies in conducting research and development for advanced technologies that can offer promise of increased performance and/or lower cost for advanced long-term global change monitoring systems. A plan for related DOE research and development activity shall be integral to the interagency coordinated Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan.

e. Department of Defense (DoD)

The participation of the Department of Defense in the Space-based Global Change Observation System shall consist of related activities derived from current and planned DoD programs. DoD, in cooperation with the Director of Central Intelligence, as appropriate, will identify those technologies and programs that support the S-GCOS and shall seek to make appropriate technology and data from those programs available. DoD may also seek to identify and take advantage of S-GCOS programs and capabilities, as appropriate.

f. Department of Commerce (DOC)

The Department of Commerce, through the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA), shall participate in the collection, processing, archiving, retrieval, and use of oceanic- and atmospheric-oriented data and shall, consistent with the Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan, provide for the permanent archiving, management, access, and distribution of oceanic and atmospheric Earth science data sets for global change research, including data sets obtained by the S-GCOS. DOC/NOAA shall work with other appropriate agencies to transition, as appropriate, systems, technology, and/or sensors developed for use in the S-GCOS to operational use. The Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan shall include a discussion of the criteria related to the desirability and economic feasibility of transitioning specific S-GCOS assets to operational use.

g. Department of the Interior

The Department of the Interior shall assist in the collection, processing, archiving, retrieval, and use of land-oriented data and shall, consistent with the Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan, provide for the permanent archiving, management, access, and distribution of land-oriented Earth science data sets for global change research, including data sets obtained by S-GCOS.

h. Department of State

The Department of State has a role in Space-based Global Change Observation with respect to international agreements, significant activities or arrangements with foreign countries, international organizations, or commissions where the United States and one or more foreign countries are members. Prior to discussions between participating agencies and foreign entities that could reasonably be expected to lead to such agreements, activities, or arrangements, the Department of State shall be consulted and, as appropriate, shall coordinate interagency review of the proposed U.S. position to ensure consistency with U.S. foreign policy, national security, and economic interests, and satisfaction of applicable legal requirements. This shall not affect the ability of participating agencies to explore, in accordance with established procedures, scientific, technical, and programmatic aspects of proposed international cooperation that do not involve commitments or foreign policy concerns.

IV. Reporting Requirements

a. NASA shall lead the preparation of a coordinated and integrated interagency Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan that shall be forwarded by the CEES through FCCSET to the NSpC, NSC, OSTP, and OMB not later than July 1, 1992. This plan shall address the S-GCOS architecture, existing and planned S-GCOS satellite systems, technology development activities, sensor suites, launch systems, supporting agency contributions and the data and information systems.

b. Each March, FCCSET/CEES shall prepare and forward a Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Report on the progress and accomplishments of the S-GCOS to the NSpC, NSC, OSTP, and OMB. The Space-based Global Change Observation System Program Plan will meet this requirement for 1992.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 5, 1992

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

BLOCKING PROPERTY OF AND PROHIBITING TRANSACTIONS
WITH THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA AND MONTENEGRO)

By the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, including the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701, et seq.), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601, et seq.), section 1114 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended (49 U.S.C. App. 1514), section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287c), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, in view of United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 757 of May 30, 1992, and in order to take additional steps with respect to the actions and policies of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the national emergency described and declared in Executive Order No. 12808,

I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, hereby order:

Section 1. Except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses which may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order, and notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order, all property and interests in property of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and property and interests in property held in the name of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia or of the former Government of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, that are in the United States, that hereafter come within the United States, or that are or hereafter come within the possession or control of United States persons, including their overseas branches, are blocked.

Sec. 2. The following are prohibited, notwithstanding the existence of any rights or obligations conferred or imposed by any international agreement or any contract entered into or any license or permit granted before the effective date of this order, except to the extent provided in regulations, orders, directives, or licenses which may hereafter be issued pursuant to this order:

(a) The importation into the United States of any goods originating in, or services performed in, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), exported from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) after May 30, 1992, or any activity that promotes or is intended to promote such importation;

(b) The exportation to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), or to any entity operated from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), or

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owned or controlled by the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), directly or indirectly, of any goods, technology (including technical data or other information controlled for export pursuant to the Export Administration Regulations, 15 C.F.R. Parts 768, et seq.), or services, either (i) from the United States, (ii) requiring the issuance of a license by a Federal agency, or (iii) involving the use of U.S.-registered vessels or aircraft, or any activity that promotes or is intended to promote such exportation;

(c) Any dealing by a United States person related to property originating in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) exported from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) after May 30, 1992, or property intended for exportation from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) to any country, or exportation to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) from any country, or any activity of any kind that promotes or is intended to promote such dealing;

(d) Any transaction by a United States person, or involving the use of U.S.-registered vessels and aircraft, relating to transportation to or from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), the provision of transportation to or from the United States by any person in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) or any vessel or aircraft registered in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), or the sale in the United States by any person holding authority under the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended (49 U.S.C. 1301, et seq.), of any transportation by air that includes any stop in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro);

(e) The granting of permission to any aircraft to take off from, land in, or overfly the United States, if the aircraft, as part of the same flight or as a continuation of that flight, is destined to land in or has taken off from the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro);

(f) The performance by any United States person of any contract, including a financing contract, in support of an industrial, commercial, public utility, or governmental project in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro);

(g) Any commitment or transfer, direct or indirect, of funds, or other financial or economic resources by any United States person to or for the benefit of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) or any other person in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro);

(h) Any transaction in the United States or by a United States person related to participation in sporting events in the United States by persons or groups representing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro);

(i) Any transaction in the United States or by a United States person related to scientific and technical cooperation and cultural exchanges involving persons or groups officially sponsored by or representing the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), or related to visits to the United States by such persons or groups other than as authorized for the purpose of participation at the United Nations.

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Sec. 3. Nothing in this order shall apply to (i) the transshipment through the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) of commodities and products originating outside the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and temporarily present in the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) only for the purpose of such transshipment, and (ii) activities related to the United Nations Protection Force (UNPROFOR), the Conference on Yugoslavia, or the European Community Monitor Mission.

Sec. 4. Any transaction by any United States person that evades or avoids, or has the purpose of evading or avoiding, or attempts to violate, any of the prohibitions set forth in this order is prohibited.

Sec. 5. For the purposes of this order:

(a) The term "United States person" means any United States citizen, permanent resident alien, juridical person organized under the laws of the United States (including foreign branches), or any person in the United States, and vessels and aircraft of U.S. registration;

(b) The term "the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)" means the territory of Serbia and Montenegro;

(c) The term "the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)" includes the government of the newly constituted Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Government of Serbia, and the Government of Montenegro, including any subdivisions thereof or local governments therein, their respective agencies, instrumentalities and controlled entities, and any persons acting or purporting to act for or on behalf of any of the foregoing, including the National Bank of Yugoslavia, the Yugoslav National Army, and the Yugoslav Chamber of Economy, the National Bank of Serbia, the Serbian Chamber of Economy, the National Bank of Montenegro, and the Montenegrin Chamber of Economy.

Sec. 6. The Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is hereby authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, and to employ all powers granted to the President by the International Emergency Economic Powers Act and the United Nations Participation Act, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of this order. Such actions may include prohibiting or regulating payments or transfers of any property, or any transactions involving the transfer of anything of economic value, by any United States person to the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), any person in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), or any person or entity acting for or on behalf of, or owned or controlled, directly or indirectly, by any of the foregoing. The Secretary of the Treasury may redelegate any of these functions to other officers and agencies of the United States Government, all agencies of which are hereby directed to take all appropriate measures within their authority to carry out the provisions of this order, including suspension or termination of licenses or other authorizations in effect as of the date of this order.

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Sec. 7. All delegations, rules, regulations, orders, licenses, and other forms of administrative action made, issued, or otherwise taken under Executive Order No. 12808 and not revoked administratively shall remain in full force and effect under this order until amended, modified, or terminated by proper authority.

Sec. 8. Nothing contained in this order shall create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by any party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

Sec. 9. (a) This order is effective immediately.

(b) This order shall be transmitted to the Congress and published in the Federal Register.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 5, 1992.

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THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 5, 1992

The President today announced the appointment of Laura M. Melillo as Special Assistant to the President and Deputy Press Secretary. She would succeed Gary Foster.

Since 1987, Ms. Melillo has served in various capacities at the White House in the Office of the Press Secretary. She has served as Staff Assistant, 1987-1989; Assistant Press Secretary and Television Coordinator, May 1989 to present; and Director of the Lower Press Office in overseeing the daily operations of the press office, August 1989 to present.

Ms. Melillo was graduated from Miami University in Oxford, Ohio (B.S., 1987). She was born March 21, 1965, in Louisville, Kentucky and resides in Alexandria, Virginia.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 5, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESIDENT

The President has signed the United States instrument of ratification of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. A United Nations treaty, the Covenant articulates the principles inherent in a democracy -- including freedom of expression and peaceful assembly, equal protection under the law, and the right to liberty and security.

By ratifying the Covenant, the United States is underscoring its commitment to these principles at home and abroad. We hope that our ratification of the Covenant will contribute to the fostering of democracy and human rights throughout the world.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 5, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President met for approximately 40 minutes this morning with Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway. They discussed the Rio environmental conference, from which Prime Minister Brundtland had just come, and the roles of technology, alternate sources of fuel, and policies that are both environmentally and economically sound. The President stressed the strong leadership role the U.S. has played and his continuing commitment to improving the environment.

The two leaders also reviewed various issues of European security and agreed on the importance of U.S. global leadership and a continuing strong U.S. military presence in Europe as essential to peace and stability.

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THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 5, 1992

TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES:

On June 1, 1992, pursuant to section 204(b) of the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1703(b)), and section 301 of the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1631), I reported to the Congress by letters to the President of the Senate and the Speaker of the House, dated May 30, 1992, that I had exercised my statutory authority to issue Executive Order No. 12808 of May 30, 1992, that declared a national emergency and blocked "Yugoslav Government" property and property of the Governments of Serbia and Montenegro.

On May 30, 1992, the United Nations Security Council adopted Resolution No. 757 calling on member states to impose a comprehensive economic embargo against the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro). Today I have taken additional steps to ensure that the economic measures we are taking with respect to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) conform to United Nations Security Council Resolution No. 757 of May 30, 1992.

Specifically, pursuant to the International Emergency Economic Powers Act (50 U.S.C. 1701, et seq.), the National Emergencies Act (50 U.S.C. 1601, et seq.), section 1114 of the Federal Aviation Act of 1958, as amended (49 U.S.C. App. 1514), section 5 of the United Nations Participation Act of 1945, as amended (22 U.S.C. 287c), and section 301 of title 3 of the United States Code, I have issued a second Executive order, "Blocking Property of and Prohibiting Transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)," a copy of which is enclosed.

Among other things, the order that I have issued on this day:

- prohibits exports and imports of goods and services between the United States and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), and any activity that promotes or is intended to promote such exportation and importation;
- prohibits any dealing by a U.S. person in connection with property originating in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) exported from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) after May 30, 1992, or intended for exportation to any country, and related activities;
- prohibits transactions related to transportation to or from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), or the use of vessels or aircraft registered in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), by U.S. persons or involving the use of U.S.-registered vessels and aircraft;

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- prohibits the granting of permission to any aircraft to take off from, land in, or overfly the United States if that aircraft is destined to land in or take off from the territory of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro);
- prohibits the performance by any U.S. person of any contract in support of certain categories of projects in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro);
- continues to block all property of the Government of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), as well as assets of the former Government of the Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, located in the United States or in the possession or control of U.S. persons, including their foreign branches; and
- clarifies the definition of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro).

Today's order provides that the Secretary of the Treasury, in consultation with the Secretary of State, is authorized to take such actions, including the promulgation of rules and regulations, as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the order.

The declaration of the national emergency made by Executive Order No. 12808 remains in force and is unaffected by today's order.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
June 5, 1992.

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SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Friday, June 5, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:45 am (10 min)	<u>Tape Radio Address</u> (Smith)	Cabinet Room
10:00 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
10:30 am (30 min)	Meeting with Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
11:00 am (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:30 am (30 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
12:00 pm	B <u>Depart for Camp David</u>	South Lawn
12:30 pm	B <u>Arrive Camp David</u>	
	B <u>RON Camp David</u>	

UNP 06/04/92
5:00 pm

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

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12:30 pm	B <u>Arrive Camp David</u>	
	B <u>RON Camp David</u>	

UNP 06/04/92
5:00 pm



P.M.
Harlem
Brundtland

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Outline	Re: Drop-By Meeting with Russian Ambassador Vladimir Lukin [originally closed as 01a]. (2 pp.)	6/4/92	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, June 5, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 9/9/2019	OA/ID Number: 90686-001
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

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made Meeting with Russian Ambassador Vladimir Lukin [originally closed as 01b]. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, June 5, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 9/9/2019	OA/ID Number: 90686-001
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

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PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President

Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President for National
Security Affairs

Ed A. Hewett, Senior Director for Russian and Eurasian Affairs,
NSC Staff

Nicholas Burns, Director for Russian and Eurasian Affairs,
NSC Staff

RUSSIA

Vladimir Lukin, Russian Ambassador to the U.S.

Andrei Kolosovskiy, DCM, Embassy of the Russian Federation

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4306

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 4, 1992

MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND OF NORWAY

DATE: June 5, 1992

LOCATION: Oval Office

TIME: 10:30 - 11:00 am

FROM: BRENT SCOWCROFT

I. PURPOSE

To signal continued American appreciation for Norway as a valuable friend and ally.

II. BACKGROUND

KEY POINTS

- Reaffirm our support for Norway's application for EC membership.
- Emphasize the continued importance of a strong NATO and U.S. intention to remain a permanent part of European Security.
- Underscore our shared concerns for the environment.
- Update the Norwegians on our program of assistance to Russia and the other states of the CIS.

During this private meeting with you, Prime Minister Brundtland will want to discuss environmental issues (she stops in Rio before coming to Washington), the Western response to the problems and needs of Russia and the other states of the former Soviet Union, NATO and European Security, the debate in Norway over EC membership, and the situation in Yugoslavia.

You will remember from your previous meetings with her that Brundtland is an avid supporter of environmental issues. She may want to share her initial impressions of the Rio conference. She is particularly interested (as are all the Nordics) in issues dealing with energy efficiency and ways to solve the problems of sustainable development. Aid to the countries of the former Soviet Union in the area of energy efficiency and nuclear safety are of particular concern.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

DECLASSIFIED
PER NSC WAIVER, #202102
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

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A key Norwegian foreign policy goal is to establish a cooperative working relationship with Russia. Brundtland reportedly favors Western aid on the scale of the Marshall Plan and lays great importance on the program of support we have undertaken. Norway's highest priority for aid is northwest Russia and it focuses on Poland and the Baltics as secondary targets. You may want to ask about several unique initiatives they are pursuing in their dealings with these states.

Norway remains staunchly in favor of a strong NATO and of a strong U.S. role in the security of Europe. But the Norwegians are broadening their view of security and see roles for other institutions as well. They want to see CSCE take on such issues as environmental dangers, uncontrolled refugee flows, and nuclear safety. They favor peacekeeping operations in which CSCE could call on NATO for support.

Although committed Atlanticists, the Norwegians do feel that as the drive toward unity accelerates in Europe, they stand increasingly on the margins. Therefore, EC membership dominates debate in Norwegian politics. Brundtland came out April 4 in favor of membership to generally widespread support. Norway's opposition Conservative party has long favored membership, but the issue remains highly charged nevertheless. The recent voting down in Denmark of the Maastricht Treaty, moreover, may raise new problems for Brundtland. You may want to learn her assessment of where things stand.

III. PARTICIPANTS

A Participants List is attached at Tab B.

IV. PRESS PLAN

Open photo, writing pool.

V. SEQUENCE

Photo Op followed by private meeting in Oval Office.

Attachments

Tab A	Points to be Made
Tab B	Participants List
Tab C	Bio

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR MEETING WITH
PRIME MINISTER GRO HARLEM BRUNDTLAND OF NORWAY

- Welcome. Congratulations on your commencement address at Harvard yesterday.
- Let me say at the outset how much we appreciate Norway's steadfast commitment to NATO and to good U.S.-Norwegian relations.
- Norway has always been a rock-solid ally and that means a great deal to me and to the American people.

AID TO THE FORMER SOVIET UNION

- We appreciate your active participation in international efforts to aid the FSU.
- We are following with interest your "Barents Region" and "Euro-Arctic" initiatives to stimulate economic development and engage Russia in constructive regional activities. How are these proceeding?
- We share your concern over nuclear safety issues in these states.
- We appreciate Norway's support for the civilian reactor safety initiative we proposed at the Lisbon Coordinating Conference. We'd like to work closely with you on this initiative.
- We have worked hard with several former Soviet republics to avoid the proliferation of nuclear weapons states.
- Science and Technology centers in Russia and Ukraine should help prevent proliferation of special weapons expertise.

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PER NSC WAIVER #2021-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

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URUGUAY ROUND

- I remain committed to working hard for a successful Uruguay Round regardless of our electoral season.
- There is modest progress in U.S.-EC talks on agriculture which I hope can be translated into agreement soon.
- We hope you will join us in urging others to generate more forthcoming market access offers and progress on services.

YUGOSLAVIA

- We think that the UN sanctions on Serbia send a clear message that aggression will not be condoned.
- Addressing the massive refugee problem this conflict has generated remains a task for us all. We are exploring ways that we can do more to help.

NATO AND EUROPEAN SECURITY

- Our commitment to Europe is firm. We support development of a European Security Identity that strengthens NATO.
- Like you, we support the development of the WEU within the framework agreed in Rome and Maastricht. But it must be complementary to the Alliance.
- We fully understand your interest in participating as an "associate member" in the WEU where European security matters are being discussed.
- We have concerns about the way the Franco-German corps could develop, as I believe you do. We do not want a public row, but the key now is to make sure the Corps develops links that put it back into the Rome/Maastricht framework.
- We do not want it to undercut NATO or our ability to maintain U.S. troops in Europe.

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- We think NATO has a role to play in the management of future conflict in Europe. We made some progress in this sense at the NATO ministerial in Oslo this week.
- I am looking forward to the July Summit in Helsinki. CSCE has played an important role in managing change in Europe precisely because it is a flexible, political process which balances and links our security, economic and human rights objectives.

UNCED AND THE ENVIRONMENT

- I understand you have already been to Rio and will return for the conclusion. What are your first impressions?
- I know we disagree on some issues, but we share a desire for a successful conference outcome and a constructive, pragmatic global agenda for sustainable development.
- We firmly believe that environmental protection and economic growth can, and must, go hand in hand.
- One of our major goals for UNCED is to promote the protection of global forests.
- I have just proposed a major new initiative to double the resources provided by the developed countries for the protection of the world's forests. We are prepared to offer an additional \$150 million for international forest assistance.

NORWAY'S MEMBERSHIP IN THE EC (If Raised)

- We fully respect the position you have taken in favor of joining the European Union.

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- The U.S. has long supported European integration in the belief that a strong, united Europe is also a strong partner for peace and prosperity.
- How is the EC debate playing out in Norway? What is the effect of Denmark's June 2 referendum on your debate?

HOLST'S NATO CANDIDACY (If Raised)

- I know Defense Minister Holst has thrown his hat into the ring for the NATO Secretary General position. He is a good man, but we are not yet endorsing anyone for the job.

WHALING (If Raised)

- Many Americans would not want to see a resumption of commercial whaling at this time.
- The International Whaling Commission serves a very useful purpose and we strongly hope Norway will fashion its whaling policy within IWC guidelines.

INVITATION TO VISIT NORWAY (If Raised)

- As General Scowcroft told Ambassador Vibe (VEE bay), I would consider a visit to Oslo a high priority in a second term of office.

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PARTICIPANTS

U.S.

The President
Brent Scowcroft, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Arnold Kanter, Under Secretary for Political Affairs
Mary Ryan, Deputy Assistant Secretary for
European and Canadian Affairs
Robert Hutchings, Director, European Affairs, NSC Staff

NORWEGIAN

Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister
Kjeld Vibe, Ambassador
Svein Roald Hansen, State Secretary
Morten Wetland, Director General

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Report	Re: [Government Report] [originally closed as 01e]. (2 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
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WHORM Cat.:
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- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

DATE: June 5 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

The Stakes in North Korea

THE FIRST international visit to a North Korean nuclear facility has produced some new uncertainty about Korean weapons intentions and capabilities and has given extra urgency to an imminent first formal inspection. What is at stake is not simply whether, as some experts suspect, North Korea is engaged in a grave episode of cheating. The further peril would be that the international system constructed to police nuclear miscreants can be used and exploited by a determined and technologically adept government to convey a false all-clear.

The trouble arises from a mid-May visit to the formerly secret North Korean nuclear plant at Yongbyon by Hans Blix, director of the International Atomic Energy Association. He found that, notwithstanding repeated North Korean denials, a plant is being built to reprocess nuclear fuel into plutonium usable in nuclear arms, and it has already produced some of this substance. Communist North Korea's record of secrecy, violence, treachery and deceit make this discovery cause for international alarm.

But much remains to be known. Among the analysts there remains one set of differences over whether to regard North Korea as still essentially out of its technological depth in trying

to build a bomb or as in fact possessing the high-tech capability to carry off a successful weapons project. This issue cuts considerably deeper than the familiar question of the timetable on which North Korea might develop a bomb. There is another set of differences over whether to regard Pyongyang as a regime that is permanently deviant and self-isolated or one that can gradually be drawn into regularity by the diplomacy of enticement—trading off a bomb for international acceptance—as the United States, Japan and South Korea are now attempting.

At Yongbyon, a full IAEA inspection, which is coming, may help bring some further clarity. But even if it does show that whatever North Korea is doing at that place can be safely explained and contained, the possibility lingers that the country has simply opened up the nuclear plant it built for show, while it continues to conceal the plant it built for business. In short, international safeguards can only bring so much comfort. As long as North Korea remains a totalitarian state, it will remain a menace. It is necessary to push the procedures of international nonproliferation policy as far as they can go. But it is also necessary to realize their political limitations.

Bouncing Back?

TUESDAY TURNED out to be a pretty good day for check-bouncers. Three in the top 35 among present members on the House Bank overdraft list won contested primaries. In California, Rep. Barbara Boxer (33rd on the list of current members with 143 overdrafts) defeated two major rivals to win the Democratic nomination for the Senate seat being vacated after 24 years by Alan Cranston.

In Ohio, Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (26th on the list with 213 overdrafts) won the Democratic renomination, though barely, with 39 percent of the vote in a crowded field. Also in Ohio, Rep. Bob McEwen (29th on the list, 166 overdrafts) narrowly defeated fellow incumbent Rep. Clarence Miller (no overdrafts) for the Republican nomination in a district where both had been thrown by redistricting.

We hardly mean to suggest by this that the House Bank scandal hasn't taken a toll (though in our judgment, the scandalous aspect has been overblown). Several members have been defeated in primaries or forced into runoffs partly because of it, notably senior Arkansas Democrats Bill Alexander (defeated) and Beryl Anthony (runoff) and Kentucky Democrat Carroll Hubbard (defeated) only a week ago. A number have plainly been driven to retire by their banking problems as well—and the election is a long way from over.

But the question occurs nonetheless: What if the bank scandal and the supposed upheaval this year in the House generally turn out to be less vast and convulsive than commonly supposed? It's happened before. As the institution's defenders point out every time the critics attack the high reelection rate of

incumbents, there's always some turnover in the House; the turnover rate is higher than the reelection rates in excess of 95 percent would lead you to believe. More than half the current members of the House have been there less than 10 years.

This year so far, 67 have either stepped down or been beaten. But 13 of these are, like Rep. Boxer, seeking higher office; that is, by the way, about an average number. Another 11 have been beaten in primaries—but that, too, is about an average number for a redistricting year. In 1962, 12 were beaten in primaries; in 1972, the same number; and in 1982, 10. Five of those defeated in primaries have been defeated like Mr. Miller by fellow incumbents against whom they were pitted by redistricting.

Another 43 members have retired. That is a higher figure than in any other recent year and may go higher still. In several cases it is a clear reflection of disillusionment with Congress, which exists within the demoralized House about as much as it does within the public at large. But even the retirement rate should be kept in perspective. Forty-three is indeed a big number, but in at least two recent years—1974 and 1978—the number was 34. Of the 43 retirees, 11 are over 70, and another five are 65 or more. The retirees, too, include some victims of redistricting.

It may well be that this is the year it will finally happen; the earthquake will hit; a fed-up public will finally throw *all* the rascals out, or near enough. The turnover is already high and is expected to break a record. But a lot of things are going on out there; it's misleading to lump all the turnover under one heading.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

THE WORLD OF GEORGE BUSH



For the Record

From Alexander Kippen's "Fox Morning News" interview with Rep. Dan Glickman (D-Kan.) yesterday:

Q: The last time the House chose the president was 1824. That's a long time ago. What sort of focus is required now?

A: The 12th Amendment is very vague. It just says that if no one candidate gets a majority of the electoral votes, it comes to the House. There are no formal rules. We rely on precedent. The last time we did it was a long time ago. We did it then in total secret, where nobody knew what was happening. . . . We've got to set the rules now so that they're not done in the middle of a crisis, after a possible election that doesn't produce a clear winner. . . .

Number one . . . the process ought to be open to the public as opposed to what it was in 1825, where it was closed.

Second . . . if a state is not able to decide because of an even distribution of members of Congress, like four and two vote one way and two vote the other way, the state gets zero votes in the process. And that is based on the tradition of 150 years ago. We could change that to permit a state to vote with a plurality of votes, so if you had four in a state, two might vote one way, one another way and one a third way. . . .

Q: Well, one of the things that would happen, if predictions are correct at least, is that you might have a variety of new members ending up voting. . . . Some say 100, some say 150 new members. What do you think the impact of having a flood of new members voting for the president would be?

A: I think people are going to want to do this process right and that you will not necessarily have any more chaos because you have a lot of new members, but they're going to need guidance.

The Free Trade Rush to Mexico

The Post's two-part series on U.S.-Mexican trade ["Trading Partners: America Looks to the South," May 17, May 19] amounts to unabashed cheerleading for the administration's trade initiative. The opposition of organized labor, environmentalists and human rights organizations is dismissed in seven lines of type.

The reporters cite a study by the Institute for International Economics stating that the North American Free Trade Agreement would have a "relatively small impact" on the U.S. work force. But they note without elaboration that economic studies do not agree and are not exact.

They could have cited a study by the Economic Policy Institute that projects the loss of 550,000 high-wage U.S. jobs over 10 years, or a study by economists at the University

of Massachusetts that predicts the relocation to Mexico of 260,000 to 439,000 jobs during the eight years following an agreement.

In a sidebar on Trico Products' relocation in Mexico, a former Carter administration official is quoted as saying the debate is skewed by complaints from those who have lost their jobs, while U.S. workers who have gained jobs are not being heard from.

Indeed, those workers and the jobs they have "gained" are an important part of the story. Post reporters could have found them flipping hamburgers or cleaning office buildings—part of the low-wage service sector of the U.S. economy that has been booming while the manufacturing sector is crushed under the "free trade" steamroller of the Reagan and Bush administrations.

The Post has uncritically accepted the arguments of the administration and its corporate clients that the transfer of hundreds of thousands of jobs south of the border is necessary for U.S. industry to be competitive in the global marketplace.

Yet the first example cited—the General Electric Co. gas-range assembly in Mexico—has little or nothing to do with international competition. GE makes those stoves for the U.S. market and faces almost no foreign competition at home. It moved to Mexico for only one reason: to increase its profit margins by exploiting cheap labor.

To illustrate its case for the NAFTA, The Post chooses Ford's Hermosillo plant, where workers make nearly \$2 an hour to produce Escorts and Tracers, which formerly were made in the United States. While the Mexican workers may feel fortunate to have those jobs, they are nonetheless being exploited, as are the American consumers who still pay the same sticker price for those automobiles while Ford pockets the change.

In addition, the lack of environmen-

tal regulations and job-safety standards makes the NAFTA dangerous to workers on both sides of the border. Those serious concerns deserve serious attention and should not be ignored because of the preconceptions of Post reporters.

If the NAFTA is completed as it is now being fashioned by the Bush administration, without addressing standards for worker and environmental protection, U.S. wage and social standards will sink to the lowest common denominator, and this nation will have to abandon any hopes of being globally competitive.

The American labor movement believes in trade, and lots of it. But that trade should benefit the workers and consumers of both countries.

THOMAS R. DONAHUE
Secretary-Treasurer
American Federation of Labor and
Congress of Industrial Organizations
Washington

Budget Projections

Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney stated that "at the height of the Vietnam conflict, 45 percent [of the federal budget] went for defense. At the peak Reagan years . . . 27 percent of the federal budget went for defense" [For the Record, May 24]. What he did not say is that trust funds such as Social Security were not part of the federal budget in the 1960s, as they have been since the early 1970s. If the trust funds are added for the year Secretary Cheney used (1968), the percentage of the budget that went for defense drops to 35.6 percent.

Secretary Cheney further stated that if the president's program is approved, "only 16 percent of the federal budget will be spent on defense" in 1997. That does not mean a substantial drop in defense spending, however. That figure comes from projecting a dramatic increase in "payments to individuals"; it means a projected total budget of roughly \$1.5 trillion.

ANNE M. RICE
Great Falls

Denmark Votes No

BY A HAIRLINE majority, and to their own surprise, Denmark's voters have now at least temporarily derailed the drive toward European political and economic union. What comes next? One possibility is a sweeping revision and dilution of the Maastricht Treaty that would commit the 12 members of the European Community to a common currency and a common foreign policy. There's growing public resistance, the argument goes, to such a radical leap.

But the European Community—led by the two countries that count most, France and Germany—has firmly reiterated its intention to proceed. In a dramatic gesture, French President Francois Mitterrand has called for a referendum to demonstrate that the French voters are with him. If they vote yes, the community is then likely to revise the treaty only to remove the present requirement for unanimity.

That would open the prospect of a split-level European Community, with a central core of countries proceeding rapidly toward union and an outer fringe of others with varying economic relations to them. The Maastricht treaty already hints of that possibility.

In all of this contradictory pushing and pulling, the end of the Cold War is a powerful influence that makes it easier for small countries such as Denmark to

declare their independence of their larger neighbors. The Soviet threat no longer keeps Western Europe neatly glued together. But it's precisely for that reason that both France and Germany have decided to move fast toward union. For Germany, union provides assurance that it will not find itself adrift and isolated in central Europe as the old military alliances fade. For France, it's a guarantee that Germany will never again be tempted to play east against west.

In this country, there's been a lot of uneasiness that the rise of the European Community will diminish American influence. But this drive toward European union ultimately serves American interests. The 12 countries of the community have 345 million people, economic output equal to the United States's and enormous military power. To have these formidable resources under divided and disparate political leadership does nothing for Europe's stability.

That's why Europeans first invented the community a generation ago, and most of them think that the original logic still holds. In their joint declaration, Mr. Mitterrand and German Chancellor Helmut Kohl made it explicit that they intend to proceed toward union on the Maastricht schedule whether the Danes—and, by implication, others—choose to come along.

Firing on the NRA

PERSIAN GULF WAR commander, retired Gen. Norman Schwarzkopf, has joined the ranks of some world-class sports shooters who have drawn a bead on the National Rifle Association. They have taken aim at the NRA's dominant, if not domineering role, in the staging and organizing of shooting sports. Gen. Schwarzkopf's grievance was settled the old-fashioned way—he took on the NRA directly. The athletes, on the other hand, are carrying on their fight indirectly through the U.S. Olympic Committee. How this will end up is anyone's guess. But if as a result of these skirmishes, competitive sport shooting becomes more independent of the NRA's political agenda, then the salvos have been worth it.

Gen. Schwarzkopf let fly at the way the NRA handled money raised by a shooting tournament he hosted last fall in Florida. When money from the event was not contributed to the shooting team as expected, he marched on the NRA. "I got a whole bunch of humma-humma and soft-shoe. But eventually what I got was the NRA contributed \$59,000," he said. The event lost money, so Gen. Schwarzkopf was lucky to get that, countered the NRA. But the NRA is not getting the final shot. To guard against a similar misfire in the future, Gen. Schwarzkopf has decided to keep the NRA off his range when he stages next year's tournament for the Miami Project for the Cure of Paralysis.

The general's gripe comes on the heels of concerns expressed by a small group of U.S. sports shooters who fear that wider public favor for their sport is being discouraged by the politically active NRA's role as national governing body for sports shooting under the U.S. Olympic Committee. Two years ago, more than 300 displeased shooters complained to the Olympic Committee that the NRA's Independent Competitions Committee, the governing body for shooting sports, was not insulated enough from the NRA as required by the Amateur Sports Act of 1978. It turns out they scored a bulls-eye.

The NRA has now proposed changes to restructure the ICC. Some of the changes will help—the NRA's power over the ICC charter and president has been reduced—but the shooters' ties to the NRA are far from severed, as some athletes and even perhaps some fans would like. On that score, the NRA asks who will replace the estimated \$2.7 million it contributes annually in money and services to shooting sports if the NRA is removed as the governing body. That is a fair question, too. But given the NRA's unrelenting pursuit of its political objectives, Olympic trap, skeet, rifle and pistol shooting events might draw broader support and sponsorships if they were NRA-free.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Rabin Rides High

JERUSALEM—At stake in Israel's most important election is the health of its relationship with the United States, and Washington is the silent supporter of Labor Party candidate Yitzhak Rabin.

If he wins away from the conservative Likud Party hundreds of thousands of Sephardic Jews from North Africa who resent dominance by the European Ashkenazi Jews, Rabin will return to power, and U.S.-Israeli relations will instantly brighten. He would become Israel's next prime minister, though most likely in a "unity" government with Likud sharing power.

The bitter struggle between Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir's government and the Bush administration over the peace process is the backdrop for this campaign. The delicate question of American support for Israel depends in no small part in the outcome of the June 23 balloting.

Now 70, Rabin is at the pinnacle of personal popularity. He is campaigning as though there were no tomorrow. Tuesday evening in the high-tech town of Nes Ziona, he bounded up the steps to the podium in the packed municipal auditorium and thundered his standard message, which runs as follows:

Shamir has made a "joke" of the peace process. How could the Likud leader be for peace when he failed to support his old leader Menachem Begin's Camp David triumph? He has squandered billions on West Bank settlements instead of taking care of Russian Jewish immigrants. Was fear of Shamir's unpopularity the reason Likud derailed for this election a new law under which the prime minister would be popularly elected?

Although preelection polls here are sometimes misleading, the latest poll,

reported in the newspaper Hadashot, puts Labor ahead of Likud with the seminal lower-income, blue-collar vote by 3 to 2, a reversal of four years ago.

If the trend holds, the reason is not the economy, despite high unemployment. It is the rift that Shamir allowed to open between Likud's top leaders and Foreign Minister David Levy, the chief of the North African Sephardim. Levy almost walked out of Likud to form his own party, and his followers are bitter over his humiliation. It is too late for Shamir to repair the rift.

Actually, Likud's campaign is not in the hands of Shamir, 77, but in its second echelon future leadership. Articulate, publicity-smart and extremely attractive, these younger Likudniks are known as the "the princes." They embody Likud's hard-nosed ideological commitment to Eretz (Greater) Israel and expanding settlements in occupied Palestinian territory.

Their strategy is to demean Rabin as a figurehead who would be silenced in a left-wing Labor government. Rabin, hero of the 1967 Six Day War, "will not be the dominant figure in a Labor government," wrote hard-line Likudnik wise man Shmuel Katz in the Jerusalem Post. Power would be held by those who "wish to see Israel enclosed within the 1949 Armistice lines."

Rabin is sublimely untroubled by the campaign of old-pro Likudniks to downgrade him as Israel's foremost military hero and portray him as an incipient drunk. North African Jews defecting from the Likud Party are not buying that story. Nor are the Russian Jewish immigrants who had been expected to support Shamir but are now moving by better than 2 to 1 to Rabin.

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Thomas R. Carper

No Alternative to a Balanced Budget Amendment

Thomas Jefferson—one of the more progressive thinkers of his day—was perhaps the first Democrat to promote a balanced budget amendment to the Constitution some 200 years ago. Jefferson put it this way: "I wish it were possible to obtain a single amendment to our Constitution . . . taking from the federal government the power of borrowing."

Soon both houses of Congress will vote on an amendment that is far less Draconian than what Jefferson sought. It would require that the president propose a balanced budget each year. And while Congress would be unencumbered in its ability to alter the president's budget priorities, the amendment would require a three-fifths vote of the House and Senate to unbalance the budget.

Critics of this amendment would have people believe that either (a) it would have no effect because future Congresses and presidents would find ways to circumvent its intent, or (b) it would cause enormous anguish because of the devastating cuts in spending and tax hikes that future presidents and Congresses would be compelled to make. Both cannot be right. More likely, neither will be.

From 1981 to 1991, our nation's indebtedness rose from roughly \$1 trillion to \$3.6 trillion. Economists of all stripes tell us that runaway deficit spending and the debt it creates are

helping to undermine our standard of living as a nation. Alice Rivlin, a former director of the Congressional Budget Office, told the subcommittee on economic stabilization, of which I am chairman, that "persistent budget deficits [in the 1980s] produced a slower-growth economy, trade deficits and growing foreign ownership of U.S. securities and physical capital." She went on to say, "If Americans are to live better in the future, they need to save more and channel those savings into productivity-enhancing investment."

If, instead, we continue to use our meager savings to finance government deficits, she maintains, we can expect "low investment, stagnant productivity growth, continued trade deficits and growing obligations to send interest, dividends and profits overseas."

No one running for president apparently has a realistic plan for restoring fiscal sanity in America. If they do, they are (wisely) keeping it to themselves. Woe to the candidate for president or Congress who tells the voters that we need to make some sacrifices today to ensure that our kids will have a life as good as or better than our own.

The cynical response of some critics to the amendment is a case in point. They use frightening predictions of deep program cuts to mobilize

the opposition of powerful special interests. But away from the cameras, many of those same critics bemoan the explosion in entitlement spending that helps propel skyrocketing deficits. Absent from their critique are budget-balancing alternatives that would work.

Not that we haven't tried. For the past decade, we have sought to grow our way out of budget deficits. We have created statutory fixes such as Gramm-Rudman and sequestration. We've held budget summits and passed a five-year deficit reduction plan. But when the pinch comes, Congress and the president too frequently bypass our budget laws. We enact "dire emergency supplemental appropriations," and we adopt changes to programs such as the Older Americans Act that increase benefits but provide no new revenues. It's not surprising that in 1985, the year Congress passed Gramm-Rudman, the deficit was \$212 billion, and in this, the second year of the 1990 Budget Enforcement Act, the deficit stands at \$365 billion.

My 10 years in Congress and six years as Delaware's state treasurer have convinced me that the single most important factor in balancing budgets, at least during periods of economic expansion, is strong executive leadership. If a governor or a president is unwilling or unable to

lead on highly contentious budget issues, there is little chance legislative bodies will do it on their own. During the past 12 years, as our debt increased fourfold, Congress often disagreed with spending priorities of the president, but the amount of funds appropriated has been almost identical to the amount proposed by the White House.

Fiscal integrity must begin with the president. But no one running for that office, and too few candidates for Congress, have the political courage to tell the American people: We are living well beyond our means as a nation, and it must end or our economy and standard of living will suffer.

The truth is that we've tried just about everything else. None of it has worked. The amendment we propose, which will take effect in fiscal year 1997 or three years after its ratification by 38 states, is not the fiscal ball and chain its critics portray. It is a practical and flexible framework for sound fiscal policy. It's time for Congress, and especially my fellow Democrats, to heed the call of our Founding Father and pass this amendment to the Constitution.

The writer is a Democratic representative from Delaware and co-author of the balanced budget amendment to be considered by the House.

William Raspberry

Perot: I Don't Get It

If you want to put someone down these days, you don't speak meanly of his ancestry, politics or religion. You assume an air of false sympathy and say: "You know, he just doesn't get it."

Well, I'm not exactly volunteering for the put-down *du jour*, but when it comes to that phenomenon called Ross Perot, I just don't get it.

I understand the anti-Washington (and by extension, anti-politician) mood that is abroad in the land, and I can see that to some extent it explains the voters' disaffection with mainstream candidates.

But these same disaffected voters passed up the chance to nominate a different sort of candidate. The straight-talking Tsongas, the war-hero Kerrey, the folksy Harkin, the anything-but-mainstream Brown, the in-your-face Buchanan—all were badly beaten. The regular party nominees are familiar, unexciting types.

I can even understand how the voters can cast a ballot for a Clinton or a Bush while wishing they had some tastier selection on their electoral menu. What I don't understand is what there is about Perot that satisfies that yearning.

He's neither handsome nor (by my lights) charismatic. He offers no quick fix for the country's vexing economic, moral or racial problems. He doesn't hint conspiratorially that your enemies are his enemies. He's rich, of course, and thus by definition an American success. But so is Lee Iacocca, and nobody's writing in his name.

I understood Reagan. I didn't care for him, but I understood why a majority of the American voters did. He had this vision of America that was a combination of big-screen westerns and war flicks: of uncomplicated men, tall in the saddle, ready to risk everything to right a wrong or help a neighbor. (It helped if the wrong was clear-cut and personal and if the neighbor was of a sort that could fit in.) His world was painted in reassuring broad stripes: good guys and bad guys, freedom lovers and commies. He had a terrific sense of humor (including the joke on himself) and seemed more at ease with himself than anyone else I've known.

What's Perot's appeal?

Marilyn Berger, a former colleague who's become a Perot volunteer, tried to explain in an op-ed piece in *The Post* the other day. Listen:

"I first fell for Perot last March when he was asked at the National Press Club about his views on abortion. He didn't have to weigh his response. 'I think this is the woman's decision,' he said. ...

That's straight talk. He was just as

straight on gun control, and I'm confident that he's now working on a way to do what he said he would do: 'Get the guns out of the hands of the bad guys.'"

Now isn't that interesting? Not the abortion piece; Berger's pro-choice stance reflects the view of, I'd say, 95 percent of the women in the major media. What I find interesting—and befuddling—is Berger's segue from Perot's desire to "get the guns out of the hands of the bad guys," a sentiment that would pass without dissent at a board meeting of the National Rifle Association, to her confidence that he's already working on getting it done.

If it were only Marilyn Berger, I'd dismiss it. But apparently voters across the country are reading solutions into Perot's vaguest expressions of problems. He says we need to balance the federal budget, cut spending, get our allies to pay their fair share of our mutual defense, restore the national economy, take care of our children's future, improve our health care—goals with which no one would disagree. But other candidates have to produce detailed policies. Perot has only to say he desires a thing, and the voters think it's as good as done.

Inconsistency and just plain silliness don't count against him. Gaffes that would destroy another candidacy are forgiven by sundown.

Imagine Tsongas announcing that he would eliminate the federal deficit "without breaking a sweat" by eliminating fraud and waste, collecting unpaid income taxes and chopping Social Security and Medicare—and then announcing a few weeks later that the figures on which he had based this no-sweat miracle were "unreliable."

Imagine Clinton saying that no homosexual could hold high office in his administration. The media would have him "explaining" all the way to the convention. Imagine anybody else proposing seriously to settle questions of public policy through some sort of electronic call-in show. We'd laugh him or her right out of the race.

But not Perot. I've heard the explanations that don't explain. Americans are sick of politics as usual, ready for a candidate who won't suck up to the special interests, enamored of Perot's image as a tough little can-do guy. I've heard people declare their admiration for Perot—their willingness to stake America's future on him—without knowing (or seeming to care) whether he's a Democrat or a Republican, a progressive or a conservative, an egalitarian or a bigot, an original thinker or an Amway agent.

I just don't get it.

Charles Krauthammer

Too Soon for Intervention

As the slaughter in Yugoslavia continues, the calls grow louder for America to intervene. The calls come not just from where you would expect—from suffering Croats and Muslim Slavs, helpless before Serbian advances. Some calls are coming from anxious Europeans alarmed by the European Community's failure to manage the crisis, others from Americans outraged by the human toll of Europe's first shooting war in more than 40 years. Yesterday, Senate Foreign Relations Committee Chairman Claiborne Pell said that "the United States acting in the Security Council should consider immediate military action to stop the killing now."

There is no doubting the motives of those calling for intervention. But there is reason to doubt their wisdom.

When Yugoslavia first dissolved into civil war, the United States recused itself from the conflict and let Europe take the lead. Observer missions and endless mediations proved Europe's impotence. Moreover, in a chilling echo of pre-World War I Balkan alliances, Germany lined up with Croatia and Slovenia, while France was decidedly more pro-Serbian. Europe was paralyzed. It did nothing to stop Serbia from grabbing one third of Croatia and then 70 percent of Bosnia in a vicious "cleansing" campaign to create a Greater Serbia.

It was not until last week that the U.N. was galvanized to any real action—sanctions—against Serbia. And that was only because the United States finally took the lead, reinforcing the cardinal rule of the new world order that nothing of importance gets done unless America does it.

But what should we do? The interventionists want more than sanctions. They want action. They are motivated first by genuine humanitarian concern. The people of Bosnia and Croatia are quite defenseless. Though one reason for that, as former NSC official Peter Rodman points out, is the folly of the earlier blanket U.N. embargo on arms to all sides of the conflict. That did nothing to hamper the Serbs, who have all the assets of the Yugoslav army at their disposal. It simply left Bosnia and Croatia disarmed and helpless.

The humanitarian impulse is commendable. But foreign policy is not philanthropy. American soldiers are not to have their lives risked for reasons of compassion. There have to be vital American interests at stake.

Do we have any in Yugoslavia? Some say what is at stake is America's reputation and credibility as the guarantor of international stability. What kind of guarantor are we if we allow Serbian aggression to go unchecked? Will that not encourage some future dictator, say, a Russian dictator, to gobble up neighbors the way Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic is gobbling his?

Perhaps. But America's role as major guarantor of stability in the post-Soviet world cannot possibly mean that we must extinguish every conflict. If we did that, we would bleed ourselves dry in every discontented corner of the globe.

American credibility was well enough established in the gulf. We showed that when our national interests as well as our sense of justice are engaged, we can muster the will and the might to intervene and prevail. The only real question for us in Yugoslavia is whether our vital interests are at stake.

At the present time, the answer must be that they are not—so long as the Yugoslav war remains local. A regional war would be a different proposition. Serbia's recent expansion of the war into Bosnia indicates that Serbia might well be prepared to attack next in Macedonia or Kosovo. That could ignite a general Balkan war involving Greece, Albania, Bulgaria and, possibly and most disastrously, Turkey, America's foremost Islamic ally and the Western linchpin in Central Asia. A general Balkan war would deeply threaten Europe, Turkey, the Western alliance—in sum, American interests.

That is why the administration was justified in pushing the U.N. to send Serbia a message with sanctions. The message is this: We are not prepared to roll back your current conquests in Croatia or in Bosnia. But we aim to contain you. Don't push us. And don't push neighboring states. A general war in the Balkans is one that we will not tolerate.

Intervention may yet become necessary. But it is not so yet. Moreover, what would we do now? There is talk about the U.N. securing the Sarajevo airport to allow the passage of humanitarian aid to beleaguered civilians. A commendable humanitarian aim—as commendable as our humanitarian aims in Beirut, 1982.

There, too, we secured an airport. There, too, we sat in the middle of a savage, centuries-old ethnic conflict. There, too, we thought that the title "peace-keeper" would immunize us from the ferocious hatreds surrounding us.

To sit in Sarajevo would be a monumental folly. If the Yugoslav war spreads and we are forced to intervene, the intervention must not be passive (Beirut-style) or incremental (Vietnam-style). It must be decisive, gulf war-style. That means using air power rather than slugging it out on the ground against guerrilla forces. And it means going to the source—Belgrade, like Baghdad—hitting the vital military and political centers of the Serbian regime.

This course, should we come to it, will not be painless. But it has the virtue of not being mad. Madness lies with passive, incremental or ground-based intervention. And most of all, with premature intervention.

Stephen S. Rosenfeld

Clean Up, Pay Up

The idea of the environment as an issue drawing the world's peoples together in happy and united pursuit of global good did not survive the opening of the Earth Summit, the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development, in Rio de Janeiro. A good thing, too. The idea was irredeemably sentimental from the start. The sooner it is accepted that the contentions and costs of caring for the environment are as heavy as those of bringing development to the world's poor, then the sooner everyone can get on with the job.

Not that too many of us are yet ready for the extra burden. But the pressure and consciousness are building to move that way. It becomes increasingly plain that the end of the Cold War has opened up the whole new arena of the environment to the Third World in its striving for a larger share of the fruits of technology and social progress. The politics of the environment now comes of age.

The aid offered by the First World of the industrialized democracies, the Third World accepts but finds inadequate. Disappearance of the communist Second World knocks out any further possibility of playing one superpower against another. But in the environment and the First

World's growing interest in cleaning it up, the Third World, which heretofore regarded environmentalism mostly as a luxury of the developed, suddenly sees a lever of great potential force.

We won't clean up, says the Third World in effect to the First, unless you pay up. Meaning that the poor countries won't divert their own scarce resources to the international environmental projects that the rich countries most value without being compensated in extra aid, trade, debt relief, technology and so forth—the schemes vary.

You fouled the environment when you developed, the poor countries truthfully tell us, and now that you are rich and, as rich folk are, of a mind to live cleaner, you want to impose a set of no-fouling rules that will retard our development and for which you expect us to bear most of the direct and indirect costs.

In these strictures, there is more than a whiff of a call to international class war. On top are the rich, favoring in selected ways the environment; on the bottom are the poor, desperate for development. But coming at a moment when many in the West are still basking in Cold War triumph, the angry talk turns many people off, gives them an argument

with which to beat back appeals for compensatory aid. What? Don't you breathe the same air we do? How dare you commit environmental blackmail!

There is another strain in some of the official response by the United States and other developed countries. It consists of a marked distaste for taking what comes across as almost a form of ethical instruction—instruction to, no less, fork over money or other bounty—from the many governments, international bureaucrats and advocates who are jawing at us around the world.

Starchiness from some spokesmen of the rich, stridency from some spokesmen of the poor: It makes for a pretty grating dialogue with which to launch a supposedly universal crusade to save the planet.

Something more mutually respectful and generous is required. It must reflect the moral passion at the core of the environmental movement, and of development, but it must also fold in the political realities.

The notion of a bargain, of tradeoffs, of giving and getting, is not, after all, alien to politics. It is the essence. The industrialized countries can't say they owe nothing. The

less-developed countries can't say they'll pay nothing. Not so much at Rio, where there is no structure, but perhaps over the next few years, a deal waits to be made.

The rich countries must share their riches—aid, trade, the works—and reduce their profligate lifestyle drain on world resources, because they need the environmental and other cooperation the poor can provide and because it's the right thing to do. In return they can fairly expect the poor countries not simply to do their environmental bit but to adopt the whole range of wise modernization policies—accountability and democracy, human rights, population control—which Rio seems to be skimping, a concern for the public interest, an opening for private enterprise.

Whether a sharp separate focus on the environment is the way to advance the movement or sidetrack it seems to me still open. This conference will teach us all something about that. Then the requirement will be to study further the science and to make routine in our politics the more complex equation—ecology, development, diplomacy—that the conference is introducing now.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Michael Kinsley

The GOP's Abortion Trap

The insincerity of the "big tent" invitation.

The 1988 Republican platform position on abortion is even more extreme than it first appears. It does not merely pronounce that "the unborn child has a fundamental individual right to life which cannot be infringed," seeming to allow no exceptions, even for rape and incest. It does not merely endorse "a human life amendment to the Constitution," which (just like the despised Supreme Court ruling of *Roe v. Wade*) would deny state legislatures the right to decide the abortion issue for themselves. It also declares: "the Fourteenth Amendment's protections apply to the unborn." What does that mean?

The 14th Amendment provides that no person shall be denied "the equal protection of the laws." If the fetus is entitled to "equal protection of the laws," not only is abortion forbidden, just like the killing of any other human being, but any state that has the death penalty for killing an adult would have to apply the death penalty for killing an "unborn child." And if hiring a killer is treated as murder (which it is), hiring an abortionist would have to be treated the same way.

Now, in reality that is a position held by no one except perhaps a few zealots. It is not the public position of President Bush, who claims to believe that women who have abortions should not be punished and says he favors the standard exceptions for rape, incest and life of the mother. Yet a Bush campaign spokesman says, "The president is comfortable with the 1988 platform language on abortion" and would like to see it repeated in 1992.

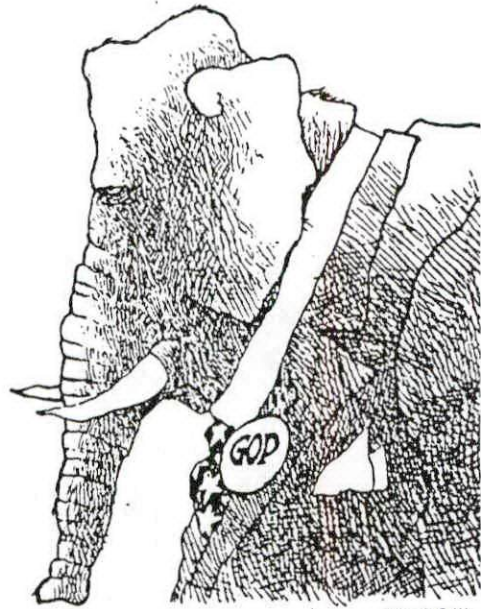
Who knows George Bush's real beliefs about abortion, if any? But, having famously flipped once, he dare not seem to flop. He must make up in stiff posture what he lacks in true conviction. Thus he and his party find themselves trapped in an extreme position they cannot possibly believe.

It is delightful to watch the agony of the Republicans as they try to extract themselves from the trap they have set themselves. "We are a party of diversity, of openness," sputters party chairman Rich Bond. "There has not been and will not be a litmus test on this issue." The late Lee Atwater, Bush's first chairman, famously said the GOP should be a "big tent," accommodating differing views. A group called "Republicans for Choice" would like the big-tent, no-litmus-test rhetoric inscribed in the platform.

But Phyllis Schlafly, who leads the opposition to any platform change, has a point. How can you say, in effect, that abortion is baby killing but it's no big deal? Schlafly also has a point in asserting that Ann Stone, the founder of Republicans for Choice, is motivated at least in part by the money her company is making in the direct-mail campaign.

Stone is the ex-wife of Roger Stone, who was Lee Atwater's partner in a wildly successful political-consulting-and-influence-peddling conglomerate. They are all part of a culture of amoral, success-at-all-costs political operatives whose motto might well be another famous Atwaterism: "Bull permeates everything." The philosophy of the "big tent" and the philosophy of "bull permeates everything" are actually quite close.

Republicans for choice are kidding them-



selves. So, in my view, are black Republicans and gay Republicans and other traditional outsiders who think the party's tent should be big enough to include them.

Yes, you can believe in abortion rights and also believe in the strategic defense initiative. Your sexual orientation shouldn't dictate your stand on public television. The color of your skin need not color your views on health care reform. No person can be expected to agree with any political party about everything, and America's two big parties are by tradition more centrist and accommodating than the more ideological parties of other democracies. That tradition has served America well, providing great political stability. But there are limits.

Some issues go together. You cannot reasonably expect the Republican Party to become more sympathetic to an expansive view of women's rights but not gay rights, or vice versa. As most American Jews have concluded—which is why they vote Democratic although socioeconomically they are more like Republicans—a spirit of toleration and diversity is indivisible. The Democratic Party may not stand for much, but surely it has the better claim to be a genuinely welcoming "big tent."

Of course many of the Republicans' unwelcoming attitudes are, for many party leaders, insincere. George Bush's 1980 realignment on abortion perfectly symbolizes that insincerity, but it is only one example. For another, I'll bet there isn't a single top official of the Bush administration who actually believes in the ban on gays in the military—a ban the administration publicly defends and refuses to lift.

But the insincerity is what makes the invitation into a "big tent" especially treacherous. With principled opponents, you can maybe do business. Those who may secretly sympathize with you but have already demonstrated their lack of backbone will obviously betray you again in a moment.

Come into our big tent, said the spider to the fly.

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The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT

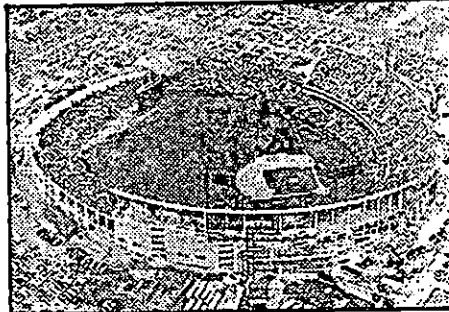
Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke has refused to permit hot rockers U2 to practice for the next leg of their world tour at Memorial Stadium, old home of the O's. "They wanted it for three weeks, and that would have destroyed the field for an August exhibition football game," says a spokesman for Schmoke. "The mayor wanted to do it, but we couldn't interfere with our efforts to get an NFL expansion franchise here."

■ Catherine Stevens, wife of Alaska Sen. Ted Stevens, is a candidate for general counsel of the National Endowment for the Arts. Does it help her chances that the senator conveniently sits on the Interior appropriations subcommittee, an NEA oversight panel?

■ Virginia Thomas, wife of Supreme Court Justice Clarence, won't comment on the negative books coming out (and still being worked on) about her husband's confirmation hearings. "We'd just like it all to go away and get on with our lives," she said yesterday. She added that his staff was indeed allowed to bring guests to the office picnic, despite the claims of a woman who said she'd been "uninvited."

■ Wags and politicians alike have been wondering why Virginia Gov. Doug Wilder's face has been looking a bit puffy of late. A spokesman says he has no idea—nor would he inquire—whether the governor had facial surgery recently. Like, around the eyes.

■ Ted Kennedy and his gal, Vicki Reggie, dropped by the Kennedy-John Kerry staff softball game Wednesday night to play a few innings. Kennedy got a double (and in his business suit!) and Reggie smacked a



Memorial Stadium: No U2 sightings.

hard line drive, which "the second baseman miraculously snagged," said Kennedy flack Paul Donovan. "She has great potential for Rookie of the Year." Tedsocks won, 23-4.

■ Despite the talk, gossip author Kitty Kelley has told friends she is not working on a book about the royals.

■ Sen. Jesse Helms, 70, is in stable condition following a nine-hour quadruple-bypass operation Wednesday in North Carolina.

■ Roger Ailes, Mr. Negative Adman himself, was George Bush's guest at the Kennedy Center Wednesday. It couldn't be learned whether Bush was crying on his shoulder.

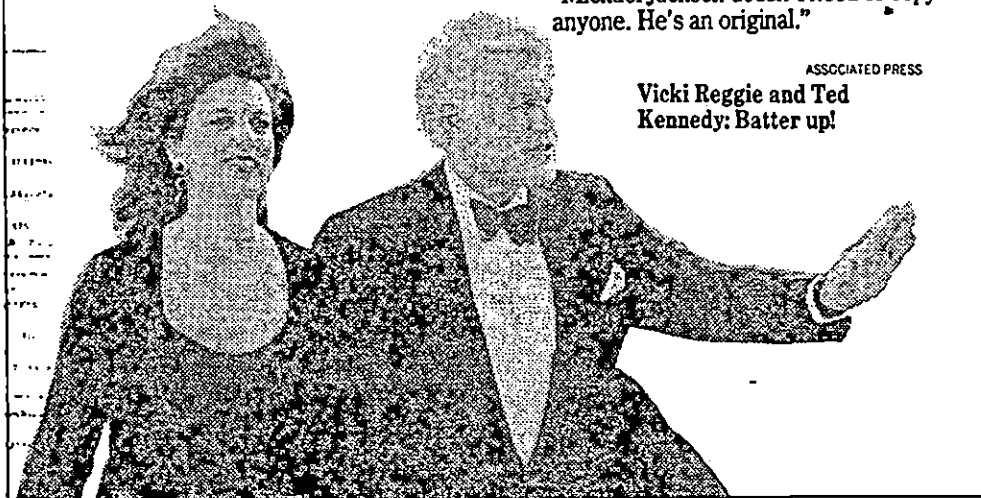
■ D.C. School Superintendent Franklin Smith yesterday won the grand prize at the 14th annual Bill Fitzgerald lunch group celebration: a weekend at a Four Seasons Hotel with \$500 toward travel.

■ Guns N' Roses' flamboyant lead singer Axl Rose will surrender to St. Louis police to answer charges stemming from a concert riot there last summer.

■ Denver songwriter Crystal Cartier slapped a \$40 million copyright infringement lawsuit on Michael Jackson Wednesday, claiming the pop star stole her 1985 composition "Dangerous" for his current hit album of the same name. "This is ridiculous," says Jackson's spokesman. "Michael Jackson doesn't need to copy anyone. He's an original."



Virginia Thomas: No on comments, yes on invites.



ASSOCIATED PRESS
Vicki Reggie and Ted Kennedy: Batter up!

The Guest Is Served

■ Crafty con man David Lee Hall's benefit-scamming streak was broken Wednesday night when he was served a subpoena by the local Boys' & Girls' Club just outside a men's room in the downtown Ramada Renaissance Hotel.

Hall called to request two press seats to the group's benefit. But they were onto him. In '90, he took three major-donor tables for \$7,500 and never paid. So, hotel security guards were put on alert, and sure enough, the mysterious Dr. Hall showed up—not at the Boys' & Girls' Club benefit, but at a Republican National Committee reception in a nearby ballroom.

Hall was spotted in the men's room by a guard, who alerted a D.C. detective and Janet McIntosh, a process server hired by the organization to serve him with a civil lawsuit for damages. After she handed him an envelope containing the subpoena, she said, Hall went up the escalator, "did a U-turn and cruised right back."

"Who are you? Who are you? What is this all about?" he demanded. He was escorted out.

Meanwhile, in one of dozens of calls The Post has received since Tuesday's story, the American Cancer Society says Hall crashed its benefit several years ago—and walked off with the door prize.

Brinkley, Following Her Gut Instinct



1984 ASSOCIATED PRESS PHOTO

■ "It's gotten too hard to suck in my stomach," the 39-year-old super-model Christie Brinkley tells next month's Ladies' Home Journal, on why she has decided not to do bikini shots anymore. The blond beauty adds that she may retire from her hallmark career soon. "I would rather be known as anything but a model," she says. "I desperately need more stimulation."

Remember Megan Marshack? She'd Rather You Not.

■ Megan Marshack, the young woman who made front-page news when it was discovered she was with Nelson Rockefeller at his New York town house that January 1979 night when he died of a heart attack, never filled in the missing details about the fateful night. Thirteen years later, she's still not talking. We

found her still living in New York, today a newswriter at WCBS-TV.

"I don't do interviews," Marshack, 38, says very uneasily—but politely. "The whole thing makes me very uncomfortable."

Another great book that will never be written?

Style Plus

Why Things Are

Coke? How Sweet It Is!

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

Why does a can of Diet Coke float in water, while a can of regular Coke sinks?

We heard about this from reader Mary Callahan of Washington, who heard about it in a speech by Maxine Singer, a chemist, and sure enough, when we called the people at Coca-Cola USA they said it's true. Of course, we have a policy in the Why bunker of experimentally verifying everything we hear, so we obtained two specimens of soda of the specified Coca-Cola brand, one "Diet" and one "Classic," and immersed them in the sink in the men's room.

Not since Galileo dropped weights off the Leaning Tower of Pisa has an experiment proven so brilliant. Yes, the Diet Coke bobs right to the surface. Definitely the more buoyant of the two. We must note, though, that the Classic didn't exactly sink. It seemed to have trouble making up its mind whether it could float. (No doubt both cans were buoyed by the air pocket inside).

The explanation from Coca-Cola: Diet Coke contains aspartame (NutraSweet), which is less dense than sugar and also much sweeter, so



**Irate pedestrian
throws weights right
back at Galileo**

less is needed. We would imagine that the second half of that is what really matters here. Aspartame is 200 times sweeter than sugar; if it takes 9 teaspoons of sugar (sucrose or high-fructose corn syrup) to sweeten a Coke, then it takes less than a 20th of a teaspoon of aspartame. Check out the ingredient label: There's less sweetener in a Diet Coke than there is caramel coloring.

So the gobs of dissolved sugar make Classic denser than either

water or Diet Coke. But if you drop both cans off a building simultaneously, they hit the ground at the same time. We'll take Galileo's word for it.

Why isn't pork kosher?

The simple explanation is that God said so. In the Book of Leviticus, Chapter 11, God speaks to Moses and Aaron: "Any animal that has hoofs you may eat, provided it is cloven-footed and chews the cud." That means pigs (who have cloven hoofs but don't chew the cud) are unclean, as are camels (chew cud, hoofs not cloven), hares and—He actually gets this specific—badgers.

What's going on here? Doesn't "chew the cud" sound like baseball slang, something the catcher would shout to the pitcher? ("Hum baby, hum baby, no stick, no stick, down the pipe, chew the cud, put some pepper on that ball...")

People have spent centuries floating theories about the origin of the Jewish dietary laws. Take your choice:

1. The theological answer. Purity and cleanliness are crucial to the idea of holiness in many religions, including Islam, which bans the eating of pork. Pigs are nasty. "The aversion to the pig, and it's not



BY RICHARD THOMPSON FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

confined to the Jewish people, is an abhorrence to the mode of living. It lives in filth. It represents uncleanness," says Rabbi David L. Blumenfeld of the United Synagogue of Conservative Judaism in New York. He adds that many religions "establish a daily sanctification of life. A sanctification of the person. What it is is a code of purity. Holiness is equal to purity."

2. The cultural answer. Jews wanted to preserve their identity, and avoid assimilation, and strict and elaborate dietary laws served that purpose. There are even laws against eating with Gentiles or eating food prepared by Gentiles.

3. The hygienic answer. This is the one we've heard repeatedly over the years: The dietary laws were a way to avoid diseases. Pigs, for example, are subject to the disease trichinosis. The problem with

this theory is that other animals also have diseases. Cows suffer from anthrax and brucellosis, diseases that were even more prevalent in ancient times.

4. The ecological answer. This comes from Marvin Harris, a University of Florida anthropologist and author of "Good to Eat" and many other books. Harris argues that these cultural eating taboos are elaborate ways to enforce long-term ecological goals. Pigs, he notes, require lots of water and shade, and a high-protein diet.

That doesn't mean they couldn't be raised—indeed, "there's a temptation to eat pigs," he says—but it does mean that they would have placed too many demands on the arid environment of the Middle East. For the same reason, he says, Babylonians and Egyptians developed taboos against pork. These

cultures instead relied on "cud chewers." Those freakish extra stomachs allow a cow to eat grass, thistles, whatever. And goats can live in the trunk of your car. (For this reason you should periodically inspect the "wheel well".)

Harris says that societies that rely on horses for transportation develop a belief that horse meat tastes bad. And in India, the cow is sacred because it births the bull-locks that pull the plow. In time of famine, eating the cow would yield an obvious short-term benefit, but would create a long-term disaster. Simply explaining the long-term cost-benefit problem to a hungry person isn't likely to work—and thus is born the more persuasive religious taboo.

What does Rabbi Blumenfeld think of this theory?

"I would say that that's hogwash, pardon the pun," he said.

He makes two good points: First, the cleanliness laws are incredibly elaborate, and go way beyond the pig taboo. Second, there's no documented proof that any of these non-theological theories is true. The rabbinical literature is extensive, and there's not a word about avoiding trichinosis or combating the greenhouse effect or whatnot.

The true origin of the taboo probably can't be known for sure, because it's prehistoric—it goes back to the first pages of the Bible. The Book of Genesis says that Noah brought some "unclean" animals with him on the Ark. Let's just say the ultimate answer got lost in The Wash.

The Washington Post

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Game 1 of the National Basketball Association's championship finals between Chicago and Portland Wednesday night averaged a 13.5 national Nielsen rating and a 25 percent audience share on NBC.

The game, which lasted from 9 to 11:36 p.m. in the East, did a 15.0/26 on Channel 4 here.

Three of Washington's UHF stations—Channels 20, 26 and 32—face another afternoon blackout today because winds interrupted repairs on the WDCA transmission tower yesterday after only two hours.

Tower operators had hoped to complete about a four-hour repair job yesterday if they could beat expected showers. When the winds arose, WDCA, WETA and WHMM all returned to the air at about 2 p.m. although viewers had been warned to expect a blackout from noon until 4.

If the weather is okay, the stations will go black at noon again today. WDCA is hopeful repairs can be completed by 4. If not, another afternoon blackout will be scheduled sometime in the next few days. WHMM, which plans a fund-raising drive next week, is particularly hopeful the job can be completed today.

The Christian Science church will shut down its Monitor Channel as of June 28 rather than sell the cable service, despite four proposals to buy it, church directors announced yesterday.

Now This

The District's homeless will have their own TV show starting Wednesday night when "Counter Talk," a weekly 30-minute access show debuts on District Cablevision's Channel 60.

The Community for Creative Non-Violence's own production company, "Outcast Productions," will produce the show from a set depicting a D.C. diner as guests and panelists sit at the counter drinking coffee and discussing various issues.

The CCNV crew, comprising homeless and formerly homeless, built the set at the Broadcast Factory in Northeast Washington.

Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio), chairman of the House Select Committee on Hunger, will be the guest on the premiere show.

CCNV director Carol Fennelly will be a regular panelist.

Fennelly will be interviewed Tuesday on ABC's "Good Morning America."

A perfect lead-in to the Weekly Report on the morning network race, which finds GMA back in first with 3.9 Nielsen rating and an 18 share for the week ending May 29, NBC's "Today," after a run at the top, faded to a 3.7/18 while faded "CBS This Morning" finished with a 2.5/12. The Official GMA scoreboard (it's missing a couple of light bulbs) shows ABC with 117 weekly wins, four losses and five ties in the past 126 weeks.

Katie Couric talks to former President Nixon via satellite from Moscow this morning in the 7 a.m. segment of the "Today" show. They were due to tape the interview at (yawn!) midnight last night New York time.

The Nightline Story

ABC News president Rooney Arledge said yesterday that he "never threatened to cancel" "Nightline" Wednesday even as he warned network affiliates in Los Angeles that "there's a chance we could lose" the program if clearances don't improve.

Currently, only 118 of ABC's 225 affiliates, including WJLA here, carry the show live. Most of the rest choose to show "Nightline" on a taped-delay basis, following syndicated reruns of programs like "M*A*S*H" or other former network shows that produce a larger share of local advertising revenue.

Arledge said yesterday that "it's true I sounded an alarm that if the trend continues we might eventually lose it. But if you had heard the whole one-minute statement [part of a five-minute videotape] it was plain I wanted them to think that with all the changes in late night it's a great opportunity for everybody."

"We all know that Jay Leno is no Johnny Carson; this is a great opportunity for growth."

"I reminded them that 'Nightline' is the one program that differentiates ABC from its competitors. I wanted them to seriously consider the consequences."

"I told them how we'd revitalized the program; the ratings are terrific. But there's a great temptation to think it's always going to be there."

The News president conceded that "I am worried that if the NBC stations, now that Carson is gone, start delaying Leno a half-hour, more of our stations may consider such delays. I wanted the topic to be at the top of the agenda."

He said Cap Cities/ABC Inc. president Dan Burke, in closing remarks to the affiliates, also stressed the importance of "Nightline."

"What I was trying to do," Arledge said yesterday, "was sound an alarm to the stations; I wanted them to know how seriously I believe in this program. But I was trying to tell them that, if clearances continue to decline, it could go either way."

With many stations already contracted for syndicated shows over future months, Arledge said yesterday that it would be probably a year before a favorable increase would be possible. "I understand their commitments."

He warned, nevertheless, that "if, God forbid, the clearances get worse," the network would eventually have to confront a decline in revenues and ratings. He guessed that in its heyday, "Nightline" probably had clearances "in the high eighties."

Out on the Coast yesterday, in a closed-door meeting with those same station executives, "Nightline" anchor Ted Koppel didn't sound much like a lame duck anchor, reiterating the plea he made to affiliates on Wednesday to seize the moment in the late-night comedy world recently deserted by Carson.

"Please help us," Koppel said, "build a dynasty here in late night." He told the managers, according to a source, that he cared "intensely about this broadcast," adding "I want to move forward."

Wednesday, Koppel had told the press he wouldn't stay as host of the 12-year-old news show if ABC stations continue to bump it for other programming.

"It will never die a death of attrition with me at the helm," Koppel told the Associated Press. "If I see these folks continue to run reruns of 'M*A*S*H' then I will have to take that into consideration."

Sources recently revealed that the network takes in some \$20 million annually in profit from "Nightline," but a further decline in station clearances could affect ad revenue and ratings.

The flurry over the Arledge warning comes just as alterations are being completed at the ABC News Washington bureau to make room for an expansion in the "Nightline" crew here that will complete a long-expected consolidation of the New York and D.C. operations.

As of July 1, five staffers will remain in New York but 10 will move to Washington to join the present staff of about 20. And a control room in New York reserved for "Nightline" will get other duties.

The move means that for the first time in the show's history, the executive producer will be located permanently in Washington.

The latest occupant of that demanding job, Tom Bettag, calls the Arledge message "a call to conscience" rather than a threat. Bettag says the program itself is facing some wonderful times.

"It's going to be unpredictable when you tune in," he predicted yesterday. "We're just hitting our stride."

More to Come

WJLA anchor Susan King will sit in for a few days for a vacationing Diane Rehm on WAMU-FM's "Diane Rehm Show," starting this morning at 10.

King will also host next Monday and Tuesday and then return on Wednesday, Thursday and Friday of the week starting June 15.

Matt Coates and Fred Fiske will also sub for Rehm during the two weeks.

CBS News says a recent Ed Bradley interview with convicted rapist Mike Tyson will be included in a one-hour "Street Stories" devoted to the former heavyweight champ which will air Thursday, June 18, at 9 p.m.

Jesse Jackson appears live on Black Entertainment Television's "Our Voices" at 10:30 this morning to discuss the agenda of the upcoming Rainbow Coalition convention with host Bev Smith.

Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin will guest host ABC's "Home" show June 24 and 25.

While on the set, Martin will see to it that there are profiles of women in non-traditional careers; financial advice for women planning their retirement from the workforce; and tips for women facing the challenge of managing a career while raising a family.

Channel 7 airs only the 11 to noon segment of the 90-minute show so watch carefully.

Okay, so it's definitely not a Ratingzzz-Free TV Column this morning. But you still ought to know that the first week of "The Tonight Show With Jay Leno"—despite four nights of late starts due to NBA playoffs on the network—averaged a 6.6/26 in the national ratingzzzs.

That sounds like peanuts compared with the 14.3/40 that "The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson" averaged in Johnny's last week but NBC said yesterday Leno's 6.6 made it otherwise the highest rated "Tonight Show" week since May 9, 1987. Well, gee, we thought you'd want to know but from the look on your faces we can tell you are definitely not impressed.

Each national ratingzzz point represents 921,000 TV homes.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

At Summit, Dueling Hemispheres

North-South Rift Over Overpopulation

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

RIO DE JANEIRO—Don't say "population control" around here. "Control" bespeaks coercion, forced sterilization and supposed First World fears of a dark-skinned planet. Don't even say "population" too much—it's the word that never got credentials at the official Earth Summit.

Join the Campaign Against Population Control, says a leaflet posted inside the women's tent at the "Global Forum" alternative summit on Flamengo Beach. A poster nearby says population control is "a phrase reminiscent of 'pest control.'"

A throng jams into another tent to hear more horror stories about the dangers of population control. A Brazilian senator says such programs have resulted in the involuntary sterilization of Brazilian women. The sponsor of this panel discussion, the State Council of Women's Rights, distributes a flier arguing that the sterilizations emerge from a conspiracy by Henry Kissinger and the National Security Council to limit the birthrate in the Third World "so as to not degenerate the Anglo-Saxon race."

There are quieter voices. But the orthodoxy at the Global Forum—the huge gathering of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) at Flamengo Beach—is that environmentalists from northern countries should spend less time worrying about population growth, and more time addressing the inequities of global wealth.

See RIO, C4, Col. 1

The Rift In Rio

RIO, From C1

Not that population growth isn't a plausible issue here in Rio. The United Nations predicts that there will be 10 billion people on the earth in the year 2050, nearly double today's population, and that 97 percent of that increase will be in developing nations. And since the most biologically diverse and endangered ecosystems on the planet tend to be in the tropics, the environmental impact of those additional billions of people, in terms of the potential destruction of habitat, could be enormous.

But here, the issue picks up some unobtrusive shading.

Pointing Fingers

"To say that women from the South who have many babies are responsible for the environmental crisis—it's a scandal," said Rosiska Darcy de Oliveira, co-chair of the Brazilian Women's Coalition.

The environmental crisis isn't caused by the billions of poor people, she said, it's caused by the relatively few rich people who drive cars and consume massive amounts of energy and other resources.

This is a spirited, emotional debate. Not totally unfairly, feminists in developing countries suspect that American environmentalists worry more about endangered monkeys than about impoverished human beings.

Into this sticky atmosphere came Karen Rindge, 28, of Washington, D.C. She works on population policy for the National Wildlife Federation. Human population policy. She wanted to open a "dialogue" with the women's groups here. It turned out to be more like an argument. At one point she was vociferously accused of saying that women in the South are "uncivilized," though several listeners said she didn't say any such thing.

"It's politics," Rindge sighs. "I want to feel this great oneness with everybody, but this whole conflict really bothers me. I really feel that we have a lack of understanding between our groups. I mean, I'm a feminist!"

Another American environmentalist who came to Rio to talk about population, Jane Lyons of the National Audubon Society, says being a white American woman doesn't help in discussions like this.

"It's like being discriminated against," she said. "They don't recognize that Karen and I don't represent the government of the United States. They don't recognize that because, basically, we're white women from the North."

And worse, they're environmentalists.

Environmentalists and feminists have many overlapping beliefs, and

members of one persuasion claim to be members of the other—but at the Global Forum's women's tent (newly dubbed the Female Planet), the dominant feeling is one of women's empowerment, not environmental protection.

Wanga Mumba, executive director of the Environment and Population Center in Zambia, sympathizes with Rindge. Mumba said she's tired of the bickering and recrimination.

"We are just pointing fingers at each other instead of thinking of solutions," she said. "We are wasting our time."

It has been known for many months that overpopulation wouldn't get much notice at the official Earth Summit. But it was presumed that the issue could be dealt with more informally by environmentalists and feminists attending the parallel Global Forum, the nongovernment summit in Rio. Not so, it turns out; the term "overpopulation" is too disturbing even for a casual discussion in a tent by the sea.

So, although human overpopulation may be the planet's gravest environmental threat, it is essentially not mentioned in either the official or unofficial documents coming out of Rio.

For example, the gathered nations will sign off on a declaration of principles that includes the startling non-statement that countries should adopt "appropriate demographic policies." A separate, longer document called Agenda 21, also to be approved, originally called for nations to make "modern contraception" available, but after objections from representatives of the Holy See, the language was changed to "appropriate technology dissemination."

And instead of saying that countries should try to stop the explosion of population, Agenda 21 says, "All countries will have to improve their own capacities to assess the environment and development implications of their demographic trends and factors."

At the Global Forum, the nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) plan to issue their own "treaties," including one on population. But early drafts talk mostly about misbehavior by colonialist powers. The Brazilian suggestion for the treaty wording urges adoption of "ethical principles which refuse to deem any human being as expendable or unnecessary, especially those victimized by inequitable and discriminatory international economic relations."

So it is that, at Flamengo Beach, it's not global warming that is the hottest topic, it's not biodiversity, it's not water purity. It's human ecology. Social justice.

This giant group grope in Rio is not nearly the tree-hugging event that it was supposed to be. Or maybe the press simply sold the story wrong from the very start. The press had focused primarily on the first half of the Earth Summit's official title—the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development—and didn't realize that it was the "and Development" that would dominate much of the discussion.

Don't call it the Earth Summit anymore. It's the People Summit.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Flexing Their Electoral Muscle

By Roxanne Roberts
Washington Post Staff Writer

Imagine a two-hour press conference by the usual sort of political candidate. Imagine two hours of stump speeches, sound bites and spontaneous applause. Imagine the empty room.

But give those candidates two X chromosomes and we're talking major media event. We're talking Year of the Women! Female candidates are *hot, hot, hot!* Everything you ever wanted in a politician—and more! Or so they

said last night at the National Women's Political Caucus "Salute to the 1992 Women Candidates" at the Quality Inn on Capitol Hill.

"This is truly history in the making," said Sen. Barbara Mikulski (D-Md.). "When you look at the women standing here on this platform, you know that the New World Order is *here!*"

Truth is, put any politician behind a microphone and they all sound pretty much the same—and last night was no exception. But the voters are really, really teed off this year and the two

dozen women running for the U.S. Senate and House honored last night—political veterans and novices alike—are hoping to ride the wave of that dissatisfaction all the way to Capitol Hill.

You want an outsider? Elect a woman.

"I don't think it's an unfair advantage," said former congresswoman and vice presidential nominee Geraldine Ferraro, who is running for the Senate from New York. "It's finally a recognition."

See WOMEN, C3, Col. 1

Women Candidates

WOMEN, From C1

that the guys that have been running the country for over 200 years haven't been doing such a hot job—and maybe it's worthwhile to get some of us down here. It's not us who are taking advantage of it. It's the public who is saying, 'We want you.'

"I've been an outsider even though I've been on the inside for a long time," said former representative Elizabeth Holtzman, another political veteran who is also vying for Sen. Alfonse D'Amato's seat. "Everybody knows that." But, she warned, "there are some women who are insiders even though they may look like outsiders."

Who can tell? And does it really matter? Studies show that voters believe women are more honest and ethical, which puts them at a distinct advantage against male incumbents. "My opponent is one of the Keating Five," said Arizona Senate candidate Claire Sargent. "He has more baggage than Samsonite."

But voters also think women are more sensitive to issues such as health care, family and abortion and, not surprising, women are running in record

numbers this year for local, state and national office.

"Women's perspective and experience is definitely missing," said Pennsylvania Senate candidate Lynn Yeakel, who is running neck-and-neck with Republican Sen. Arlen Specter. "And so, yes, our values are not well represented because we're not well represented—and those values are now the nation's values, which is why I think this is all coming together in this year."

Missing—but certainly not forgotten—at last night's pep rally was Anita Hill, who "sparked an enormous revolt in the United States," said Mikulski.

The Clarence Thomas hearings were at least in part responsible for the primary successes of Senate candidates such as Cook County recorder of deeds, Carol Moseley Braun, who was called the "first ripple in the tidal wave." Yeakel decided to move from the local to the national arena after watching Specter's role in the hearings. Ditto for Iowa's Jean Lloyd-Jones, president pro tempore of the Iowa Senate. And perhaps it was even a factor for California Rep. Barbara Boxer, who dropped the evening's most popular sound bite in a reference to the minuscule minority of women in the Senate. "Two percent may be great for milk," she shouted, "but isn't good for the U.S. Senate"—which led to a chant of "Ninety-eight to two JUST WON'T DO!"

Absent were any Republican women candidates, which seemed to support

Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole's charge that women's organizations such as the National Women's Political Caucus only support female candidates with liberal agendas. (Last night's battle cry was "pro-change, pro-choice and ready to roll.")

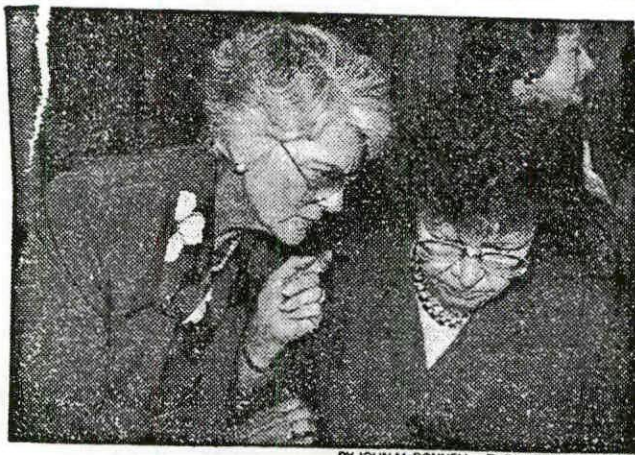
"Just absolutely wrong," said Harriett Woods, president of the organization, who said the NWPC had endorsed a number of Republican women in the past and blamed the GOP itself. "Women have been written out of their party."

But the women last night were convinced they haven't been written out—not because they're Democrats, but because they represent democracy—with a little "d."

Twelve years ago, Washington's Patty Murray was told by a state legislator, "You can't make a difference. You're just a mom in tennis shoes." Wrong thing to say. She ran for the school board, has been a state senator for the past five years and is now stepping into her first U.S. Senate race. "Look out world!" she told the cheering crowd. "Us moms in tennis shoes are going to take over!"

Then there was House candidate Juanita Crabb, mayor of Binghamton, N.Y., for 11 years. A little boy recently asked her, "Can boys grow up and be mayors too?"

"I told him no," she said. Just kidding.



BY JOHN McDONNELL—THE WASHINGTON POST
Geraldine Ferraro, left, and Barbara Mikulski at last night's National Women's Political Caucus salute to candidates.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992



Bill Clinton: "It's good to see a Democrat blowing something other than the election," said Arsenio Hall.

Tooting His Own Horn

Clinton's Team Sees 'Arsenio' Gig as Triumph

By David Maraniss
Washington Post Staff Writer

FLYING OUT OF LOS ANGELES—Bill Clinton is relaxing in his first-class seat, recognizable from the back of his campaign plane by the tuft of gray hair sticking out from his black and purple "Arsenio Hall Show" baseball cap. It is approaching midnight Wednesday on the first day of the new season, which is to say the season of the newfangled political primaries—not New Hampshire and Georgia and Illinois and California, but Larry and Oprah and Phil and Jay and Arsenio.

Sideman Bill and his posse are now winging home from "Cali" to "the Rock," (that's California to Little Rock) convinced that his sax-playing gig on Arsenio's woof-woofing TV show was the equivalent of a Super Tuesday sweep. If not that, it was at least another lesson in how to election-

eer in the brave new world of American politics.

There is a general feeling among scribes on the back of the plane that history must have been made somewhere during the show, but with so many moments to choose from, the ultimate new age moment is open to debate. It might have come sometime after Clinton opened as a guest member of the studio band, decked out in Blues Brothers shades and a flowery tie, riffing his way through "Heartbreak Hotel," and before he confessed to his concerned host that he really did try to inhale the now-famous marijuana joints he was handed as a 23-year-old in England—"I gave it my very best shot," he said.

There was only one occasion when Clinton betrayed the hicksville innocence of his Arkansas youth: When Hall asked him to talk about his flaws,

See CLINTON, C2, Col. 1

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

The Sax Campaign

CLINTON, From C1

Clinton, in good spirit, responded that they would need to hold a "bunking party" to have the time for him to delineate them all. A bunking party, in Arkansas, or "Saw, as they call the state's lexicon, is a slumber party or sleep-over, explained the sideman's Deep South adviser, James (Jazzy Jim) Carville.

It was quite a sight to see Clinton cradling his shoulder-strapped tenor sax as Hall went through his stand-up routine, warning the presidential candidate that "this is the part politicians hate" as he ridiculed Ross Perot and Clarence Thomas and said of Clinton: "It's good to see a Democrat blowing something other than the election." The scene left contrasting impressions: one of Clinton as a hipster, the first baby boomer candidate, in tune with the *Zeitgeist*; the other of Clinton as a metaphor for all politicians these days, diminished by cultural forces that have rendered them little more than sidemen in the band.

Say what you will about the clarity of his speeches, Clinton's musicality

... And the Critics Sound Off

Clinton's performance was greeted with sneers as well as cheers. Herewith, a quick canvass of music lovers and political sages:

"I thought it was embarrassing," said Torie Clarke, press secretary for President Bush's campaign. "He looked like a sad John Belushi wannabe. . . I don't think most Americans want to see their president wearing a goofy tie and sunglasses and blowing on a saxophone, and then talking about smoking pot with a late-night TV host."

"What Torie shows is what everybody knows about Bush—he just doesn't get it," said George Stephanopoulos, communications director of the Clinton campaign. "Elvis is America. Arsenio is America." Stephanopoulos added that the point of the exercise, politically speaking, was for Clinton to show voters that "he's a

real person just like they are, that he loves music, that he loves to laugh at himself—and that he has a good idea of where to take the country."

A critic from the Ross Perot camp had yet to file a review by press time.

"Who does he think he is—the new Lee Atwater?" scoffed rock critic Dave Marsh, referring to the late Republican political operative who was renowned for his blues guitar riffs.

"People know the difference between someone who's genuine and someone who is just doing it for show," said hep House staffer David Dreyer, who works for Majority Leader Dick Gephardt (D-Mo.). "This is not like President Bush tapping an electric guitar with the word 'Prez' on it at the inaugural. This is *real*. And the more people get to know Bill Clinton, the more they're going to like him."

Maybe, but he should come *sans* sax, said Washington lawyer Leonard Garment.

"He should pack it up and put it away," advised Garment, Richard Nixon's former White House counsel, who played tenor sax professionally in the 1940s and 1950s. "The sax is too resonant of all the problems that Clinton has as a young man of the '60s. The electorate does want grown-ups to be president. Saxophone playing for a president, sort of a 'Cafe Lautrec' thing? Forget it. It's a very bad idea."

Or a very good idea.

"I like the sax because it has sex appeal," said Alison Huff, 25, an assistant to the curator of American music for the Smithsonian Institution. "And I'm for candidates with sex appeal."

—Lloyd Grove

has shown marked improvement during the campaign. In January, during a fund-raiser in Washington, he tooted James Brown's "I Feel Good" in the wrong key for two verses. His Arsenio performance was almost flawless. The reason was also the answer to a question Clinton's ever-curious traveling press

corps had been asking grumpily over the last few days—where the heck is Clinton? He was in a secluded hotel room listening to Billie Holiday tapes to get the rhythms right for his rendition of "God Bless the Child."

On the campaign plane back to Little Rock, Clinton said the show

had been great fun, and rewarding in another way. The host, he said, had asked him better questions than most journalists—about gangs and racism and poverty and "not a single poll or process question." Then he returned to his seat and boned up for the next primary—the Larry King show last night.

JUDY MANN

A Wave That Needs to Roar

The countdown continues: Illinois, Pennsylvania, California. Rep. Patricia Schroeder (D-Colo.), the dean of women members of Congress, has a vision of a tidal wave of elected women coming to Washington to change the look of Congress and the way it does business. The tidal wave better be loud.

The women who are already here are the first to say there are not enough of them to do the job. And that job is not just representing women's issues: It is making women full partners in the political system and in society. The pundits are hailing this as the year for women: More women are likely to be elected to Congress than ever before because more are running and there are more open seats. And this also is the year of the outsider, which tends to work in favor of women, the ultimate outsiders.

But this is no fluke, what is happening. It is the beginning of an extended howl of anger that first reverberated across the land in 1990 with the election of Democrat Ann Richards to the statehouse in Texas, the land of superno machismo. That election, Celia Morris wrote in "Storming the Statehouse," "reflected the biggest gender gap in history because it was a referendum on a world that white men had made, and the women's vote went against them."

This world is one in which white men are more equal than women when it comes to getting out of doing housework and child care, getting into promotions, getting away with sexual harassment and getting out of social relationships such as marriages and child rearing. This howl of discontent is rooted in the frustration many women feel over the inequalities they experience every day. "Their frustration at this structural injustice," Morris wrote, "fuels the votes that women give to other women." The howl is the personal becoming political.

The first wave of women politicians who came to Washington put up with all manner of cloakroom slights—gender harassment, we could call it—and they tended to handle their male colleagues with tact and silence, like we used to handle sexual harassers. But the women in this next wave—and it is coming—are being elected to shout.

Rep. Maxine Waters (D-Calif.), who was reared as the fifth of 12 children, got it right early in her first term when she walked into House Speaker

Tom Foley's office and said: "I need one hot minute with the speaker." This anecdote, recounted in "American Woman, 1992-1993," an annual report by the Women's Research and Education Institute, was used to illustrate Waters's contention that Congress is so "steeped in custom and tradition that [the members] don't really do the work people expect them to do."

Business as usual, then, has been no business. The polls show that the economy is the biggest concern of voters. I talked with a woman the other day who hails from Ocean Springs, Miss., and her voice quavered as she said, "We have no jobs." The flight of jobs is not going to be stopped in midair by lowering interest rates, and the recession is not going to turn into another boom if a few houses on the market start moving.

This country now faces the biggest economic challenge since World War II, the last time we had to go from a war economy to a peacetime one. This next wave of women politicians will be sent here to bring good, fresh, workable ideas on how to resuscitate the economy. Unlike the men who have been serving the military-industrial complex, this new wave of outsiders is not beholden to political action committees that have done more damage to the integrity of our political system than any billion-dollar submarine ever did to the Soviet navy. These women are going to be expected to open breast cancer research centers, but they'll also have to close shipyards.

Race relations and the health care system are the other two dragons lying in wait for the new giant-killers. Women are well-equipped to handle both: They understand disadvantage, for they have been there, and they are acculturated to try to get along with others, which is basically what improving race relations is all about. They understand the need for a better health care system because they are usually their family's number one health care provider. So they will be expected to turn deaf ears to the pleadings of the special interest groups that plunder the health care system. They will be expected to put families without health care into the emergency room of this public debate.

The women in the next wave are being elected as visionaries and reformers, not tokens or supplicants. To borrow a line from novelist Sheila Ballantyne: "The woman of tomorrow doesn't cry. She screams."

Memo Says U.S. Was Lax on Iraq

'No One Was Paying Attention' to Arms

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

A senior State Department official concluded in a secret memorandum after Iraq invaded Kuwait that "no one was paying attention" to blocking Iraq's purchase of Western equipment for weapons of mass destruction during the previous decade, according to a copy obtained by The Washington Post.

The official, Assistant Secretary of State Richard A. Clarke, made the claim in a memo declassified yesterday and provided to Congress along with 53 other State Department documents concerning U.S.-Iraqi relations that were requested by a congressional committee investigating U.S. policy toward Iraq before the Persian Gulf War.

The documents, which were made available to The Post by a U.S. official, provide fresh details about the administration's monitoring of Iraq's nuclear and chemical weapons programs and the controversial U.S. pre-war push to ease controls on high-technology exports as part of an attempt to cultivate better relations with Iraq before it invaded Kuwait in August 1990.

The release of the documents yesterday was the latest in a series of disclosures by the administration at the request of a growing number of congressional committees that are investigating what their Democratic leaders claim were Bush administration policy errors.

President Bush last night defended the effort toward better relations with Iraq against this congressional criticism, saying that the United States tried to work with Saddam "on grain credits and things of this nature to avoid aggressive action. And it failed. . . ."

"That approach, holding out a hand, trying to get him to renounce terrorism and join the family of nations, didn't work," Bush told a White House news conference.

See IRAQ, A43, Col. 1

"And the minute he moved aggressively, we moved aggressively and set back aggression."

One undated memo summarizing U.S. nonproliferation activity aimed at Iraq indicates that the Bush administration moved slowly to constrain Iraq's mass-destruction weapons programs after a Iraqi long-range missile launch in 1989 caught officials by surprise.

The memo states that Clarke sought in an interagency meeting that December "to get at why U.S. intelligence didn't know Iraq had such capabilities beforehand and to galvanize the interagency community into more effective [action] against the Iraqi missile program."

But a request during the meeting that the Commerce Department develop enhanced controls on exports of related U.S. equipment to Iraq went unanswered for three months and eventually was forgotten, the memo says.

The request came just three months after President Bush signed National Security Decision Directive 26, which many officials interpreted as a mandate for loosening, not strengthening, U.S. controls on exports to Iraq.

In the directive, partially declassified last week, Bush called on officials to "propose incentives for Iraq to moderate its behavior" and to "pursue and seek to facilitate opportunities for U.S. firms to participate in the reconstruction of the Iraqi economy, particularly in the energy area, where they do not conflict with our nonproliferation and other significant objectives."

John Kelly, then an assistant secretary of state in charge of Near East and South Asian affairs, cited the "explicit presidential authority" provided by NSDD 26 in a subsequent memo that argued for reining in the power of a special interagency committee responsible for reviewing exports that Iraq might use in weapons of mass destruction.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Memo Says U.S. Overlooked Iraqi Arms Goals

IRAQ, From A1

Kelly wrote in the memo, the date of which was not provided yesterday, that "our licensing procedures have been a drag on trade with Iraq." A letter to the Commerce Department that he drafted for another State Department official, Robert M. Kimmitt, said the interagency committee's review "needs to be balanced by other considerations, including our duty to support U.S. exporters who can right our trade imbalance with Iraq."

Despite the December 1989 call for major new U.S. controls on exports related to Iraq's weapons of mass destruction programs, none were developed by the administration and discussed by senior officials until July 10, 1990, less than a month before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, according to the documents.

Clarke's memo referring to Washington's record of failure on the issue was written after the invasion, as part of the administration's deliberations on how long it should seek to maintain an international embargo of trade with Iraq imposed by the United Nations shortly after the Iraqi invasion.

In another of the documents, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger cited NSDD 26 in a November 1989 letter to the Treasury Department, in which he argued for approval of an additional \$1 billion in commodity credits for Iraq, even though the program was entangled in allegations of wrongdoing by the Atlanta branch of the Banco Nazionale de Lavoro, Iraq's principal foreign financier.

Congressional Democrats such as Rep. Sam Gejdenson (Conn.), chairman of a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee, have charged the administration's pre-war policy toward Iraq was too weak. Gejdenson had demanded release of yesterday's batch of documents on grounds they contained no national security information and had been withheld only because they "across the board embarrass the administration."

"No one in the administration was paying attention to the help being given Saddam Hussein, a man George Bush later compared to Adolf Hitler, as he built his nuclear and chemical weapons arsenal," Gejdenson said in a statement last night.

The documents were provided by a U.S. official to The Washington

Post at the same time they were given to Gejdenson "to prevent the Democrats . . . [from] characterizing these documents in a way we think has been unfair," the official said. "A neutral reader will see they are not evidence of a coverup or certainly illegal acts but of an administration struggling to formulate a policy when the options as a whole were not good ones."

Among the items that Kelly and another official, acting assistant secretary of state Arnold Schlossberg Jr., favored exporting to Iraq in July 1989 was a system designed to protect Saddam's personal aircraft from missile attack, according to one of the documents. It said the proposed sale of an infrared countermeasures system for Saddam's Boeing 747 and three helicopters was consistent with the administration's prior approval of "communications security devices for the presidential palace" in Iraq.

The officials noted that while U.S. policy generally forbade export of military equipment to Iraq, sale of anti-missile equipment fell under an exception for "protection of the head of state." A U.S. official said yesterday the sale was never completed, but the memo described it as "consonant with our wider goal of working towards a broader relationship with Iraq."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Kuwaiti Criticizes U.S. Envoy

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, June 4—The speaker of Kuwait's National Council has accused the U.S. ambassador of interfering in the emirate's domestic affairs by "talking about democracy" and "encouraging" the local opposition, according to an interview published today.

Abdul-Aziz Masaeed, a wealthy businessman who heads Kuwait's interim advisory legislature and is known for his pro-government views, also minimized the U.S. role in liberating Kuwait from Iraqi occupation and said that the United States had sought to protect its interests rather than to do "a favor" for Kuwait.

"America did not bring us back to our country. If it weren't for the wisdom of our government and the help of Saudi Arabia, the [six-nation] Gulf Cooperation Council, Egypt and Syria, we wouldn't have been liberated. America came because of its interests," Masaeed said, according to an Associated Press translation.

U.S. Ambassador Edward Gnehm Jr. "interferes a lot" by visiting *diwaniyahs*, the traditional Kuwaiti gatherings where informal political discussions take place, and by speaking about democracy,

See KUWAIT, A43, Col. 2

Kuwaiti Council Speaker Accuses U.S. Ambassador of Interference

KUWAIT, From A1

which has been "lost in America," Masaeed added. The interview appeared in the Saudi-owned weekly magazine *al-Majalla*, published in London.

"The American ambassador talked to the Kuwaiti opposition and he said you are the only ones now in the field [of democracy]. In this way, he's encouraging them," Masaeed said.

The speaker described his comments about Gnehm, which also appeared in Masaeed's Kuwaiti newspaper *al-Rai al-Am*, as his "personal opinion." But they are known to reflect the views of some senior members of the ruling Sabah family, who appear to be annoyed by public statements by Gnehm and other Western ambassadors urging Kuwaitis to observe democratic freedoms, according to several Kuwaiti sources.

Neither Masaeed nor a spokesman for the U.S. Embassy in Kuwait could be reached for comment.

The Sabah family-dominated government is said to be apprehensive about elections scheduled for October, which are aimed at restoring Kuwait's suspended parliament in response to opposition demands.

The parliament is to replace the 75-member National Council, most of whose members were elected shortly before Iraq's Aug. 2, 1990, invasion in a controversial vote boycotted by the Kuwaiti opposition.

Referring to the recent rioting in Los Angeles, Masaeed said: "There is no democracy to talk about. . . . Let America apply a democratic system first and then talk about our democracy."

"Yesterday, they were slaughtering the blacks who are living in Los Angeles," Masaeed said.

When his interviewer responded that the rioters "were thieves," the speaker replied: "On the contrary, they were poor people and they made them thieves. They bring the black people and hit them, and the court consists of white people, so how do you expect there won't be any violence from the people?"

"If they want a democracy here, why don't they apply it there?" Masaeed said.

Reminded that he had supported a security agreement between Kuwait and the United States, Masaeed replied that the accord "was something different than the American ambassador's actions. We are now facing a problem. We have to agree with the Americans."

Asked whether he was denying that the United States had performed a favor for Kuwait by ousting Iraqi forces, Masaeed said: "There are no favors. There are only interests. Kuwait was the victim, not the Americans—because it was our money, our homes and our families which were the ones who suffered. Americans came to help us because of this special situation."

U.S. Balks Anew Over Forest Pact

By Michael Weisskopf
Washington Post Foreign Service

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 4—The White House today rejected an 11th-hour effort by Environmental Protection Agency chief William K. Reilly to gain U.S. approval for a treaty intended to preserve the biological diversity of forests, U.S. officials said.

Reilly, head of the U.S. delegation to the U.N. Earth Summit here, sent a cable to Washington suggesting ways to allay White House fears that the treaty could lead to unreasonable Third World demands for financial assistance and impede American companies seeking to develop and market products made from plants and insects found in tropical forests.

The treaty, which would require its signatories to make plans to conserve depleted natural resources, is one of two binding agreements being considered at the conference. It will be ready for signature Friday.

With most industrialized nations indicating they will sign the accord, the United States again has found itself all but isolated on a key issue. Earlier, it was the only industrialized nation to oppose a tough treaty on "greenhouse" gases.

According to administration officials in Washington, Reilly's cable did help to assuage fears that the treaty would give too much power to Third World governments to determine the amount of aid they would need to meet its terms.

But White House officials were not satisfied that Reilly's proposed remedies would protect patents of U.S. biotechnology companies and pharmaceutical firms.

Counter-Summit Goes Broke—but Goes On

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

RIO DE JANEIRO, June 4—The counter-summit in Rio has gone broke.

Organizers of the '92 Global Forum, a kind of World's Fair of environmental and social justice groups, announced today that they were essentially bankrupt, unable to pay contractors who are providing sound, lights, security, food, garbage collection and other services to the two-week gathering at Flamengo Beach near downtown Rio.

They said their deficit is over \$2 million. But they insisted that the show—expected to attract more than 1,000 non-governmental organizations and hundreds of thousands of visitors over two weeks—would go on. Somehow, somehow.

"There's no way it can be stopped," said co-organizer Tony Gross, who put the fair together to allow non-governmental groups to get involved in the activity surrounding the governmental Earth Summit also underway in Rio and, perhaps, to influence its outcome.

What's not clear is whether sound will continue to come out of the microphones in the various tents, much less simultaneous translations. The beer pavilions could close. The much-lauded security guards could vanish. Photocopiers could shut down, imperiling the endless flow of position papers.

This afternoon, all services were still available, the forum still chugging along. The contractor providing the sound is

pushing hardest for payment, Gross and co-organizer Warren Lindner said, but any of the 86 contractors might decide to pack up and leave.

"I don't know what their reaction is going to be when they discover their second payment is in jeopardy," Lindner told a packed room of journalists at the International Press Center.

The Global Forum, which opened officially on Monday,

"There's no way it can be stopped."

— Tony Gross, fair co-organizer

has been in financial trouble for months. It did not manage to gather any significant corporate sponsorship. Lindner argued that this wasn't the leadership's fault, because potential donors, such as charitable foundations, had already set their '92 budgets by the time organizers got to work last June.

Gross said that the press conference was partly designed to build a groundswell of support for the Global Forum. The organizers vowed to press on, forming a new leadership team with the official name "Together We Will Make It Happen." Two non-governmental organizations immediately vowed to pitch in money, though others have their own financial problems.

At the end of the press conference, someone passed a hat.

Fires Said to Delay Greenhouse Effect

Researchers Assert Cooling Phenomenon May Last a Few Decades

Associated Press

Global shade caused by smoke from burning tropical forests and grasslands is delaying the predicted greenhouse warming of the Earth, perhaps by a few decades, researchers say.

Emissions from the burning of up to 5 billion tons of plant matter annually act like a cooling parasol for the planet, Joyce E. Penner of Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory in California said yesterday.

But she warned that the effect will not save the Earth from the eventual temperature rises predicted as the result of industrial society putting too much carbon dioxide into the atmosphere.

The cooling effect caused by the clouds of smoke, she said, "is just masking the greenhouse effect. If you stopped the burning, you would immediately start to feel the effect of global warming."

In a report to be published today in the journal *Science*, Penner and

researchers at the University of Arizona concluded that there is enough smoke from burning plants to explain why the global temperatures have not risen as rapidly as scientists had forecast under the greenhouse theory.

"The warming that we have observed up to now is quite a bit less than what we expected," said Robert E. Dickinson, a researcher at Arizona's Institute of Atmospheric Physics and a coauthor of the study. "A good explanation of that is that the smoke effects have been partially canceling the greenhouse effect up to now."

"This is not a solution to greenhouse warming," said Dickinson. "It just may have slowed it down by a few decades."

The scientist said that the cooling effects of the smoke are insufficient to merit modification of treaties now being considered at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro to reduce the amount of carbon dioxide put into the atmosphere by in-

dustrial processes and to make other changes in the way the Earth's resources are used.

Most scientists believe that carbon dioxide and some other gases in the atmosphere cause heat to be trapped about the planet, just as a greenhouse traps heat while allowing the energy of the sun to continue to pour in. If the levels of carbon dioxide go up, more heat will stay with the planet instead of radiating into space, they say, and the result will be global warming.

Smoke and other aerosols in the atmosphere, however, help block sunlight from reaching the planet surface, Dickinson said. On a global basis, said Dickinson, this reflection of sunlight by the smoke is enough to affect climate model predictions.

About half of the smoke is caused by humans, including the use of wood for fuel, burning agricultural wastes, and slash-and-burn techniques of clearing forests, Dickinson said. The rest comes from natural fires in grasslands and forests.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

By William Booth
Washington Post Staff Writer

MIAMI—Dewey Knight III ambled through the commercial heart of Liberty City, pointing at the new palm trees, the freshly painted buildings, the soon-to-be-opened fish market, the thriving grocery, the bustling shoppers.

Twelve years ago, this spot was the epicenter of one of the worst race riots in U.S. history, three days of politically charged looting, burning and killing that left 18 people dead, 400 wounded and turned parts of this predominantly black neighborhood into a wasteland.

Why, people here are asking, did Miami not erupt after the acquittal of four Los Angeles police officers in the beating of Rodney G. King? Was the city just lucky, or has it done something positive to ease tension?

"Black people here see something positive happening," said Knight, 28, a leader of Tacolcy Economic Development Corporation, a grass-roots business organization working to restore neighborhoods ravaged during riots here in 1980. "They see change. They see some hope."

Leaders of this subtropical city, so often the subject of articles about the bizarre and the violent, said Miami can teach the nation something about healing, rebuilding and law and order.

The city is far from a harmonious spot. After the 1980 riots, sporadic problems occurred, and in January 1989 the Liberty City and Overtown neighborhoods erupted in what some here call "the mini-riots" in which one person was killed and 11 injured. The 1980 and 1989 riots occurred after police beat to death or shot and killed a black man.

Indeed, the manslaughter retrial this fall of Miami police officer William E. Lozano, a Colombian native who shot and killed a black motorcyclist, is viewed here as a potential powder keg.

The retrial, ordered by an appeals court that cited trial-court errors and said the trial should not have been held here, initially was moved to Orlando. After three days of rioting in Los Angeles, it was shifted to Tallahassee because of concern about fairness and racial makeup of the jury pool.

But officials, business leaders and community organizers here, blacks and whites, said the city is learning the hard way how to avoid riots.

After the Los Angeles verdicts, Knight said, "We had people here, we had kids who wanted to loot, to burn. But we had more people, good people, who said, 'We don't want our neighborhoods torn down again. They take too long to rebuild.'"

Paul Grogan, president of Local Initiatives Support Corp., a nonprofit organization that aids inner cities said he thinks that Miami "can pat itself on the back [and] is tackling the hard work of rebuilding neighborhoods, of getting people to buy into the system, not with the white establishment's programs but by encouraging the community to come up with its own ideas."

What works, leaders here said, is encouraging inner-city residents to produce their own agenda, then helping them to obtain money and support needed to succeed.

Also important, they said, is a well-trained and integrated police force that reacts swiftly to riot situations but works in the long term to gain citizens' trust. That means getting out of patrol cars, walking beats and having large numbers of black and Hispanic officers in the rank and file as well as the leadership.

What does not work, they said, are large, federally run, top-down, paternalistic attempts by politicians and the Chamber of Commerce to tell the inner city how to rebuild.

"Big federally funded, government-orchestrated programs with millions of dollars are not the answer," said Marvin Dunn, a professor of community psychology at Florida International University who has studied Miami's response to riots here. "The effort to rebuild will only be as successful if the community is setting its own course."

Many veterans of riot and rebuilding here suggested that Bush administration proposals to revitalize riot-torn south-central Los Angeles, such as enterprise zones and tax incentives, will fail as they failed in Liberty City.

"Here we are in 1992, and the same things that didn't work in Miami are being offered up as the salvation for L.A.," Dunn said. "I am very skeptical."

In the Liberty City area, success is measured in

small, undramatic ways. Success is a new Winn-Dixie supermarket, which community leaders said took five years to attract. Success is planting palm trees, then replanting them after a demented person pulled them down. Success is painting buildings, reopening once-vacant stores and building clean, affordable housing for young black yuppies and single working mothers.

"I walk down the street, and people say, 'You're bringing it back! You're bringing the neighborhood back, man,'" Knight said as he showed a visitor a new fish market, a new restaurant and the new Entrepreneurial Center at Miami-Dade Community College.

"People who grew up someplace else, they'd think this is minor, this is nothing great," Knight said. "But for black people, this is a sign of hope, a sign that things are moving at least in the right direction."

After the 1980 riots, Dunn said, there was an outpouring of support from the business community and the city and federal governments. While intentions were good, he said he believes that much of the money and energy were wasted.

For example, through the Small Business Administration, the federal government made available \$100 million in low-interest loans here. Businesses in Liberty City used about \$70 million of that but not to rebuild in riot-ravaged neighborhoods. Until recent efforts, 75 percent of retail space in Liberty City stood vacant.

"They took the money and ran," Dunn said. "They moved out."

The government also tried "enterprise zones," offering businesses low-interest loans and tax credits to locate in Liberty City. However, the incentives were not enough to lure businesses into a gutted neighborhood.

Dunn said many blacks were not enthusiastic about enterprise zones, feeling that they would be exploited with low wages and poor working conditions. The zones never became popular.

Efforts by the downtown business community and Chamber of Commerce initially produced mixed results. There were attempts to pluck blacks from Liberty City and turn them overnight into entrepreneurs in the neighborhoods.

This did not work and produced frustration, said Rod Petrey, a Miami lawyer who works with community-development groups.

What has worked best, Petrey said, is funneling money and resources to existing black business executives and community development groups, such as Tacolcy, letting them set their agendas and business plans.

This, however, can take time. A neighborhood is not revitalized during a campaign season.

One of Tacolcy's first projects was luring a grocery store, and today the Winn-Dixie is thriving. There is talk of expansion, with other grocery chains eyeing the market.

But it took Tacolcy's leaders five years and the help of the federal government, a former senator, a former Miami mayor and private lenders to attract the store.

"It takes longer, it's more awkward, it takes more resources," Petrey said. But ultimately, letting the community decide what it wants, "is more successful."

Dunn said, "It's the only thing that works."

Staff researcher Mark Stuedi in Washington and special correspondent Ricardo Castillo in Florida contributed to this report.

Miami Community's Progress Suggests Riots' Scars Heal From Within

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

House Democrats in 'Gridlock' Over National Health Care Plans

By Spencer Rich
Washington Post Staff Writer

Democrats who had expected to clobber President Bush this fall on the issue of health care now find their House members unable to agree on any single health plan they could be confident of passing.

In fact, some of them fear that if the Democrat-controlled House committees send a bill to the floor, Republicans could find enough support to substitute their own health care proposal and deliver political credit to Bush.

The Republican plan, as introduced yesterday by a House GOP task force, would expand health insurance coverage by changing the private insurance market and targeting tax credits to help the uninsured.

Democrats consider it only a tiny solution to the problem, but House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) contended that the GOP plan could help provide coverage for as many as 20 million people of the 36 million who lack health insurance. Congress should "move forward with reforms on

which there is agreement, rather than wait for any Utopian solution that frankly may never develop," Michel said.

After Pennsylvania Democrat Harris Wofford used the lack of a national health care policy last fall as a major plank of his successful Senate campaign against former attorney general Dick Thornburgh, Democrats felt they had found a powerful issue for the coming elections.

But while Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) appears to have a large proportion of his members behind a wide-ranging set of health care proposals, House Democrats are split.

"Gridlock, that's a rather succinct way of putting it," said Rep. Fortney "Pete" Stark (D-Calif.), chairman of the House Ways and Means health subcommittee. "There is not a two-thirds agreement on any one plan in Congress [needed to overcome Bush's expected veto] and there may not be a majority," said Stark.

Mike Bromberg, executive director of the Federation of American Health Systems, said, "I think there's a very small chance that anything could happen this year."

The drive to reform the nation's health care system comes not only because of the large number of Americans without health insurance, but because health spending for many years has been growing twice as fast as inflation.

But the plans for change come with huge price tags, either for government or business. One Democratic proposal is national health insurance for all, provided by the government, with mandatory limits on overall spending. Another requires all employers to provide health insurance to their workers or pay a tax to help the government provide it, also with strong government cost controls.

The president, after considerable taunting from Democrats that he had no health proposal, came up with a plan to give tax credits or deductions to the poor and middle-class to help them buy insurance, and to reform private insurance rules and medical malpractice laws.

Like both the Senate GOP plan and yesterday's House GOP plan, which the White House and the Department of Health and Human Services helped develop, it seeks to

correct flaws in the existing private-public insurance system without changing it to a government system or compelling employers to provide insurance.

Rep. Willis D. Gradison Jr. (R-Ohio) said the GOP plan could pass the House if Democrats ever let it get to the floor.

House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) has asked Democrats in all relevant House committees to approve a national health spending-cap bill by July 6, in time to send it to the House floor before the Democratic National Convention in mid-July.

Because President Bush has made clear he would veto such a plan, the Democrats could then argue in the campaign that they proposed real health cost controls but the president opposed them.

"We view the Gephardt bill as platform writing in the guise of legislation," said Bromberg, whose group, like virtually all hospital, doctor, pharmaceutical manufacturing and other medical services groups, opposes having the government set nationwide spending caps and fee schedules.

A Gephardt press spokesman said the leader believes "the number one problem

with the health care system is the explosion of costs, and of course, the lobbyists and health care profiteers don't want costs held down. The public does. The [July 6] date has to do with getting a bill to the president before this Congress expires."

At a closed meeting of Ways and Means Democrats Wednesday, some indicated they wanted an even broader, stronger bill—national health insurance. Some feared sending the bill to the floor lest the GOP pass its own bill with the help of conservative Democrats. Others favored a less comprehensive bill. Stark said yesterday he believed at least 15 Democrats would vote for the Gephardt proposal, but that is not enough if all the Republicans oppose it.

Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (D-W.Va.) looked for a silver lining.

"There has never been this much interest and focused activity on health care in my seven years in the Senate," he said. "The candidacy of Ross Perot could alter the outlook considerably in the next few months. It fundamentally challenges both parties to achieve something on health" in order to show that they can get things done.

House Votes One-Year Nuclear Test Moratorium

Momentum Seems Likely to Carry Measure Through Senate Also, Mitchell Reports

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday overwhelmingly approved a one-year moratorium on nuclear testing, and Senate backers of the proposal, including Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine), said the measure may have enough post-Cold War momentum to pass the Senate as well.

The proposal, approved by a vote of 237 to 167, would prohibit U.S. nuclear testing for a year as long as all of the republics of the former Soviet Union continue their current moratorium on nuclear tests.

The House has passed testing bans in the past, only to see them die in the Senate, which produced only 39 votes for such a proposal four years ago.

But 45 senators, including eight Republicans, already have cosponsored a testing moratorium bill this year, and Mitchell and his allies, including Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), a longtime leader of the anti-testing forces in the Senate, indicated they thought the Senate would pass the

measure. "The strong support throughout Congress for a pause in nuclear testing clearly demonstrates that this is an idea whose time has come," said Mitchell at a news conference to call attention to the House vote.

"The ultimate goal of our policy must be to achieve a comprehensive test ban. I believe Congress will enact [this] legislation as a step toward this end," he added.

Even if it passes both houses, the proposal faces the possibility of a veto by President Bush that could not be overridden by Congress.

Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney strongly opposed the moratorium, telling the House in a letter that testing was needed to keep nuclear weapons in shape and that an American moratorium would not deter "rogue nations" such as Iraq or North Korea from testing weapons of their own.

But Hatfield said he has discerned a "certain flexibility" on the part of the administration, possibly opening the way for a modified ban. "I have not given up yet" on the White House, he said.

The moratorium was approved by the House

as part of a \$270 billion defense authorization bill for next year and could come before the Senate this summer as part of the Senate defense bill or in any one of several other forms, including an amendment to an appropriations bill, senators said.

Former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev imposed a unilateral year-long moratorium on testing last October that has been observed by the republics after they broke apart.

France imposed a ban of its own earlier this year.

There have been reports that the administration was considering scaling back testing at or before the president's meeting later this month with Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The White House said on May 26, however, there were no immediate plans to change U.S. testing policy.

A current U.S.-Soviet agreement limits testing to explosions of less than 150 kilotons. All U.S. tests are conducted underground in Nevada.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Government Running Out Of Free Food

Associated Press

Thousands of hungry Americans are finding bare shelves at free food pantries around the country because the federal government has nearly run out of surplus flour, corn meal, canned goods and peanut butter.

The Agriculture Department says its warehouses of surplus commodities are almost empty and that it has spent nearly all of the \$120 million budgeted this year to buy canned goods and other food for distribution to low-income Americans.

Some of the purchased food may still be in the pipeline, but anti-hunger activists said they are concerned it will not last long once it is distributed to the states.

Congressional Democrats say the recession that has pushed a record 25.7 million Americans—more than one in 10—onto the food stamp rolls also is increasing demand for USDA's emergency food donations.

Activists say food stamp benefits run out before the end of the month, so many families stretch their meals with USDA giveaways. And with the onset of summer, families with children who received a free lunch at school will have more meals to fix with less food.

"This will be a long, hard summer for the 10 million low-income children who are now eating free school lunches," said Senate Agriculture Committee Chairman Patrick J. Leahy (D-Vt.).

"The truth is that hungry people don't ask for help from food banks until they've run out of options," said Rep. Tony P. Hall (D-Ohio). "A family at the door of a food bank has no other place to turn. Now, even food banks aren't able to help."

USDA distributes the surplus commodities and purchased foods to the states under the Emergency Food Assistance Program. The states then provide the food to local pantries or community groups.

One government policy that has helped reduce surpluses is USDA's use of export subsidies, at a cost this year of \$1.2 billion, to promote sales of U.S. farm products overseas.

"There is something very wrong . . . when they aggressively subsidize overseas food exports at the same time commodities are being denied to food banks, school nutrition programs and soup kitchens," said Rep. Robert E. Wise Jr. (D-W.Va.).

Bush Avoids Discussion Of Perot

President Stresses Balanced-Budget Plan At News Conference

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Seeking to regain the political offensive with a rare prime time news conference, President Bush last night found himself repeatedly on the defensive as he tried to dodge a barrage of questions about Ross Perot, the possible independent presidential candidate who in recent weeks has overshadowed him and gained in the polls.

Bush appeared intent on avoiding any questions about Perot or the presidential race and concentrating instead on his support for a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget. But he had a hard time sticking to his script as more than half the questions during the 40-minute news conference—broadcast only by CNN—dealt with the Texas billionaire and his campaign.

"I will be ready to join the fray after the conventions, but as you know, I have not challenged either [candidate], have no intention of changing that before the [GOP] convention," Bush said, referring to Perot and Democrat Bill Clinton. "I am trying to get things done that will help this country."

Citing his legislative efforts before Congress, Bush said it would "diminish my effectiveness" if he entered into a full-scale discussion of his opponents.

Earlier in the day, both White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater and Vice President Quayle were not so reluctant, criticizing Perot for opposing the Persian Gulf War and for failing to give any indication of how he would work with Congress. Perot's history, Fitzwater said, "is to stomp into the group, demand to do his things his way and

See BUSH, A13, Col. 1

President Dodges Perot Questions

BUSH, From A1

if he doesn't get it, he picks up the football and goes home."

When asked if he agreed, Bush said, "I am glad that they're putting their focus on these problems, but I am not going to do it myself As people point these things out, that is fair . . . but I am going to stay on the path that I have outlined."

But later, Bush sounded almost plaintive when asked what he would say to Perot if he ran into him campaigning. "Well," he replied. "I'd say, 'Ross, I think I've been a good president. I believe that a man of your ability and talent ought to support me. And we've known each other a long time. In my view, it's been favorable.'"

Asked once again about Perot in the news conference's final minutes, Bush said, without mentioning the Texas billionaire by name, that he could "understand the quest for change and the appeal. I can bring you the new answer here," and he referred to candidates who say they are "from the outside" and can "solve all the problems." But he concluded that when the voters focused on comparing records, he would win out.

"I think we're dealing in a funny time here, time warp," Bush said. "And I think, come fall, when we're out there taking our case to the people, with an improved economy behind us, I still feel confident about the outcome of the political election. And I feel confident about my ability to heal any wounds that have been opened along the way."

Bush has complained repeatedly in recent weeks that his message is not getting out to the American people and his aides determined to use the device of the prime time television appearance as a way to reach a wider audience directly.

But only CNN chose to televise it, and Bush found himself competing with "The Simpsons," "The Cosby Show" and other popular programs when ABC, CBS and NBC executives said they found no reason to break into their regular programming for what was billed as a presidential statement of support for the balanced-budget amendment, which Bush has supported for at least a decade.

Immediately following the news conference, Tom Luce, chairman of the Perot petition committee, was interviewed by CNN anchor Ber-

nard Shaw and Clinton appeared on "Larry King Live."

White House and Bush campaign officials had engaged in a day-long debate over whether Bush should take on Perot and criticize his rival's lack of specific programs and "riskiness" before concluding, as one put it, that "this was not the time." Many Bush advisers had also questioned the tactic of scheduling a nighttime news conference—only his second in office—when he had nothing to announce.

But what Bush decided to do instead, his aides said, was to focus on the balanced-budget amendment scheduled for a vote in the House next week as well as what he called "Washington's" refusal to live within its means and its adherence to the "status quo" of big deficits. Arguing for getting federal spending under control is, as one aide put it, "not exactly risky."

And make the case Bush did, turning nearly every question into a homily on the need for the amendment and how most Americans expect government to reduce spending. The president repeated that message in so many variations the words began bumping into one another. At one point, he noted, "We got a good program on the Hill to achieve a balanced-budget amendment, or after the balanced-budget amendment is passed, to achieve a balanced budget. . . ."

Perot to Testify At POW Hearing

Associated Press

Ross Perot, who has made accounting for Americans missing in action in Southeast Asia a personal cause, will testify on the subject at a Senate hearing June 30.

Sen. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.), chairman of the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs, said the unannounced independent presidential candidate will brief Congress on his continuing efforts on behalf of prisoners of war and those missing in action.

In a statement, Kerry said the Dallas billionaire would be asked about his 1969-1970 trip to Southeast Asia. The panel also will look into the Reagan administration's efforts to account for missing Americans in Southeast Asia "including its assignment to Perot and his report."

Told beforehand by advisers that he has seemed too defensive recently about his environmental record on the eve of his trip to the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Bush responded to a question about the summit with his strongest attack on environmental "extremists." He also portrayed his policies as pro-family because they take into account the economic impact of environmental regulations.

"I want to go on the offense and say what we've done" on the environment, Bush said.

On several occasions, Bush said the American people have been slow to recognize that the economy is improving and to give him credit for it.

He cited a poll—which he attributed at one point to his own campaign and at another to NBC—that showed 70 percent of the public believed the economy was not yet improving. Using statistics to make the case that it is, Bush said that when the "lag" in the public's recognition catches up with reality, his standing will improve.

Even before the news conference, Democrats were questioning the president's sincerity on the balanced-budget amendment. Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) said, "By submitting budgets with record deficits and then somehow suggesting it's all someone else's fault, that's a familiar pattern in this administration."

At one point in the news conference, Bush, trying to explain how a growing economy would help lead to a balanced budget, reeled off a series of seemingly incomprehensible numbers. "We got the program up there. There is some 30 pages of options. . . . We made growth assumptions that can be easily met, 4, 4, 3.2, 3.2, those are the percentages of growth . . . can easily be met if we move with partial growth agenda."

The Democrats have called on Bush to show how he would get to a balanced budget with the nation now running a \$400 billion deficit, but the White House has offered only a menu of suggestions, not actual budgets, and Bush would go no further than that last night, citing entitlement programs, such as Medicare, whose growth he said should be controlled.

Staff researcher Mark Stencil contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

A Debate by Any Other Name . . .

Bush, Clinton Try to Regain Spotlight in Back-to-Back CNN Appearances

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

It was, in effect, the first general-election debate of the 1992 presidential campaign, although the candidates were not even in the same city.

President Bush and Bill Clinton, in back-to-back appearances on CNN last night, tried to grab a share of the media spotlight that has eluded them for weeks. The odd spectacle of the Republican and apparent Democratic nominees scrambling for air time was an unspoken tribute to Ross Perot, who took a rare day off from TV campaigning (although he was represented by campaign chairman Tom Luce, who got the equal-time plum of following the president on CNN).

Bush chose the venue of a formal, prime time news conference, only to find ABC, CBS and NBC dismissing it as an election-year event and refusing to carry it. Clinton, a night after playing the saxophone for talk show host Arsenio Hall, pressed his case on "Larry King Live," the very show on which Perot launched his unorthodox candidacy in February.

The dominant image of the Bush news conference was of a president who wanted to talk about his domestic agenda—he ticked off his legislative proposals at every opportunity—while reporters insisted on talking about Perot. Bush repeatedly sidestepped questions

about the Texas businessman, sometimes fumbling for words or saying, "I simply cannot comment" and "I'm staying in this nonpolitical mode." He even said the country was in "a funny time here, time warp."

The president, who began the session by renewing his call for a balanced-budget amendment, was later forced to admit that his own proposals would not eliminate the deficit for at least five years. He had trouble getting off the defensive, even acknowledging that giving U.S. aid to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein before it invaded Kuwait had "failed."

Bush, who rambled a bit at times,

THE AIR WARS

gave a nervous laugh when Knight-Ridder's Ellen Warren asked why voters were deserting him in droves. "I don't take it personally," he said. Asked by USA Today's Jessica Lee what he would say to Perot, Bush offered, "I'd say, 'Ross, I think I've been a good president. . . .'"

Behind a lectern, under the East Room chandeliers, Bush seemed a traditional politician in a traditional setting, struggling to avoid discussing the Perot surge that is on everyone else's lips.

Luce, questioned by CNN anchor Bernard Shaw, proved as adept as his billionaire boss in avoiding specifics. Pressed about Perot's plat-

form, Luce said the issue was "leadership" and "who can break this gridlock."

Luce also sidestepped questions about a New York Times report that Perot explored private business opportunities while in Vietnam to discuss the POW/MIA issue.

Clinton, appearing with King from Little Rock, Ark., proved more than willing to take on Perot. "Folks like you have been pumping him up, with no program, but with things that sound good," he told King. Clinton added that "the public's smart enough to know you can't cut \$180 billion in waste and abuse without breaking a sweat."

But Clinton was quick to agree with Perot that "both parties have let us down." He attempted the difficult feat of both distancing himself from Congress and saying he could work more effectively with Congress, calling himself "inside the Democratic Party but outside the Washington establishment that's responsible for the paralysis."

Asked about Perot's stated reluctance to appoint homosexuals or adulterers to top government posts, Clinton questioned "whether he intends to use investigators to look into people. . . . I'm not going to get in the position of trying to meddle or snoop into the private lives of people who want to serve in public service."

The Arkansas governor scored early by noting "a certain air of unreality" in Bush backing a balanced-budget amendment while producing



GOV. BILL CLINTON
... critical of Bush's budget approach

big deficits. But he said he "would present a five-year plan to balance the budget"—essentially the same position as Bush's.

Despite the talk-show format, Clinton often appeared a standard-issue politician, reciting his own laundry list of policies and priorities. But the live callers gave the program an unscripted spontaneity, especially when they asked harsh or unusual questions.

A California man wondered how Clinton could serve as commander-in-chief after having "skipped out on your responsibility" during the Vietnam War draft. Clinton gave his standard response.

A Washington caller asked whether playing the sax on late-night TV was as much of a stunt as Michael Dukakis climbing into a tank during the 1988 campaign. "It's part of who I am. I've been playing since I was 9 years old," Clinton insisted, a bit too seriously for the subject.

Senators Ask Candidates To Specify Deficit Steps

Three Urged to Submit to Televised 'Grilling'

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

A bipartisan group of senators called yesterday for a concerted effort by candidates running this fall to produce a mandate for deficit reduction and urged President Bush, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton and Ross Perot to submit to a nationally televised "grilling" on how they would reduce the deficit.

In an attempt to force candidates to avoid "trivialization" of the issue in suggesting that the deficit could be cured by ending waste, fraud and abuse, they asserted that any "meaningful" discussion would have to include tax increases and cuts in big benefit programs.

"The existing reckless federal fiscal policy cannot be addressed in a meaningful way without including consideration of restraining entitlements and increasing taxes, as well as reducing defense and domestic spending," said the senators, led by John C. Danforth (R-Mo.) and Bob Graham (D-Fla.).

There has been a "silent truce, an eerie truce" among the candidates to avoid discussing the kind of serious steps needed to reduce the deficit, which is approaching \$400 billion, said Sen. Carl Levin (D-Mich.).

To draw the presidential candidates out on specific solutions, the group suggested in a preview of their proposal on ABC-TV's "Nightline"

program Wednesday night that the three leading aspirants appear on national television for one hour each to be questioned by senators. They later suggested that the questioning be conducted by retiring Sens. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.) and Kent Conrad (D-N.D.), who have served on the Senate Budget Committee.

ABC agreed to dedicate three hours of programming for the discussions, according to the Associated Press. "Nightline" anchor Ted Koppel said Clinton, the apparent Democratic nominee, accepted the invitation and added that he expected Perot, who is moving toward an independent bid for the presidency, to accept as well, the AP said.

But White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater appeared less enthusiastic. "The president has put his budget out there," Fitzwater said. "It's detailed. Let's see the other candidates put out plans. Let's see how Mr. Perot and Mr. Clinton deal with it, then we'll find a forum for the president."

The group included several supporters of a constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget, who acknowledged that the amendment would not solve the problem on its own. "Many of us will probably vote for it but none probably think it is the answer," said Sen. Charles S. Robb (D-Va.), who said lawmakers supported the proposal "out of a sense of frustration."

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

THE RACE FOR PRESIDENT: ACT I

THE PRIMARIES

There wasn't much snow in New Hampshire in February, and that should have been the first clue that the 1992 presidential campaign would not go according to form.

Voters took control of this election long before the candidates joined the battle. Fed up. Frustrated. Angry. You pick the adjective. They weren't satisfied when the primary season started and they weren't satisfied when it ended Tuesday with President Bush, Bill Clinton and Ross Perot headed for a historic three-way race for the November finish.

As the presidential caravan moved from state to state over the past 3 1/2 months, Bush never lost a contest, yet was seen as one of the main losers of the primary season—a vulnerable incumbent with his campaign at sea about what to do. Clinton won every major contest except New Hampshire, but he too struggled in the final month, trying simply to get a hearing from the public. And Perot became a formidable contender for the White House without running for and getting a single, real vote.

Act I is over, but snapshots of the past 3 1/2 months offer clues to the future: Congress is braced for an upheaval, with women perhaps the principal beneficiaries; voters are skeptical and disappointed with their choices and may vote with their seats, by staying home; incumbents are in danger.

Ahead lies an unsettling summer of conventions, vice-presidential picks and a shakedown in the campaigns as they prepare for a general election, the likes of which no one has seen.

WHO WON WHERE — DEMOCRATS



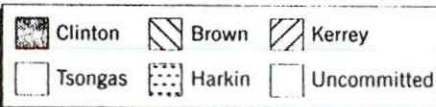
Clinton won in Puerto Rico and Guam

American Samoa and the U.S. Virgin Islands are uncommitted



REPUBLICANS

President Bush won all 44 Republican primaries and caucuses.



BY BRAD WYE—THE WASHINGTON POST

THE ALIENATED VOTER

Voters felt disaffection for their candidates during the primary season, exit polls show. Democrats wanted "someone else" more than Republicans, but displeasure toward Bush climbed as the campaign wore on.

REPUBLICANS

	% VOTERS	BUCHANAN	BUSH
FEB. 18, NEW HAMPSHIRE			
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	66%	28%	71%
I want another candidate	29	65	26
MARCH 24, CONNECTICUT			
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	61	13	86
I want another candidate	37	37	37
APRIL 7, WISCONSIN			
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	63	10	87
I want another candidate	36	27	63
APRIL 28, PENNSYLVANIA			
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	53	9	90
I want another candidate	44	36	51

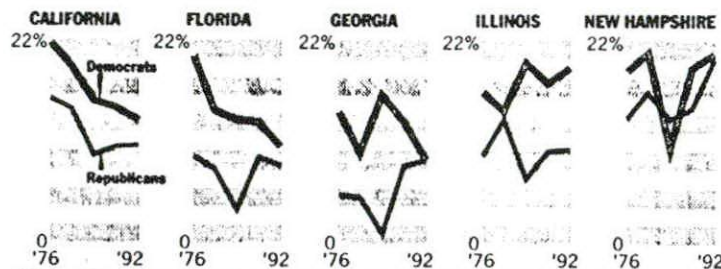
DEMOCRATS

	% VOTERS	CLINTON	TSONGAS	BROWN
FEB. 18, NEW HAMPSHIRE				
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	65%	31%	35%	9%
I want another candidate	30	18	30	9
MARCH 24, CONNECTICUT				
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	38	52	13	33
I want another candidate	58	24	24	41
APRIL 7, WISCONSIN				
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	38	49	11	38
I want another candidate	59	30	30	33
APRIL 28, PENNSYLVANIA				
I am satisfied with my party's candidates	40	76	5	18
I want another candidate	55	42	19	31

NOTE: Data show exit poll results for 1,115 to 1,848 registered Democrats and Republicans randomly selected at the polls in each of the listed states. Poll results were provided by Voter Research & Surveys of New York, an association of ABC, CNN, CBS and NBC News. Margin of sampling error for all results is plus or minus 2 to 3 percentage points. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research Services of Radnor, Pa.

THE MISSING VOTER

Are primary turnouts declining? Yes, in some states, such as California and Florida.



NOTE: 1984 Republican turnouts dip because President Reagan did not face a challenger. Percents are of voting-age population.

THE ATYPICAL VOTER

Primaries voters this year were older than the national average shown in the 1990 census, and voters in both the 1992 primaries and the 1988 general election were better educated than average.

	1992 primaries	1988 election	U.S. average (1990 census)
AGE:			
Under 60	69%	83%	83%
60+	31	17	17
SEX:			
Male	49%	48%	49%
Female	51	52	51
RACE:			
White	86%	87%	80%
Black	9	8	12
Hispanic (can be of any race)	3	3	9
Asian	1	NA	3
Other	1	2	4
EDUCATION:			
Did not complete high school	7%	7%	24%
High school graduate	25	27	30
Some college	28	29	25
College graduate	22	22	13
Postgraduate study	18	15	7

NOTE: 1992 data show exit poll results for 69,036 registered Democrats (40,770) and Republicans (28,266) randomly selected at the polls from the 28 states in which Voter Research & Surveys (VRS) conducted exit poll surveys through June 2. Poll results were provided by VRS of New York, an association of ABC, CNN, CBS and NBC News. Margin of sampling error for all results is plus or minus 1 percentage point. Interviewing was conducted by Chilton Research Services of Radnor, Pa. 1988 data are from ABC News exit polls.

ODYSSEY OF A CAMPAIGN

Jan. 7-10, 1992: Bush visit to Japan stumbles: He faints, auto import agreement assailed.

Jan. 8: Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder withdraws.

Jan. 24-26: Gennifer Flowers alleges that she had an affair with the



Arkansas governor. Bill and Hillary Clinton appear on "60 Minutes." Clinton admits to "marital wrongdoing."

Feb. 12: Clinton releases copy of letter thanking colonel for "saving me from the draft."

Feb. 18: Ex-senator Paul E. Tsongas and Bush win New Hampshire primary, but strong second-place showing by Patrick J. Buchanan rattles president.

Feb. 20: Ross Perot, on "Larry King Live," says



he might run for president as a grass-roots independent.

March 3: Georgia: Clinton wins. Maryland: Tsongas the victor. Colorado: California ex-governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. wins.

March 5: Sen. Bob Kerrey (Neb.) withdraws.

March 9: Sen. Tom Harkin (Iowa) withdraws.

March 10: Super Tuesday—Bush, Clinton sweep South.

March 16: Hillary Clinton defends her career, saying she "could have stayed home and baked cookies and had teas."

THE YEAR OF THE WOMAN

Seven women have won nomination to the U.S. Senate. In California, Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer are the Democratic candidates for the state's two Senate seats. Barbara A. Mikulski was nominated in Maryland, Democrat Carol Moseley Braun in Illinois, Democrat Lynn Yeakel in Pennsylvania, Republican Charlene Haar in South Dakota, and Democrat Jean Lloyd-Jones in Iowa.

There may be a significant increase in the number of women elected to the U.S. House, where there are 29 female lawmakers. In California alone, 19 women won nomination in 17 House races.

RESULTS TO DATE FROM THE CONGRESSIONAL PRIMARIES

	Senate	House
Women candidates	15	105
Women nominated	7	51

UPHEAVAL IN THE HOUSE

In the House this year, 56 members have retired voluntarily, a record since World War II. Many political observers expect the turnover to reach or exceed 100 out of 435 members.

March 17: Clinton carries Illinois and Michigan, killing Tsongas's hopes.

March 20: Tsongas suspends race.

March 30: Clinton admits to marijuana use in college but claims he did not inhale.

April 7: Clinton wins New York after brawling primary. Brown runs weak second, Tsongas is third.

April 23: David Duke withdraws.

April 28: Pennsylvania: Clinton wins with Brown far back.

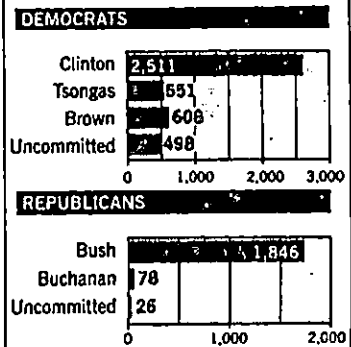
May 28: Perot's name placed on Texas and Florida ballots. Other states with his name on the ballot in-



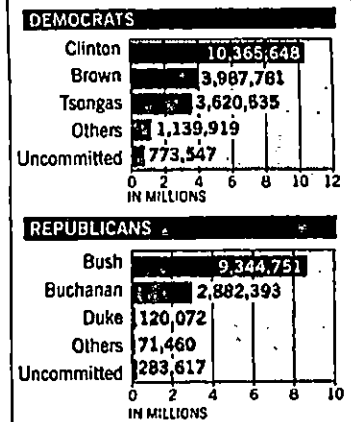
clude Delaware, Kentucky, Maine, New Jersey, Tennessee, Utah, Wyoming.

June 2: Bush, Clinton win in California, New Jersey, Ohio, Montana, New Mexico and Alabama. Twenty-one women in California win primary races for the Senate and the House.

THE DELEGATE COUNT



THE VOTE COUNT



Compiled by Jeannette Belliveau, Jennifer Kyle Herd, Sharon Warden, Dan Balz and Mark Stencel

SOURCES: Associated Press, Center for the American Woman and Politics at Rutgers University, U.S. Census, Voter Research & Surveys, ABC News, Committee for the Study of the American Electorate, news reports

ON CAPITOL HILL

House Moves to Turn Over Sealed Iran-Contra Papers

The House voted late last night to turn over to Iran-contra prosecutors sealed materials related to the sworn testimony of former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger nearly five years ago.

The voice vote approval followed a brief debate during which Republicans castigated independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh for the length and cost—nearly \$40 million—of his probe into the Reagan administration's worst scandal.

Sources familiar with Walsh's request said prosecutors apparently are comparing sworn statements Weinberger made to Congress during its Iran-contra investigation with other evidence, including Weinberger's personal notes from that period, in an effort to establish perjury charges.

Walsh wrote in a June 1 letter to House General Counsel Steven R. Ross that he is seeking "material necessary to establish essential elements of a possible crime."

The request, which also seeks access to congressional aides who interviewed Weinberger, is urgent because a five-year statute of limitations on the former secretary's testimony to congressional investigators runs out on June 17.

Because the congressional investigating panels were disbanded years ago and their records sealed and handed over to the National Archives, release of the materials required passage of a House resolution.

Walsh, in the closing months of his investigation, is seeking to establish whether former

president Ronald Reagan took part in a coverup of the scheme that sent arms to Iran and clandestine aid to Nicaragua's contra rebels.

Military Abortions Abroad Backed

■ The House has voted for the third consecutive year to require U.S. military hospitals abroad to perform abortions, sending the issue to an uncertain future in the Senate.

The provision, part of a \$274 billion budget measure for the Defense Department, was approved 216 to 193 after an emotional debate yesterday. It would require the military hospitals to make abortions available to service women willing to pay for the procedures.

Senate aides said they did not know if they had the votes to prevent defeat there again.

Rep. Marilyn Lloyd (D-Tenn.) drew applause after an emotional speech in which she said she opposed abortion but concluded after her own bout with breast cancer that women should have the right to make their own medical decisions.

She said she concluded service women abroad should have the same option as those at home to make the decision "each woman must make on her own, and live with, based on her personal convictions."

Rep. Henry J. Hyde (R-Ill.) said the question was not equal medical rights but rather "the intentional killing of a defenseless unborn child."

He said the House provision would mandate that every military hospital and their doctors perform abortions.

But Rep. Les AuCoin (D-Ore.), author of the provision, said no military doctor would be required to perform abortions and the measure would only give military women the same right to abortion abroad they would have at home.

In other action, the House rejected, 283 to

98, a measure that would have cut \$27 billion from the defense budget.

Senate Votes to Lift Fetal Test Ban

■ The Senate voted 85 to 12 to lift a government ban on the use of aborted fetuses in disease research, setting the stage for an expected veto by President Bush.

The same measure passed the House last week on a 260 to 148 vote, which, unlike the Senate tally, was short of the two-thirds necessary to override the veto.

Supporters said fetal tissue holds the promise of treatments for Alzheimer's disease, Parkinson's disease, diabetes and spinal cord injuries.

The Bush administration contends lifting the ban would encourage more women to have abortions.

The provision removing the administration's ban on public supported research with fetal tissue is a part of a broader bill authorizing \$5.4 billion next year for the National Institutes of Health, the government's principal medical research agency.

Urban Aid Pact Eludes Conferees

■ House and Senate conferees failed to reach agreement on a nearly \$2 billion emergency urban aid bill, and Republicans said President Bush would veto the measure unless the amount is reduced by about half.

Supporters had hoped for quick agreement to permit money to flow for summer job and school programs in cities around the country.

The bill began as a \$495 million emergency appropriation for Los Angeles and Chicago, but the Senate added \$1.45 billion to extend aid to other cities.

From news services

House Vote Planned on Balanced-Budget Statute

By Eric Pianin and Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writers

House Democratic leaders are planning a vote early next week on legislation to require the president to submit a balanced budget, in hopes of weakening support for a proposed constitutional amendment scheduled to come up later in the week.

"This is similar to the amendment approach, but doesn't use the Constitution as a tool for economic policy, which I'm against," said Rep. Barbara B. Kennelly (D-Conn.), chief sponsor of the bill. "There are some using the amendment as a vehicle to win election, trifling with the Constitution, which I find unacceptable."

The bill, endorsed by House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) and Majority Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.), is the latest move by the Democratic leadership in trying to defeat the balanced-budget amendment.

Although Kennelly's bill has little chance of passing, a high-ranking Democrat said yesterday it would offer "political cover" for those who favor some type of deficit-reduction measure but who are uncomfortable voting to change the Constitution.

In the Senate, Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) said he and other foes of the amendment are considering an array of options as part of their strategy to defeat the proposal, including also offering a budget-balancing statute instead of a constitutional amendment.

But Mitchell, who has held meetings on the issue with about 20 Democrats and a couple of Republicans, said no decision has been reached on whether to offer a counterproposal or what it should be if one is offered.

Possibilities include coupling the amendment with some kind of enforcement mechanism and proposing an alternative amendment.

Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (D-Tex.), chief sponsor of the consti-

tutional amendment, and House Budget Committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.), a critic of the amendment, are working together on an enforcement mechanism that would automatically cut spending and raise taxes if Congress and the president failed to meet targets for balancing the budget.

The proposed constitutional amendment, designed to put an end to record deficits that may reach \$400 billion this year, will be debated and voted on in the House next Wednesday and Thursday.

At one time, the amendment appeared headed for easy passage, but Mitchell and Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.) are fast building opposition to the idea while in the House advocates are struggling to hold on to the 290-vote majority necessary for passage.

Stenholm said yesterday that he doubted the Kennelly bill would have any effect in shaking loose support for the amendment.

"I can't imagine that seriously considered as cover for anyone," he said. "That baby is branded right out of the chute. That's so blatantly an attempt at cover it's almost laughable."

A similar tactic was used by opponents two years ago to defeat a proposed constitutional amendment that would have permitted Congress and the states to enact laws making it illegal to desecrate the flag.

Opponents of the amendment introduced a proposed statute that would have outlawed flag desecration intended to provoke violence. That bill failed, but it was useful in softening the support for the constitutional amendment, which fell 34 votes short of the two-thirds necessary for passage.

In his remarks, Mitchell sharply criticized President Bush for advocating the amendment while failing to produce a deficit-free spending program of his own. "This is one more example of a president who



REP. BARBARA B. KENNELLY
... proposes alternative to amendment

says one thing and does another," he said.

Mitchell contended that the amendment would simply allow the president and Congress to claim credit for addressing the issue now while delaying the "substantive and difficult" choices necessary to balance the budget until another year.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

House Democrats Delay Attempt To Shelve Whitten

House Democratic leaders have put off until next week efforts to persuade Appropriations Committee Chairman Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.) to temporarily step aside while he recovers from an extended illness.

The subject of Whitten's future was not raised yesterday at a meeting of the House Democratic caucus, but House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) said, "I think that there will probably be some further discussion with the chairman about the work of the committee."

Staffers for the Democratic caucus, chaired by Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-Md.), have drafted a resolution calling for Whitten, 82, to temporarily relinquish his duties to Rep. William H. Natcher (D-Ky.), the committee's vice chairman, according to a source. Hoyer told reporters yesterday that "anything can happen" at next week's caucus.

Dominicans Said to Mistreat Fleeing Haitians

Reuter

A leading U.S. human rights group yesterday accused the Dominican Republic of treating Haitian refugees with open hostility.

"Many, perhaps thousands who have fled violence and persecution in Haiti remain in hiding . . . in the Dominican Republic without documentation, protection or assistance," the U.S. Committee for Refugees said in a special report.

"Some Haitians have been summarily repatriated by the Dominican army. Others have been arrested in the Dominican Republic and threatened with forced return," it said.

The Dominican Republic shares Hispaniola island with Haiti. Tens of thousands of Haitians have fled since a military coup toppled President Jean-Bertrand Aristide last fall.

The United States initially took Haitian boat people to its Guantanamo naval base in Cuba for screening. But after the base was filled, Coast Guard cutters began returning them directly to Haiti after plucking them from their rickety boats.

The committee for refugees said that policy could exacerbate the Dominican policy toward Haitians.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Business Grants, 'Microloans' For Anti-Poverty Program Set

SBA Sends \$15 Million to Groups in 30 States

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Small Business Administration intends to create even smaller businesses with a new program of "microloans" targeted to poor, minority and female entrepreneurs.

The pilot project, authorized in a 1991 appropriations bill, will test the capacity of poor people to lift themselves out of poverty by running the smallest of small businesses. Federal support for such "microenterprises" is included in an emergency aid package for riot-torn Los Angeles.

The SBA on Tuesday announced \$15 million in loans and grants to 35 nonprofits groups in 30 states. Those groups will in turn make 10-year loans as large as \$25,000 to new or fledgling entrepreneurs unable to get business credit in amounts that most commercial lenders consider too small.

The microloans are targeted to the poor, women and racial minorities, but others are eligible under legislation sponsored by Sen. Dale Bumpers (D-Ark.), chairman of the Senate Small Business Committee.

"It gives people empowerment," said Patricia Saiki, the SBA administrator. "If you're in a low-income group and you want to get out of that cycle . . . this is an unusual opportunity."

Saiki said older SBA programs generally offer loans of between \$50,000 and \$750,000. "This really fills a gap we've had in the past," she said.

Drawing upon Third World or European models, more than 100 private groups around the nation have in the last decade loaned money to microenterprises in urban and rural areas where jobs are scarce and poverty prevails. Most of that lending has occurred without government help although the Department of Health and Human Services has funded a pilot project for welfare recipients.

Rep. Tony Hall (D-Ohio) and Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.) have sponsored legislation to change welfare rules on asset and income limits to encourage recipients to go into business. After the Los Angeles riots, the Department of Hous-

ing and Urban Development expressed interest in putting welfare changes into President Bush's urban aid package, Hall said, but he has not heard from HUD officials lately.

An aide to Bumpers said he proposed the SBA program after hearing a radio news report about a Pine Bluff, Ark., woman who used a \$1,600 loan to buy a stove and steam table, enabling her to expand her restaurant into a catering company.

Joyce Klein, project director for the Corporation for Enterprise Development, a Washington research center, praised the SBA for leaving the lending to experienced nonprofit organizations. "You need the people who are doing the lending to be close to the client, not in Washington," Klein said.

Few private programs have loan limits as high as SBA's, perhaps once again demonstrating government's difficulty doing anything in a small way.

Klein said most microenterprise programs in the United States average loans of \$2,000 to \$3,000, with the typical maximum ranging from \$5,000 to \$8,000. The SBA seeks an average of \$10,000, with a maximum of \$25,000.

Some microenterprise lenders have cited legislated interest rates as a potential problem with the SBA program.

The agency lends up to \$750,000 to the nonprofit groups at the interest rate on five-year Treasury bills, currently 6.6 percent. Those groups then lend the money to entrepreneurs at a maximum rate of four points over banks' prime rate, or currently 10.5 percent. Klein said some nonprofit groups think the four-point spread is too small to operate comfortably.

John Ball, staff director of the Senate Small Business Committee, said Bumpers plans to propose widening the spread in pending legislation to reauthorize another SBA program.

Conferees crafting a House-Senate compromise on emergency aid for Los Angeles and Chicago, Ball said, agreed yesterday to \$29 million for microenterprise loans and another \$5 million for technical assistance.

TALKING POINTS

Embattled Curry Takes Private Job

Jerry R. Curry has resigned as head of the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration (NHTSA) to take a job in the private sector, the Transportation Department has announced.

Curry's departure was expected following a flap with Deputy Transportation Secretary James B. Busey IV. Curry had been nominated to head the Federal Aviation Administration, but fell from favor after his nomination was held up in the Senate.

During the lengthy delay, Curry made comments to a Capitol Hill staff member that angered Busey, but Curry rejected Busey's demand that he withdraw. When Curry finally withdrew, it was assumed he would then leave NHTSA for another job in the administration.

However, department sources said they had no idea where Curry was going. "It's true to form," said one official. "He's kept us guessing."

Space Staff Shifts

■ Brian D. Dailey this week takes over as head of the National Space Council staff. Formerly a senior Republican aide to a Senate Armed Services subcommittee, Dailey's first project will be to sort out options for increased joint space activity with the Russians in time for a possible announcement on that subject at the Russian-American summit later this month.

Dailey replaces the affable but aggressive Mark J. Albrecht, who left for the private sector. In his three-year tenure, Albrecht was point man for Vice President Quayle, the council chair.

Dailey's recent focus has been on strategic and arms control issues, but he once earned a master's degree in painting and sculpture.

—Don Phillips
and Kathy Sawyer

The Shroud of Secrecy—Torn

Tass Takes the Wraps Off an Air Force Spy Satellite Launch

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

As far as most Americans are concerned, the launch of a Titan II rocket from Vandenberg Air Force Base in California on April 25 might never have taken place. Air Force officials were characteristically close-mouthed about the classified mission, refusing even to acknowledge its existence until after the launch occurred and then only in a brief statement.

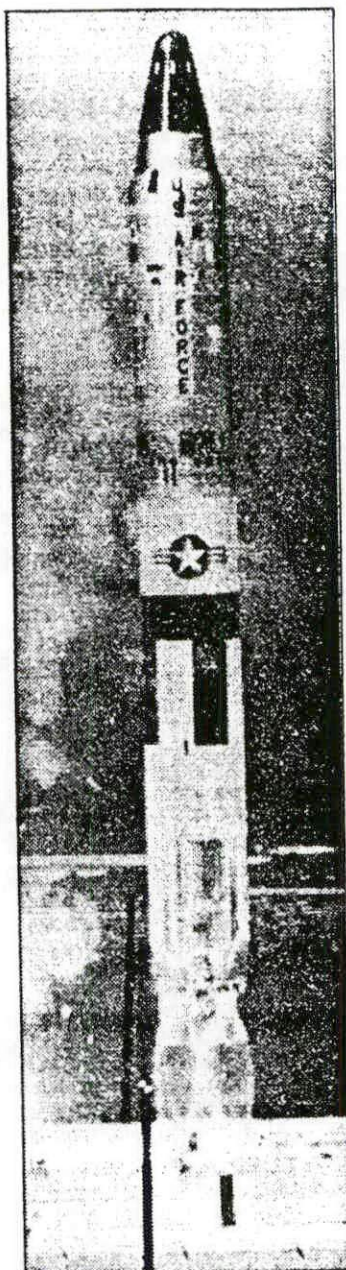
But the veil of secrecy was not as impregnable as the Air Force might have hoped. In fact, information on both the launch and its payload had been publicly disclosed three days previously, and by a most unlikely source: Tass Radio, an English-language news service in Moscow.

So much for classification.

In an April 22 broadcast, Tass reported that the Air Force was about to launch a Titan II rocket carrying a "Ferret-D" intelligence satellite, the third Titan launch since 1988. The news service, citing "well-informed sources," said the satellite being launched from Vandenberg was equipped for "radiotechnical reconnaissance" and would be used for "spying on the CIS member states."

Tass's scoop was gleefully described in this month's issue of "Secrecy & Government Bulletin," a newsletter put out by the Federation of American Scientists, which has been campaigning for greater openness in government programs.

"It's offensive that the Air Force would be withholding precisely the kind of information that Tass was reporting," said Steven Aftergood, who directs the federation's anti-secrecy program. "If I had called the Air Force and asked them if [the Tass report] was true, they would have told me to get lost." (The Santa Maria Times, which is published near Vandenberg, learned of the Air Force's launch plans independently and published a report on the mission a day after the Tass broadcast.)



Canceled volleyball games at Vandenberg Air Force Base precede Titan II launches, one reporter says.

Aftergood contends that government classification procedures too often are used to suppress embarrassing or politically troublesome information under the guise of national security. As a result, Aftergood said, the pub-

lic is robbed of its right to know and "respect for the classification system is dropping drastically There is an inability to distinguish between genuinely sensitive information and information that's merely politically sensitive."

Maj. Dave Thurston, an Air Force spokesman, said that notwithstanding Tass's reporting efforts, the secrecy surrounding the Vandenberg launch was justified and remains so today. "Payload is classified and remains classified," he said. "We classify things for a very specific reason. There are capabilities that we have that contribute to the security of the United States. The fact that other people try to determine what those capabilities are and publish what they believe them to be doesn't mean we have to assist them."

Thurston acknowledged, however, that the shroud of secrecy that surrounds such launches frequently has a few holes. "There are a lot of different ways you can determine whether there's going to be a launch," he said, noting that the 120-foot rockets, once positioned for liftoff, often can be spotted by passengers on the Amtrak line that traverses Vandenberg.

"When you stand up something that tall on a launch pad, it's a foregone conclusion you're going to use it," he said.

Christopher Rosche, Washington correspondent for the Santa Maria Times and a veteran Vandenberg watcher, said local reporters have learned to predict classified launches by keeping an eye on the schedule of Air Force volleyball teams, among other things. "It's hilarious," Rosche said. "All of a sudden they'll start canceling games. You find out which days the games have been canceled and you know there's probably going to be a launch."

The Tass scoop, however, probably came from an even more reliable source: The Russian government itself, which is routinely notified in advance of U.S. satellite launches as a precaution against nuclear war.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Converting Fighters Into Educators

\$1 Billion Package Approved by House

By Steven Pearlstein
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday, moving to turn swords into slide rules, authorized funds to hire up to 6,000 laid off defense workers and military personnel to teach math and science in the nation's public schools. The proposal was part of a \$1 billion package to help wean the U.S. economy from its dependence on Pentagon spending—"the toughest assignment our country has in 1892," House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.) said. The House adopted the package last evening 275 to 105 as part of the 1993 defense authorization bill. "This is indeed an historic moment," declared Rep. Thomas J.

The teacher corps provision would authorize \$180 million next year.

Downey (D-N.Y.), whose Long Island district is heavily dependent on defense spending. "Finally there is a recognition that a strong defense means a strong economy."

The teacher corps provision would authorize \$180 million next year for the Pentagon to pay up to \$25,000 for each of the new teachers, who would be drawn from the ranks of 1.5 million civilian and military employees expected to be discharged or laid off over the next five years as a result of the end of the Cold War.

The new instructors would have to earn teacher certificates, and school districts could only use the funds to add to their existing teaching staffs. Preference would be given to employees trained in science, math, and engineering.



Capt. John Hyatt, on return from the Persian Gulf last year, held up cards made for him by pupils at Lovettsville Elementary School. Enactment of House bill would move laid off defense workers and military personnel into schools to teach.

But some educators were skeptical about the idea.

Bill Aldridge, executive director of the national Science Teachers Association, yesterday called the proposal a "noble gesture" but said it was "somewhat naive."

"Teaching involves a lot more than just knowing the subjects," said Aldridge. "The preparation needed is broad, and the people you are talking about are fairly narrow."

Other provisions of the House economic conversion package would:

- Authorize the Pentagon's advanced research agency to organize and finance industry research into technologies with both military and civilian applications (\$150 million).
- Provide job training for laid-off civilian and military employees (\$200 million).
- Guarantee loans to help small defense companies finance conversion to nonmilitary products (\$75 million).
- Pay for extended health benefits and special separation pay for Pentagon employees laid off or separated involuntarily from military service (\$125 million).
- Fund economic planning grants in communities hit by base and defense plant closings (\$100 million).

Economic conversion—the task of retooling America's post-Cold War economy—has become a hot political issue this spring.

Last week, President Bush unveiled his own proposals for assisting military personnel and civilians forced out of government service, largely an amalgam and extension of existing programs involving only modest amounts of new spending.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton has promised an ambitious program of high-tech public works projects to develop new high-speed trains, power generating plants, incinerators, and telecommunications systems.

House Democrats said they stopped short of adopting Clinton's proposal because of budgetary constraints and the need to win Republican support for their plan. But most conceded that a \$1 billion-a-year effort was inadequate to deal with the economic dislocation caused by the rapid decline in defense spending.

"We should be spending \$10 billion a year for 10 years, but we don't have the money," said Rep. George Brown (D-Calif.).

An economic conversion package similar to the one approved by the House has been proposed by a special Senate panel.



USA TODAY

USA TODAY • FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Bush: Being 'outsider' not enough

By Jessica Lee
and Debbie Howlett
USA TODAY

President Bush Thursday dismissed Ross Perot's claim to be a political outsider who can solve the nation's problems.

"I can understand that appeal," said Bush.

But he added Perot will have to offer a lot more than an "I'm from the outside. I can solve the problems" platform.

In a rare prime-time news conference — which none of the big three networks aired — Bush ducked most questions about partisan politics.

He attempted to keep the focus on his own agenda and accomplishments.

And while he has not proposed a balanced budget in three years as president, he continually pushed a balanced-budget amendment awaiting action in Congress — mentioning it more than 20 times during the news conference.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton said Bush's news conference "had a certain air of unreality to it. ...

"There are three people who want to be president, and I'm the only one who's ever balanced any budgets," Clinton said on CNN's *Larry King Live*.

Perot, meanwhile, was in Las Vegas Thursday delivering 48,500 signatures — five times what's needed to put him on the Nevada ballot.

"Would anybody ... think we'd be leading the race in 90 days?" he asked.

Perot also took a slap at Bush and others calling for a balanced budget amendment. "Makes me wonder where they heard it first."

Perot often discusses the \$400 billion deficit, but hasn't spelled out how he'd solve it.

THE HIGHLIGHTS

Excerpts from President Bush's press conference:

ON POLITICAL RESPONSIBILITY: "I would remind the people that Congress appropriates every dime and tells me how to spend every dime. It's the Congress that does that. But, sure, I'll accept my share of the responsibility for this long recession, and so will the Congress. But the question isn't blame. The question is, what do you do about it? ... Let's move on my growth initiatives that would stimulate investment, like having the capital gains, moving on the investment allowance that speeds up depreciation, first-time credit for homebuyers."

ON THE EARTH SUMMIT: "We've got a sound and sensible environmental record and we have a strong role of international leadership. I wonder if the American taxpayer knows that we have spent something like \$800 billion in the last 10 years on cleaning up things. ... I am not going to go down there and forget about people that need jobs in the United States of America. ... I'm not going to forget the American family. And if they don't understand it in Rio, too bad."

ON CAMPAIGN DEBATES: "I'm sure there will be debates and I will be ready to join the fray after the conventions. ... I am trying to get things done that will help this country. The balanced budget amendment is a good example of that. And if I get too caught up in the political wars at this time, it will be even more difficult to get things through the Congress that will help — a crime bill, an education bill, balanced budget amendment — things that we really need."

ON PERCEPTIONS: "I've tried to keep the faith with the people ... (who) see the president as a strong leader. They may not like the direction things are going in, but that's something that I find rather comforting."

USA TODAY

USA TODAY • FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Perot remains the hottest topic

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

President Bush, at times defensive and frustrated, spent his first prime-time press conference since 1989 mostly deflecting questions about the topic everybody else in the country seems to be obsessed with: Ross Perot.

Questions about Perot dominated Bush's press conference — as his White House and campaign aides knew they would.

Bush hoped to boost sagging poll ratings and give his campaign a needed lift. He stuck with his strategy to remain above the fray, but seemed tempted to take a whack or two at Perot.

Asked if it was proper for Perot to try to purchase the presidency, Bush said: "I'd love to answer that question..."

Earlier in the day, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater wasn't so reticent. He said Perot's "entire history is to stomp into the group, demand to do his things his way, and if

he doesn't get it, he picks up the football and goes home."

But Bush said he wouldn't get into the verbal fight "because I've vowed to keep my sights set on these legislative goals and on leading this country, and if I get into characterizing one opponent or another, I diminish my effectiveness in doing that."

As he has before, the president attributed his ebbing popularity to the economy.

"Most people would concede that my problems stem from this sluggish, anemic

"
I'd say, 'Ross, I think I've been a good president. I believe that a man of your ability and talent ought to support me.'
"

— President Bush

economy," he said. "I think my fortunes have been related to that, and I think, if I'll take the blame — some of which I'll take — is the economy has been sick." He said he hopes he gets credit for the recovery.

Bush's opening statement dealt with his balanced budget proposal. He even sought reporters' help in making the case that it's a good idea. Thursday, some political aides recommended that he set the balanced budget pitch aside and instead deliver a newsmaking statement to chasten ABC, CBS and NBC. The networks didn't carry the press conference live.

The president allowed himself a couple disgusted grimaces as he tried to steer the discussion toward his proposals, but reporters kept trying to nick his composure with queries about Perot. Bush didn't bite, so he didn't provide anything dramatic.

If he encountered Perot, Bush said: "I'd say, 'Ross, I think I've been a good president. I believe that a man of your ability and talent ought to support me.' ... I would admit I'd be — it might be a little bit of a long-shot in persuading him."

As usual, Bush's syntax produced fodder for imitators. Asked about his message, he said: "You ask in these deadly polls that you read all the time, you know, about — relating to issues. And it's vague out there." Describing the political climate: "We're dealing in a funny time here, time warp."

But will support budget law

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

House Democratic leaders predicted Thursday they can defeat a proposed constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget next week — but vowed to support a law aimed at achieving the same thing.

Later, at an evening news conference, President Bush said, "a piecemeal approach simply will not do the job. We need a constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget."

"We can choose either to accept the status quo," Bush said, "or strike a bold new course restoring fiscal sanity to the federal government."

But on Capitol Hill, one week before what is expected to be a close vote, House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., said "I think support is weakening."

House Majority Whip David Bonior, D-Mich., predicted the amendment will fail to get the required two-thirds majority next Thursday. Sen. Robert Byrd, D-W.Va., has made the same forecast for the Senate.

But the amendment, which would require three-fifths of the House and Senate to approve deficit spending after 1997, has 278 House co-sponsors — just 12 short of the number needed for passage.

"Obviously, the opposition is building, and it's very strong," said Rep. Charles Stenholm, D-Texas, chief sponsor of the amendment and leader of the party's conservative wing. But he said, "We have the votes."

The debate boils down to one of political frustration. Both sides want to cut the record \$400 billion deficit. Supporters say enshrinement in the Constitution will hold lawmakers' feet to the fire. Opponents say it's a paper tiger designed to put off tough decisions.

At a Democratic caucus, those opponents — led by House Budget Committee Chairman Leon Panetta, D-Calif. — urged passage of a deficit-reduction process similar to the failed Gramm-Rudman law of the 1980s, which set annual targets enforced by threatened automatic, across-the-board cuts.

"This constitutional amendment unfortunately has no teeth right now," Panetta said.

Stenholm acknowledged as much but credited the threat of an amendment, which would require ratification by 38 states if it passes Congress, for igniting the debate over how to wipe out the deficit.

"If we win, we have to enforce it," he said. "If we lose, we still have to enforce it."

A bipartisan group of senators, meanwhile, called on the presidential candidates to debate the budget deficit and lay out their proposals.

Democrat Bill Clinton has agreed to debate. Bush and Ross Perot haven't responded.

Amendment doomed, Dems say

CAMPAIGN '92

BCP-TV: Bush, Clinton, Perot

Politics pervades airwaves

By Leslie Phillips
USA TODAY

President Bush says he won't be spending a lot of time on the Phil Donahue show because "I'm the president."

Rivals Ross Perot and Bill Clinton aren't so choosy.

For both men, national political reporters are no longer a sufficient conduit for their ideas. Both want to speak to voters more directly — unedited and at length — on cable channels, entertainment programs, and live talk shows better known for interviews with movie stars and sex therapists.

"When they're looking at the networks, they seem to be looking less at the traditional news shows than the talk shows," says Gene Roberts, University of Maryland journalism professor and former editor of the Philadelphia Inquirer. "And small wonder. If you get more than two sentences on a news show, it's a minor miracle."

What journalist Carl Bern-

stein calls "this talk-show culture" reached new heights when Perot launched his undeclared presidential bid on CNN's *Larry King Live*.

Now CNN can claim another coup for its impressive lineup Thursday: First it broadcast live an unprecedented 15 uninterrupted minutes of a Perot stump speech in Las Vegas, even though he's not yet a candidate. It was the only major network to air live Bush's 30-minute prime-time news conference. And the evening end-

ed with Clinton on the hour-long *Larry King*.

Clinton calls such unorthodox events "a direct lob" at voters that he enjoys because it gets "away from the tarmac campaign" where candidates fly from one media market to another and have press conferences on airport runways.

"It's silly business, getting on and off airplanes, dragging huge numbers of press behind you," says Perot spokesman James Squires.

"It does not make for good

political dialogue. It's just a photo opportunity."

The talk-show strategy instead protects candidates from the day-to-day pressures of being shadowed by the media.

It also allows candidates to target specific audiences, like Clinton did Wednesday when he appeared on *The Arsenio Hall Show* wearing dark sunglasses, playing his saxophone, and discussing the Los Angeles riots and racial tensions.

"If you break down the (demographics) and look at who

watches my show, it sure beats standing on a caboose," says Hall, referring to the whistle-stop tours of pre-TV politicians. "Why not take advantage of the large numbers of young viewers?" he asks.

Bush hasn't been lax in conveying his message unfiltered by the frequently jaundiced eye of the national media.

He routinely conducts satellite interviews from the White House with local TV stations — especially in states he's planning to visit.

"If you break down the (demographics) and look at who watches my show, it sure beats standing on a caboose."
— Arsenio Hall

PRIME-TIME POLITICS



BUSH: Only CNN chose to air the president's 30-minute news conference Thursday night.



CLINTON: Arkansas governor appears on 'Larry King Live' after Bush's press conference.



PEROT: Independent announced he might run for president while on CNN's 'Larry King Live.'

Bill Cosby Show, respectively, instead of his press conference. But he might have been better off. On CNN he seemed frustrated with reporters who preferred to ask questions about his sinking approval ratings rather than his programs.

Perot and Clinton also frequently use satellite technology to communicate with more voters than time and space would otherwise allow.

Clinton purchased blocks of TV time in New Hampshire during the height of media criticism about his marital fidelity and draft record so he could speak directly to call-in viewers about health, education and the economy.

Now he's considering the purchase of network time again to speak without the national media as middleman.

And Perot has suggested TV referendums to give viewers a voice in key national decisions.

But for now, those tuning in to candidates on talk shows get to see a side of them they wouldn't see on the news.

Says *Larry King Live* senior executive producer Tamara Haddad: "You're watching not just the way they answer, but how they gesture, do they look at the host, do they laugh?"

Contributing: Jefferson Graham, Brian Donlon, Judy Keen

USA TODAY • FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

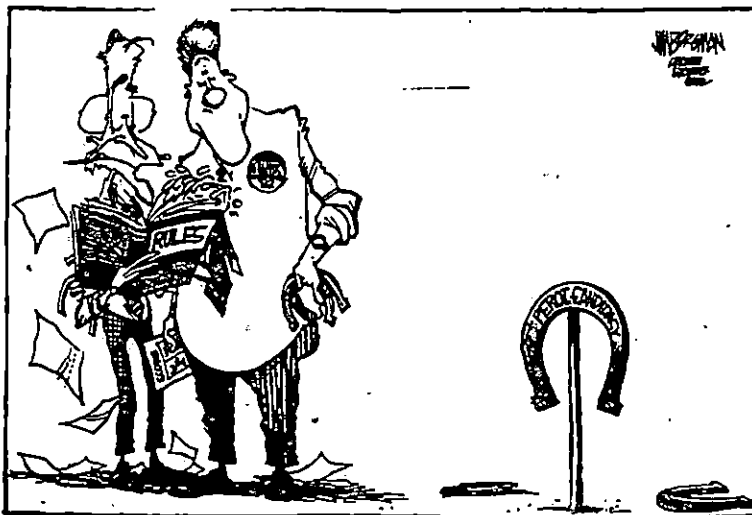
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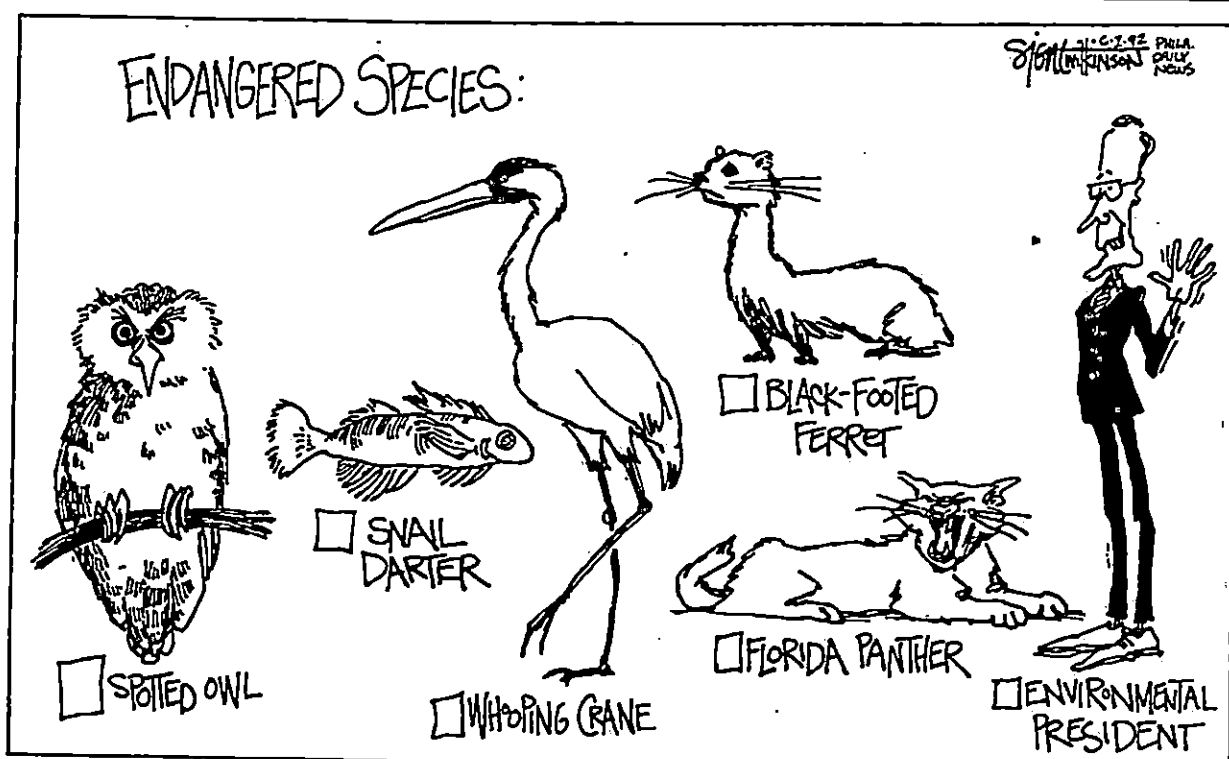
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USA TODAY

USA TODAY • FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992



Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer



Signe Wilkinson, Philadelphia Daily News

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Perot Proves One Bush Man Right All Along

The rise of Ross Perot has Washington perplexed and perturbed, but one man may secretly be smiling. His name is James Pinkerton, he works for President Bush (of all people), and two years ago he saw this coming.

Not Mr. Perot himself, whom no one predicted. But the voter rebellion against government-as-usual that the Texas billionaire is riding so artfully. As a young White House aide in 1990, Mr. Pinkerton predicted a "new paradigm" in politics and argued for an energetic domestic reform agenda. For his temerity, the lanky protege of Lee Atwater was ridiculed by budget director Richard Darman and shunned as a prophet without honor. Maybe the Perot movement should be called Pinkerton's Vindication.

Mr. Perot's appeal is usually attributed to his leadership, charisma, can-do busi-

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

ness background and so on. Yet none of these would resonate without the voter ferment revealed by a recent CBS News poll question: How much should the U.S. government be changed?

The answer, shown in the chart below, is that an amazing 85% of Americans want at least "fundamental changes." A full one-third want the thing rebuilt. Such a populist uprising hasn't been seen since the late 1970s, and even then not with nearly this much fervor.

Mr. Pinkerton's insight is that this uprising isn't merely a result of recession, or even of the "gridlock" of divided government, though these matter. Something more fundamental, and historic, is going on. In an April speech at Harvard, Mr. Pinkerton asserted that, "The great wave of our time is the de-bureaucratization, de-socialization and de-communization of America and the world." In plainer English, we may have entered the post-bureaucratic, post-welfare state age.

Before judging Mr. Pinkerton a New Age flake, consider what's happening around the post-Cold War world. In Sweden, the new prime minister, Carl Bildt, has declared that "the age of collectivism is at an end now." Mr. Bildt, who at age 42 is from the Pinkerton generation, says that "in our Sweden, society will always mean something more than the state." Valiums all around for the Socialist International.

In that brontosaurus of communism, China, the underground best seller is a tape by a Politburo member proposing, ironically, "a special economic zone for leftists." It would be a socialist mecca, the New York Times reports, with low salaries and prices, but long lines and few goods.

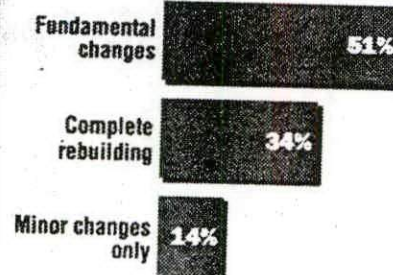
There are signs of American revolt, too. The president of Yale quits to start a chain of private schools, declaring on MacNeil/Lehrer that, "the world is in the grip of changes that rest . . . on one single fundamental insight, that is the concentrations of power, particularly in public bureaucracies, tend not to be innovative, creative or . . . to serve the needs of the people."

Mr. Pinkerton doesn't claim that most Americans are "anti-government" in the laissez-faire sense, but says they are "anti-bureaucratic." They want some federal services, but only if they can be delivered in a way that "works."

Mr. Perot's appeal, he says, quoting business guru Peter Drucker, is "the power of the naive question" about Washington: "If you weren't doing it already, would you start?" Many Perotians are business-folks who've seen de-centralization sweep industry in the 1980s. They know Mr. Perot tried to force it at GM. They agree when Mr. Perot says, "Restructure everything" in government too.

This analysis is shared by some Democrats. Michael McCurry persuaded Sen. Bob Kerrey to promote at least modest government reform, including big cuts in congressional staff, in his failed presidential bid. "To the extent I find Perot appeal-

The government needs:



Source: CBS News Poll, May 27-30, 1992

ing," Mr. McCurry now says, "I have this image of him walking to the Department of Agriculture and asking, 'What in the world do all these people do?'" A favorite Pinkerton line is to point out that USDA had just 3,300 employees in 1900, but now has 129,000 workers for three million fewer farmers.

Mr. Pinkerton remains a staunch Bush loyalist and believes Mr. Perot will fade as voters learn more about him. "Perot has an enormously powerful critique of the system that people want to hear," he says. "But between now and November, it will matter to voters whether his attorney general would be Ramsey Clark or Ed Meese."

Now "counselor" with the Bush-Quayle campaign, though not part of the inner circle, Mr. Pinkerton is optimistic that Mr. Bush will yet run "on a platform of domestic reconstruction, willing to take on the special interests with new ideas."

Stranger things have happened. This week Mr. Darman, the man who urged Mr. Bush to break his tax pledge, the consummate status quo insider, actually denounced "the protectors of the very Washington ways that have earned the public's contempt." He ought to know.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

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POLITICS & POLICY

*Export Credits, a Useful Tool Abroad,
Can Leave Taxpayer Holding the Bag*

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Iraq of the 1980s and Russia of the 1990s have little in common, except for this:

The U.S., groping for ways to build better ties, bestowed on Iraq then and on the former Soviet republics now billions of dollars in government-guaranteed loans to buy U.S. products, mostly grain. It's a politically painless move: No votes in Congress are needed to give guaranteed loans, there's little immediate impact on the federal budget, and U.S. exporters and farm interests are pleased.

But now the U.S. has been left holding the bag for \$1.9 billion of roughly \$5 billion in agricultural-commodity loans made to Iraq. And there is mounting concern that economically beleaguered Russia and the other republics of the former Soviet Union will be unable to repay about \$5 billion in guaranteed loans already promised them.

As a result, some in Congress are beginning to complain that mundane government programs conceived to promote U.S. business abroad are being misused as a foreign-policy tool, leaving taxpayers to pay big unadvertised bills down the road.

"I think that [administration officials] have just found this is a great way of providing foreign aid at a time when foreign aid is unpopular," says Democratic Sen. Patrick Leahy of Vermont, who heads the Senate Agriculture Committee. "If it gets repaid, fine. If it doesn't, well . . ."

Internal documents indicate that officials in the White House, State Department and Agriculture Department — including then-Vice President Bush — pressed the Agriculture Department's Commodity Credit Corp. and Export-Import Bank to extend credit guarantees to Iraq in the years before its 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

But the problem isn't just with administration officials. Congress, where most of the complaining is being done now, has been pushing the programs as well. According to one newly disclosed internal government document, more than a dozen members of Congress, including one lawmaker now critical of credits offered to Iraq, pressed the Ex-Im Bank in 1989 to finance a truck assembly plant in Iraq. And last year, the Senate passed a resolution that was designed in part to smooth the way for Commodity Credit Corp.-backed loans to the former Soviet Union despite concerns about Moscow's financial condition.

Lawmakers say they worry most about the hidden cost to taxpayers in such financing programs. Beyond that, there are accusations that the Bush and Reagan administrations may have sidestepped procedures governing the dispersal of government credits. The 1991 farm bill included language that specifically rules out

use of guaranteed loans from the Commodity Credit Corp. for foreign-policy purposes. And Texas Democratic Rep. Henry Gonzalez, chairman of the House Banking Committee, has asked the General Accounting Office to investigate whether the Ex-Im Bank violated its charter by extending credit insurance to Iraq when Baghdad's creditworthiness was questionable.

Administration officials dispute charges that normal procedures were bent for Iraq or that unreasonable risks are being taken in lending to the former Soviet Union. "The administration followed a prudent policy toward Iraq at the time, including the management of the CCC program, even though we, and other governments, were ultimately unable to restrain Saddam Hussein," Lawrence Eagleburger, deputy secretary of state, said at a recent congressional hearing. And in a news conference last night, President Bush charged that lawmakers seeking a formal investigation are wasting taxpayers' money. "We did nothing illegal or wrong here," Mr. Bush said.

Officials also note that in the year before the invasion of Kuwait, Iraq paid \$455 million more in Commodity Credit Corp. bills than it got in new credits, meaning that U.S. exposure was declining until Iraq invaded Kuwait and payments stopped.

In the case of Russia, administration aides boast that they have helped construct a debt-rescheduling plan in which CCC credits are being repaid on schedule while Russian debts to other nations aren't. And John Macomber, chairman of the Ex-Im Bank, says in an interview that while the bank has cautiously approved \$185 million in financing for projects in the former Soviet Union, he has faced "absolutely

no" political pressure to move faster to insure credits to Russia.

For better or worse, credit guarantees have been one of the few levers the administration has had at its disposal in constructing a policy toward the newly liberated Soviet states over the past year. President Bush has been buffeted by conflicting pressures to help Russia's struggling new democracy while eschewing new foreign-aid programs in an election season in which domestic concerns are paramount.

But Sen. Leahy complains that using export-promotion programs as a substitute for direct foreign aid will only fuel voter cynicism when hidden costs become apparent later. "What is really bothering people is everybody trying to hide it under the table," he says.

The focus of most attention is the Commodity Credit Corp.'s export-financing program, which guarantees loans written by private banks to finance U.S. agricultural exports.

"Let's face it: CCC was used as little more than a slush fund to support the personal diplomacy goals of the administration toward Baghdad and Moscow," charges Roger Robinson, a former Reagan administration aide now at the Center for Security Policy.

Iraq started getting CCC credits in 1983. Six years later, internal documents show, the Treasury, the Federal Reserve Board and the Office of Management and Budget leaned against giving Iraq more CCC credits because of concerns about its creditworthiness and reported abuses by one of its banks. But the State Department pressed the rest of the government to approve another \$1 billion in CCC credits.

Secretary of State James Baker and his deputy, Mr. Eagleburger, intervened with the Agriculture and Treasury departments, and ultimately the new guarantees were approved. The new credits were divided into two \$500 million doses, though, and by 1990 the Commodity Credit Corp. program was shut down and the second \$500 million never was used.

And in the case of the former Soviet republics, private bankers are so worried about their creditworthiness that no U.S. banks initially agreed to underwrite grain loans, even though the CCC program guaranteed repayment of 98% of the principal. So last September, the CCC increased the guarantee to 100%.

The Ex-Im Bank, meanwhile, came under pressure as early as 1983 to finance projects in Iraq, the documents indicate. They show that then-Vice President Bush at one point in 1987 called the Ex-Im Bank to urge resumption of the Iraq program, which had been suspended because the Iraqis had fallen behind in payments.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

A12 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

President Sees Rebound Aiding His Re-Election

He Says Economy Improves, But at a Sluggish Pace, Shuns Perot Questions

By JOHN HARWOOD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — President Bush, displaying frustration over his continuing political woes, dodged questions about independent challenger Ross Perot and insisted a recovering economy would ensure his re-election.

Mr. Bush was on the defensive throughout the rare prime-time news conference that he called in hope of communicating directly to a restive U.S. electorate. He spent much of the 37-minute session plugging a proposed constitutional amendment to require a balanced budget, calling the measure "the only way to force the federal government, both the Congress and the executive, to live within its means."

President Bush, who now trails Mr. Perot in some national polls, blamed his standing on a "sluggish, anemic" economic recovery. "I think the economy is improving," he said, arguing that many Americans just don't yet feel the turnaround.

Recent economic data support that view, and many analysts in and out of government predict that the economy will be modestly healthier on Election Day than it is today. What remains in doubt is whether the economy will be strong enough to dispel what appear to be deep doubts about its long-term prospects.

Declines Political Comment

At the moment, however, Mr. Bush's biggest problem is the political brush fire that Mr. Perot has ignited. But on advice from campaign advisers who want him to remain above the political fray until the GOP convention this summer, the president declined several opportunities to take a swipe at the Texas billionaire.

"If I get into characterizing one opponent or the other, I diminish my effectiveness," Mr. Bush said, explaining that he was seeking "to get something done for the country" on various domestic issues. But he predicted that voters would view him more favorably as they begin scrutinizing Mr. Perot's views and consider Mr. Bush's own accomplishments as president, such as reducing the threat of nuclear war.

But it was plain that criticism from rival candidates, the Democratic-controlled Congress, the press and environmental interests has rankled Mr. Bush. He defended his foreign policy record, called his embattled domestic agenda "a good program" and blamed many of his problems on the failure of Congress to cooperate.

Earth Summit

He appeared particularly piqued by reports that participants in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro are already criticizing his environmental record, a week before he is scheduled to travel to the gathering. He said his refusal to accept more far-reaching environmental initiatives was due to his reluctance to constrain the U.S. economy.

"I'm not going to forget the American family," he said. "If they don't understand it in Rio, too bad."

Mr. Bush gave a somewhat confused reply when asked whether he will submit a balanced budget next year regardless of the fate of the constitutional amendment. He indicated he would submit one that at least eliminated the deficit over five years. At one point, he suggested that he had "one up there now that does that." In fact, Mr. Bush's January budget proposal shows deficits in excess of \$180 billion through fiscal 1997, which begins Oct. 1, 1996.

Earlier yesterday, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell predicted that the vote on the balanced-budget amendment is "going to be close in the Senate." The Maine Democrat told reporters, "I don't think it's possible to predict the outcome with certainty."

But Sen. Mitchell said he and other Democratic leaders were still trying to stop the measure, which requires approval by two-thirds of the Senate and House. The House is scheduled to vote on the amendment next week, and the Senate could vote as soon as the following week.

In private, Sen. Mitchell has been upbeat about prospects for blocking the measure. But Democratic leaders in both houses worry that the electorate's anti-Washington mood will compel many lawmakers to vote for the amendment even though they have qualms about its wisdom or effectiveness.

Illustrating this ambivalence, Sen. Charles Robb (D., Va.) said yesterday, "Many of us probably will vote for it, and none of us, probably, thinks this is the answer."

Lack of Ease

Mr. Bush had hoped the news conference would help stem his political slide, but it's unclear whether the session produced the intended results. Only Cable News Network provided live coverage — and the president generally lacked the ease and confidence he normally displays in exchanges with reporters.

He found himself obliged to insist he hadn't done anything illegal in seeking to forge closer ties with Saddam Hussein before Iraq invaded Kuwait and to cast himself as all but powerless to lead domestically because of congressional opposition.

—David Wessel and Jeffrey H. Birnbaum contributed to this article.

GE Power Generation Contract

FAIRFIELD, Conn. — General Electric Co. said its GE Power Generation division will provide two gas-turbine generators and one steam-turbine generator for a 660-megawatt generating station to be built in southeast England.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Perot Will Testify In Senate Hearings On Ties to Vietnam

By JONATHAN WEIL
And DAVID SHRIBMAN

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—Ross Perot will testify before a Senate committee that will examine his involvement with Vietnam over the years.

Mr. Perot, a likely independent presidential candidate, will be asked about his role in discussions about prisoners of war and missing U.S. combatants in Vietnam and about his reported interest in business contacts in Vietnam.

The computer tycoon from Texas won broad public exposure with his efforts to assist U.S. prisoners in Vietnam and later with his efforts to find the prisoners and missing soldiers he believes the U.S. left behind at the end of the Vietnam War.

As Mr. Perot prepares for his presidential campaign, his forays into private diplomacy are becoming the subject of fresh scrutiny. The extent to which these diplomatic efforts might have led to commercial initiatives is likely to be an important issue as voters become acquainted with Mr. Perot and his activities.

The hearings may provide a focal point for these discussions. Mr. Perot is to testify on June 30 as part of four days of hearings. "He's looking forward to it, and he wants to get it under way," a committee spokeswoman said. Questioning also will focus on Mr. Perot's trips to Southeast Asia during the Vietnam War and his later investigations into the prisoner-of-war question.

In March 1987, Mr. Perot secretly flew to Hanoi to discuss the issue of missing U.S. soldiers with Vietnamese Foreign Minister Nguyen Co Thach. He has claimed Vietnamese officials indirectly confirmed to him that U.S. prisoners still were being held in Southeast Asia.

Moreover, one of Mr. Perot's employees, Harry McKillop, planned a trip to Vietnam last month. Mr. McKillop, who was scheduled to travel to Hanoi as a representative of Mr. Perot, postponed his trip without explanation, according to Vietnamese officials. Mr. McKillop has traveled to Vietnam at least eight times since Mr. Perot's own visit — all, Mr. Perot has said, at the request of Vietnamese officials. However, Que Van Pham, first secretary at Vietnam's United Nations office, said that the initiative for the McKillop trips was "always his own."

Reports in Business Week and the New York Times say Mr. Perot's involvement in Vietnam went beyond the prisoner-of-war and missing soldiers issues. Mr. Perot, according to these reports, had been designated as Vietnam's business agent in the event relations with the U.S. resumed. Mr. Perot has said his interest in Vietnam was the missing U.S. servicemen.

Vietnamese officials say Mr. Perot has balked on promises to assist the country's educational and health institutions, but the Texas businessman has denied making aid promises to the Vietnamese.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

ENVIRONMENT

By MARJ CHARLIER

Settling Water Rights Is a Drain on Treasury

SETTLEMENTS WITH Indian tribes over water rights are getting more expensive, while the alternatives—lawsuits—are getting more complex.

In 1908, the Supreme Court held that tribes have first rights to the water passing through or bordering their reservations. But progress in quantifying those rights wasn't made until the 1980s, when Congress approved 10 settlements between tribes and other users.

Those 10 resolved cases cost the federal government a total of \$600 million in one-time payments to tribes, which retained some water rights. The latest settlement, approved by Congress in 1990, required the U.S. to pay \$25 million to Mojave Apaches of the Fort McDowell Reservation near Phoenix.

But pending and future settlements are likely to be much more expensive. One current estimate of federal dollars needed to resolve the Gila River dispute in Arizona is \$800 million. Another 13 cases are under negotiation.

A \$56.5 million settlement between the Northern Cheyenne tribe and Montana is being held up in Congress by the Office of Management and Budget. "If the federal government is unwilling to provide these funds, there will be more litigation" and fewer settlements, says Susan Cottingham, one of Montana's negotiators.

That's a discouraging word for the West's courts, where water cases already constitute the largest and most complex matters on the books. And they're getting worse. Wilderness advocates and those who represent the Endangered Species Act are making new claims to the waters in the West, adding parties to the litigation fray, says Jim Bush, a water-rights attorney in Phoenix.

Budget-Cutting Mood Encourages Greens

THE AMENDMENT for a balanced budget, now before Congress, is having a Western side effect: It's generating fresh interest in cutting subsidies to private users of the West's public lands and resources.

Environmentalists see opportunities to exploit the mood to cut. "Across the environmental community, the concern with the budget is being used to draw attention to the cause," says Norbert Riedy, an analyst for the Wilderness Society.

The society's current anti-logging program focuses on below-cost timber sales. Three forest-protection groups are playing up taxpayer subsidies in their current campaign.

Anti-mining groups, meanwhile, urge higher mineral-leasing fees as a way to reduce mining-company interest in federal lands and at the same time boost the federal Treasury. And grazing foes want to raise grazing fees as a means to make public lands "cattle-free by '93."

Compared with what private landowners received, a House study found that the Forest Service lost

\$5.6 billion in timber sales over the past decade, and an Interior Department study says taxpayers lost \$52.3 million last year on the government's dirt-cheap grazing program.

Raising fees charged to timber and mining interests, ranchers, ski resorts, national-park concessionaires and others who use public lands could yield \$10 billion a year in savings, argues Rep. Michael Synar (D., Okla.), chairman of the environment subcommittee of the House Government Operations Committee. "There are thousands of transactions a year," he says, "where we're failing to get a fair market return on these taxpayer assets."

However, some users of federal land argue that the government won't take in any more because increased fees would simply translate into decreased use.

Wilderness Bills Face a Deadline

TIME IS RUNNING OUT for the current Congress to work out differences and pass bills that would nearly double federal wilderness acreage in four Western states. If the bills don't pass, the large turnover in Congress will force wilderness advocates to begin wooing support all over again next session.

The proposals would add 11.2 million wilderness acres to the 30 million federal wilderness acres in the 11 Pacific and Mountain states.

Bills have passed the Senate that would designate 1.2 million acres of new wilderness in Montana and 650,000 acres in Colorado. But House action in both cases has been stalled by disputes over water rights and lumber-company access to nonwilderness lands.

Recently, Rep. Ben Nighthorse Campbell declared the Colorado bill in the House "dead" because of a stalemate over whether it should reserve water rights for the wilderness areas. But in a hopeful sign for wilderness advocates, Montana Rep. Ron Marlenee has announced he'll drop his 15-year opposition to the bill. A possible motive: The 1988 defeat of former Montana Sen. John Melcher was attributed in part to his aversion to a wilderness bill.

U.S. Rep. Wayne Owens is the sole supporter from Utah of a House measure to give wilderness protection to 5.4 million acres of Utah canyonlands. And in California, a bill to give wilderness designation to four million acres, expand two national parks and create the Mojave National Monument passed the House in November. But the pending Senate version, sponsored by lame-duck Alan Cranston, differs on some critical points, including whether the Mojave Desert should be a national monument or a national park.

Odds and Ends

PEOPLE FOR THE WEST, a campaign financed by mining and timber companies, seeks a million signatures on its petition urging multiple use of public lands. But the group won't identify its 16 board members, who are mostly from industry. . . . Montana will host a July symposium on North America's Hunting Heritage. Among the most controversial topics: dwindling hunting access to ranches, and the growing animal-welfare movement.

**Issues
of the
West**

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From The Wall Street Journal's Capital Bureau

PEROT'S NEW TEAM promises a quick start at the helm of the campaign.

New co-manager Ed Rollins acknowledges a priority is "to get to know Perot better." But he and fellow chief Hamilton Jordan already weigh unusual tactics, such as mobilizing their army of volunteers to distribute videocassettes door-to-door, and using on-line computer services to inspire new recruits.

Perot volunteers complain the campaign has begun to push out spirited amateurs in key positions to make room for political pros. Adman and New York Perot media coordinator Charlie Donnelly says it was a "mistake" to hire Rollins and Jordan. While publicly eschewing Washington insiders, Perot solicits memos on urban aid and converting defense spending to civilian uses from a lobbyist and two former congressmen.

A recent Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll found that Perot supporters are the most negative toward Congress—and the most likely to think people running the government are crooked.

ANGER BUT NO ACTION is the U.S. response to Yugoslavia's violence.

State Department officials fume over the continued assaults on Bosnia by the Serbs; Baker was personally appalled by the attack on a U.N.-escorted food convoy. Officials are increasingly convinced that Serbian leader Milosevic must be slapped down as an example to others.

Bush said last night the U.S. will stick with sanctions for now, but he and Baker don't rule out the use of American military forces in some role. While NATO agreed yesterday to lend troops to enforce truces, U.S. officials say the plan actually was agreed to months ago and isn't a vehicle for getting U.S. troops involved in Yugoslavia.

BUSH'S CAMPAIGN finds itself on the defensive—against Republicans.

Uncertain about Perot, the campaign has postponed decisions on targeting GOP "soft money" and hasn't run TV ads for weeks. Unhappiness grows with the high command, which some dub "the B-team." With Baker highly unlikely to move from State, some insiders tout another longtime Bush hand to assume the role of resolving conflicts among White House and campaign factions—the president's son, George W.

Bush gets some good news from the right in this week's California elections: Bruce Herschensohn's GOP Senate primary victory may help boost turnout among bedrock conservatives, for whom the president himself isn't much of a draw.

But moderate Minnesota Sen. Durenberger worries that "even some of my friends" are abandoning the president to back Perot.

ANY EROSION in Perot support would likely help Clinton more than Bush, the latest Journal/NBC poll suggests. By 46% to 35%, Perot voters would vote for Clinton if Perot weren't in the race. And those voters for whom Bush would be second choice know more about Perot, like him more, and seem more strongly committed to him than is true of those for whom Clinton is second choice.

SKINNER SEEKS to defuse complaints by reducing the role of his White House deputy, former Louisiana Rep. Henson Moore, who has been the object of complaints that he is unable to adjust to a staff position. Among other things, Moore has been removed from his role of overseeing Bush's schedule.

BOOMLET: Backers of Pennsylvania Sen. Wofford promote him as a possible Clinton running mate. They point out that Truman, Stevenson, Kennedy and Dukakis all chose running mates significantly older than themselves. Wofford would be unlikely to alienate ambitious Democrats already looking to 1996—and, as a former state party chairman, might pull Senate nominee Yeakel to victory in her tough race.

DEFEATS AND RETIREMENTS thin the ranks of senior House Banking Committee members, owing mostly to the check-writing mess and redistricting. Already, chairmen of three of the eight subcommittees won't be back; two others face tough races this fall. Senior GOP member Wylie is retiring, also after being tarred by the House Bank.

BACKSLIDING AND DISUNITY complicate July's Munich economic summit.

The U.S. counsels Yeltsin, who will attend part of the meeting, to defuse European criticism of his economic policies by talking about steps to foster private investment. U.S. officials walk a fine line in dealings with him, sympathizing with his domestic political problems but pressing him to stick to his reformist path.

Worries about global joblessness grow, but a pact to stimulate the world economy is elusive. Treasury's Mulford attacks the Japanese for moving so slowly on a fiscal stimulus plan in a blunt interview on Japanese TV. Some U.S. officials speculate the Japanese will do what they often do: Quell complaints by unveiling a proposal at the last minute.

Distracted by the fallout from this week's Danish vote, European leaders are less likely to concentrate on resolving tough issues that block progress on a GATT treaty.

MINOR MEMOS: Drug czar Martinez delivers the keynote address at a Distilled Spirits Council seminar. . . . The Bubba vote: New Jersey Republicans nominate Joseph L. Bubba for Congress; he isn't even from southern Jersey. . . . Democrats joke that Arizona ex-Gov. Babbitt would make Clinton's best running mate because, "he would balance the ticket—he did inhale."

—RICH JAROSLOVSKY

Bush predicts 2-man race in November

Mentions his foes in news conference

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

President Bush broke his own rule last night not to use the names of election opponents Ross Perot and Bill Clinton and argued for support in an extraordinary televised soliloquy: "Ross, I think I've been a good president."

Mr. Bush predicted voters will return to the two major parties when the campaign leaves its present "time warp," bypassing the independent Mr. Perot.

"I think the two-party system has provided us with a stability that heretofore we've simply taken for granted," Mr. Bush said, predicting his own victory amid an insightful look at his political philosophy.

"I think most people would concede that my problems stem from this sluggish, anemic economy. ... The economy has been sick," Mr.

Bush said, trying to explain his lagging popularity.

His dramatic outreach to the fellow Texan, whom he refused to acknowledge until now, made last night's East Room news conference different. After fending off repeated efforts to draw him out, the president surrendered to a reporter who asked how he would persuade Mr. Perot to vote for him.

He dictated a script that began, "Well, I'd say, 'I believe that a man of your ability and talent ought to support me. And we've known each

other a long time and, in my view, it's been favorable.' And just leave it there."

He added drily: "I would admit it might be a little bit of a long shot in persuading him."

Mr. Bush promised "no reprisals" to Republicans who support Mr. Perot.

He challenged reporters to ask
see BUSH, page A6

• White House advisers warn Bush to make his agenda clear — now. A4.

BUSH

From page A1

Mr. Perot why he opposed the Desert Storm decision and suggested other questions that haven't been getting direct answers but have been asked repeatedly.

"How are you going to do it? ... What do you believe?" he said, prompting the reporters arrayed before him in a semicircle on gold chairs.

In the 37-minute session televised only by CNN, Mr. Bush also:

- Defended his environmental record as he prepares to attend the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, saying the administrations in which he has served spent \$800 billion cleaning air and water. "If they don't understand it in Rio, too bad," he said.

- Ridiculed the idea that a special prosecutor should look into Reagan and Bush administration efforts to keep Iraq and Saddam Hussein on the U.S. side against Iran. "We tried to work with him on grain credits and things of this nature to avoid aggressive action. And it failed. It failed," Mr. Bush said.

- The president said he approved the decision of a special Senate committee on POWs and MIAs to schedule testimony from Mr. Perot on June 30 about his activities in Southeast Asia.

Mr. Bush refused to comment on yesterday's report in the New York report that Mr. Perot mixed his own business interests into those trips.

"He was over being quite helpful, trying to do something about the prisoners. What he did beyond that I can't comment on," Mr. Bush said in his first substantive comment on any Perot action that could be a cam-

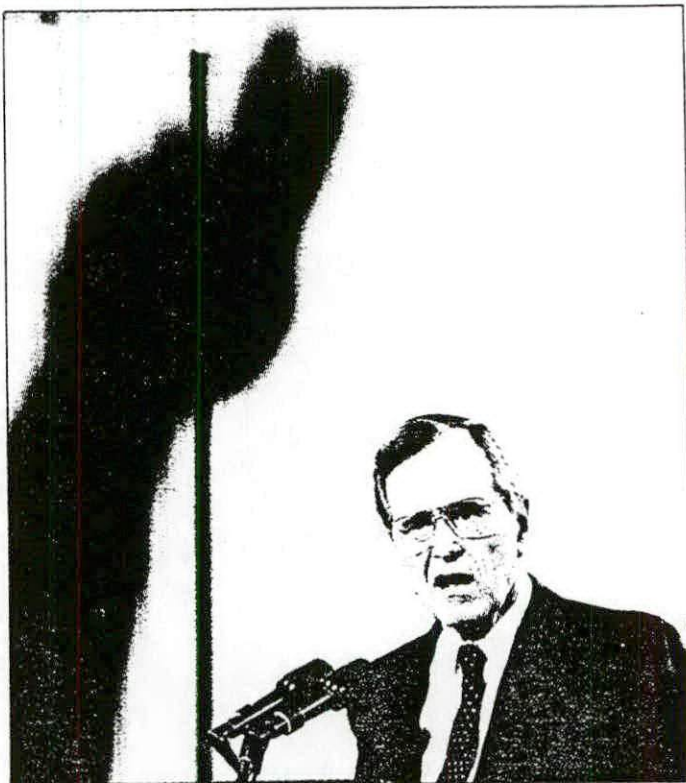


Photo by Don Preisler/The Washington Times

President Bush speaks at a White House East Room news conference.

paign issue.

Mr. Perot conceded that he and his company were designated as a Vietnamese government agent to procure U.S. investment, but the Times said he rejected the letter and had only social and philosophical discussions during the POW-MIA trip.

Mr. Bush's news conference was called at a time when his national

campaign was showing the punch of a feather duster and officials at the White House and campaign offices were arguing among themselves over strategy.

They have disagreed loudly about whether to begin the fight now or put on a full-scale assault beginning Aug. 21, the day after the GOP convention ends in Houston, but last

night's confident and relaxed performance pumped up enthusiasm.

"I thought it was terrific, exciting. He was clearly engaged and forceful," domestic policy adviser Roger Porter said.

Most Americans missed the live TV broadcast. All three broadcast networks — NBC, CBS and ABC — rejected the White House request to televise the press conference, so the 35-minute appearance was carried live only by CNN, which offers a maximum audience of 61 million homes wired into its system. There was no estimate on how many of those homes were tuned in.

In his dramatized "Ross" and "George" scenario, Mr. Bush also drew in Mr. Clinton without being prompted.

"Oh, I'd say ... 'Please give me your support for the balanced budget amendment that we're trying to pass right now, and bring along Bill Clinton if you've got any influence with him,'" Mr. Bush said.

Appearing on CNN's "Larry King Live" later, Mr. Clinton said the president doesn't need an amendment to the Constitution to balance the federal budget.

"He could do it tomorrow, in a heartbeat," Mr. Clinton said.

He scoffed at Mr. Perot's claim that he could find \$180 billion in government waste, fraud and abuse "without breaking a sweat." Mr. Clinton said it would be hard work, but with his experience in government he could do it.

Asked about Mr. Bush's insistence that he won't challenge either of his two opponents until after the Republican convention in August, Mr. Clinton predicted that if he and Mr. Perot go across the country now debating the issues, Mr. Bush will change his mind and join them.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Aides warn Bush to spell out agenda now

Perot's threat adds note of urgency as conservatives urge firm message

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Senior Oval Office advisers have warned President Bush that if he does not quickly spell out why he wants to be re-elected and detail his second-term agenda, he will lose in November — possibly to Ross Perot.

In their sharpest criticism ever on Mr. Bush, private advisers and administration officials said that despite months of warning cries for a re-election agenda, the White House blueprint for a second term is blurred.

And in a demonstration of the lack of ideas in the White House, Chief of Staff Sam Skinner is urging Mr. Bush's friends and advisers to hastily draw up programs that the president could use in the fall election, according to the advisers.

"The problem is they [White House] are not operating in a context larger than themselves," said Paul Weyrich, president of the conservative Free Congress Foundation.

"They have no vision or strategy," he said.

"What are the themes? What does he want to do in the next term? ... People are looking at the Bush administration and saying, 'We're not impressed and we're looking elsewhere,'" added William Bennett of the Hudson Institute.

"There is a sense by Americans that [Mr. Bush] doesn't know where it is he wants to take them," said Gary Bauer, president of the Family Research Council.

Mr. Weyrich, a regular adviser to the Oval Office, echoed other advisers when he said that while Mr. Perot's positions are skimpy, his repetition of those views "sound as if he knows where he wants to take the country," something voters want to hear.

Without ideas or a communications plan, the White House is losing the battle, Mr. Weyrich said. "It's not that they are incompetent. They cannot communicate," he added, reasoning that the Bush White House has no message and simply

wants to manage the federal government.

"To communicate, you have to have something to communicate," he said.

Mr. Bennett, a regular Oval Office adviser, said the president has done little to provide his forces with passion or a theme.

"Regeneration comes from within. He has to do it," said Mr. Bennett, the president's former drug czar and a former education secretary.

Mr. Bauer said that despite winning every GOP presidential primary, Mr. Bush is in jeopardy of losing the support of conservatives and others who supported former President Reagan to Mr. Perot because those voters are seeking a leader with a vision — even one slightly described.

"Even though he won every primary, he is in the unenviable position of nearly losing the mantle of the Reagan movement to Ross Perot," Mr. Bauer said.

The growing problems of the White House were on display last night when Mr. Bush hosted a prime-time news con-

ference but was ignored by the three major networks, largely because he had nothing to say, explained administration officials.

White House and Bush-Quayle re-election officials had hoped the news conference — only the second by Mr. Bush in prime time — would recharge his floundering campaign, but when the networks did not show up, the effort turned into another communications failure.

Meanwhile, the administration is locked in an internal battle over when to launch attacks on Mr. Perot, the Texas billionaire and undeclared independent candidate who looms as a stronger rival than Democrat Bill Clinton, the Arkansas governor.

Like the attacks on one-time GOP challenger Pat Buchanan, the strategy "misses the point," said Mr. Bauer, former domestic policy adviser to Mr. Reagan.

"The best way to neutralize Perot is to remind people what you believe in," he said.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Perot salesmanship lured Jordan, Rollins into camp

Closest advisers made overtures

By Major Garrett
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Hamilton Jordan and Ed Rollins were somewhat skeptical when they arrived in Dallas last weekend to talk with Ross Perot, the viable but undeclared presidential candidate.

According to friends, both were unsure how they would run a campaign that built its strength from the

bottom up. They wondered how Mr. Perot would govern. And what about a Democrat and a Republican directing an independent campaign?

These doubts apparently vanished after a day of meetings with Mr. Perot on Sunday in Dallas. It is unclear whether they met Mr. Perot together or separately.

This much is clear: Mr. Perot's renowned salesmanship, their exasperation with contemporary politics — and perhaps an attractive salary — turned these men's doubts into convictions.

Mr. Rollins, 48, returned to Wash-

ington and told his wife, Sherrie, it was his "destiny" to work for the Texas billionaire.

"It was probably the most difficult decision I've ever made," Mr. Rollins said Wednesday on public television's "MacNeil/Lehrer Newshour."

"What I asked Ross Perot... was governance questions. I've found in him a presence, a security, certainly

see PEROT, page A6

• To Republicans, Ed Rollins becomes persona non grata. A4.

PEROT

From page A1

a vision of where he wants to take this country [and] I think that he has the will to lead this country effectively," Mr. Rollins said.

Mr. Jordan, 47, had done some preliminary checking on Mr. Rollins before heading to Texas and was favorably impressed. Still, friends said Mr. Jordan still had doubts when he left Tennessee and described the face-to-face with Mr. Perot as decisive.

He called top management of Whittle Communications on Sunday night in New York, where they were meeting, to break the news. Mr. Jordan, who has been president of Whittle Books since February 1991, was named vice chairman of the Knoxville, Tenn., company two weeks ago.

Both men were courted in different ways by Mr. Perot's closest advisers — Tom Luce and Morton Meyerson. Mr. Luce is the campaign chairman, and Mr. Meyerson is a senior adviser. Mr. Rollins, who begins work Monday, and Mr. Jordan, who starts June 15, are co-chairmen.

Mr. Jordan made the first move. He volunteered in mid-February after two experienced Tennessee political figures backing Mr. Perot convinced him the Texan was for real.

The North Carolina native was eager to return to politics, friends said. He left after losing the Democratic Senate nomination to Wyche Fowler in 1986. He earned a reputation as an expert grass-roots organizer after managing Jimmy Carter's 1976 vic-

tory over Gerald Ford.

The negotiations evolved gradually with Mr. Perot's staff, which was working somewhat harder to bring Mr. Rollins aboard.

Mr. Perot's advisers began lobbying Mr. Rollins nearly three months ago. They had little success until Mr. Rollins was denied a role in the Bush-Quayle re-election campaign.

Republican sources have confirmed that Bush-Quayle advisers vetoed California Gov. Pete Wilson's attempt to recruit Mr. Rollins to manage the statewide campaign. It is not clear Mr. Rollins wanted the job, but negotiations with Mr. Perot's advisers resumed after the Bush-Quayle team rejected him.

Mrs. Rollins tried to talk her husband out of it, as did a close friend, Minnesota Rep. Vin Weber, who was intending to work with Mr. Rollins as a political consultant after leaving Congress this year.

"He believes the Perot candidacy is going to transform the political process," said Mr. Weber.

Mrs. Rollins resigned as White House director of intergovernmental affairs to accommodate her husband's renegade career path. She, too, remains loyal to Mr. Bush and has made herself available as a volunteer this fall.

Mr. Jordan was first approached about Mr. Perot by John Jay Hooker, a prominent Nashville business and political figure, in late December 1991. Mr. Hooker, an ardent Perot supporter, had implored him to run in a number of phone conversations late last year.

Mr. Hooker used his friendship with Tom Ingram, a senior manager

and tennis partner of Mr. Jordan's at Whittle, to keep conversations about Mr. Perot circulating. Mr. Ingram managed Republican Gov. Lamar Alexander's two successful gubernatorial campaigns and acted as his chief deputy.

Over time, Mr. Jordan became intrigued by the Perot phenomenon and called the campaign.

"I made contact with the campaign and began quietly helping, and I thought initially that all he could do was to fire a shot across the bow of both parties and hopefully rattle the political establishment out of lethargy," Mr. Jordan said Wednesday on the "MacNeil/Lehrer" program.

But when it became clear Mr. Perot's popularity posed a real threat to the major parties, negotiations with Mr. Rollins and Mr. Jordan became more intense.

Those close to the situation believe Mr. Luce and Mr. Meyerson persuaded Mr. Perot to hire these two experienced political hands — even at the risk of undercutting his "outsider" image.

While many in Washington's political circles consider the Rollins-Jordan team formidable, Wisconsin Rep. David Obey, a leading Democrat, had this reaction: "God help Mr. Perot and God help this country."

"Hamilton Jordan presided over the most arrogant and incompetent White House staff in modern memory," Mr. Obey said. "Ed Rollins was more responsible than any person I know for successfully hiding the truth... that the economic policies of the 1980s were destroying the country."

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

'Nightline' fans fear Koppel sign-off

By Don Kowet
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The threatened demise of "Nightline," the popular late-night ABC News program, is stirring confusion, suspicion and outrage all around this Ted Koppel-crazy town.

ABC News President Boone Arledge dropped the bomb Wednesday at a convention of ABC-affiliated stations in Los Angeles. Mr. Arledge warned that "there's a chance we could lose 'Nightline' " because many of the network's 200 affiliates pre-empt its 11:30 p.m. time slot to run more lucrative syndicated shows.

In Washington yesterday, media observers found it hard to imagine the end of the line for "Nightline."

"Losing 'Nightline' would be shocking," said Stephen Hess, a media analyst at the generally liberal Brookings Institution. "The networks must truly think we're idiots, that all we're interested in are scandals, murders and useful tidbits."

"We should all care if 'Nightline' is in jeopardy. 'Nightline' is the only serious, in-depth news show on TV," said Brent Baker, editor of Media Watch and Notable Quotables, publications of the conservative Media Research Center.

"'Nightline' has always been very strong in this marketplace, because of the content," said Bob Kazaz, Channel 7's vice president of audience development at local ABC affiliate WJLA-TV (Channel 7), which consistently carries the pro-



Ted Koppel (left) was host to William Aramony when the United Way ex-president was criticized for his spending habits.

gram at 11:30 p.m. "You're dealing with the newsmakers, and here we are in the nation's capital."

Last month, "Nightline" averaged a 5 share in Washington, representing about 231,000 viewers a night, the same number as a year ago.

Although "Nightline" drew fewer viewers than NBC's "Tonight Show" in the past month, anchorman Ted Koppel traditionally is a bigger ratings magnet than Johnny Carson here. Mr. Kazaz attributes "Nightline's" recent slippage to viewer interest in the final weeks of Mr. Carson's 30-year reign as the king of late night TV.

At WJZ-TV, ABC's Baltimore affiliate, "Nightline" did even better than in Washington, earning an 8 share in May.

The network clearly is concerned that, with pre-emptions by other affiliates, "Nightline" airs at 11:30 in only 62 percent of TV markets.

Although Mr. Koppel told the New York Times that he feared the "possible

demise" of the show, "Nightline" Executive Producer Tom Bettag told the New York Post that Mr. Arledge wasn't making a threat but "a call to conscience."

"Our ratings have not been stronger for a long, long time," Mr. Bettag said. "Ted is on a roll, and I think what Boone [Arledge] is saying is, 'God, let this man do his work. This is the moment to let him really move out.'"

By "the moment," Mr. Bettag meant the "Tonight Show's" changing of the guard, in which Jay Leno succeeded Mr. Carson on May 25. If Mr. Leno proves only a little less popular, "Nightline" could rank No. 1 in its 11:30-to-midnight slot by adding as few as six major stations.

This assumes Ted Koppel wants to stay on after more than 10 years.

"I would suspect that the pressure [on 'Nightline'] really is coming from Koppel himself," said the news director of a major ABC affiliate, who asked not to be named. "Rumor has it that Koppel's sim-

ply tired of doing the show."

Mr. Koppel could not be reached for comment. But published reports have suggested he eventually would replace David Brinkley as host of ABC's "This Week" on Sunday mornings.

"The joker — literally — in this pack may be David Letterman," a news executive at a rival network said.

Next April, Mr. Letterman's contract is up as host of NBC's "Late Night," which follows "Tonight" at 12:30. Sources say ABC has been relentless in pursuing the comic, who has feuded with network owner General Electric and was unhappy about not being picked to succeed Mr. Carson.

"The idea would be for a Letterman show to replace 'Nightline' at 11:30 p.m. and for Koppel to replace Brinkley, who's 71 now, when he retires," the rival news executive said. "In this scenario, Koppel would also do prime-time documentaries."

Rollins' independence riles GOP believers

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Charles Black, senior adviser to President Bush's re-election campaign, declared Ed Rollins persona non grata in the Republican Party yesterday.

"Ed Rollins' Republican career is over," said Mr. Black, a longtime friend. "There may be some circumstances at the end of the game where [Ross] Perot helps Bush and Rollins gets the credit, but I have a hard time imagining that scenario."

Mr. Rollins, a former Reagan White House political director and manager of the 1984 Reagan re-election campaign, announced Wednesday he will work against Mr. Bush by managing Mr. Perot's independent presidential candidacy.

"There is no reason to believe Ed is doing this for philosophical motives," Mr. Black said. "Pat Buchanan spent the better part of a year trying to do a conserva-

tive critique of Bush and only came up with the tax pledge [reversal]. Bush has been conservative."

"I'm not sure how comfortable [Mr. Rollins] will be holding the title of manager in a campaign promoting abortion on demand and gun control."

Other leading Republicans joined in condemning Mr. Rollins' decision.

"Ed has always been one to consider money as the bottom-line reason for doing anything," said former Reagan campaign adviser David Keene. "Still, I'm surprised he's with Perot, even though it's no secret Ed has little respect for the political acumen of the Bush White House."

After serving briefly as political director in the Reagan White House, Mr. Rollins left with the announced purpose of making \$1 million as a lobbyist-consultant, subsequently becoming a paid adviser to the Teamsters union.

In what then-Sen. Paul Laxalt described to a reporter as "the greatest po-

litical stab-in-the-back in history," Mr. Rollins abandoned his personal pledge to run Mr. Laxalt's 1988 presidential campaign and became chairman and chief strategist for Jack Kemp's abortive campaign. Mr. Kemp finished fifth in a field of six in the Iowa primary.

Mr. Rollins then signed a \$1 million, four-year contract to run the National Republican Congressional Committee, only to have the committee buy out his contract after two years following a public dispute with Mr. Bush over taxes.

"Why did Rollins desert the party that did so well by him? The first thing that comes to mind is stupidity on Ed's part," said GOP campaign consultant Tony Fabrizio, who briefly advised Mr. Buchanan's challenge to Mr. Bush for the GOP nomination this year.

"It's one thing to work against an incumbent in your party's primary, but another to go to work for an independent in the general election, and go against your own party, particularly if the guy you're

working for has no place to go but down," said Mr. Fabrizio, who described Mr. Rollins as a friend.

"I am disappointed in Ed," said former Reagan campaign strategist Stuart Spencer. "We're all hired guns in this business. If you are going to be partisan, you have to have a values system. Once you get in bed with one of the two major political parties, you take the good days with the bad."

In Mr. Rollins' defense, his one-time mentor, Lyn Nofziger, who was the first Reagan White House political director, said: "Ed doesn't think he deserted the party. He just doesn't like to sit on the sidelines in a presidential election and is terribly disappointed with the Bush presidency."

Another Rollins friend, Rep. Vin Weber, Minnesota Republican, said: "I don't agree with Ed's decision. I believe in party loyalty, but Ed apparently believes party loyalty would be achieved at the expense of the country."

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Might Wilder join independent slate?

Lack of loud 'no' infuriates party

By Jim Clardy
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

RICHMOND — Gov. L. Douglas Wilder's name has turned up on a list of potential running mates for Ross Perot, and angry Virginia Democrats are demanding that he disassociate himself from the independent presidential candidate.

Mr. Wilder tried to explain this week that he has not been ap-

proached by the Perot camp.

But that was not enough for many state Democrats, who want a Shermanesque statement from the Democratic governor saying flatly that he will not join forces with the Texas billionaire, who is leading Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the expected Democratic candidate, in the latest polls.

The flap was sparked by a story in Wednesday's editions of the Wall Street Journal, which quoted unnamed sources as saying that Mr. Wilder has not ruled out the possibility of accepting the vice presidential spot on Mr. Perot's ticket. That would



force Mr. Wilder to bolt the party and run against Mr. Clinton. A spokesman for Mr. Perot could not be reached for comment last night.

"It's mind-boggling," said Thomas W. Moss Jr., Norfolk Democrat and the powerful speaker of the House of Delegates.

"I do not understand how the governor of Virginia, the titular head of the Democratic Party, could say that he would run for vice president with

see WILDER, page A10

WILDER

From page A1

a political independent," he said.

One Democratic operative close to Mr. Wilder said his joining a White House ticket with Mr. Perot "would make a lot of sense."

"At age 61 and with his term ending next year, what does Mr. Wilder have to lose?" he asked.

"This Perot thing is a tidal wave. Why not ride it?" said the strategist, who asked not to be identified.

Mr. Wilder has a long history of political independence from his own party. He maintains an uneasy relationship with many state Democratic officials, whom he has privately accused of not supporting his rise from the state Senate to the governor's mansion.

During his brief presidential bid last year, he verbally jabbed at several national Democratic figures, most notably Mr. Clinton. Several Democratic officials said yesterday that Mr. Wilder's refusal to rule out the vice presidential slot with Mr. Perot is another backhanded slap at Mr. Clinton.

"It's political treason," said Moody E. "Sonny" Stallings Jr., a former state senator and a member of the Democratic Party's Central Committee.

"This is not the time for fair-weather Democrats. He has an obligation to the party to support the nominee. What is that going to do for Clinton if Wilder is not there to bring in black support?" Mr. Stallings asked.

Several party leaders said they want Mr. Wilder to publicly distance himself from Mr. Perot at the Democrats' state convention, which opens today in Roanoke. Glenn Davidson, Mr. Wilder's press secretary, said yesterday that the governor has every intention of supporting the Democratic presidential nominee but refused to comment further.

"What is gained by flirting with the Perot candidacy? He ought to disdain any involvement with Perot,"



Gov. L. Douglas Wilder

said George Gilliam, Democratic chairman of the 7th Congressional District in the Charlottesville area.

Others speculated that the leak to the Journal bore the fingerprints of Paul Goldman — the executive director of the state Democratic Party and Mr. Wilder's closest political adviser. Party officials said such an off-the-record remark could only weaken Mr. Goldman. Many Democrats favor replacing him as party chairman.

"This only adds more fuel to the fire" of the dump-Goldman movement, said Kenneth V. Geroe, Democratic chairman of the 2nd Congressional District in Virginia Beach. Mr. Goldman did not return telephone calls yesterday.

Mr. Perot already has shown a penchant for playing both sides of the political fence. Earlier this week he signed on two campaign professionals — Democrat Hamilton Jordan and Republican Edward J. Rollins — to manage his bid for the White House.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Changes required in pact, U.S. says

By Paul Raeburn
THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

RIO DE JANEIRO, Brazil — The United States, under attack for its refusal to sign an Earth Summit treaty to protect plant and animal diversity, would sign the agreement if minor changes were made, the chief U.S. delegate said Thursday.

"We have prepared specific language that would satisfy our concerns," William K. Reilly, the head of the U.S. delegation, told a group of U.S. reporters.

He declined to release the language, saying "I don't think it's reasonable to expect that very much will happen with it."

"I need to knock down any impression that we expect a reopening of the biodiversity treaty," said Mr. Reilly.

He said he did not expect the United States to sign the treaty before the end of the Earth Summit next week. But he left open the possibility that the United States might sign on at some point in the future.

"Should other countries decide... possibly to reopen the treaty for amendment, then our language would be reviewed," Mr. Reilly said.

President Bush, responding to criticism of his stand on environmental issues, said last night at his Washington press conference that he would not be pressured into signing an Earth Summit treaty that "throws too many Americans out of work."

"If they don't understand it in Rio, too bad," he said. "I'm not going to be driven by the extremes in the [environmental] movement."

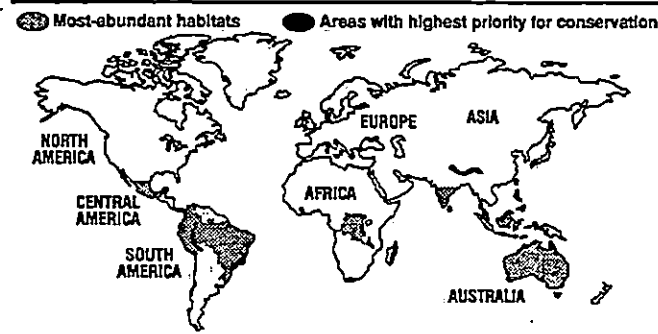
Mr. Bush made clear he would accept no conditions that put a costly burden on American industries.



Chiapo tribe Chief Raoni (center, in glasses) attends a Global Forum discussion yesterday in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

RICH HABITATS AT RISK

An estimated 20% of the Earth's species are found in tropical forests and Mediterranean-type regions, making them treasure chests of plant and animal life. Highest priority for conservation is given to the areas undergoing rapid rates of conversion to other uses — areas covering only 0.5% of the Earth's land surface.



"I have some responsibilities: responsibility for a cleaner environment, but also responsibility to families in this country who want to work, some of whom can be thrown out of work if we go for too costly an answer to some of these problems," he said.

He said some critics in Rio "started protesting before they even knew what our position was."

In Rio, Mr. Reilly also announced

that the U.S. Forest Service would no longer practice clear-cutting, or total leveling of trees — as standard policy in U.S. national forests.

The biodiversity treaty that was to be opened for signing Friday is a centerpiece of the summit.

In pre-summit negotiations, the United States rejected limiting carbon dioxide emissions to 1990 levels by 2000, as sought by European and other countries. The treaty now calls

for reducing those emissions — a primary cause of global warming — but sets no target.

The 15,000 delegates at the summit began working to complete other key agreements on technology transfer, ocean pollution, forest protection, population control and environmentally safe development.

On the sidelines of the summit, organizers of a worldwide meeting of environmental groups called the Global Forum warned that their event was broke and could collapse.

Warren Lindner, the chief organizer, said the forum was \$2.3 million short of the \$12 million needed.

Former U.S. Rep. Bella Abzug, New York Democrat, who chairs a women's environmental group, immediately pledged \$5,000. She then passed her large purple-and-green hat through the audience. It came back stuffed with Brazilian cruzeiros.

Washington has opposed the biodiversity treaty, to which Mr. Reilly proposed modifications, on the grounds that the United States would contribute much of the money to help prevent extinction while decisions on how to spend it would be left to developing nations.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Buchanan bashing

Bush-Quayle campaign press secretary Torie Clarke went off at challenger Pat Buchanan in published comments yesterday but told us she apologizes "profusely, publicly" for stinging barbs.

Mr. Buchanan was in the hospital yesterday for reconstructive heart surgery.

Asked by a reporter for the San Diego Union-Tribune if Mr. Buchanan would be addressing the Republican National Convention in Houston this summer, Miss Clarke was quoted as saying: "He has to get down on his hands and knees and grovel on broken glass with his mouth open and his tongue hanging out — and then we'll talk."

Miss Clarke did not deny making the remarks but said they were printed as being a serious comment when in fact she was just joking. "It was a facetious joke," Miss Clarke said, "an off-the-record, ridiculous remark" made in the course of a 15-minute interview with a reporter.

Miss Clarke said her remarks to the reporter focused on the need for absolute loyalty to President Bush on the part of those who attend the Republican convention. In the course of the discussion, she said, she made the joking comment.

"A note of apology is on its way to Pat Buchanan," she said.

"We are shocked," Buchanan spokesman Greg Mueller said when first told of the remarks. He said Mr. Bush should fire Miss Clarke unless she apologized publicly and immediately.

Reached by car phone after Miss Clarke issued her apology, Mr. Mueller said: "All right, I have slammed on the brakes. I was on my way to Washington Hospital Center to check out the psychiatric ward, because Torie Clarke sounds like a candidate for admission. I'm glad to hear they woke up real fast to the fact they were kicking 3.5 million Pat Buchanan Republicans in the rear end."

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Speech writer Peggy Noonan had a brief and lucrative return to town.

\$10 a point

How much does Peggy "Points of Light" Noonan get paid for the speeches she writes, anyway? That's the question a lot of White House and Bush-Quayle '92 staffers were asking after our item came out about how Miss Noonan pocketed \$40,000 for her efforts as of March of this year, according to FEC reports. Shortly thereafter it was announced that President Bush had ripped up a few of Miss Noonan's efforts on his behalf and that she had changed her plans about coming to Washington to help

with the campaign. She headed back to New York.

But there was a consolation prize, apparently. The latest campaign report to the FEC shows that, as of April, Miss Noonan had added another \$10,000 to her take during her brief reappearance on the Washington scene.

Buchanan's people

What has become of the staffers and volunteers who were working with Pat Buchanan's campaign? Well, as both paid and volunteer campaign staffers learn, when it's over, it's over. If there's a big victory involved, some of the lucky ones benefit from the power gained by their candidate. In Mr. Buchanan's case, the only victory this year will be an address to the Republican convention in Houston if he's invited. Just in case he has to stage his own event, Mr. Buchanan's sister Bay was busy yesterday booking space near the convention site.

Some conservative leaders who held back on supporting Mr. Buchanan are asking smugly where his supporters are going to turn now — meaning that the only available option is President Bush. Like many inside-the-Beltway types, they just don't get it. The thing is, many of the Buchanan people are moving into the Ross Perot camp. There's plenty of evidence of that at the state level, particularly in California, Louisiana and Texas.

But for some staffers and volunteers, the work with Mr. Buchanan paid off in additional opportunities. One example of that is Tom Kilgannon, who drove to New Hampshire from his home in New Jersey when

he heard Mr. Buchanan was challenging President Bush. Mr. Kilgannon volunteered to help in any way he could and was soon coordinating electronic media contacts for the campaign. "He developed great rapport with the media," said press secretary Greg Mueller, who announced yesterday that he's hired Mr. Kilgannon to work on political public relations for his firm, Creative Concepts.

Mr. Mueller said several other staffers have been placed in positions on Capitol Hill or elsewhere around town. There's been some speculation that Mr. Buchanan may launch a foundation in Washington that could provide some opportunities for others in the future.

The black heart

We got a tip that ever since conservatives were riffed from Sen. Jesse Helms' Senate Foreign Relations Committee staff, a little black heart has been appearing on documents issued by the committee. A sample of a recent committee report was also provided as proof, and it did indeed contain the mysterious logo. The solution to the mystery is that the heart has long been in use by the Government Printing Office as a device to show printers where to put the official U.S. eagle logo on the page, a spokeswoman explained.

The Birch rod

We weren't able to get back to all the callers from offices of members of Congress who thought they got an unfair rap from the John Birch Society. As we mentioned yesterday, 18 Republican members of the House were revealed in a JBS study to be more socialistic than Rep. Bernie Sanders, Vermont Socialist.

For those who want to take it up with the Birchers directly, the phone number for the group's Appleton, Wis., headquarters is 414/749-3784.

— John Elvin

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Apprentices for a Texas sorcerer

Can an aluminum-siding salesman from Texarkana find true happiness with an aging apprentice playboy from Georgia and a Republican free spirit who lives in the shadow of a dead man?

Well, we'll see. Money talks in Washington, and when it does, convictions (if any) take a walk.

Newt Gingrich thinks the recruiting of Ed Rollins and Hamilton Jordan is "the first step in the normalization of Ross Perot," but if this is true, and other successful steps follow, the funny little guy who talks through his nose from the wrong side of State Line Avenue is a goner.

"Abnormal" is clearly in fashion this year, and "abnormal" is the accurate description of what happens when two party pros like Ed Rollins and Ham Jordan cut their ties to the past and take a flier on an enterprise that will poison party politics for years to come.

Ordinarily, turning to two old back-room pols like these two would make a liar out of a man pretending to be an outsider, but Ross Perot is riding the luck of a blind pig. He can tell all manner of salesman's fibs and stretchers and pay no consequences, beginning with calling himself an "outsider" when everyone in Washington knows him as the ultimate "insider" and influence-buyer, which is how he became the first welfare billionaire.

Ed Rollins is the best known of the insider's insiders. Jody Powell calls him "a kind of a free spirit in the Republican Party," which may be the ultimate oxymoron, and says of Mr. Jordan that "even while he was here, he was mostly damned for not being enough of an insider."

Mr. Jordan, in fact, relished telling the insiders where to get off, and delighted in outraging Washington with redneck manners, which comprised something of an act. He once stared down the décolletage of the wife of the Egyptian ambassador, which was cut low enough to impress and entertain, and allowed as how he had always wanted "to see the pyramids."

When he first arrived in Washington, with Jimmy



Jimmy Carter

Carter still looking alive, there was much consternation about the correct pronunciation of his name. He stepped into an elevator with Walter Pincus of The Washington Post, and the Pincus missus. "I'm sure we'll be seeing a lot of each other," the missus said sweetly, "so tell me, do your friends call you Jer-dan, or Jor-dan?"

"Some people say Jordan, but it's Jer-dan. My friends call me Ham. You

can call me Mr. Jer-dan."

Ed Rollins managed the Reagan landslide in 1984, with a little help from a young colleague named Lee Atwater. Mr. Rollins then made a million-dollar deal with the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee to "create" a Republican majority in the House in 1992. So much for that million. Lee Atwater took a candidate down 17 points in the polls and whaled the tar out of the designated Democratic dork.

Both Mr. Rollins and Mr. Jordan insist they took a pay cut from their current jobs — actually, Mr. Rollins seems to have been between engagements and Mr. Jordan was a vice president of Whittle Communications in Tennessee — to sign on with Ross Perot. If that's actually true, the president and Slick Willie should relax. Anyone dumb enough not to get a piece of that \$100 million Mr. Perot brags that he can't wait to spend on his campaign won't help anyone very much.

Mr. Rollins has been saying accurate but nonetheless mean things about the president for weeks, and nice things about Ross Perot. Some people figured he was fishing for something. He says he first decided to abandon ship after Mr. Bush babbled on in the wake of the Los Angeles riots. He detects "a tiredness, a lack of vision, a lack of agenda" even among his friends in the White House.

Ham Jordan insists that Mr. Perot is "the future of this country" because neither party understands what voters want and the nation needs; he seems to be under the impression that these are the same things. He says he offered to enlist as a volunteer and would have been happy to continue as a volunteer. His nose was said to grow by 14 inches in a matter of seconds.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Senate approves fetal tissue bill; Bush plans veto

By Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Senate yesterday overwhelmingly approved a National Institutes of Health reauthorization bill that includes a provision to permit medical research with fetal tissue collected from abortions.

The 84-13 decision sent the bill to President Bush, who has promised to veto the measure because it lifts a 4-year-old ban against such research.

Although the Senate vote exceeds the two-thirds majority needed to override a veto, Mr. Bush's expected veto will likely be sustained because the House last week passed the bill on a 260-148 vote — 12 short of the needed majority.

Fetal tissue research is believed to hold promise for treating people with spinal cord injuries, Parkinson's disease, Alzheimer's disease and diabetes.

The administration opposes lifting President Reagan's 1988 ban against research with aborted fetuses because it feels such a policy would encourage women to have abortions.

But the administration approves of research conducted with tissues obtained from miscarriages and tubal pregnancies. Last month, Mr. Bush announced the establishment of a fetal tissue bank that will provide scientists with up to 2,000 tissue samples a year.

But Senate critics of the president's plan said that 2,000 samples will not suffice and that tissue from miscarriages and tubal pregnancies is mostly unusable.

"The question is quite simple: Do we allow scientists to use this tissue for lifesaving research or do we just throw it away?" Sen. Brock Adams, Washington Democrat, said in support of the legislation.

Sen. Edward Kennedy, Massachu-

setts Democrat, said the bill would ensure that a "a woman's decision to donate tissue is separate from her decision to have an abortion."

But Sen. Robert Smith, New Hampshire Republican, argued that a woman unsure about whether to have an abortion might decide to do it if she thought tissue from the fetus might be used to save a life.

The fetal tissue research provision received support from not only both parties, but also both sides of the abortion debate. Senators who consider themselves staunchly pro-life voted for the bill.

"This is not an abortion issue," said Sen. Mark Hatfield, Oregon Republican and longtime pro-life advocate. "We must focus on the literally millions of people ... who could benefit from this research."

Sen. Orrin Hatch, Utah Republican and leader of opposition to the fetal research provision, challenged the bill's supporters, saying enough fetal tissue can be collected from miscarriages and tubal pregnancies.

He noted that only 60 fetal tissue transplants have been conducted in the past 30 years. Mr. Hatch also cited medical researchers who argue that fetal tissue from miscarriages and tubal pregnancies is less likely to be infected or genetically abnormal than that from abortions.

Republicans voting against the bill included Mr. Smith, Mr. Hatch, Christopher Bond of Missouri, Conrad Burns of Montana, Dan Coats of Indiana, Larry Craig of Idaho, Alfonse D'Amato of New York, Phil Gramm of Texas, Larry Pressler of South Dakota, Don Nickles of Oklahoma, Steve Symms of Idaho and Malcolm Wallop of Wyoming.

Sen. Wendell Ford of Kentucky was the only Democrat to vote against the measure.

Sens. Jeff Bingaman, New Mexico Democrat; Dave Durenberger, Minnesota Republican; and Jesse Helms, North Carolina Republican, did not vote.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Buchanan faces heart surgery to replace aorta

By Joyce Price
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Pat Buchanan, who ended his quixotic bid for the Republican presidential nomination Tuesday night, is scheduled to undergo open-heart surgery this morning at the Washington Hospital Center.

Mr. Buchanan, 53, was told by doctors in April that he needed surgery by the end of the year to replace a leaky aortic valve and decided to have it now in order to recover in time for the Republican National Convention in mid-August.

"He's expected to be walking around Sunday, out of the hospital the following weekend, and back doing normal activities in six to eight weeks," Mr. Buchanan's sister and campaign manager, Angela Bay Buchanan, said yesterday.

"We're optimistic he'll be back to his normal cantankerous self by Monday," she said.

Mr. Buchanan entered the hospital yesterday and was not taking calls.

The surgery will be performed by Dr. Jorge Garcia, director of cardiac surgery at the Washington Hospital Center. He also could not be reached for comment.

Dr. Timothy Gardner, a professor of cardiac surgery at Johns Hopkins Medical Institutions, also a member of the AHA's council, said complications are extremely rare — no more than 2 percent — with the so-called St. Jude valve, which will be implanted in Mr. Buchanan in today's operation.

Because the St. Jude valve is so durable, it "can last a patient's lifetime," Miss Buchanan said.

However, Dr. Gardner cautioned that "any artificial substance placed in the bloodstream," including an artificial valve, "can result in bloodclot formation."

Because of that, he said, recipients of artificial valves "usually have to take anti-clotting agents."

Mr. Buchanan first learned of potential problems with his natural

aortic valve during a routine examination about 10 years ago, his sister said.

At that time, he was discovered to have a heart murmur. Miss Buchanan said physicians linked the heart murmur "to a little blood that was backing up" in the heart as a result of a leaky aortic valve, the organ that regulates blood flow between the heart's left ventricle, its main pumping chamber and the aorta.

Defective heart valves may be congenital or can result from other medical conditions, such as rheumatic fever, scarlet fever, inflammatory conditions such as arthritis, or from certain infections that invade and damage heart valve tissue.

Miss Buchanan said doctors believe her brother's heart valve disorder was caused by a "very serious and very painful" inflammatory arthritic condition he suffered in his early 20s.

Unlike some cardiac conditions, which are accompanied by chest pain, shortness of breath and/or loss of energy, Mr. Buchanan has never had any symptoms, his sister said.

When his heart murmur was first discovered, he was warned he'd probably have to have a valve replacement within five years. "They monitored him every year, and he remained stable until last year," Miss Buchanan said. "In an examination [in August], they said it looked like things were turning, so they said they'd be looking at him more closely."

"In April, he went in for a routine examination and was told it was getting worse and that he needed to get it done before the end of the year," she said.

Mr. Buchanan was assured he could remain in the campaign. "He decided he wanted to have it done right after the California primary," Miss Buchanan said, "because he wanted to be ready for Houston in August." The Republican National Convention will be held in Houston Aug. 17-20.

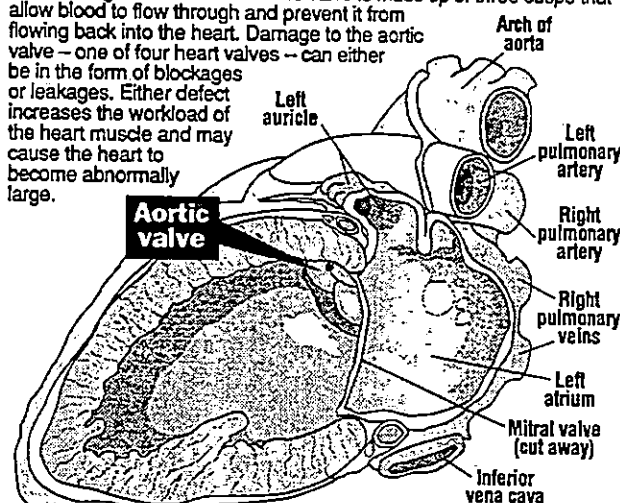


Former Republican presidential candidate and columnist Pat Buchanan walks through a crowd of supporters yesterday in Manchester, N.H.

AORTIC VALVE SURGERY

Pat Buchanan, 53, today will have his aortic valve replaced with an artificial valve.

On the left side of the heart, blood flows from the left ventricle into the aorta through the aortic valve. The valve is made up of three cusps that allow blood to flow through and prevent it from flowing back into the heart. Damage to the aortic valve — one of four heart valves — can either be in the form of blockages or leakages. Either defect increases the workload of the heart muscle and may cause the heart to become abnormally large.



Source: "Living with Your New Heart Valve," a booklet provided by St. Jude Medical Inc.

The Washington Times

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

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Forests and trees

George Bush isn't going to Rio empty-handed. He's offering trees. Lots and lots of trees. The president already boasts a program to plant a billion of them in this country. Now he wants to send tens of millions of dollars overseas to help other countries play Johnny Appleseed.

The idea is to improve conservation management of the world's forests, usually identified in the press as a "dwindling natural resource." Environmentalists, who always want more, weren't impressed. Neither, it appears, is *Science* magazine — though for a dramatically different reason. In a study scheduled for release in the magazine today, three researchers turn conventional environmental wisdom upside down by suggesting that, whatever Mr. Bush may believe about global warming, burning all those tropical rain forests has actually had a cooling effect.

More than 70 percent of the burning, said the scientists — Joyce Penner of the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and Robert Dickinson and Christine O'Neill of the University of Arizona — occurs in the tropics, where people burn trees to clear land for food production or affordable housing. They also burn fuel wood and agricultural wastes.

The effect of all this burning is to send smoke particles into the atmosphere that contribute to what the study authors call a global radiation balance. "These particles," they say, "act to reflect solar radiation directly; they also can act as cloud condensation nuclei, increasing the reflectivity of clouds. Together these cooling effects, although uncertain, may add up globally to a cooling effect... comparable to the estimated contribution of sulfate aerosols. Anthropogenic increases of smoke emission thus may have helped weaken the net greenhouse warming effect from anthropogenic trace gases."

These remarks are interesting not only for what they assert about tree burning, but for what they say about sulfate aerosols, which are supposed to contribute to so-called acid rain. A number of scientists, as well as the late columnist Warren Brookes, argued that those emissions, too, had the effect of deflecting solar radiation and contributing to global cooling. The notion that burning trees is as helpful as acid rain emissions — in one respect — is a reminder that the conventional environmental wisdom isn't necessarily as wise as it purports to be.

It won't be the first time. There were smiles all around when President Reagan suggested that trees pollute. Ho, ho, ho, said the critics. Along came scientists to find that trees emit substances that contribute to ground-level ozone — the stuff that can lead to respiratory problems. Rather than welcoming new, objective data, revising their own theories accordingly (and for that matter, acknowledging that Mr. Reagan may have had a point), critics found it more expedient to change the subject.

To be sure, this most recent study is not an invitation to go out and burn down trees — although that is what environmentalists will probably caricature their opponents as saying, to the extent they feel it necessary respond to these data at all. The *Science* study is narrowly focused on one benefit of tree burning and doesn't take into account the other costs and benefits of doing so.

It is, however, more evidence of how little people really understand what makes the planet operate the way it does. Presidents and their plans come and go — as do the considerably more radical plans of environmental activists. The research trails along sometime later. The *Science* study is another sign it should be the other way around.

End the embargo on Haiti

A coalition of Haiti's corrupt army and rigged provisional government has nominated a politically ambitious rival of ousted President Jean-Bertrand Aristide to be prime minister of that troubled country. The nomination of Marc Bazin, a conservative economist and former presidential candidate who attracted scant popular support, is unlikely to bring about the social and political stability Haiti seeks. More trouble certainly lies ahead.

If confirmed, Mr. Bazin is likely to be little more than a puppet of the military. He will head a so-called "consensus government," whose military architects want to use it to supplant the constitutionally elected government of the exiled Mr. Aristide. There is no mention of the presidency in the new scheme — and none at all of Mr. Aristide. Nomination hearings no doubt will result in a parliamentary standoff between the military-controlled 27-member Senate and the 83-member Chamber of Deputies, the majority of whom are Aristide supporters. There is no telling what army leaders, who have a deserved reputation for brutality, will do to ensure that the vote goes their way.

Especially worrisome is a further escalation of violence, which has not ebbed since the military coup in September. People are being beaten in their homes and in the streets. The vicious Tontons Macoutes, banished by Mr. Aristide, have resurfaced. Rage, once again, is emboldening ordinary people to publicly speak their minds, and that has led to clashes with those determined to still their voices.

The announcement of Mr. Bazin's selection came the same day that police were arresting and beating scores of mourners who attended the funeral of Georges Izmerly, a well-known food importer. Mr. Izmerly's brother had heavily bankrolled the candidacy of Mr. Aristide and remained outspoken in his support.

The victim was shot three times outside of his store, which is located only a few doors from the police station. It is widely believed he was killed by the police — either in a case of mistaken identity or as a pointed warning to his brother.

At the funeral Mass, however, Antoine Izmerly demonstrated that he remains defiant. He encouraged the gathering of several hundred mourners to "rise up" — a call that is certain to be answered and further fuel the violence now gripping that country.

In the face of all of this, there is a sense that neither the United States nor the Organization of American States knows what to do. The OAS-backed embargo is a failure — the repressive military is thriving and the business elite who backed the coup are profiting handsomely from drug trafficking and the marketing of various contraband. The majority of the country's poor are suffering more than ever. Yet the embargo continues.

The OAS and the United States must get themselves more firmly into the picture — and on firmer moral ground. Mr. Bush's immediate response to the September coup was properly resolute in favor of restoring Mr. Aristide to the presidency. But within a few months, administration policy seemed willing to accommodate anti-democratic forces and a compromised presidency for Haiti. The administration began forcibly repatriating asylum-seekers and gradually relaxed the blockade, which ultimately made the embargo worthless.

The embargo must end. The wrong people are hurting. And the United States and the OAS need to work to bring an orderly end to the sanctions and a return of the democratically elected government to power. That restoration really has to include Mr. Aristide, like him or not.

Trying to read the atmospherics

High-tech dimension

Late-night thoughts in the Age of Perot while listening to Handel and waiting for a Southern Democratic primary to play itself out:

A confession. I used to consider myself a cut above sportswriters, much as I liked them. A political columnist deals with the Great Issues of the day. All sports types have to do is find synonyms for win, lose and draw. There's always the same story, just different names and scores.

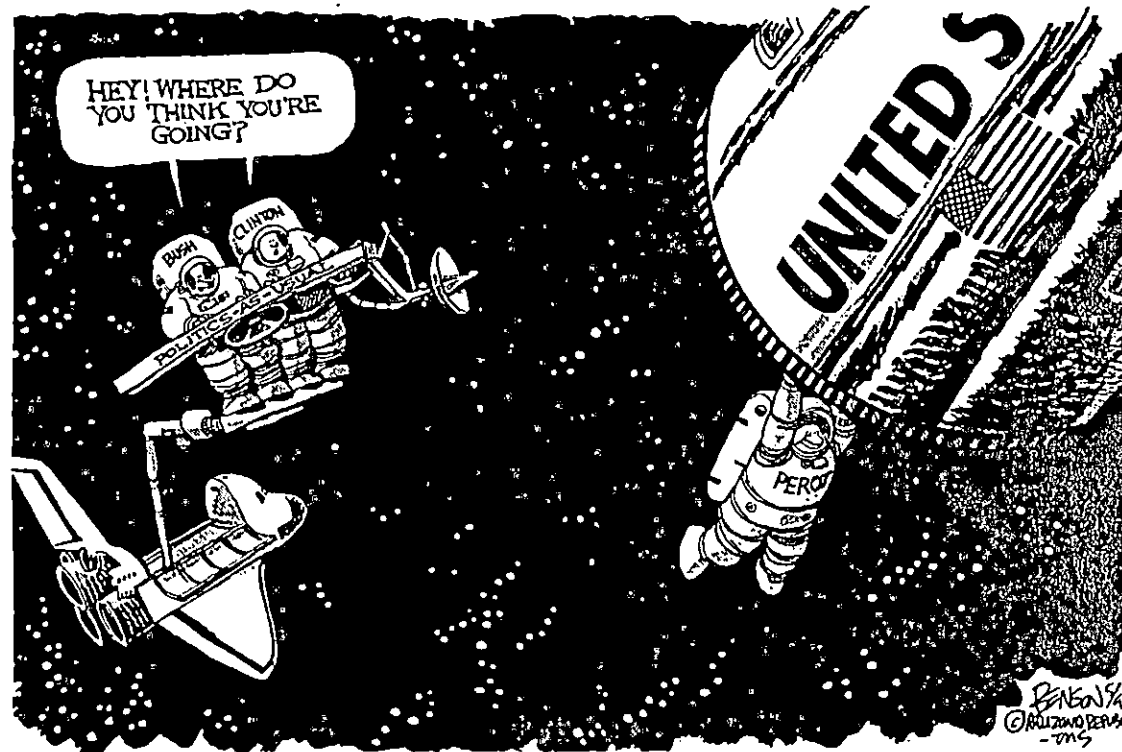
Now I find myself reaching for the Word Finder, too. The great political, moral and philosophical question of the age has become: Who's going to win/lose/draw? I always knew columnists dealt only with the heaven of life and not its substance, but when did politics become one of the duller, more obsessive sports? It begins to make football seem artful, and baseball positively spiritual.

A politician gives a speech about family values, or international trade, or the State of the Union, you name it. Whatever the theme, the immediate and endless reaction concerns, no, not family values or international trade or the State of the Union, but how the speech has — terrible verb — positioned the candidate to win, lose or draw.

Once upon a time, only the power-brokers and elite tended to strategize — to weigh the political effect of a candidate's taking a stand or avoiding one. Now every man is his own political strategist. Citizens who will take an idea at face value grow rare; they're almost a subterranean elite. You don't find them on talk shows, which have become shout shows. The rest of us speculate about whether an idea will help the candidate win, lose or draw. What used to be the end of politics — ideas and actions — have become the means of getting elected.

When did this turnabout happen? And is there a connection between this untoward trend and the deterioration of the language? Was everything affected when nouns like Impact and Position were enlisted as mod, sterile video verbs? Or does the

Paul Greenberg is editorial page editor of the *Arkansas Democrat-Gazette* in Little Rock and a nationally syndicated columnist.



As with instant pudding, the great appeal of instant consensus lies not with its taste or substance, but with the process itself. Fast government for the nation that invented fast food.

electronic degradation of the language only reflect the change in the way we (no longer) think? Which sickened first, the chicken or the egg? I suspect the words went first. They're what we think with and live by. Get them wrong and everything else falls apart.

The election results this spring reveal an abundance of general irri-

tability but no lust for revolution. Sometimes the sense of contentment seems so thick and soft you could cut it with a spoon. Americans appear as devoted as ever to our institutions — with some notable exceptions like political parties and savings and loans — but repelled as never before by the types supposedly in charge of them.

It's a bit like constantly being exposed to bad service at a once-fine hotel. Nobody with any sense wants to burn the place down — just fire the staff. And that's what we're doing. See the results in recent congressional primaries. They're very satisfying. They're also very American — that is, pragmatic. We don't have anything against the system; we just want it to work.

Voters aren't demanding revenge so much as service. Instead, we get excuses. Today's up-and-coming leader doesn't ask, as in the French Revolution, where the mob is heading so he can lead it. He wants to know what the polls say so he can reflect them. Hence the constant

shifts in their positions that reduce our leading politicians to so much background static in our lives.

In such an atmosphere, almost anyone who knows what he thinks and sticks with it can seem a prophet, a rock amidst the shallow currents of ever-shifting opinion. That's why Dan Quayle begins to stand out. But doing anything so simple seems quite beyond our more sophisticated leaders — the George Bushes, Bill Clintons and their handlers.

With presidential candidates who are less leaders than sound bites, of course this would be the Age of Perot. The man's crisp, cryptic, Texican vocabulary attracts. Just as the terse aphorisms/platitudes of Chauncey Gardener did in "Being There." Remember that Chauncey was a fraud only to other frauds; he communicated well enough with the rest of us.

Ross Perot has another political asset in this computerized America: a high-tech dimension. The one specific idea he's backed is the electronic town hall, a way to formulate

and tabulate public opinion almost instantaneously. It's the multiple-choice test raised to national policy. Why settle for a cumbersome, 18th century republic of checks and balances when you can have a plebiscitary mass-democracy at the flip of a switch?

As with instant pudding, the great appeal of instant consensus lies not with its taste or substance, but with the process itself. It's technologically irresistible. Fast government for the nation that invented fast food. We want some service around here.

Of course in this hyper-American one cannot be sure how long an age will last. Some barely make it through a week. Remember the Age of Inecce? Third-party candidates have faded before, but various experts say Ross Perot is something new under the sun. He does begin to seem a natural presence in the political calculations of '92, just as New Age music has become an accepted part of the electronic background. What troubles is that Handel's water music has started to sound weird.

Motion over matter

Here's a quiz question for Republican operatives: "What has President Bush done in the past six months?" Name one thing, for the grand prize.

I'm stumped. Not one serious accomplishment — not even one serious effort at a serious accomplishment — comes to mind.

Instead of a man with a mission appears a man in motion — perpetual, almost random motion, like one of those subatomic particles which scientists watch under megagiga-watt microscopes.

A natural leader must always be in a cause larger than himself. Mr. Bush seems in a cause smaller than himself. Or actually, lots of causes.

For when you ask Bush partisans what he's done, they'll tick off a list of legislative or administrative proposals. None sticks in the mind of any but his aides, with their marvelous ability to memorize.

The big worry is not so much of November, for Mr. Bush should win handily. Ross Perot will help this effort by dividing the anti-incumbent, outside Washington and pro-choice forces between him and Bill Clinton.

For when all is said and done, most Americans vote either for an incumbent president or against him, i.e. for the other guy. That there are two "other guys" can only help the incumbent. (Besides, the U.S. economy is pecking up nicely, and this remains the best single indicator of who wins the presidency.)

So, no, the worry is not over November. It's over the next four years. If they're anything like the last six months, we'll really be in a funk.

Reinforcing such worries is the historical record that a president's second term is nearly never as good as his first term. This pattern has held fairly consistently from George Washington to Ronald Reagan.

There's nothing to indicate that Mr. Bush's second term will break the mold. Like many, it could become much worse.

Throughout his long and dogged political career, Mr. Bush has prided himself on being a pragmatist and practitioner of retail politics. That's excellent for a congressman, fine for a senator, and quite acceptable for a vice president.

see ADELMAN, page F3

Ken Adelman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

ADELMAN

From page F1

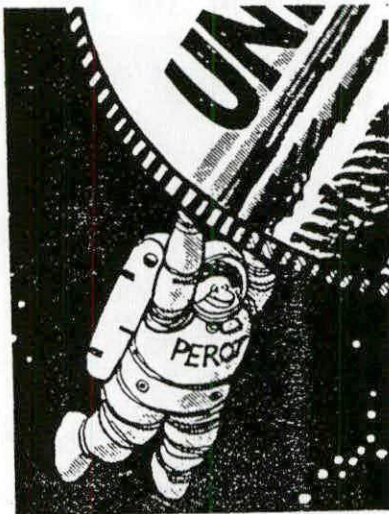
It's just not enough for a president.

A president must focus on values and long-term solutions, rather than talking about the political horse-race and diddly programs. There's no lift there.

Nor does any inspiration flow from Mr. Bush's incessant Congress-bashing. It's not as if he lacks any authority to muster a domestic program without all new congressional legislation.

Has Mr. Bush ever asked his lawyers what authority (or even funds) he needs to try whatever initiatives he wants most? I suspect authority now exists for most programs somewhere in those bookshelves full of U.S. Codes. I can't believe that 200 Congresses have passed *no* statutes Mr. Bush could use for his initiatives.

Regardless, the president has to grasp that there's more to government than a host of teeny notions,



meetings, proclamations and trips.

A president, indeed any real leader, must *connect* with his or her people, bind them as a unit and point

them toward some overriding goal. To do so requires that he *select* which two or three goals are most worthy of pursuit at that precise moment.

Helping remold the world after the fall of communism, and helping restore the Gulf after the fall of Kuwait, were worthy goals during Mr. Bush's first two-plus years. Nothing abroad demands such diligence today.

Moreover, a leader must *protect* the group's values from constant assault. That's what Vice President Dan Quayle tried to do with his pitch for values, which the White House undercut since, as Mr. Bush said, Mr. Quayle was taking out after a "very popular" television series.

Robert Frost said that a leader "gives his people character." Actually, a leader protects and reinforces his people's traditional character by appealing to their best instincts, most cherished past moments, and magnificent future potential.

And Mr. Bush should realize that a leader must *reject* any feelings of hopelessness, aimlessness and anomie to which people seem, almost by nature, prone. Naysaying and carping must be curbed rather than reinforced by a president's own carping words.

Leadership can transform a people from feeling they are victims to considering themselves as purposeful actors. Rather than wait for "Washington" to begin "to do something," the people's own energy and ideas best be tapped. As the historian James MacGregor Burns wrote, true leaders "help release human potentials now locked in ungratified needs and crushed expectations."

There's no conceivable way Bill Clinton or Ross Perot could help America as much over the next four years as George Bush. Yet, there's no conceivable way Mr. Bush will help America much if he just continues the motion-over-matter and fairly mindless approach of the past six months.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

REED IRVINE / JOE GOULDEN

On the eve of the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, The Washington Post punched a hole in the global warming balloon with an excellent article by Boyce Rensberger pointing out that the alarmist claims that we are going to fry if we don't curb the emission of greenhouse gases are not supported by the empirical evidence.

Mr. Rensberger pointed out that the climate scientists don't differ about what the data show. They agree that there is a greenhouse effect produced by the Earth's atmosphere that has been keeping the planet warm for billions of years. They agree that some of the gases that contribute to this effect, notably carbon dioxide, have increased since the industrial revolution began some 200 years ago.

They also agree that the increase in the Earth's mean surface temperature over the last hundred years of about 1 degree Fahrenheit is within the range of normal climate variability, but they then divide into two groups. One group believes the warming is due to the increase in greenhouse gases in the atmosphere, not to natural causes. They cite the increase in the percentage of the carbon dioxide component of the atmosphere from about .00028 percent in 1800 to about .00036 percent today, warning that if the present rate of increase continues, it will lead to a heating of the globe unprecedented in human history.

Helen Caldicott, the Australian pediatrician who achieved fame in this country as a crusader against all things nuclear, is now running around the country warning that the planet may heat up 18 degrees Fahrenheit in the next 50 years. She fears that in 10 years we might not be able to smell the roses and the trees may not come out in the spring. She calls on her audiences to give their lives to save the planet, urging them to march on Washington and take over

Reed Irvine is chairman of Accuracy in Media. Joe Goulden is AIM's director of media analysis.

Center stage for panic peddlers

the White House and Congress.

Dr. Caldicott complains that the big corporations that she says control the United States are keeping her from getting on television to air her call to arms. Dr. Caldicott got plenty of media exposure back in the days when she was just an anti-American anti-nuclear nutcake. If the networks are refusing to give her time, it isn't because they are reluctant to panic the public about global warming. Even though Dr. Caldicott can get standing ovations from naive students, if her exaggerations were aired on national TV they might give panic-mongering a bad name.

The networks prefer Michael Oppenheimer, the scientific spokesman for the Environmental Defense Fund. Mr. Oppenheimer has been all over the tube lately lading out panic-promoting misinformation. On ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley," he said "there's no question" about the long-term warming trend continuing. He cited a White House report that said that there is a consensus among a broad range of scientists that the buildup of greenhouse gases will lead to a warming of the Earth in the range of 3 degrees to 8 degrees Fahrenheit over the next century. Mr. Oppenheimer said, "That would make the Earth warmer than at any time in the history of the human species. . . . That's a threat we need to act on now."

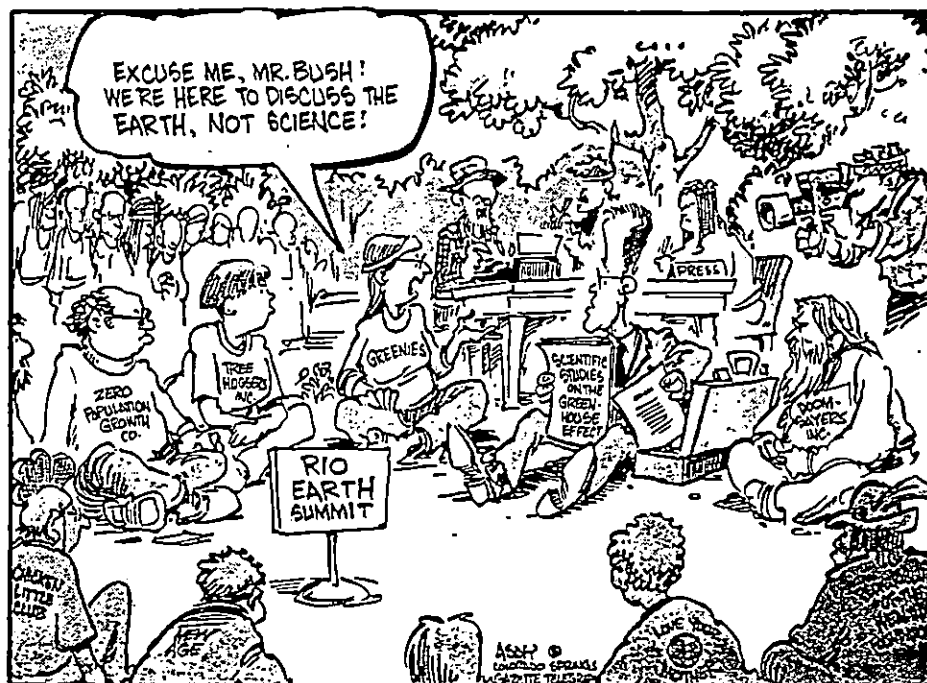
The same day, Mr. Rensberger in The Washington Post reported that climate scientists are divided into those who want immediate action to

curb greenhouse gases and those who don't. He said: "Most of the scientists who specialize in the subject still can't figure out whether anything unusual is actually happening to Earth's climate. . . . Scientists generally agree that it has been getting warmer over the last hundred years, but the average rate of change is no greater than in centuries past, and there is no consensus that human activity is the cause. And while there is no doubt that continued emissions of 'greenhouse gases' tend to aid warming, it is not clear that cutting back on emissions could do much to stop a natural trend, if that is what is happening."

Fred Singer, a scientist who opposes panicky action, says the White House paper cited by Mr. Oppenheimer is a misrepresentation of the 1990 report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC). This report observed that the future warming rate could accelerate and increase by as much as 5 degrees by the year 2100, but it did not claim that there was any consensus that this would occur. The IPCC report said: "It is not possible at this time to attribute all, or even a large part, of the observed global-mean warming to the enhanced greenhouse effect on the basis of the observational data currently available."

Why was Fred Singer allowed only a few seconds in the taped introductory segment of the Brinkley show while people like Michael Oppenheimer and his think-alike, Sen. Albert Gore, are featured guests? Mr. Rensberger supplied this answer, "They are the most visible because many are backed by large activist organizations and because the news media traditionally give alarm calls prominence."

Tom Murphy, the CapCities/ABC chairman, claims that ABC wants to give the public all the facts. He has said, "We would like to think we are discussing all these major issues of our time with all the scientific community, and we're trying to do the best we can." Try a little harder, Tom. You can do a lot better.



FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 1992

Pruden on Politics

By Wesley Pruden



Apprentices for a Texas sorcerer

Can an aluminum-siding salesman from Texarkana find true happiness with an aging apprentice playboy from Georgia and a Republican free spirit who lives in the shadow of a dead man?

Well, we'll see. Money talks in Washington, and when it does, convictions (if any) take a walk.

Newt Gingrich thinks the recruiting of Ed Rollins and Hamilton Jordan is "the first step in the normalization of Ross Perot," but if this is true, and other successful steps follow, the funny little guy who talks through his nose from the wrong side of State Line Avenue is a goner.

"Abnormal" is clearly in fashion this year, and "abnormal" is the accurate description of what happens when two party pros like Ed Rollins and Ham Jordan cut their ties to the past and take a flier on an enterprise that will poison party politics for years to come.

Ordinarily, turning to two old back-room pols like these two would make a liar out of a man pretending to be an outsider, but Ross Perot is riding the luck of a blind pig. He can tell all manner of salesman's fibs and stretchers and pay no consequences, beginning with calling himself an "outsider" when everyone in Washington knows him as the ultimate "insider" and influence-buyer, which is how he became the first welfare billionaire.

Ed Rollins is the best known of the insider's insiders. Jody Powell calls him "a kind of a free spirit in the Republican Party," which may be the ultimate oxymoron, and says of Mr. Jordan that "even while he was here, he was mostly damned for not being enough of an insider."

Mr. Jordan, in fact, relished telling the insiders where to get off, and delighted in outraging Washington with redneck manners, which comprised something of an act. He once stared down the décolletage of the wife of the Egyptian ambassador, which was cut low enough to impress and entertain, and allowed as how he had always wanted "to see the pyramids."

When he first arrived in Washington, with Jimmy



Jimmy Carter

Carter still looking alive, there was much consternation about the correct pronunciation of his name. He stepped into an elevator with Walter Pincus of The Washington Post, and the Pincus missus. "I'm sure we'll be seeing a lot of each other," the missus said sweetly, "so tell me, do your friends call you Jer-dan, or Jor-dan?"

"Some people say Jor-dan, but it's Jer-dan. My friends call me Ham. You

can call me Mr. Jer-dan."

Ed Rollins managed the Reagan landslide in 1984, with a little help from a young colleague named Lee Atwater. Mr. Rollins then made a million-dollar deal with the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee to "create" a Republican majority in the House in 1992. So much for that million. Lee Atwater took a candidate down 17 points in the polls and whaled the tar out of the designated Democratic dork.

Both Mr. Rollins and Mr. Jordan insist they took a pay cut from their current jobs — actually, Mr. Rollins seems to have been between engagements and Mr. Jordan was a vice president of Whittle Communications in Tennessee — to sign on with Ross Perot. If that's actually true, the president and Slick Willie should relax. Anyone dumb enough not to get a piece of that \$100 million Mr. Perot brags that he can't wait to spend on his campaign won't help anyone very much.

Mr. Rollins has been saying accurate but nonetheless mean things about the president for weeks, and nice things about Ross Perot. Some people figured he was fishing for something. He says he first decided to abandon ship after Mr. Bush babbled on in the wake of the Los Angeles riots. He detects "a tiredness, a lack of vision, a lack of agenda" even among his friends in the White House.

Ham Jordan insists that Mr. Perot is "the future of this country" because neither party understands what voters want and the nation needs; he seems to be under the impression that these are the same things. He says he offered to enlist as a volunteer and would have been happy to continue as a volunteer. His nose was said to grow by 14 inches in a matter of seconds.

BOOK REVIEW / Robert L. Spaeth

Edwin Meese III went to work for Ronald Reagan 25 years ago, in the California governor's office. In 1976 and 1980, he campaigned for a Reagan presidency. During the Reagan administrations, he served as White House counsel and, from 1985-88, attorney general. His loyalty to his boss never wavered.

Now Mr. Meese has expressed his loyalty to Ronald Reagan in words, and they show, even more than his deeds, how intense that loyalty has been. "With Reagan" is an encomium for the man who, according to Mr. Meese, "led the cause of liberty to an unprecedented victory over the forces of oppression and slavery."

Certainly Mr. Meese has the credentials to report on Mr. Reagan's leadership qualities and to comment on his personality. With regard to the former, Mr. Meese observed Mr. Reagan to be "a tough and decisive leader . . . capable of handling enormous challenges with a calmness and perseverance that were remarkable." Mr. Reagan scaled these heights, Mr. Meese says, "by sheer will power and his own considerable

Robert L. Spaeth is professor of liberal studies at St. John's University, Collegeville, Minn.

A glowing look at the Gipper

powers of persuasion," guided by "a powerful and remarkably consistent vision."

Personally, Mr. Reagan had an "essentially trusting nature" and a

WITH REAGAN: THE INSIDE STORY

By Edwin Meese III

Regnery Gateway, \$24.95

350 pages

REVIEWED BY ROBERT L. SPAETH

"sense of humor," along with being "upbeat, optimistic, enjoyable to be around" and "always friendly and genial."

The author of "With Reagan" does not urge analogies between Mr. Reagan and earlier American political giants upon his readers. Mr. Meese's numerous superlatives nevertheless remind one primarily of descriptions of Abraham Lincoln, though Mr. Meese prudently eschews any explicit comparison.

Despite the lengthy, day-in-day-out association of Mr. Meese and Mr. Reagan, this book does not seem to be the "inside story" claimed by its subtitle. Mr. Meese does not reveal any secret diaries or hitherto unknown documents. Rather, his typical approach to controverted actions of the Reagan administration depends on assertions — that critics are biased, that the good ideas did indeed originate with Mr. Reagan, that his administration's accomplishments were enormously beneficial, most of the credit belonging to Mr. Reagan himself.

In short, "With Reagan" is a detailed assertion that Mr. Reagan was right, time and time again, that the nation and the world benefited from his yeoman service, that the public record is sufficient to demonstrate these conclusions, that critics are mistaken or hostile or both. To back up these confident assertions, Mr. Meese offers his own trustworthiness as an honest reporter of the leadership abilities of his hero. "With Reagan" stands or falls on Mr. Meese's credibility.

Mr. Meese defends the Reagan tax and budget policies, the defense buildup, the attack on Granada ("one of the watershed developments of the era"), the support for the Nicaraguan Contras, the tough diplomacy vis-a-vis the Soviet Union, the attack



Edwin Meese and President Reagan in July 1988

on Libya, the attempt to liberate American hostages by selling arms to Iran. He mentions the disastrous growth in the national debt only tangentially, absolving Mr. Reagan from responsibility for it.

The Iran-Contra affair gets the most detailed treatment of any of the book's topics. The attempt to trade arms for hostages does not bother Mr. Meese. The arms were to be transferred not to "the Hezbollah extremists who had seized the hostages," but rather to "third parties who had influence on them." Besides, Jimmy Carter had been "ready to trade arms for hostages, dealing directly with the hostage-takers."

What does concern Mr. Meese in the Iran-Contra affair is "the diversion of the Iranian arms sales proceeds to support the Nicaraguan re-

sistance." He concludes that this was "a tremendous error" but he is "far from certain that the diversion was illegal." As for Mr. Reagan's responsibility: "Despite conspiracy theories to the effect that the president knew of or condoned the diversion, there is not a scintilla of evidence to support that view."

At best, "With Reagan" constitutes half of a debate, and Mr. Meese's debating style gives no credence to anything the other side might say. At worst, this book is a disappointing whitewash of the eight years of the Reagan presidency. But absent any interpretation, Mr. Meese has only loyalty to support his grand conclusion in the final paragraph: "The Reagan era presaged one of the most remarkable expansions of liberty and democracy in the history of man."

Birthday

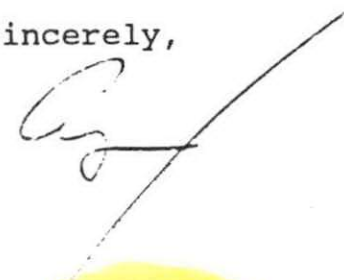
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1992

Dear Bennett:

Barbara and I send you best wishes for a happy birthday. We hope that you have a wonderful day and that in the year ahead you will be blessed with good health and happiness.

Sincerely,



The Honorable J. Bennett Johnston
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

*GO? No way —
But, take it from me
GO is spring chicken time*

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

ROSE LAMARCA
(1 cc)

Mr. H. Wayne Huizenga
Chief Executive Officer
Blockbuster Entertainment
Corporation
901 East Las Olas Boulevard
Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301



THE PRESIDENT

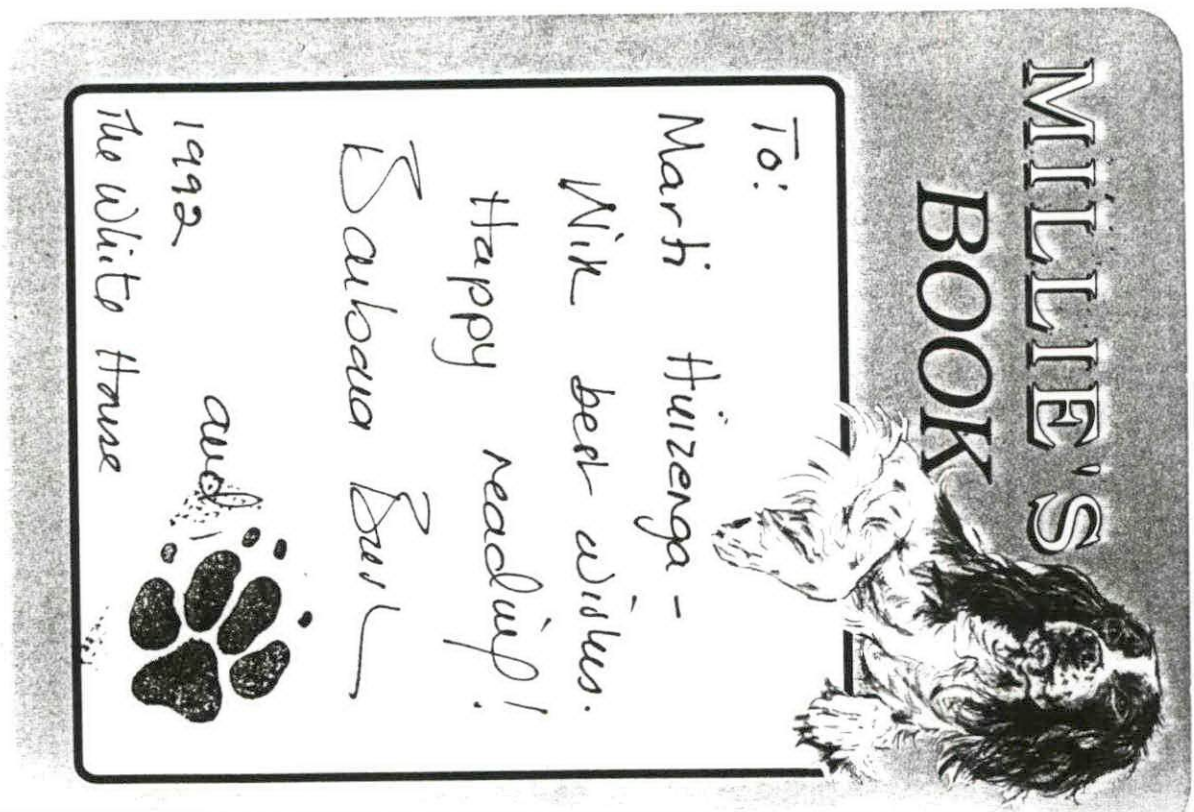
June 5, 1992

Dear Wayne,

Neil told me that your Marti had a Millie's Book.
Perhaps this book plate from Barbara will fit in the
front of the book somewhere.

Warm regards,

Sincerely,



GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

June 5, 1992

Dear Mary:

Thank you for sending a copy of your very moving testimony to the Platform Committee hearing in Salt Lake City. I was deeply touched by your kind references to Barbara and me.

The Platform this year will be sensitive to the issue of AIDS and recognize its importance as a national issue affecting many, many American families. I know it was difficult personally for you to convey, but I deeply appreciate your courage in carrying this important message to our Party.

Warm personal wishes, as always.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be 'G. Bush', written in a cursive style.

Ms. Mary D. Fisher
3075 Hampton Place
Boca Raton, Florida 33434

This letter was given to OPA to be transferred to the Bush/Quayle Committee for mailing.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

politics

Mr. Raymond Siller
1373 Monument Street
Pacific Palisades, California 90272



THE PRESIDENT

June 5, 1992

Dear Ray,

Thanks for the one liners. I didn't really get
a chance to work any of them in-darn it all!

Keep those cards and letters coming. This has been
a very rough period, but, Ray, I'm going to make it.

Bar sends her love,

any writing is can worse than typing

DAN

*New address
Not entered*

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 5, 1992

Dear Craig:

It is with regret that I accept your resignation as Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Legislative and Intergovernmental Affairs. As you step down, I am pleased to have the opportunity to thank you for your fine work.

I know that you will always be proud of the contributions that you have made in behalf of my Administration and of the American people in enabling the Department of Commerce to fulfill its important mission. What you have helped to accomplish, throughout your assignments as a member of the Reagan and Bush Administrations, will continue to benefit our Nation for years to come, and this should be a source of great satisfaction as you leave public service. You have my gratitude and that of all who have benefitted from your outstanding efforts.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for future success and every happiness.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Craig R. Helsing
Vice President
Corporate Affairs, Corporate
Communications and Customer Relations
BMW of North America
Post Office Box 1227
Westwood, New Jersey 07675-1227

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/05/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, June 5, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 9/9/2019	OA/ID Number: 90686-001
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) 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]



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
Friday, June 5, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:45 am (10 min)	<u>Tape Radio Address</u> (Smith) (TAB A)	Cabinet Room
10:00 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
10:30 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Norwegian Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately)	Oval Office <u>2 Waves</u>
11:00 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
11:15 am (5 min)	<u>Drop by to Shake Hands with Russian Ambassador Lukin</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately)	Scowcroft's Office
11:30 am (30 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u> Dorman, Skinner	Oval Office
12:00 pm	B <u>Depart for Camp David</u>	South Lawn
12:30 pm	B <u>Arrive Camp David</u>	
	B <u>RON Camp David</u>	

7:10 POTUS In
 8:32 Scowcroft, Howe, (b)(3) In
 9:02 VPOTUS In
 9:03 (b)(3) Out
 9:12 Skinner In
 9:29 Vuelter, Moore In
 9:34 Scowcroft, Howe Out
 9:34 Vuelter Out
 9:41 Moore, out / Fitzwater In
 9:51 VPOTUS, Fitzwater, Skinner Out
 POTUS Out to Cabinet Room.

10:07 POTUS, Dorance Smith In Oval
 10:09 Smith Out
 10:30 Dr. Moore, Nurse Paula In
 10:31 Nurse Paula Out
 10:33 " " In
 10:36 Scowcroft, Fitzwater In
 10:39 PM Brundtland, Kjeld Vibe, Svein Roald, Morten Wetland, Mary Ryan, Arnold Kanter, Robert Kuddings I
 10:45 Fitzwater Out
 11:24 All Out but Scowcroft / 11:25 Skinner In
 11:28 Scowcroft Out
 11:30 Amb. Lukin, Scowcroft, Hewitt, Kotosovskiy N. Burns In Summer Out

11:39	All Out but POTUS
	Skinner, Dorman In
12:01	Dorman Out
12:12	Skinner Out, Dr. Lee In
12:16	Dr. Lee Out
12:27	POTUS Out to South grounds for departure to Camp David.

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

June 5 '92

Dear Edna:

Congratulations on being selected by the Westchester County Women's Republican Club as the Woman of the Year.

Edna, you have inspired Republicans across the county by your strong and virtually lifelong commitment to your community and to the GOP. That commitment has been evident through your involvement as a founder of the Westchester Homemakers Council; your work with both the Westchester Cooperative Extension and the Cooperative Opportunity for the Economically Disadvantaged; your many hours of volunteer work with the PTA; and your service as a Vice President of the Westchester County Women's Republican Club.

We Republicans have always been dedicated to building an America that is strong, proud, and prosperous -- an America that is truly represented by a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Thanks to the work of committed Republicans such as you, I am convinced that we can fulfill our greatest hopes for the United States. Our Nation and our Party are in your debt.

Through your volunteer and community work, you have demonstrated that our Nation's greatest resource is the generosity of our people. Thank you for giving that special touch that is beyond the power of government to give.

Barbara joins me in sending congratulations to you, along with best wishes.

Sincerely,

Ag Bush A

Mrs. Edna Sullivan
3-C River Park Apartments
White Plains, New York 10603

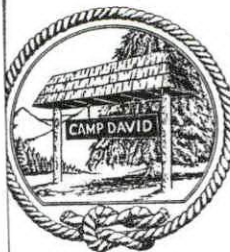
Jan
Outgoing letter given to OPA for transfer to B/Q for dispatch
5/5/92

FROM

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Charles G. Untermeyer
Director
Voice of America
330 Independence Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20547



June 5, 1992

Dear Chase:

Yes, I'll keep Harry Truman in mind.

These times have been weird, but I am convinced of two things:

1. I'll win
2. Perot will self destruct.

Rich Bond and many others disagree on Point 2; but I think it is beginning to happen.

Keep those Unterisms coming my way. Love to D.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to be "Bill Clinton", with a long, sweeping underline that extends to the right.

Jan Burmeister

FROM THE PRESIDENT