

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
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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: 90688
Folder ID Number: 90688-003

Folder Title:
Saturday, June 13, 1992

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet (George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Talking Points	Re: Points To Be Made for Meeting with UNSYG Butros Butros Ghali [double-sided] (4 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	S
02. Note	President Paz Zamora to President George Bush (1 pp.)	6/13/92	(b)(1)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Saturday, June 13, 1992

Pinksheet Number: cap6143
OA/ID Number: 90688-003
Date Closed: 9/12/2019
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Wain

6/15/92

From the desk of

George Bush

RZ

Ask Photo office

is readily

available. Photo

of May 26 Dinner

Like to send with this

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 15, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

With respect to the U.S. Supreme Court decision today on the Alvarez-Machain case: The United States understands that international cooperation is required to address effectively the threat posed by international criminal activity, particularly international terrorism and drug trafficking, to the world community. United States policy is to work cooperatively with foreign governments to combat that threat.

The United States also understands the importance to world peace and security of a system of international law. The United States strongly believes in fostering respect for international rules of law, including in particular the principles of respect for territorial integrity and sovereign equality of states.

U.S. policy is to cooperate with foreign states in achieving law enforcement objectives. Neither the arrest of Alvarez-Machain, nor the recent U.S. Supreme Court decision reflects any change in this policy. Reflecting this policy, the United States has informed Mexico that following the arrest of Alvarez-Machain, the United States has taken additional steps to ensure that U.S. law enforcement activities overseas fully take into account foreign relations and international law.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

June 15, 1992

The President today recognized Gloria Dessart of Knoxville, Tennessee, as the 801st Daily Point of Light for the Nation. Beneficiaries of Mrs. Dessart's full-time voluntary service include senior citizens, hospitalized children, people with mental illness, and those who are homeless.

Mrs. Dessart devotes each weekday to some form of direct service. For the past 22 years, she has run a free toy cart for patients at East Tennessee Children's Hospital, purchasing the toys with funds she raises herself and distributing them as gift packs and "loaner games" to the children. She often develops personal relationships with terminally ill children and their parents, offering a listening ear and providing respite care.

Every Wednesday morning for the past 28 years she has visited the Lake Shore Mental Health Institute (LMHI), where she plays in a two-person "Rhythm Band" to entertain and engage the patients. Together with other volunteers, she also hosts parties, dances, and seasonal celebrations. Many patients have known her for over 20 years, and she is like a family member to those who have no relatives or visitors. Mrs. Dessart founded and chairs "Caring and Sharing," a close knit support group and network for families who have mentally ill loved ones at home.

On Wednesday afternoons, Mrs. Dessart teaches clogging to senior citizens who then perform at nursing homes, LMHI, and retirement homes. These performances are a welcome activity for the patients and boost the morale of the senior cloggers.

Mrs. Dessart also delivers Meals on Wheels to homebound seniors, checking on each senior and visiting and assisting them when she can. Bringing a remarkable enthusiasm, warmth, and concern for others to all her work, she believes that her service merely returns to society some of what she has been given.

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

#

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

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

PRESS CONFERENCE \ RIO \ JUNE 13, 1992

RZ
sal

LET ME FIRST EXPRESS MY THANKS AND CONGRATULATIONS
TO PRESIDENT COLLOR AND THE BRAZILIAN PEOPLE FOR THEIR
HOSPITALITY AND TREMENDOUS SUCCESS IN HOSTING THIS
HISTORIC EARTH SUMMIT. IT IS OBVIOUS TO ALL WHO CAME
TO RIO THAT THE BRAZILIANS MADE A SPECIAL EFFORT TO
ACCOMMODATE SO MANY HEADS OF STATE, DELEGATES,
JOURNALISTS, AND VISITORS. THEY HAVE MANAGED IT
FLAWLESSLY AND WITH GRACE.

x preparation

- 2 -

WE HAVE HAD A VERY SUCCESSFUL VISIT. WE HAVE SIGNED A CLIMATE CONVENTION, AND ASKED OTHERS TO JOIN US IN PRESENTING ACTION PLANS FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION. WE HAVE WON AGREEMENT ON FOREST PRINCIPLES. WE HAVE FOUND A WARM RECEPTION AMONG BOTH THE G-7 AND MANY DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO OUR FORESTS FOR THE FUTURE INITIATIVE. AND MANY U.S. PROPOSALS -- ON OCEANS, PUBLIC PARTICIPATION, AND ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ECONOMIC INSTRUMENTS AND FREE MARKETS -- WERE INCLUDED IN AGENDA 21 AND THE RIO DECLARATION.

- 3 -

LET BE CLEAR ON ONE FUNDAMENTAL POINT: THE UNITED STATES FULLY INTENDS TO BE THE WORLD'S PRE-EMINENT LEADER IN PROTECTING THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT. WE HAVE BEEN FOR MANY YEARS, AND WE WILL REMAIN SO. WE BELIEVE THAT ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT -- THE TWO SUBJECTS OF THIS CONFERENCE -- CAN AND SHOULD GO HAND IN HAND. A GROWING ECONOMY CREATES THE RESOURCES NECESSARY FOR ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION. ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION MAKES GROWTH SUSTAINABLE OVER THE LONG-TERM.

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

- 4 -

I THINK THAT RECOGNITION OF THAT FACT, BY LEADERS FROM
AROUND THE WORLD, IS THE CENTRAL ACCOMPLISHMENT OF THIS
IMPORTANT RIO CONFERENCE.

#

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - George Bush Handwriting

Bush Administration Environmental Accomplishments

- The Clean Air Act *Tree Planting, Nat'l Energy Strategy, nuclear licensing cut CO₂, other efficiency measures*
- Drilling Moratorium off California, Florida Keys, Washington, Oregon, and Georges Bank
- Over \$1 billion in new lands added (1.5 million acres) to our national parks, forests, wildlife refuges, and other public lands.
- CFC phaseout: Agreed to Montreal Protocol; first nation to legislate phaseout; now 42% ahead of schedule; proposed unilateral speed up of phaseout deadline to 12w/31/95.
- Signed Oil Spill bill.
- Increased EPA operating budget 54%.
- Proposed to plant a billion trees a year.
- Tripled budget for cleaning up DOE weapons facilities (from \$1.7 billion to \$5.5 billion).
- U.S. spends \$130 billion (2% GNP) on pollution control

BIODIVERSITY

- FORESTS AND OCEANS COVER 70 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S SURFACE.
- THE U.S. HAS THE BEST RECORD -- AND HAS MADE THE MOST ADVANCED PROPOSALS -- FOR FOREST AND OCEAN PROTECTION.
- THE U.S. ENDANGERED SPECIES ACT IS THE TOUGHEST IN THE WORLD.
- U.S. HAS DRAMATICALLY EXPANDED ITS PROTECTION OF PARKS, WILDERNESS, WILD AND SCENIC RIVERS, AND WILDLIFE REFUGEES.

FINANCING

- U.S. HAS INCREASED FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FOR
THE ENVIRONMENT BY 66 PERCENT SINCE 1990.
- THE U.S. CONTRIBUTES \$2.5 BILLION PER YEAR
THROUGH MULTILATERAL DEVELOPMENT BANKS TO
PROJECTS RELATED TO AGENDA 21.

U.S.-CLIMATE CHANGE STRATEGY

- U.S. PLAN IS FOCUSED ON ACTION NOT WORDS.
- INCLUDES:
 - CLEAN AIR ACT
 - NATIONAL ENERGY STRATEGY
 - REFORESTATION PLAN - 1 BILLION TREES A YEAR
 - DOE TANDARDS FOR APPLIANCES
(REFRIGERATORS, DISHWASHERS)
 - EPA'S GREEN LIGHTS PROGRAM
 - REGULATION OF METHANE LANDFILLS
- U.S. IS ONLY COUNTRY (BESIDES NETHERLANDS) TO PUT A SPECIFIC PLAN ON THE TABLE.
- WILL CUT EMISSIONS IN YEAR 2000 BY 7 TO 11 PERCENT BELOW PROJECTED LEVELS. (RESULT: PROJECTED EMISSIONS WILL BE 1.5 TO 6 PERCENT ABOVE 1990)

-- U.S. HAS LARGEST GLOBAL CHANGE RESEARCH
PROGRAM IN THE WORLD -- \$1.4 BILLION; MORE
THAN 1/2 THE TOTAL SPENT WORLDWIDE ON THIS.

DESTRUCTION OF OLD GROWTH FORESTS

- Annual growth of U.S. timber substantially exceeds removal.
- Bush Administration has been reformer on forest policy:
 - Signed Tongass Timber Reform Act in 1990, which ended "below cost timber sales" on America's largest rainforest;
 - Proposed in 1991 to end "below cost timber sales" on ten national forests.
- The spotted owl question related to a discrete set of sales in a particular region of the Northwest dependent on timber jobs.
- Under one plan, the owl could recover (grow), but at the cost of 30,000 jobs.
- Under an alternative plan, the owl could be preserved (but not necessarily grow), and 15,000 of those jobs could be saved.
- Before killing an extra 15,000 jobs, the Administration proposed that Congress explicitly consider this issue and vote on either the recovery plan or the preservation plan.

QUESTIONS FOR THE PRESIDENT'S PRE-BRIEF FOR THE PRESS CONFERENCE

QUESTIONS ON RIO:

- 1) What do you feel you have accomplished here in Rio?
- 2) Are you feeling isolated by the international community during this conference - particularly because you refused to sign the biodiversity treaty?
- 3) Can you explain why you have challenged others to meet to discuss climate change plans by January 1? Isn't this simply a political ploy? *800 pages Agenda 21 - we have a plan but actions to not wait for treaty*
- 4) Are you satisfied that your initiative on forests goes far enough? *66% increase in environmental assets. 150 on Fountains*
- 5) How can you say that the marketplace can serve the environment, when historically we have seen just the opposite? *debt - environmental. Salinas Mann the trade - helps env. clean*
- 6) One of your top administration officials has accused Germany and Japan of taking certain environmental positions because they are "politically correct." Do you share this view?
- 7) In your speech yesterday, you claimed that U.S. biodiversity efforts would exceed those outlined in the biodiversity treaty that you refused to sign. Can you explain this? *strongest laws wilderness, rules forests already have exceeded know*
- 8) Are you pleased with the way Bill Reilly has represented your interests on environmental issues? Have you made any progress on discovering who leaked Reilly's memo?

QUESTIONS ON DOMESTIC ISSUES:

- 1) What is your next step in your fight for a balanced budget amendment? *Meeting to discuss next step*
- 2) Are you frustrated that your urban aid package is stalled in Congress?
- 3) What compromises are you willing to take to get this legislation passed?
- 4) Will you veto the unemployment benefits extension legislation? *5.3 = 2.3 - 2.5 (offsets) 5.3 bill*
- 5) Vice President Quayle has been very outspoken on cultural issues - and has criticized the "cultural elite." Do you share his views including those on homosexuals? *}}*
- 6) How would you respond to Ross Perot's charges that you caused the savings and loan collapse?
- 7) V.P. Quayle Friday directly attacked Ross Perot. Is this a new strategy?

1) Higher Capital
2) Stricter Accounting
3) Deposit Insurance Reform

Build America

QUESTIONS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES:

- 1) Do you consider Thursday's ~~stop~~ in Panama a failure?
- 2) Can "Operation Just Cause" be justified after yesterday's events?
- 3) You have said that the U.S. is not the world's policeman, but what are you prepared to do to help solve the crisis in Yugoslavia? *work w UN help → E*
- 4) How do you view Senator Lugar's proposals on Yugoslavia?
- 5) What do you expect to accomplish during Yeltsin's visit next week in Washington? *E*
- 6) Has Secretary Baker reached any agreement on arms control with Foreign Minister Kozyrev in London?
- 7) Yeltsin has said that he has as good a relationship with you as Gorbachev had - do you share this assessment?
- 8) How would you respond to Ross Perot's claim that you "diapered and pampered" Saddam Hussein?

||

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Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

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AR Disposition Date:

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RESTRICTION CODES

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(b)(1) National security classified information
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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile

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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]

From the desk of

George Bush

*Notes at 6-13
Lunch Heads State*

*I noted Brent
on these
conversations*

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

GREETINGS BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC AT THE LUNCHEON
OFFERED TO EARTH SUMMIT PARTICIPANTS

Rio de Janeiro, 13 June 1992

/...

People tend to attach special importance to events and moments which they witness personally.

Such an attitude can sometimes cause them to overestimate the importance of certain events.

But for some events there is no need to await the judgement of history: when, on the night of 9 November 1989, young Germans, in festive mood, began tearing down the Berlin Wall, we all felt we were witnessing a decisive step for mankind.

This is my feeling today as I have the honour and the pleasure of hosting the Heads of State and Government who are participating in the Earth Summit.

Never have so many major world leaders come together to fight for the same ideal.

Brazil is proud to be able to host a meeting of leaders who wish to usher in a new era in the life of mankind.

It is especially proud at the opportunity to see the political will of five and a half billion people expressed here at the highest level.

In other words, the world decided to meet at Rio de Janeiro to discuss, no more, no less, the question of life itself on the face of the Earth.

In a way, we have come here to take stock of the progress and the problems of the twentieth century and to lay necessarily new and different bases for the relationship between mankind and nature in the twenty-first century and in the third millennium.

We pledge to mobilize our efforts to reconcile environment and development, well-being and equal opportunity.

As I said, we cannot have an environmental healthy planet in a socially unjust world.

Questions of environment and social justice must be viewed as a political, economic, scientific and technological challenge, a challenge born of the historical imperative of peace and the moral imperative of human dignity.

Environmental conservation will demand an economic reconversion effort which will create jobs, generate wealth and yield new knowledge.

Development, in turn, will enrich the global economy, reverse migratory flows, confer regional and global stability and offer the necessary conditions for genuine peace based on the universal satisfaction of human needs.

As leaders, we are forced daily to tackle and resolve short-term issues. This is especially true of societies which are still facing the daily challenge of survival.

As a result, we must work today with our eyes on tomorrow since, in the words of Pope John Paul II, it is our task to offer future generations reason for hope.

I think we can sum up the reason for this Earth Summit in two words: political will.

We are meeting here because all mankind wants to unite in shaping and, above all, ushering in a new era.

We have a mandate to discuss, to decide and to act.

We do not have a right to hesitate, to delay or to give up; instead, we have a duty to negotiate, to agree and to move forward.

This is the road we are now taking, with confidence and determination.

To quote a Brazilian poet: without hope, the unhoped for cannot happen; only the unimaginable does not exist.

It is in this spirit that I greet you, reiterating Brazil's pride in welcoming you all here.

God will continue to help us!

House of Representatives

Resolved, That the
Secretary of the Treasury
be and he is authorized to
pay to the order of the
Treasury the sum of
\$100,000 for the purchase
of the land in the
District of Columbia
for the use of the
Department of the Interior.

Widder
Cesar got Tessa
L. L. L. L.

For the purpose of
the purchase of the
land in the District of
Columbia for the use of
the Department of the
Interior.



BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
June 13, 1992
(to the Residence)

ACTION

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

REMARKS

SCHEDULE

1. 'Original' schedule and briefing papers for Sunday, 06/14

June 14, 1992
(to the Residence)

REMARKS

1. Korean War Memorial -- cards (thru Beth, cards done on the road)
2. Ford's Theatre Gala -- cards (thru Beth, cards done on the road)

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers for Monday, 06/15

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Laury
6/13/92



P/s
thank

CARLOS A. CALVO
SUB GERENTE EXECUTIVO
EXECUTIVE ASSISTANT MANAGER

Welcome

With our compliments

AVENIDA NIEMEYER, 121, 22.450 RIO DE JANEIRO, BRASIL
PHONE: (021) 274-1122 FAX: (021) 239-5643 TELEX: 2123485

—ITT Sheraton—



Dear Carlos

Thanks for the
bottle of Champagne —
so special; and thanks
for the hospitality

At all your people
here - Our stay, though
brief, has been
most pleasant —

Sincerely,
C. J. B.

WASHINGTON

JUNE 13, 1992

[illegible]

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM
SIGNAL SWITCHBOARD

[illegible]

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

DATE 13 June 1992

[illegible]



Oveta Culp Hobby received a letter and a plaque, but no promotion.

No star on the horizon

Bush rejects plea to nominate Oveta Culp Hobby to general

By JERRY URBAN
Houston Chronicle

President Bush, in what is becoming a controversial decision, says it is apparently "not possible" for him to nominate noted Houstonian Oveta Culp Hobby to brigadier general.

U.S. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, had recommended the nomination in honor of Hobby's work during World War II as the first head of the Women's Army Corps — and in commemoration of the WACs' 50th anniversary last month.

However, Bush recently wrote Bentsen that after consulting with the Department of Defense and the Army, "it appears that your thought-

ful recommendation regarding a retrograde promotion to brigadier general on the retired list is not possible."

The letter said Hobby was not eligible for promotion when she left the service as a colonel in 1945.

The White House declined to comment Thursday. However, Hobby, 87, received a personal letter of gratitude from Bush last month in appreciation of her contributions.

And the Army presented her with a plaque in appreciation and in commemoration of the WAC anniversary.

Hobby also distinguished herself as the first secretary of health, education and welfare after being ap-

pointed by President Eisenhower. Her family owned the Houston Post for many years and is now selling KPRC-TV.

Hobby's son, former Lt. Gov. Bill Hobby, said in a prepared statement his mother was honored by Bentsen's request and "understands the reasons for President Bush's decision."

But in a later telephone interview, Bill Hobby said he doesn't know why Bush failed to nominate his mother.

A highly placed source in Washington said Bush could have promoted Hobby through his constitutional authority.

The source, who did not want to be identified, said it's unclear why Bush did not nominate Hobby, who most

certainly would have won Senate confirmation. The source said he doubts Bush's action was political in nature. He said the Post endorsed Bush in his loss to Bentsen in their 1970 Senate race.

The obstacle to the nomination, he said, was apparently the military, where "the reason was most likely bureaucratic."

"I'm very disappointed Mrs. Hobby has been denied a promotion, which was long overdue," Bentsen said. "In addition to honoring her, this would have acknowledged our debt to the many women who have stepped forward to defend our country in times of need."



Sen. Bentsen hoped the promotion of Oveta Culp Hobby would salute all women in uniform.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 13, 1992

Dear Mrs. Hobby:

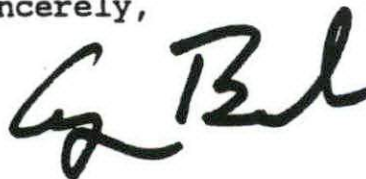
I am pleased to extend congratulations to you on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Women's Army Corps.

Fifty years ago, with virtually no precedent to follow and many obstacles to overcome, you formed an organization that played an important part in helping to defeat the Axis powers in World War II. Through your leadership, the Women's Army Corps remained an integral part of our military structure, even after the cloud of war had passed. Furthermore, your work in behalf of women in uniform laid the foundation for their full participation in the military of today.

America was reminded of the competence and commitment of its women in uniform during Operation Desert Storm. The images of Major Marie T. Rossi flying her Chinook helicopter into enemy territory and of Major Rhonda Cornum and Specialist Melissa Nealy returning from captivity helped our Nation to understand and appreciate the integration of women in our military. These individuals and their comrades in all branches of service are following in your footsteps, and you can be proud of your efforts, a half-century ago, to ensure a permanent place for women in our Armed Forces.

Barbara joins me in congratulating you on this occasion and in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,



Mrs. Oveta Culp Hobby
Suite 1330
3050 Post Oak Boulevard
Houston, Texas 77056

19 99

5/1

5/17
hand delivered
to Hill (via C)

7

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 15, 1992

Dear Lloyd:

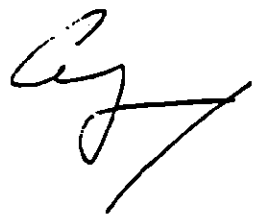
Thank you for your letter regarding Oveta Culp Hobby and your request that I promote her to the rank of brigadier general on the retired list.

You will be pleased to know that in recognition of her unique and extraordinary service to our country during World War II as the first leader of the Women's Army Corps, I had previously arranged with the Department of Defense World War II 50th Anniversary Commemorative Committee to confer a special honor on Mrs. Hobby. The Commander of the Fifth Army, Lieutenant General Jaco, will make a special presentation today commemorating her leadership of the WAC. I have also written Mrs. Hobby thanking her and acknowledging her valuable contributions to our country, to our military, and to the women who served so well then and who continue to build on that proud tradition today.

Unfortunately, after consulting with the Department of Defense and the United States Army, it appears that your thoughtful recommendation regarding a retrograde promotion to brigadier general on the retired list is not possible. Mrs. Hobby was appointed a major in 1942, served three years in the Army, and left as a colonel in 1945. She was not eligible for retirement or promotion when she left the service in 1945 and therefore was not affected by the "glass ceiling."

Mrs. Hobby's family is involved in and excited about the presentation we have planned for her. Again, thank you for your efforts in behalf of Mrs. Hobby as we celebrate the anniversary of the establishment of the Women's Army Corps. Best wishes.

Sincerely,



The Honorable Lloyd Bentsen
United States Senate
Washington, D.C. 20510

pg



THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

May 14, 1992

I am delighted to send warm greetings to all those who are in Fort McClennan to celebrate the 50th Anniversary of the Women's Army Corps.

Activated in 1942 to provide vital support to the United States Army, the members of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps -- later the WAC -- quickly proved to be more than capable in virtually all facets of military service, from map reading to guard duty. Under the leadership of Colonel Oveta Culp Hobby, the WAC played a quiet, yet important, role in achieving the Allied victory over tyranny during World War II. Indeed, until its deactivation in 1978, the members of this division continued to defend the cause of freedom with the outstanding courage, dedication, and skill that we have come to expect of our Americans in uniform. It is indeed a heritage of which each of you can be proud.

As our Nation commemorates the 50th anniversary of World War II, I join with all Americans in saluting the more than 300,000 women who served in the Women's Army Corps. In your service and sacrifice, we see the patriotism that has kept our country safe and strong for more than 200 years.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for a wonderful anniversary celebration. God bless you.

Class Photo
Rio





Amir of Kuwait
in Rio de Janeiro

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS
SATURDAY, SUNDAY, AND MONDAY
June 13, 14, and 15, 1992

Mrs. Bush	(in folder)
Secretary Skinner	West Wing
Marlin Fitzwater	West Wing
Constance Horner	West Wing
Carol Powers	West Wing
Patty Presock	Residence
First Lady Detail	Staircase
Karen Connell	Room 58 OEOB
Shirley Green	Room 94 OEOB
Anne Griffith	Room 98 OEOB
Diana Kellogg	Room 157 OEOB
Gregg Petersmeyer	Room 100 OEOB
Marguerite Sullivan	Room 268 OEOB
Carolyn Washington	Room 268 OEOB
Benita Somerfield	hold one copy
Ann Brock	
Julie Cooke	
Joan DeCain	
Laurie Firestone	
Jane Moore	
Susan Porter Rose	
Sally Runion	
Peggy Swift	
Anna Perez	
Sondra Haley	
Jean Becker	
Jay Suchan	(plus originals)

Barbara Bush: The Steel Behind the Smile

Tough, tenacious—and her husband's key asset



LARRY DOWNING—NEWSWEEK

More complex than her public image: *The First Lady*

BY ANN MCDANIEL

Barbara Bush likes to be seen taking the high road. When Kitty Kelley's tell-all biography of Nancy Reagan hit the bookstores last year, Mrs. Bush said it was "trash and fiction." She declared she would not read it. A few days later a friend noticed the First Lady was reading Rosamunde Pilcher's potboiler "September." Every few minutes Mrs. Bush would look up and make some aside about Nancy Reagan. The friend wondered why Mrs. Bush was thinking so much about her predecessor, until she realized that the First Lady wasn't reading Pilcher's book. Like a teenager secretly devouring a racy novel, she had switched book jackets. She was reading "Nancy Reagan: The Unauthorized Biography," and loving every minute of it.

Publicly, Barbara Bush likes to be thought of as Not Nancy Reagan. She doesn't want to appear glitzy or manipulative. Indeed, Mrs. Bush is very much a do-gooder. She spends much of her time hugging AIDS babies, campaigning for literacy and feeding the homeless. She is much warmer than Mrs. Reagan and a good deal less ostentatious. For the most part, she has gotten deservedly good press, though in a recent column *New Republic* editor Andrew Sullivan bitingly referred to her as a "stealth-Nancy in Keds" and accused White House reporters of giving her a free ride.

In her own way, Mrs. Bush, who declined to be interviewed for this article, is just as tough and just as tenacious as her predecessor. Her image may be a cross between Mother Teresa and Auntie Mame, but White House insiders know a shrewder, more complex woman. The portrait that emerges of her after three years in the East Wing is of a funny, sometimes acerbic woman who is genuinely caring—and always in control.

The joke in Washington is that Bush selected Dan Quayle as vice president to ensure that someone at his side would provide an adoring glance. When Bush splutters, the First Lady has been known to wince or roll her eyes. After he was hospitalized for an irregular heartbeat last spring, Bush griped about the brouhaha his illness caused: "I wish I'd never mentioned it." Mrs. Bush was not sympathetic. "Don't be dumb, George," she said. The public affection between the First Couple, after 46 years of marriage, is more teasing than romantic, much more Burns and Allen than Ron and Nancy.

Outwardly, the two divide their labors the old-fashioned way: she runs the house; he runs the world. But her true feeling about her role occasionally slips out. During the Reagan years, she once used the phrase "when we became vice president."

A First Lady's Roles



JOHN ZICH—PHOTOREPORTERS



IRA WYMAN FOR NEWSWEEK (BELOW), WALLY McNAMEE—NEWSWEEK



Always in control:
With the commander in chief at a naval event, campaigning in New Hampshire before the primary, at a West Palm Beach, Fla., hospice for children with AIDS

She jealously guards her access to the president's ear, rarely informing Bush's top aides of her views. "I don't have to talk to his staff," she has said. "I'll tell George." Friends say she does just that shortly after 5:30 each morning in bed in the White House as she and her husband skim the papers. If he tires of her advice, he lets her know. "That's enough, Bar," the president mumbles, raising his hand to end the conversation.

The First Lady represents Bush's kinder, gentler side, pushing him to be more moderate on civil rights and more compassionate toward AIDS victims. She dodges questions about abortion by saying that she's pro-children but does little to dispel the widely held notion that she is pro-choice. If she sometimes publicly differs from her husband or gets out ahead of him, he usually doesn't mind. Just as Bush uses Quayle to reach out to the party's right wing, he understands Barbara's appeal to moderates. Privately, Mrs. Bush sometimes sounds more like Quayle. Though she would not say so publicly, with friends she denounces gay promiscuity.

Barbara Pierce Bush, the suburbanite Smith girl, was raised to show grace under pressure, and she does. She saved the evening last January when Bush threw up on the prime minister of Japan, by joking that her husband was so unaccustomed to losing at tennis that he fell ill after being trounced by Japan's emperor and crown prince. She has a biting wit. Her impres-

sion of Bush's 1984 vice presidential opponent, Geraldine Ferraro, Mrs. Bush allowed to reporters, "rhymes with rich." She once joked that the sight of stretch pants across the ample rear end of a European president's wife "gives new meaning to the word stretch." Staffers who are a bit overweight or badly turned out have heard her gibes. When her teasing crosses the line, she shows remorse but rarely apologizes. Instead, she tells her victims the president often takes her aside and says, "Bar, are you sure they know you're joking?"

Barbara Bush is fiercely protective of her family and friends, and she is not afraid to let her displeasure be known. White House reporters who write critical stories are familiar with her icy glare. When former chief of staff John Sununu irritated New Hampshire Gov. Judd Gregg, a longtime supporter, Mrs. Bush called a Sununu aide to complain about sloppy staff work. "Don't let it happen again," she warned.

Unlike Mrs. Reagan, Mrs. Bush has not left her fingerprints on any dismissals from the White House staff. But at least one cabinet member owes her his job—Dr. Louis Sullivan, secretary of Health and Human Services, an old ally on civil rights. Her chilliness toward former White House speechwriter Peggy Noonan may help explain why Noonan decided not to join the Bush campaign. According to campaign staffers, Noonan was not

pleased to be asked to write a speech for Mrs. Bush early this year. The First Lady, in turn, did not like the speech Noonan drafted, in part because the former presidents invoked were Democrats. Noonan later said she would be staying in New York for the rest of the campaign season.

Bush never acknowledges that his wife exercises any control over the Oval Office. But when a Department of Education staffer declared in 1990 that minority scholarships were unconstitutional, the First Lady was furious. "George Bush is not a bigot," she complained to an administration official. "Don't they realize this makes him look like one?" In less than two weeks, the decision was revoked.

There is not much doubt that Bush is hoping that his wife's popularity will help his own flagging image. She is, some would say, his only remaining asset. While Bush's favorable rating has plummeted below 40 percent, the First Lady's has remained up around 80 percent. When Bush's aides discovered that voters were not buying Bush's "Message: I care" line, they tinkered with his stump speech. The president now says, "Barbara and I care" and receives thunderous applause. Worried that Mrs. Bush might lose her halo if she speaks out too strongly, a Bush adviser has warned the First Lady to avoid substance in her speeches. The president's advisers might do better just to leave her alone. To most voters, she is more believable than her husband. ■

BARBARA BUSH
by Pamela Kilian

Surprise! There are some juicy tidbits in this biography of the First Lady—in the form of recipes for “Bar’s” favorite tea party cheese puffs and pecan tartlets.

There are also plenty of dog stories, a slew of anecdotes about the White House White Hair and many quotes attributed to admiring friends and family members. Author Kilian (*What Was Watergate?*) writes that while she was not able to interview the First Lady herself, Mrs. Bush’s White House Press Office was of great



help. Hmmm. The upshot is, if you thought Barbara Bush was a nice, down-to-earth, spunky woman, this book won’t change your mind. By all accounts, Mrs. Bush is also intelligent and generous, a loyal wife, a good mother, a tireless campaigner and genuinely dedicated to her work on literacy.

Kilian covers the tragic loss of the Bushes’ 3-year-old daughter, Robin, to leukemia, in 1953, and mentions that it was during this time that Barbara’s hair turned white. The book touches ever so lightly on Mrs. Bush’s depression in 1976 after her husband became CIA director. It hints that Mrs. Bush may hold some different opinions from Mr. Bush, but what they are you won’t learn here.

Pure frosting, *Barbara Bush* is a determinedly shallow glance at a woman who, the reader suspects, has a lot more to her. (St. Martin’s, \$19.95)

■ CAROL PEACE

■ PICKS & PANS ■



▲ **BARBARA BUSH** At 17, with Milla predecessor Sandy, already spunky yet sensible

THE MAN WHO WOULD BE PRESIDENT: DAN QUAYLE

by Bob Woodward, David S. Broder

If the Veep comes off better in these pages than you’d expect, it’s because from his surprise selection by

Y **DAN QUAYLE** Pumping in Indianapolis in 1980 to oppose a Carter-backed gas tax



George Bush in 1988 to the tongue-in-cheek thank-you he received from the departing Johnny Carson. Quayle has had nowhere to go but up.

Originally printed as an investigative series in *The Washington Post* by Woodward, an assistant managing editor of the paper, and political columnist

■ PICKS & PANS ■

Broder, the book looks beneath the caricature and offers as well-rounded a portrait as possible of someone who doesn’t have a lot of facets. One surprise, perhaps, is the incredibly high level of self-confidence and drive in this man of average abilities.

In fact, Dan Quayle is above average in two areas: politics and golf. The dedication and savvy he displayed in his all-out campaign to become George Bush’s running mate are matched only by the effort he puts into lowering his golf handicap. It’s clear, though, from interviews with both supporters and detractors, that he doesn’t devote the same attention to issues such as abortion or civil rights. “You do the policy, I’ll do the politics,” he tells one assistant. To those who claim he has a short attention span, he argues, “When I’m interested in something, I’ll stay in focus on it as long as is necessary.” Clearly he’s interested in winning elections: he set his sights on the Senate just six months into his term in the House.

The authors portray Marilyn Quayle as her husband’s most trusted adviser.

the “hard half” of the team, in the words of a Quayle associate. That the book is livelier when it talks about her says something about him. But all describe Quayle as decent, warm and—potentially pertinent—a man who surrounds himself with intelligent people.

“I think, because of my own inner

confidence, I think I’d be good at anything I set out to do.” Quayle tells the authors, making clear he includes the presidency. Their book, while debunking the dunce stereotype, may not inspire the multitudes to concur in that self-assessment. (Simon & Schuster, \$18) ■ C.P.

quote

GOOD GRIEF, CHIEF!

GEORGE BUSH MAY BE ONE OF THE few people whose extemporaneous utterances make those of Ronald Reagan sound cogent. Judge for yourself in this selection from *Bushisms* (Workman, \$4.95), compiled by the editors of *The New Republic*:

- Please don’t ask me to do that which I’ve just said I’m not going to do, because you’re using up time; the meter is running through the sand on you, and I am now filibustering. *News conference, April 20, 1989*
- Fluency in English is something that I’m often not accused of. *June 6, 1989*

- We’re enjoying sluggish times, and not enjoying them very much. *Jan. 2, 1992*

- I mean a child that doesn’t have a parent to read to that child or that doesn’t see that when the child is hurting to have a parent and help out or neither parent there enough to pick the kid up and dust him off and send him back into the game or whatever, that kid has a disadvantage. *Jan. 3, 1992*

- All I was doing was appealing for an endorsement, not suggesting you endorse it. *A Governors’ meeting, Feb. 3, 1992*



CHARLES TASHNADIAN

Beliefs and ballot box

Voters prefer someone pious, not pushy



CLINTON: Bill Clinton talks to parishioners at Immanuel Baptist after services in Little Rock.



PEROT, BUSH: Ross Perot stands outside Highland Park Presbyterian in Dallas; above, the Bushes pray during services at Camp David, the presidential retreat in Maryland.



MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1992 • USA TODAY

COVER STORY

3 hopefuls acknowledge religion's role

By Patricia Edmonds
USA TODAY

What they gave

The Bushes
First Congregational
Maine: \$2,600
St. Martin's, Texas: \$1,000
St. John's, D.C.: \$1,000

The Clintons
First United
Methodist, Ark.: \$3,500
Immanuel
Baptist, Ark.: \$9,000

The Perots
Spokesman says
hundreds of thousands
have been given to
charities, churches.

Source: 1991 tax returns

Bill Clinton will be back at his Southern Baptist church's choir, once his voice recovers from campaign trail overuse.

Ross Perot conceived his millions-making company, Electronic Data Systems, while daydreaming through his Presbyterian pastor's sermon.

George Bush, lifelong Episcopalian, says faith sustained him through the illness and death of a young daughter.

Beyond the God-and-country sloganeering of political campaigns, these presidential candidates — churchgoers all — have built private, workaday relationships with God.

They take communion. They feed the collection plate. They attend home churches, though their hectic schedules won't win them any Sunday School attendance pins.

Harder to discern are the men's religious principles, the articles of faith that undergird their lives, and politics. Did religion give Clinton his will to serve? Bush his stamina in

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

COVER STORY

'Americans have faith in faith'

Continued from 1A

crises? Perot his moral code?

In national surveys, 9 of 10 U.S. citizens say religion has some importance in their lives — so most candidates take pains to show some godly credentials. But 9 of 10 also say their votes don't rest chiefly on a candidate's religious beliefs — so candidates dare not overplay their piety, or appear to trade on it.

"The American people are very friendly to religion in general in their candidates — and very nervous when it gets too specific," says the Rev. Martin Marty, a Lutheran minister who teaches U.S. religious history at the University of Chicago.

"Every president acts on the basis of his or her religious outlook. You don't leave your religion at the door. 'But if you're a smart one,' Marty concludes, 'you'll be judicious about how you use it.'"

Clinton started young

Bill Clinton publicly professed his Christianity at age 9, and clung to it through teen years made rocky by his stepfather's alcoholism, says longtime friend Carolyn Staley.

Today, says Staley, Clinton and wife Hillary — who attend separate churches — "don't just do the show thing on Sunday.... They very much believe in faith making a difference in their daily lives."

Clinton, a member of Little Rock's Immanuel Baptist Church, says voters want their leaders to have religious convictions, "as long as they're not paraded around in some hypocritical or self-serving way or... dictating every public action."

Sundays in Little Rock, Clinton says, will find him back in Immanuel's choir loft as soon as his vocal cords are fully healed. Sundays on the campaign trail, Clinton often visits black churches, for spirited services that seem to bring out the preacher in the candidate.

Hillary Clinton, raised in a Methodist family, belongs to Little Rock's First United Methodist Church, where 12-year-old daughter Chelsea was confirmed last month. Bill Clinton has said the couple's "spiritual life (is) richer" from worshipping in different denominations.

Richard Atkinson, a longtime friend of both Clintons, says their interest in politics grows "from the Christian notion that we have an obligation to be of service."

Perot calls it private

Life-story books about Ross Perot barely mention religion. In an interview *TV Guide* publishes today, Perot says it's a private matter.

"I'm not one of these guys who opens a meeting with a prayer. When I run into a guy like that, I just button

my wallet because he's gonna pick it for the Lord."

Perot and wife Margot belong to Highland Park Presbyterian — conservative, wealthy, and Dallas' biggest Presbyterian church with 6,800 members. Margot belongs to Presbyterian Women, and the two regularly attend Sunday services.

Controversy split Highland Park in the 1980s: After the parent denomination liberalized its stands on abortion rights and other issues, some members wanted Highland Park to disaffiliate. When a vote on disaffiliation was defeated, about 1,500 members left. The Perots stayed.

Perot was "very supportive of staying," says Highland Park pastor the Rev. Clayton Bell. "I think he believes in being a positive force and not trying to escape from problems."

A former associate pastor at Highland Park, the Rev. Bill Pruitt, now works the "Draft Perot" phone banks. Pruitt, 80, repeats a story he says Perot loves to tell on himself. "He got his inspiration for Electronic Data Systems sitting in church" — not because the pastor was inspiring, but because Perot "was daydreaming during the sermon."

Sounding like part pastor, part booster, Pruitt says Perot "believes in truth and honesty. He has the values that we appreciate as church people, and as civilized people."

Bush sought solace

Most Sundays find the Bushes in church — somewhere. They go to:

► Two churches in Kennebunkport: First Congregational, and St. Anne's, a summers-only congregation where Bush serves on the church council.

► St. Martin's Episcopal Church in their adopted hometown Houston.

► St. John's Episcopal Church across from the White House, known as "the church of presidents."

The Rev. John Harper, rector at St. John's, describes Bush as "devout. He grew up in an American church-going family, and I think worship is important to him."

One show of Bush's faith, says St. Martin's pastor Rev. Claude Payne, was Bush's request that Payne preach a church service for his staff and friends the morning after the election "so that they could give thanks — regardless of the outcome."

"His faith is not a veneer," says Payne. "It's... very deep."

In a 1988 book on his life, then-vice president Bush wrote he resists publicly discussing his faith — "It somehow smacked of self-righteousness" — but that it sustained him when 3-year-old daughter Robin died of leukemia in 1953.

"Barbara and I have never lost the faith and spiritual insight from that experience," Bush wrote. "In a mo-



KENNEDY: His religion cost him votes in the 1960 election.

Prayerful, not preachy

Voters, says religious historian the Rev. Martin Marty, want their leaders religious — not zealous.

The style started with George Washington, an Episcopalian, who believed "religion and morality were the twin pillars of society" but expressed his beliefs in non-sectarian ways, Marty says.

Of the 41 U.S. presidents, the largest number — 11 — have been Episcopalian; six were Presbyterian, four were Methodist, four Unitarian. Others held faiths ranging from Baptist to Dutch Reformed to Quaker.

The more defined a politician's religious identity, the more detractors it may draw, Marty says.

A generation ago, the simple fact of his Catholicism cost John Kennedy votes. Jimmy Carter alienated some with his born-again Southern Baptist beliefs. And while many voters liked Ronald Reagan's God-fearing image, Marty says, some were unnerved by specifics — such as Reagan's belief the world will end in a fiery Armageddon.

— Patricia Edmonds

ment like that, all you have is God."

These three presidential hopefuls, says Marty, all fall in the voters' "zone of acceptability on religion."

"Mr. Bush seems to be a middle-of-the-road Episcopalian, in the general mood of mainline American religion," says Marty. "Mr. Clinton is very much in the same line, just the Southern branch. Mr. Perot didn't go with the far right wing that split off (from his church), so that tells us... he's not trying to be extreme."

In the final analysis, says Marty, "Americans have a faith in faith, and they believe faith somehow shapes morality. But the vast majority also have fear about their neighbor's faith getting too explicit or militant."

"And they don't want that in their top leaders."



Associated Press

President Bush and his wife, Barbara, toured a section of rain forest for about an hour near Rio de Janeiro.

THE WEEKLY
NEWSMAGAZINE

THE WEEK



JUNGLE FEVER:
The Bushes escape
the Rio conclaves
for a tour of the
local rain forest

NATION

The Rest of the World
Had a Great TimeBush gets hot flashes in Panama and
a cool reception in Rio

PERHAPS GEORGE BUSH SHOULD HAVE KNOWN BETTER than to think a brief stop in Panama on his way to an uncomfortable appearance at the U.N. Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro would remind Americans of the foreign policy successes that have otherwise marked his Administration. Panama City is notoriously prone to ugly street demonstrations, and on the eve of Bush's hastily arranged visit, an American G.I. was killed and another wounded in a drive-by shooting.

Panama was, it turned out, the wrong place to look for some upbeat coverage. As a rally for Bush—dubbed “A Meeting of Friends”—was getting under way, anti-American protesters edged too close to the downtown park for Panama's fledgling police force, which responded by firing their weapons into the air and lobbing tear-gas canisters nearby. Bush's Secret Service detail had no choice but to hastily surround the President and his wife, hurry them off the platform and into the armored limousine and, with guns drawn, beat a hasty retreat from the ensuing chaos.

After that calamity, the Rio conference turned out to be comparatively free of controversy. For weeks Bush had acted more like a latter-day James Watt than “the environmental President,” at first uncer-

tain about attending the conference and then blocking a variety of proposals from major allies, developing countries and even William Reilly, his own Environmental Protection Agency director, that were designed to improve the environment into the 21st century. Bush seemed to be caught between two constituencies he holds dear—on one side conservatives and business leaders who oppose spending on the environment, and on the other conservationists whose support he courted in 1988—and the trip loomed as a potential failure. Bush would neither get credit at home for attending the summit nor win points for quashing the pro-green proposals that were anathema to business. As of early last week, many inside the White House couldn't explain why he was bothering to make the trip.

By the time he departed on Thursday, Bush had decided it was better to cast his lot with his party's conservative base than to try to be all things to all people. “For the past half-century,” said Bush, “the U.S. has been the great engine of global economic growth, and it's going to stay that way.” Once in Rio, Bush signed a climate-change treaty calling on all nations to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions and provide specific plans for meeting that goal—something the U.S. has already begun. Bush was criticized by some environmentalists for pledging less in new aid to developing nations than did Japan, which announced plans to boost its spending by \$400 million a year. But most of the financing promises from other governments were murky and highly conditional. “The money is really wishy-washy right now,” said Liz Barratt-Brown, an attorney with the Natural Resources Defense Council. “There are a lot of vague statements being made.”

Bush refused to join other industrialized nations in a biodiversity pact to protect plant and animal life from possible extinction. He argued that the treaty failed to protect intellectual property rights in biotechnology and imposed unnecessary obstacles for researchers. “America's record on environmental protection is second to none,” said Bush. “So I did not come here to apologize.”

RIO SUMMIT'S
PAPER TRAIL

Each day 250 Xerox
machines spit out:
**1 MILLION
PHOTOCOPIES**

Each day
U.N. presses churn out:
**300,000 PAGES OF
SCHEDULES**
**150,000 PAGES OF
MEMOS**

**70,000 PAGES OF
PRESS
RELEASES**

Each day **7 TONS** OF PAPER
are hauled away
by 220 garbagemen

In all, **30 MILLION
PIECES OF PAPER**
will be used at the
12-day conference

Source: AP. Illustration by Steve Hiett

Bush flees Panama tear gas



President Bush grimaces from tear gas as a bodyguard covers him with a bulletproof coat. Reuters photo

President safe; pro-U.S. rally ends in chaos

By Terry Atlas
Chicago Tribune

PANAMA CITY—President and Mrs. Bush were chased from a downtown plaza by gunshots and tear gas Thursday as a pro-American rally turned to chaos when Panamanian authorities dispersed several hundred demonstrators throwing rocks and bottles.

The president looked shaken as Secret Service agents, guns drawn, hustled the Bushes to the safety of his armored limousine and sped to a nearby U.S. air base.

The episode lasted 12 minutes, from Bush's arrival at the plaza until his motorcade pulled away. White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said later that the Bushes had never been in serious danger.

More than 1,000 Panamanians, who moments before had been cheering and waving flags in a government-organized show of support for Bush, screamed and shoved as they sought to es-



People who had gathered to hear Bush's speech run for cover Thursday as tear gas floats over Plaza Porras in Panama City. AP Laserphoto

cape the clouds of tear gas blowing across the plaza.

The president and his wife were momentarily affected by the eye-burning gas but otherwise unhurt in what amounted to the most serious threat to a president's life since President Ronald Reagan was shot outside

the Washington Hilton hotel in March 1981.

Along with the dozens of pops of exploding tear gas canisters, there was also the distinctive crack of gunfire. One police officer was seen firing toward the anti-Bush demonstrators, and

Continued from page 1

"There was local authorities' gunfire, and other gunfire we couldn't identify," said John Magaw, head of the Secret Service detail.

The president, who views Panama as one of his major foreign policy successes, decided to go ahead with his visit despite two days of violent anti-American demonstrations and the murder Wednesday of a uniformed U.S. soldier by an unknown gunman.

En route to Panama, U.S. officials had said the demonstrators did not represent the "80 to 90 percent" of Panamanians who support the U.S. presence here and the December 1989 American invasion which brought Noriega to the U.S. on drug charges.

"You can't allow terrorists to determine the schedule of the president," said Assistant Secretary of State Bernard Aronson, the administration's top official for Latin America.

Thursday's incident was not the

There was extraordinary security for Bush's visit, the first by an American president since 1978. The plaza where he was to briefly address a carefully screened crowd of friendly Panamanians had been sealed off overnight after anti-Bush demonstrators had trashed the site.

But it was also seen as an opportunity to remind American voters of Bush's foreign policy accomplishments at a time when his popularity is at its low point. Opinion polls put his approval rating on foreign policy down to around 44 percent.

"For the tiny, tiny handful of people that are protesting . . . they ought to go up to San Francisco and get an idea of what a real protest is like," he said.

By contrast, the mostly well-dressed, middle-class people with government passes to the event passed through metal detectors.

While schoolchildren sang songs from "The Sound of Music," black plumes of smoke rose into the sky just beyond the barricades as the demonstrators bided their time by burning tires and garbage.

They were held back at the corner of the plaza farthest from—and probably invisible from—the podium where Bush and other dignitaries were sitting.

Tear gas canisters began exploding at the far end of the plaza before the introductions ended. Only two or three went off initially. Then more than 20 exploded. The Panamanian army fired tear gas and

At first, Bush and others on the podium seemed unaware of what was happening. But the cheers in the audience turned to cries of fear as the first whiff of gas blew over the plaza, and people in the crowd pressed toward the security area surrounding the podium, striving to get away from the gas.

As gray clouds of tear gas blew in, Secret Service agents surrounded Bush, one holding a bullet-proof coat around his shoulders.

2000



The scene was carried live on Panamanian television, which had planned to carry Bush's remarks.

In remarks directed at

"Democracy doesn't come easy," Bush declared. "But I could sense in that crowd today, and amongst the leaders today, the determination to see Panama's democracy come to total fulfillment. . . . The day of the dictator is over, and you should take great pride in what your country has done."

While unemployment has

While the 1989 U.S. invasion is generally popular here, there is also some resentment about it. According to the U.S. Army, 345 Panamanian soldiers and civilians and 23 Americans were killed during the invasion.

Some Panamanians believe the civilian toll was much higher, and they complain that the U.S. aid has failed to cover the damage from the conflict.



VISITING ORPHANS: Barbara Bush spends time with Brazilian orphans while President Bush attends Rio summit.

Panama pols probe melee

By ALINA GUERERRO

The Associated Press

PANAMA CITY — Red-faced government officials yesterday demanded to know why tear gas was fired in such large quantities to disperse anti-American demonstrators who forced President Bush to flee a planned speech.

Vice President Guillermo Ford said he was not yet blaming police for the melee, "but this deserves a major investigation."

Bush and his wife Barbara were hustled away — shaken but unharmed — as gunshots and tear gas were fired during their brief visit Thursday at Plaza Porras in downtown Panama City.

The city was quiet yesterday, but the tang of tear gas lingered.

Sessions at Panama's National Assembly were briefly suspended because of a bomb threat, but work resumed when no bomb was found.

Ford asked how hundreds of demonstrators were allowed to get so close — less than 500 feet — from the spot where Bush was to speak.

Nearly all of the estimated 2,500 people who gathered in the plaza were invited by City Hall. Ford said there was no reason why, with the security on hand, a group of perhaps 500 demonstrators could cause such a stir.

Bush said later that he appreciated Panama and the

Panamanians and that "no small leftist protest group will change our opinion."

Juan Chevalier, the interior and justice minister in charge of police, hotly rejected local newspaper speculation that police officers intent on derailing the Bush visit were responsible and demanded an investigation.

The latest incident was

triggered by memories of the 1989 U.S. military invasion, which Bush ordered to capture dictator Gen. Manuel Antonio Noriega. He was later convicted of drug-trafficking.

At least 325 Panamanians died in the fighting. Some put the figure much higher.

Polls still show most Panamanians favor keeping the

10,000 American troops in their country past the end of the century, when by treaty they are to be withdrawn.

Many of the same people who quietly yearned for an American invasion now feel they have been treated shabbily. Family members of political prisoners arrested after the fighting blame their plight on Bush.

Cheering Up The Bushes At Ford's

By Bruce D. Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

Last year he tapped his toes to country-western tunes and celebrated the victory in the Persian Gulf War. But this year, after fleeing tear gas in Panama and criticism in Rio, President Bush simply needed some cheering up.

What he got was an upbeat, albeit not exactly rip-roaring, evening of entertainment at last night's Ford's Theatre Gala. The country twang gave way to mambo grooving, in a show that spotlighted Hispanic contributions to the performing arts.

Hosted by actors Jimmy Smits and Ricardo Montalban, who kindly limited himself to one "Fantasy Island" gag, the two-hour production featured trumpeter Arturo Sandoval, comedian Paul Rodriguez, magician David Copperfield and singer Rita Moreno. Tito Puente, king of the mambo, opened the show with a hot number.

Of magician Copperfield's bag of tricks, Bush raved, "[he] can make almost anything disappear. . . I wonder, David, if you freelance."

Joining the Bushes and about 500 other invited guests were Peatsy and Ernest Hollings, Ann and Alan Simpson, and Anheuser-Busch CEO August A. Busch III and wife Ginny.

"Well, you have certainly been 'Bush'ed' tonight," quipped Barbara



Ford's Theatre's Frankie Hewitt awards Barbara Bush the Lincoln Medal for supporting the arts, with husband George applauding.

Bush, this year's recipient of the Lincoln Medal for support of the arts.

The gala, which will be televised on ABC next month, also gave national exposure to the work of the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund.

During his monologue, comedian Rodriguez suggested a catchy slogan for the fund: "We have dreams, we have wishes, and we are tired of doing the dishes."

But when it came to his more caustic material, such as a joke about the Los Angeles riots, Rodriguez told The Post during intermission that

show producers took the cautious approach and "X-ed" some of his jokes. A show spokeswoman denied any such interference.

Putting the audience in her "Comfort Zone" was pop kitten Vanessa Williams, whose recent appearance on the cover of Entertainment Weekly in a black body stocking surely raised a few conservative eyebrows.

Asked later if she was able to make the president's heart melt, Williams said, "I don't know. It's hard when your wife is sitting next to you."

Chronicle

■ Some extraordinary former children visit their unusual former camp ■ For the Bushes, fresh from Rio, a Latin party at the White House.

What will PRESIDENT BUSH do with the rest of his weekend after he returns from Rio de Janeiro?

FRANKIE HEWITT, the producing director of Ford's Theater, in Washington, said that Mr. and Mrs. Bush are scheduled to give a reception tomorrow evening at the White House for the stars and benefactors of "A Festival at Ford's." The show, a celebration of Hispanic culture, is a benefit for the historic theater and for the National Hispanic Scholarship Fund.

JIMMY SMITS and RICARDO MONTALBAN will be co-hosts of the program,

called "A Salute to Our Hispanic Heritage," and the performers will include the Ballet Hispanico, Barry Manilow, Rita Moreno, Tito Puente and Celia Cruz, Vanessa Williams and David Copperfield.

Choosing the theme for the benefit was a simple matter compared with setting the date, Ms. Hewitt said: "You can't get a date too early because of the President's schedule, and this was a difficult year because of the Rio conference. There were only two weekends possible because of the schedules of the President, Congress and the television station that will tape the show. So we gambled and picked this one."

NADINE BROZAN

Monday, June 15, 1992

The Philadelphia Inquirer

NEWSMAKERS

Entertaining Bush

■ Ol' Mr. Family Values, President Bush, invited pop singer Vanessa Williams — the one who stepped down as Miss America in 1984 after she appeared nude in Penthouse magazine — to perform last night at a White House fund-raising gala. Now respectably married and a mother of two young children, Williams has become one of the country's most successful ex-Miss Americas. Her latest single, "Save the Best for Last," was No. 1 on the Billboard charts for five weeks.

Katie Horton, spokeswoman for Ford's Theater, scene of the concert, said that Williams was chosen to entertain because of her popularity and critical success as a singer. "We don't stand in judgment," Horton said.

After first asking to go off the record about Williams' invitation, Bush's spokeswoman, Judy Smith, said, "We're not going to comment on that."

TV SPOTS

By Ben Kubasik

STAFF WRITER

President, First Lady on '20/20'

A White House interview with George and Barbara Bush will be broadcast on ABC's "20/20" on June 26, ABC said last night. Barbara Walters will conduct the interview as the political season accelerates and candidates take advantage of as many TV opportunities as possible . . . Meanwhile, a published report said Bush also may appear on "60 Minutes." However, "60 Minutes" correspondent Mike Wallace, speaking before the "20/20" announcement was made, said it was the first he'd heard of it. "I called [White House press secretary] Marlin Fitzwater to find out what was going on," said Wallace. Does Fitzwater usually call back quickly? "I don't know," said Wallace. "I haven't spoken to him in more than a year. I've had nothing to talk to him about." . . . CNN, meantime, said Bush will be interviewed live at 3 p.m. Monday at the White House upon his return from the Earth Summit. CNN said Bush may seek to do global damage control after criticism of his environmental positions at the summit, but that interviewer Frank Sesno won't limit his questions to that subject.

LOS ANGELES TIMES
INTERVIEWSharon
Pratt KellyA New Mayor Regains Credibility For
the D.C. City Government

BY JEFFERSON MORLEY

Her voice quiet, her gaze direct, Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly of Washington radiates seriousness, determination and purpose. She speaks concisely, without notes, wasting neither words nor time. She doesn't circle around questions. She doesn't repeat herself. She uses the word "conviction" a lot. She has it—and as the mayor of a city with a bloated bureaucracy and an appalling homicide rate, she needs it.

Kelly's election in 1990 was one of the first signs of the influx of independent women into politics that is now a certified national trend. She was something of an outsider on the political scene. Though married for a time to the City Council president, she had never held public office and was not identified with any of the city's traditional political blocs. A lawyer by training, Kelly had served since the mid-1970s as vice president of the Potomac Electric and Power Co., where she created and ran community outreach programs. When Mayor Marion Barry was arrested on drug charges in 1990, Kelly entered the race as the candidate for change, campaigning with a shovel in hand to symbolize her determination to clean up government. Kelly won an upset victory, becoming the first black woman to serve as mayor of a major American city.

Kelly restored the city government's credibility, destroyed by Barry's arrest, and won \$100 million in emergency funding from the Congress, which controls the D.C. municipal budget. She has been less successful in her campaign to eliminate middle-management jobs from city agencies. To address the violent-crime problem, Kelly is focusing on young people, creating a mentor program and establishing storefront community help centers.

Kelly, 48, was born and raised in Washington, where she went to public school and then to Howard University, both as an undergraduate and as a law student. She has two daughters and a stepdaughter. Last December, she married businessman John R. Kelly III.

Talking in her huge office in downtown Washington, Kelly seemed slightly shy. Only after the interview was over, did she flash her winning smile and then only briefly. She was already asking aides about her next appointment.



BARBARA RIES / for The Times

Question: What was your reaction to the Rodney King verdict?

Answer: A sense of disbelief. There was some anger that this could happen in 1992—such a complete disrespect for a black person. And indeed, that somebody could witness that tape and reach that kind of conclusion. It's incomprehensible.

Q: What was your reaction to the rioting that followed?

A: That [it was] not unlike the experience we had here in 1968; that, though I understand the anger and frustration, is only madness, also. That it's directed at innocent people. It's directed at your own community. And it buys you nothing.

Q: Do you think there's a potential for similar incidents in Washington?

A: I think there's a potential for similar incidents all across America. I think we have a growing [division] in this country among the races but, more particularly, among economic classes. It doesn't just exist in the cities any longer; it spreads out across the landscape of this country. Until we begin to address it responsibly, and begin to try to bridge these differences, then I think we've got a tinderbox across this country.

Q: What can elected officials like you do to bring people together across class lines, where the divisions are so deep now?

A: We're trying in our own way here in Washington. We do it around some initiatives to young people. One, to get back a lot of what I call the basics, heavy emphasis on health care—which is a

Jefferson Morley is former associate editor of the New Republic and former Washington editor of the Nation.

major factor now. An example is a substance-abusing mother. That's where the problem begins.

So we put a lot of emphasis on trying to get those folks into clinics and to try to rehabilitate. A heavy emphasis on health care for young people. Again, the mind is pretty well established by the age of 5. Beginning to establish early childhood development programs. All sorts of after-school programs for junior high school students. But, above all, trying to challenge the middle-class segment of our city to personally invest in young people. For example, to do as I'm doing, to become a mentor to a young person who conceivably is at risk.

Q: What do you think of the leadership at the national level? Specifically from President Bush and his response to the verdict and the riots in Los Angeles?

A: I think President Bush basically is a decent man. I really don't doubt that. I think he and his wife are very decent people. But he did the political thing. He didn't provide any moral leadership. He tried to figure out which way the wind was blowing before he spoke up and stood up. I think, whatever position he might have taken, had it been one to reflect first the outrage that maybe there was a miscarriage of justice. But then, about whatever remedy he might have offered them, I think people would have been inclined to follow. I think the country hungers for that kind of moral leadership.

Q: What do you think of HUD Secretary Jack Kemp's proposals for things like enterprise zones and ownership of public housing? Are these worth trying now?

A: . . . We are trying to explore them here in the city. But the truth is, federal

dollars have been missing from these kinds of initiatives. We used to have a lot of urban-development action grants that were available. You used to have a great many more dollars available for training. You used to have many more dollars available for education. All those dollars are not there now. Particularly in this knowledge-based economy, where you have to be well trained, you have to have federal dollars to do massive retraining, and also assistance to educate people to bring them into the mainstream. . . .

Q: How can black business be strengthened? And the black community as well?

A: I think a number of things. One, we were so late getting into the game, but we've been here now since the 1600s. It was prohibited for us to participate, and sometimes people have to be reminded of that. Having participated in the agricultural revolution, but not in being able to get anything out of it; manufacturing revolution, not being able to get anything out of it. If we're to be a part of this economy, we need to get some window of opportunity. That's why I do support, for example, the minority set-aside programs. They at least give you a foot in the door.

It's not like, for example, if you've got the dollars, your government supports you, as they do in Japan, to undercut, to low-ball the price. The government basically subsidizes that industry's ability to low-ball the price so that they can get that market share.

We need to create such a window of opportunity for minority businesses here, in this country, so that people can get enough of a slice of it so they can eventually become real participants and contributors in the mainstream. . . .

Q: One local talk-show host said he thought every law firm, office, corporation, hospital, police precinct, school, should be organizing discussions of racism now. What do you think? Is racism the problem?

A: I think America has always suffered on this issue. I think we've always been conflicted on this issue. Again, we are such a part of the history and ethic of this country. How are you not, if you're here before the Pilgrims arrive? How are you not, when you helped define the culture of the country? How are you not, if you gave America her first music? How are

you not a part of the ethic of America? Yet America remains so conflicted on it.

I think it expresses itself more now along economic class divisions. Part of that, though, clearly is a strong component of racism. Case in point: An African-American in this country is defined by the person who is most troubled. If you are educated, if you are successful, if you own your own business, if you listen to the majority of the media, you cease to be a reflection of the African-American community. Yet, if you look back over what happened over the last 15 years, once there was any window of opportunity, more African-Americans became a part of that middle class than any other segment of America.

. . . But when you have a majority media defining African-Americans as the most troublesome element, then there's no way to describe it other than racism.

Q: Your campaign symbol was a shovel. You've been in office for more than a year now. What have you been shoveling?

A: A lot of neglect, really. Not only at the local level but at the national level. We have streamlined government by 1,500 employees. We try to streamline many things—including just how the government functions on a daily basis.

But America herself, quite apart from this city, got away from our basic values in the last decade. We became a self-serving, hedonistic country. We basically lost any commitment to saving, which was part of the American ethic when I was growing up. We're a mortgaged country now. Corporations are mortgaged, the federal government's mortgaged, the local government's mortgaged.

We used to be a country that really took pride in, for example, research and development. [Now] everything is what will the next quarterly report look like.

We used to be a country that took pride in its public educational system. We talk it. We aren't willing to invest in it.

We used to be a country that took pride in our work product. Work ethic. That's a missing ingredient in any aspect of America now. We see the neglect reflected in the infrastructure of our communities, be it roads, bridges, buildings.

We, above all, see it in the next generation. The very neglected generation. The ones nurtured with the absence of values, the American values. I think

that's the most troubling dynamic any of us are up against as we try to turn the corner for the next century.

Q: One area of concern is young black men. You had the recent study that found more than 40% were under judicial supervision. One proposed solution is alternatives to incarceration. What do you think about giving non-violent drug offenders non-incarceration type of punishment? Would that be helpful?

A: I think it can be, but I think the most important thing is, during the period that they are committed to the government, that we do more for them, rather than just return them in worse shape than what we found them. I have asked for major reform of the whole juvenile-justice system, part of which is to guarantee that we keep them long enough to do something, rehabilitate them, before we return them to the community. But we're dramatically trying to improve upon our training program, with more emphasis . . . on social workers—so they're actually paid and in the system to help them. A lot of emphasis on substance-abuse programs. A lot of emphasis on job training. Again, at least for the ones we have control over, to see if we can't begin to make a qualitative difference in their lives.

Q: In Illinois, Carol Moseley Braun won the Democratic senatorial nomination; in Pennsylvania, Lynn Yeakel won. People connected you with that group of people. Is there new leadership coming?

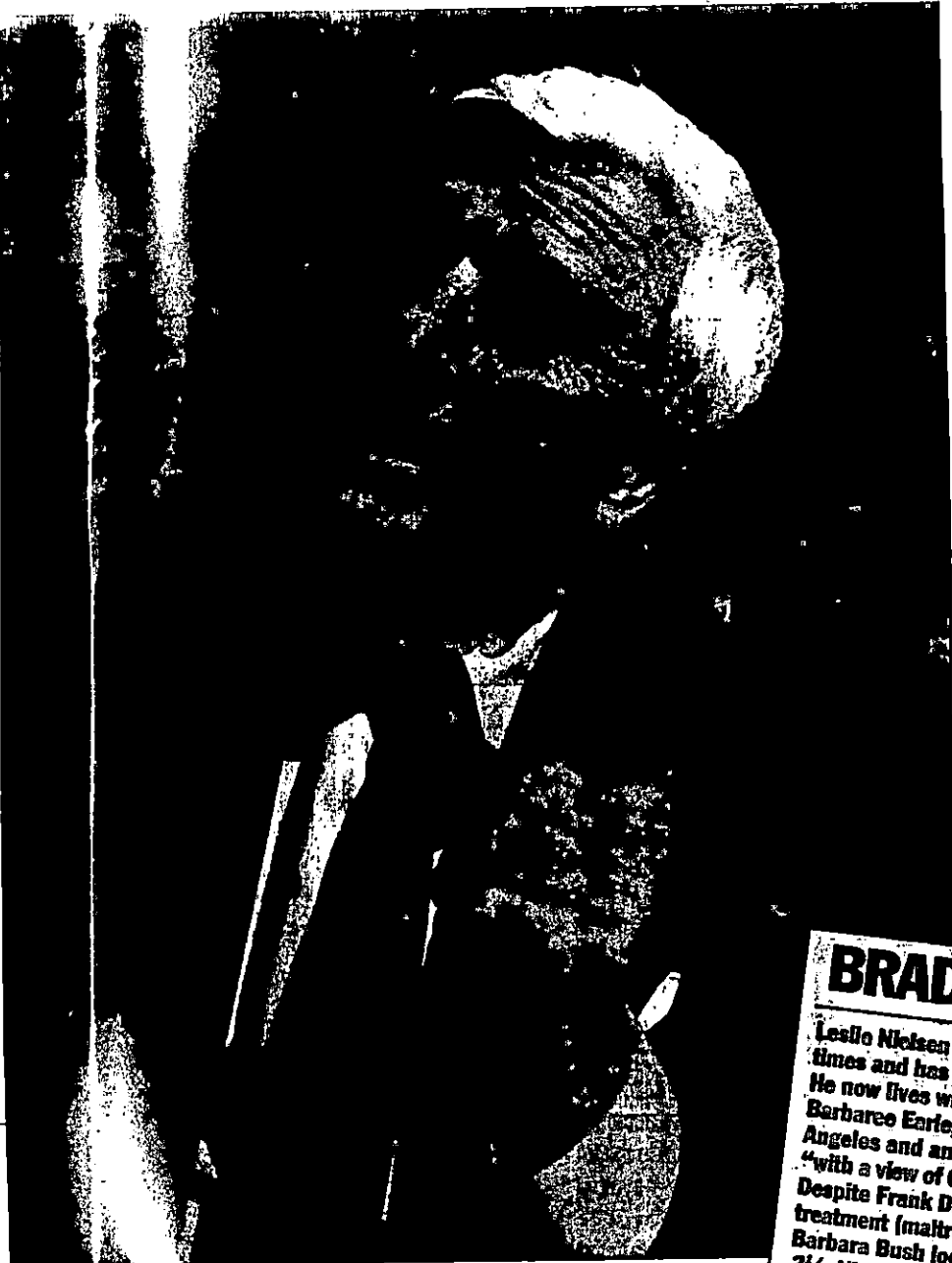
A: I think there's enormous frustration with the status quo. I think there's gut-level feeling amongst the American people that things aren't working right, that the last thing we need is a traditional politician—somebody who tries to figure out which way the winds are blowing. People who will speak up based upon conviction, whether you agree with them or not. Very often women, particularly, are perceived as a part of that new order, because we've not been invited into the corridors of power in the past.

But you'll see it at many levels. Independent candidates all across this country will hold a new attraction for the American people, because people know that we are a morally unanchored nation now, and that we need people to speak, driven on the basis of conviction, rather than what's politically smart. □

IN STEP WITH: ®

BY JAMES BRADY

Leslie Nielsen



Eddie Adams

BRADY'S BITS

Leslie Nielsen has been married three times and has two grown daughters. He now lives with a woman named Barbareo Earle, with one home in Los Angeles and another near Phoenix, "with a view of Camelback Mountain." Despite Frank Drebin's outrageous treatment (maltreatment?) of a Barbara Bush lookalike in *Naked Gun* 2½, Nielsen recently was invited to a White House dinner welcoming the Czech leader Václav Havel. "How did that go?" I asked. "Barbara [Bush] was in the receiving line, and when she saw me, she rolled her eyes," Nielsen said. "Later, she told me that her granddaughter had been rehearsing her all day so Mrs. Bush wouldn't say anything to upset me."

A warning to Barbara Bush and others: Expect a new "Naked Gun," with Leslie Nielsen again playing Frank Drebin.

LESLIE NIELSEN—WHO PLAYS THE somberly incompetent Lt. Frank Drebin in *The Naked Gun* series of films and may be the funniest movie cop since Peter Sellers as Inspector Clouseau—was unavailable when I phoned his hotel, even though we had a firm date to talk at 10 a.m.

"He's in the shower," I was informed. "Can you hold?" Of course. Then, "He'll have to call back."

When Nielsen did call a few minutes later, I said, "Typical Drebin. I call, and you're in the shower."

"Ah," said Nielsen, rising to the lure. "But, in the shower, I was thinking about police work!"

There are real police in the Nielsen family tree. Leslie was born in Canada and spent the first four years of his life in a tiny village just below the Arctic Circle, where his father served as a Royal Canadian Mountie. "I don't recall much of that," he said, "but my father stayed in the police through my teens, my formative years. I gave up any idea of becoming a Mountie myself or of becoming Tarzan's son. You see, I have very bowed legs and can't wear either riding breeches or a loincloth."

When we talked, Nielsen had just appeared in the final couple of *Golden Girls* episodes ("I close another show!" he said with a certain delight), had done a TV movie with Betty White called *Chance of a Lifetime* and was waiting to find out when the screenplay would be ready for the next *Naked Gun*. "It's being written right now," he said, "and if we can begin shooting by the early part of November, then we can make our hoped-for release date of the Fourth of July [in '93]."

I asked what this sequel would be called. "I'm suggesting we call it *Naked Gun 4: The Second Final Insult*," he said, "because then everyone will be asking what 'the first final insult' was."

The odd part about all this easy humor offscreen and his comedic genius onscreen is that Nielsen never set out to be a funnyman. He started out on a Calgary radio station as an engineer, announcer and DJ before heading to Toronto to study acting with Lorne Greene. He then won a scholarship to the Neighborhood Playhouse in New York, studied dance under Martha Graham, did summer stock and got into TV in 1950 on a show with Charlton Heston. By 1956, he was making movies in Hollywood, usually playing authority figures (he was the ship's captain in *The Poseidon Adventure*).

"I was a closet comedian," he told me, "reluctant to do comedy. If they offered me a comic role, I could say, 'Look, fellows, this is your idea. Not mine.'" Then came *Airplane!* in 1980 and the first *Naked Gun* in '88.

"I paid my dues," he said. "I'm a professional actor—but, yes, now with *Naked Gun*, it has become more difficult to get a straight dramatic role. The networks and some others will say, 'Oh, he only does comedy.' So be it," Nielsen said comfortably. "I'm in it for the laughs." ■

BORN: Feb. 24, 1926, in Regina, Saskatchewan, Canada.

PERSONAL:

Married to Monica Boyer, 1950-55.

Married to Sandy Ullman, 1958-74; two children.

Married to Brooks Oliver, 1981-83.

FILMS: Include *Forbidden Planet*, 1956; *The Opposite Sex*, 1956; *Tomb Raider and the Big Bad*, 1957; *Leau Geste*, 1965; *How to Commit Murders*

Adventure, 1972; *Airplane!*, 1980; *Soul Man*, 1986; *Nuts*, 1987; *The Naked Gun*, 1988; *The Naked Gun 2½: The Smell of Fear*, 1991. TV SERIES: Includes *The New Breed*, 1961-62; *Peyton Place*, 1965; *The Protector*, 1963-70; *Dragnet*, 1970; *P.L. 3*, 1982

MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1992



RICK MEYER Los Angeles Times

First-graders Karen Burgos, left, and Ladonna Williams work on word skills in a special lab.

Troubled Schools Able to Help Pupils Realize Dream

■ **Education:** Inner-city students have shown improvement in reading and math skills under the Ten Schools Program. But the project is facing cuts in the state budget crunch.

By JEAN MERL
TIMES EDUCATION WRITER

For five years, 10 of Los Angeles' most troubled inner-city elementary schools have enjoyed an infusion of cash, talent and hard work aimed at halting their long history of educational failure.

For the most part, the efforts have paid off, offering promising lessons to a city struggling to recover from the riots and ease the problems that fueled them.

Since the Ten Schools Program's inception in 1987, test scores have risen, attendance has soared, parent participation has picked up and discipline problems have plummeted, according to an independent report to the board of education this spring.

Although the schools—hampered by staffing problems—fell short of their student achievement goals, the rate of improvement in these once-stagnant campuses has dramatically outpaced similar schools and the Los Angeles Unified School District as a whole.

"People can see the results, and they are so excited," said Charles Barrett, principal of 97th Street School, which recently won a state Department of Education citation for its students' progress in reading and math. "Now they see this is not an impossible dream."

The project, its advocates say, represents the best hope for students in the all-minority schools, located in neighborhoods rocked by the recent violence.



In the "Writing to Read" program, students work on computers. Below, they work on oral skills in groups.

But the dramatic gains have been expensive. Now, as the five-year experiment nears its end, school officials, faced with mounting budget problems, must weigh the program's cost against its benefits.

"Any progress these schools have made is important," said longtime board of education member Roberta Weintraub, "but [the project] still doesn't demonstrate that it is easy to turn around inner-city schools . . . especially without lots of money."

Today, the board will consider a staff recommendation to keep the project going, but at least some reduction in its \$10-million budget seems inevitable. Nor is there money available to expand it to struggling schools in other parts of the district.

Much of the Ten Schools Program's budget comes from a special pool of state funds provided

Please see STUDENTS, B4



Continued from B1

to ease the inequity of racial segregation. An outgrowth of a lengthy legal battle over the quality of education for African-American students, the program has been spared the degree of budget cuts that has sliced into other campuses and district offices.

This year, however, district officials face their biggest shortfall to date—at least \$400 million must be cut from the 1992-93 budget. About \$18.3 million must be pared from the Integration Program's \$405.7-million spending package, in effect forcing school board members to weigh the Ten Schools project against such programs as bilingual education and the popular magnet schools.

Board President Warren Furutani said he believes there is strong consensus among his colleagues to continue the program, but he conceded that it will be nearly impossible to spare it entirely.

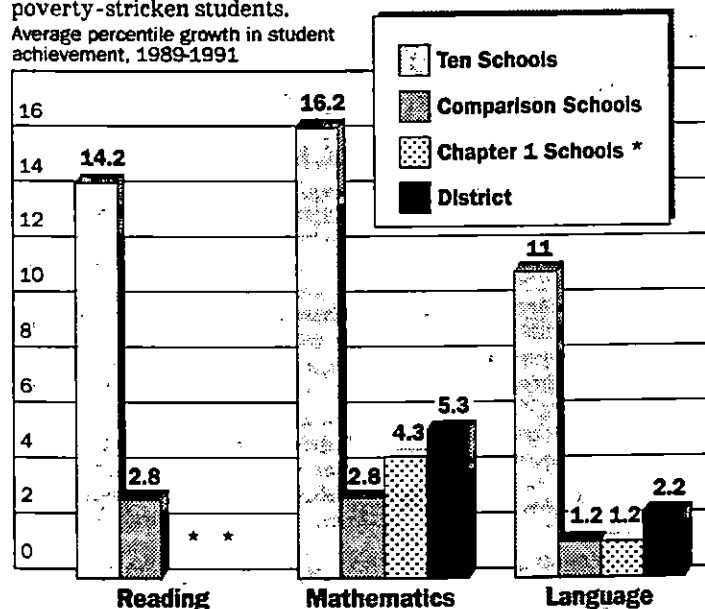
"The issue will be at what [funding] level we can continue it," Furutani said. "With a shrinking budget pie, the expense will be debated, and there will be a weighing of things against each other."

The program was launched with much fanfare and high hopes, said Assistant Supt. Barbara A. Smith, who formerly oversaw the project: "It was an effort to change history . . . to show the world that African-American students can learn as well as others when conditions are right."

Improvement in Test Scores

Between 1989 and 1991, students in the Los Angeles Unified School District's Ten Schools Program made dramatic gains in reading, mathematics and language skills, as measured by their scores on the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills. During the three-year period, the Ten Schools students' rates of improvement outpaced their peers in the district as a whole, in other schools with similar socioeconomic, geographic and ethnic makeup and in Chapter 1 schools, which receive federal funds to help low-achieving, poverty-stricken students.

Average percentile growth in student achievement, 1989-1991



* * Chapter 1 schools and the district did not show growth in reading.

* Chapter 1 students only.

Source: Report on LAUSD Integration Programs, March, 1992

PATRICIA MITCHELL Los Angeles Times

Participating schools are Comp-ton Avenue, Lovelia P. Flournoy, 96th Street, 102nd Street, 112th Street, Martin Luther King Jr., McKinley Avenue, 93rd Street, 97th Street and 36th Street. Located in Watts and other black working-class neighborhoods in South Los Angeles, they were chosen because their enrollments were predominantly African-American (although now they are about half Latino) and because their achievement test scores were among the lowest in the district.

The goal was to raise the median achievement level, as measured by standardized tests, to at least the 50th percentile in reading and math, up from the 30th or lower percentile that had been the norm for the schools when the program began.

Extra money—about \$43 million over five years—was pumped into the schools, including the \$1 million added to each of the schools' budgets this year. It was spent to lower class sizes in kindergarten through second grade; beef up language arts throughout the curriculum; staff and stock libraries; hire full-time nurses and counselors; add instructional aides, and start parent education and outreach programs.

The extra money also enabled the schools to add four weeks to the school year and provided 18 to 20 days of pupil-free staff development time to let teachers hone their skills and coordinate efforts. Schools also held optional Saturday learning clinics and after-school tutoring sessions.

The program soon attracted corporate donors to provide even more—including IBM "Writing to Read" computer labs from the Riordan Foundation, a self-esteem-boosting Efficacy Program from Pacific Telesis Foundation, and "Mike's Math Club" from the Milken Family Foundation.

But the program had trouble with staffing from the start. Officials' dreams of starting from scratch with experienced, enthusiastic faculties could not be realized. District and union policies and federal Department of Education's

Office of Civil Rights rules hamstrung the efforts, as did recruiting problems. Not enough experienced, well-regarded administrators and teachers applied to work in the schools, forcing program coordinators to draft some faculty members and delaying the project at some campuses. Further aggravating the problem, the report by an outside evaluation team found, was the resentment many staff members felt at having no input in the project's planning.

The otherwise favorable report cited staffing problems as the major stumbling block to achieving goals. The report, which recommended that the project be continued, suggested several ways to improve staffing.

None of the schools had reached interim goals for all grades in all subjects by the end of 1991, the fourth year of the project and the latest scores available for the report. But all made strong progress, the report found.

On the reading portion of the Comprehensive Test of Basic Skills, Ten Schools students scored better at every grade level than those at schools nearby with students of similar ethnic and socioeconomic backgrounds. They also outperformed students in "Chapter 1" schools, which get federal money to help underachieving poor youngsters. Their first-, second- and third-graders also did better than the district as a whole.

Ten Schools students also registered the strongest gains over a three-year period, showing an average growth of 14.2% in reading, 16.2% in mathematics and 11% in language skills. By contrast, students districtwide posted no gains in reading, an average gain of 5.3% in mathematics and 2.2% in language.

Evaluators also noted improvements in such areas as attendance, school climate, library use, curriculum and teaching techniques.

Theodore T. Alexander Jr., assistant superintendent for student integration services, said he is working with federal and teachers union officials to build more flexibility into the staffing. He also

wants to refine the program's faculty selection and development process before considering expansion to other campuses.

"I'm very pleased with the results, and I want us to go even higher," Alexander said.

Test scores alone do not tell the whole story. Some signs of success can be observed in visits to the campuses.

At 112th Street on a recent school day, a once severely depressed second-grader named Henry rushed up to the visiting Alexander with a broad smile to show off his classroom comportment card filled with stickers for good behavior. At 93rd Street, Spanish-speaking fifth-graders were making and furnishing cardboard dollhouses—right down to the bathroom shower head—and identifying in English everything in their creations.

On the same day, lab-coated first-graders at King were videotaping their science fair, demonstrating the principles that drive their handmade pulleys. McKinley sixth-graders were fashioning a display illustrating a recent five-day trip to Yosemite, which they helped pay for with a book sale.

And over at 97th Street, the annual PEP (Proficiency in English Program) Oratorical Contest was under way. Students in kindergarten through fifth grades were reciting poems, telling stories or reading their original compositions.

Parent Pearl Johnson, whose children started attending 97th Street School before the Ten Schools Program, summed up the difference it has made this way:

"The children's test scores are rising and they are feeling good about themselves. They can read and write and speak better. The parents can see it, and they feel good."

Johnson said she is worried that the district's budget problems will jeopardize the program.

"Whatever happens, we'll still be working together and supporting the schools, but I hope it can be continued," she said. "We hope we can be a model for others."



BY BILL SNEAD—THE WASHINGTON POST

Costumed as characters from books, Vani Dewnandas, Damein Griffin and Jullo Cruz brainstorm with teacher Joyce Love at the District's Garrison Elementary.

New Teaching Lets Children Learn Like Children

By Sari Horwitz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Inside District elementary schools, the children are taking charge. To a visitor, it looks like chaos, but teachers say the noisy, playful classrooms that let children be children are where youngsters learn best.

Starting with pre-kindergarten, District schools during the last two years have been phasing in a new program for educating young children with the hope of converting all classes up to the third grade by 1995.

In classrooms throughout the city, young

children no longer sit silently in rows of desks, facing forward to watch the teacher write on the blackboard. Instead, they've become more active participants in their education, choosing the type of learning they engage in each day. By playing math games, acting out readings and talking to each other, the children are learning in an environment better suited to their needs and abilities, early childhood specialists say.

At Horace Mann Elementary School in Wesley Heights, teachers plan the school day so that children can move freely around the room to a reading loft with an array of books, a music

center with records and tapes, a sandbox, a water table, a painting table, an area to play house and dress up and a corner to stack blocks.

At Garrison Elementary School in Shaw, youngsters learn to count by adding up colored beads or rolling dice. At Shaed Elementary School in Edgewood, children learn fractions with a pie pan of plastic pizza.

This effort to let young children learn based on the way they think and behave is drawing praise from school systems in the Washington suburbs and from educators across the coun-

See CHILDREN, A10, Col. 1

try, many of whom are moving ahead with similar revisions.

It's a major philosophical shift for the D.C. schools, probably the most dramatic change in elementary school teaching since the back-to-basics movement of the 1970s. And it is the latest effort to improve education over the long term in the troubled D.C. school system, which has been chronically afflicted with poor student performance and a high dropout rate.

In its first two years, the program has been commended by parents, teachers, education specialists and the Committee on Public Education, an advisory group that found few other bright spots in the school system.

At the same time, however, the new methods are viewed with skepticism by some parents who remain loyal to the back-to-basics program. Their concern is that the relaxed environment may imply a relaxation of educational standards that will leave students unprepared for the rigors of testing in higher grades.

The director of the early childhood program and its most impassioned advocate is Maurice Sykes, who says, "Most kids in school are bored out of their gourd. Why? Because nothing is happening. Children learn by doing, by having fun."

It's too early to know the full effects on District children. There are no test results yet; testing children before the third grade goes against the grain of this philosophy, and the students taught this way since kindergarten have not yet reached the third grade.

Changes in public education in the last decade have emphasized these "back-to-basics" rules: Tighten standards. Formalize instruction. Increase testing. Increase course requirements. Foster competition.

But, said Sharon Lynn Kagan, an early childhood specialist at Yale University, "The pendulum swings in education."

Many early childhood educators believe that although the "back to basics" measures may improve the performance of high school students, they don't work as well with children ages 4 through 8.

They say that children in these critical early years are influenced by their relationships with people and their experience with materials. Children learn best, they believe, by exploring their environment and building on their curiosity. Youngsters also depend heavily on approval from parents, as well as other adults.

So, Sykes says, if children like to move around, why keep them seated at desks? If they don't think of the world in separate categories, why not integrate reading and mathematics into art, music and cooking? If children like to play and explore, why not teach through games and relevant hands-on experiences? If they develop at different paces, why force them all to learn the same skills at the same time?

Parental support is crucial to the success of the program, its proponents say. To allay parents' fears, Sykes has organized citywide panels explaining the new classrooms and the more complicated report cards that teachers use. He usually brings along District parents who swear by the new method they believe has worked with their children.

"I love what the system has done," said Loraine Wilson, mother of a second-grader at John Eaton in Cleveland Park. "Drop in any time and you will find engaged, interested children having a good time learning."

Parts of the present theory of early childhood education have been around for decades, certainly as far back as child psychologist Jean Piaget's writings in the 1950s.

But it was not until a few years ago that the National Association for the Education of Young Children pulled all these principles together into one document that embodied the latest thinking. In 1988, these ideas were embraced in a highly regarded report by the National Association of State Boards of Education called "Right From the Start."

Two years later, the District became one of the first cities to implement the recommendations. The school system was spurred on by Sykes, an engaging and energetic administrator, and the local group of civic leaders who formed the Committee on Public Education.

Although many educators have accepted the idea that these practices are good for pre-kindergartners and kindergartners, few have pushed the concepts for higher elementary grades, as Sykes has.

"Maurice Sykes is doing something that other school systems are doing or should be doing," said Muriel Farley, the Fairfax schools' director of early childhood programs.

"It's definitely the wave of the future. We're all moving in the same direction," Farley said. Fairfax elementary school teachers are being trained in the new methods, she said.

The Maryland State Department of Education released a report this year endorsing the same childhood teaching methods. The Montgomery County school board has decided to make a similar early childhood program a high priority.

"I wish everyone in the world was doing what the District is doing," said Sue Bredekamp, a leading authority on childhood education with

the National Association for the Education of Young Children. "It is a model," she said. "I would put my kid in there."

Sykes said the research on early childhood education shows that children best learn the concepts of mathematics, for example, and put them in a meaningful context by

playing with objects. So at Shaed, Jeanne Hunter uses play to teach her kindergartners how to count and measure.

In one corner of her colorful, bustling classroom, children punch their codes into a homemade automatic teller machine and withdraw play money to count up and use to buy doughnuts at the class store. Other students gather around tables to measure a plastic elephant with building blocks and then use crayons to chart its height on graphs.

Hunter also tries to teach the children to be independent, accept responsibility and make good choices by allowing them to choose from the activities around the room.

These methods also emphasize

social skills. A District study two years ago concluded that traditional teaching tended to neglect social development and that an emphasis on competitiveness led many children to think they had fallen short by second grade. That led to bad grades, poor attendance and an increased likelihood that children eventually would quit school, the researchers said.

In each of these new classrooms, children are given the chance to take charge, get to know each other and receive a little positive feedback.

During "morning meeting" in Joyce Love's third-grade classroom at Garrison, each child introduces the youngster in the next seat and adds a kind comment. In Stephanie

Abney's class there, the kindergartners gather in a circle during morning meeting, each hugging and greeting the one to the left.

For the "sharing" period in her class, Hunter's kindergartners take turns sitting behind a cardboard "television set" and conducting a talk show with their classmates.

"Good morning, children," said kindergartner Akilah McCoy, as she recounted a weekend picnic. "Any questions or comments?" she asked her classmates at the end.

Several hands shot up. "My brother and me went to get pizza one boy said about his weekend."

"My brother and I," the classmates corrected him in unison.

Hunter laughed. She has been a traditional teacher for more than 20

years, but she's enthusiastic about the change. "They take charge," she said to a visitor. "I'm just a handyman now."

Confident and creative teachers such as Hunter are the key to the program's success. These methods, educators say, are not teacher-proof as is the traditional workbook, so a key element is retraining teachers. In some schools, teachers can sit in their colleagues' classrooms to watch how they've put the new methods into practice.

"We tell the teachers, 'Give the children a real childhood. Provide islands of excellence and create awe and wonderment,'" Sykes said. "You give those children six good hours and they can figure out the rest."

FAMILY

Fostering the Family

An intensive effort to keep kids with parents

The world had just about given up on Stacy Tramble, and so had she. At 21, unemployed and using drugs, she was living in a St. Louis shelter. She had left her first child with her mother and put the second up for adoption. Last April, when she gave birth prematurely to a son, Maurice Jr., and tested positive for cocaine, the hospital reported her to child-welfare officials. But Tramble, who at 14 had run away from her own foster family, didn't want to see her baby go into foster care. Neither did social worker Bruce Singletary. He hooked Tramble up with a drug-rehabilitation program, bought her food and helped her find an apartment. He played basketball with her boyfriend, Maurice Williams, and persuaded him to stop violating his parole. "I got attached to Bruce," Tramble says. "I can talk to him very openly. I call him 24 hours a day." Tramble, who is drug-free and intends to go back to school, is determined to bring up her baby.

She is one of thousands who have benefited from what's come to be known as the



DONNA TEREK

Success story: Dickson and some of her children

ed 20,000 have participated. Research indicates that children usually do better if they can remain with their own families. But since the mid-1980s, when crack cocaine arrived and more and more kids fell into poverty, the number of children living apart from their families has risen. Last year, an estimated 600,000 were in foster care or in institutions; by the end of the decade, there may be almost 1 million. Placements cost taxpayers \$9.1 billion in 1991. The cost to kids was incalculable.

Two child psychologists in Tacoma, Wash., devised the first family-preservation program. Homebuilders, which is the movement's model. Family preservationists are taking a radical approach. Committed to the idea that even deeply troubled families can change, they are using intense, short-term intervention to remove the risk, not the child. With clients, they're devising ways to keep "suitcase kids"—children so close to being taken away that their suitcases are already

packed—safely at home. And they're succeeding: one year after intervention ends, an estimated 80 percent of families are still together. Darrylin Dickson, who lives in Detroit with her five children, grandchild and boyfriend, has become a spokesperson

for the movement. She stayed straight for three years. Instead of selling and using crack, she speaks to various groups about the program that saved her family.

Traditional social workers carry anywhere from a dozen to 90 cases, which may stay open indefinitely. They meet clients briefly and infrequently in their offices, and they, not the family, devise solutions to problems. Family-preservation social workers, on the other hand, have only two or three cases at a time, and work with each for only four to six weeks. They deal exclusively with families who are at imminent risk of losing their children. Available around the clock, they meet clients at home for as many as 20 hours a week. "It's difficult for families to hide stuff when I'm in their homes," says Susan Hardie, a social worker in New Mexico. "When I'm in the office, I can only hope and pray that they're describing the situation accurately."

Family preservation is a hands-on partnership: social workers do everything from helping install new plumbing and making charts for children's chores to teaching families how to manage anger. In many cases, one small change can help turn a family around, and social workers can draw on special funds to assist them. They might pay for a septic tank or buy car tires so a parent can get to work. And they don't focus on a family's weaknesses. "Even vulnerable families have tremendous strengths," says Susan Kelly, director of Michigan's Families First program. "We build on strengths." The family, not the social worker, chooses what steps to take to improve their situation. Sandra Irving, a St. Louis mother who was abusing drugs, says her social worker "helped me realize I had choices. She didn't particularly like what I did, but she liked me."

'Teachable moment': Family preservation is voluntary, and occasionally a prospective family will not go along. Most, however, grab at the chance. "You have a teachable moment," says Gary Stangler, director of the Missouri Department of Social Services, "a moment of crisis when parents realize they've got to change. Fundamentally... parents do want the best for their kids, and you just have to build on that." Elaine, a Native American, and Mike, her Hispanic boyfriend, did. They were heavy drinkers, and nearly lost their two kids, until a social worker in New Mexico urged them to consider AA. Both have been sober for more than two months.



MURRAE HAYNES—PICTURE GROUP

'It was a swift kick in the butt': Mike, Elaine and kids

family-preservation movement, whose aim is to keep parents and children together. Fourteen states are making a serious commitment to it, and the number of families involved is growing rapidly. In the past three years, in just eight states, an estimat-

H I F E S T Y L E

was a swift kick in the butt to get us back to reality," says Mike. "and it worked."

Family preservation can be extremely cost-effective. In Alabama, for example, the program runs about \$2,800 per family. The cost of keeping just one child in foster care for 35 months (the state average) is \$7,400. Critics say that no one can accurately predict how many children would actually have been taken away without intervention, and family preservationists don't deny it. Still, between 1988 and 1990, Michigan counties that had no family-preservation program registered a 28 percent rise in new foster-care placements; counties with one saw a 10 percent decline.

Not even the staunchest supporter, however, argues that family preservation is a cure-all, or that it is applicable in all cases, especially those involving severe abuse. "Lots of these family-life patterns and habits have been developed over generations," says Steven Ziebell of Children and Families of Iowa, a not-for-profit agency in Des Moines. "They're not going to change real rapidly over six weeks." Missouri's Stangler estimates that the program can be used with only one of three families in crisis. Family preservationists see their program as one of many options, and some think it needs to be even more flexible.

But in a line of work with too few happy endings, it is a particularly gratifying option. "You sleep easy at night," says Bruce Singletary. "You have good dreams." And so, perhaps, will the kids who are able to unpack their suitcases and stay at home.

KATRINE AMES with KAREN SPRINGEN
in St. Louis, SUSAN MILLER in New Mexico
and SHAWN D. LEWIS in Detroit



MARK KATZMAN—FERGUSON AND KATZMAN

Baby talk: Tramble and son, Singletary

MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1992

AIDS Vaccine Tests Fraught With Peril

By ROBERT STEINBROOK
TIMES MEDICAL WRITER

Sometime before the end of 1993, an American or Thai volunteer is likely to role up his or her sleeve and receive the first injection in a large-scale test of a vaccine against the human immunodeficiency virus.

The long-awaited moment will mark a milestone in the global battle against AIDS. The rapid pace of AIDS vaccine research offers hope for millions of people around the world who are at risk of acquiring the deadly infection.

But the early tests, which are likely to involve

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Continued from A1

thousands of people in the United States, Thailand and other countries and last at least several years, are fraught with peril as well as opportunity.

Despite the high public expectations and billions of dollars that have been invested in AIDS research, there are no guarantees that the initial AIDS vaccines will work. These early vaccines may be supplanted by more promising test vaccines even before the first large-scale trials are completed.

"It is very important that people understand that we are very unlikely to hit a home run at the first trial," said Dr. Daniel F. Hoth of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases, who envisions a decade or more of large-scale clinical trials before an optimum vaccine emerges.

Dr. Donald S. Burke of the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research said that at best the first large-scale trials will "show evidence that [the test vaccine] works and . . . why it is less than perfect. Having learned that, we can go and design vaccines that are better."

AIDS vaccine experts are fearful that even a partial success in the first large trials will be viewed as a tremendous failure, which in turn would jeopardize the long-term prospects to achieve a safe and effective vaccine.

"Without a doubt . . . this is what makes everybody nervous, how well we can tolerate failure," said Dani P. Bolognesi of Duke University Medical Center.

The key problems, examined by leading researchers at a medical meeting in Keystone, Colo., this year, range from the wide variation among different AIDS virus strains to concerns about product liability if volunteers in vaccine tests develop unanticipated side effects.

At the meeting, Phillip W. Berman, an AIDS vaccine researcher with Genentech Inc. of South San Francisco, said: "We are all looking for a vaccine which completely prevents HIV infection and disease. We would love a sugar cube you take once in your life and you will be protected forever. But I don't think it is going to happen with HIV."

Many of the U.S. vaccine trials will be coordinated by the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases. Earlier this year in a little-noticed announcement, the institute said that it "anticipates" beginning clinical trials of AIDS vaccines "as early as December, 1993, at domestic sites and shortly thereafter at international locations." The institute has yet to announce how many trials it will oversee or where they will be conducted.

In addition, the Walter Reed Army Institute of Research is working with Thai researchers to plan large AIDS vaccine tests in Thailand, a country where the rate of HIV infection has been increasing dramatically. Researchers in Britain, France and Sweden are

Clinical Tests of AIDS Vaccines

These are some of the companies with AIDS vaccines that are now in human clinical trials:

- **Bristol-Myers Squibb** (New York City)—The gene for the AIDS virus envelope protein, known as gp160, is inserted into live vaccinia virus, which has been used for vaccination against smallpox. Being tested as a vaccine in uninfected people.
- **Chiron Corp.** (Emeryville, Calif.)—Genetically engineered AIDS virus envelope protein, known as gp120. One version is made in yeast cells, another in mammalian cells. Being tested both as AIDS vaccine and as a treatment for infected individuals.
- **Genentech Inc.** (South San Francisco)—Genetically engineered gp120 AIDS virus envelope protein, made in mammalian cells. Versions have been developed against two different AIDS virus strains. Being tested both as an AIDS vaccine and as a treatment.
- **Immuno AG** (Vienna)—Genetically engineered gp160 AIDS virus envelope protein, made in mammalian cells. Being tested both as an AIDS vaccine and as a treatment.
- **Immune Response Corp.** (San Diego)—Inactivated AIDS virus particles, known as HIV-immunogen, from which the envelope protein has been removed. Approach developed by Dr. Jonas Salk, the polio vaccine pioneer. Being tested as an AIDS treatment for infected people.
- **MicroGeneSys Inc.** (Meriden, Conn.)—Genetically engineered gp160 AIDS virus envelope protein, produced in a virus grown in the cells of an insect. Being tested both as an AIDS vaccine and as a treatment.
- **Pasteur-Merieux of France**—The gene for the gp160 AIDS virus envelope protein is inserted into a live canary pox virus, which does not reproduce in humans. Tests in uninfected people starting soon. Participants will also receive booster shots of the gp160 protein.

mulling over large trials, while the World Health Organization is helping to prepare vaccine trial sites in Brazil, Rwanda, Thailand and Uganda.

AIDS experts say that rapid progress must be made for any of the dozens of vaccines under development to be ready for large-scale tests in the next year or so. "Everybody is recognizing how hard this is going to be" to find a vaccine, Hoth said.

Over the next year, trial organizers will gather extensive data about the rate of new HIV infections among the populations in which the vaccines will be tested, as well as the AIDS virus strains that are being transmitted. Sophisticated laboratories and computerized data collection procedures will be put in place.

By the summer of 1993, decisions will have to be reached about the vaccine or vaccines to be tested, so that large quantities can be manufactured.

The picture appears brighter after the announcement last week that scientists from the University of Washington in Seattle have for the first time infected monkeys with HIV. This success, in a monkey species known as the pigtailed macaque, could speed the testing of experimental AIDS vaccines.

To maximize the chances for success, leading vaccine researchers may propose that several vaccines, perhaps from different manufacturers, be combined. A combination might also help protect against different HIV strains, which vary by as much as 40% in their genetic sequences.

But differing strains represent only one of the many hurdles facing vaccine researchers. Others include:

- The specific immune system response to HIV necessary to protect against infection is not known. In most cases, researchers have determined the protective immunity against a germ before embarking on large-scale vaccine tests.

- Most of the "successful" AIDS vaccine tests in animals have been conducted under conditions that "load the dice" in favor of success. For instance, animals have been exposed to the virus when their immune response is believed to be at its peak. Some of these experiments may not be relevant outside the laboratory.

- There has been little study of the ability of experimental vaccines to protect against HIV transmission through sexual contact, which is the most common route of infection.

- Researchers also do not know how best to administer a vaccine. They do not know how many doses to give initially, how often to give booster shots, or what chemicals, known as adjuvants, are best to package with a vaccine in order to strengthen its action.

- An AIDS vaccine might fail to prevent infection, but still may prevent the development of disease in an infected person. If this is the case, it might take a decade or longer to determine if such a vaccine was effective. This is because HIV-infected people can remain free of AIDS symptoms for many years.

Many vaccines, such as those



BERNIE BOSTON / Los Angeles Times

Dr. Daniel Hoth of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases envisions years of tests before an AIDS vaccine emerges.

against the polio virus, are injections or oral preparations of weakened or dead germs. But most of the AIDS vaccines under development contain only parts of the virus. Scientists disagree as to whether such "sub-unit" AIDS vaccines can be as effective as vaccines based on the complete virus. But there are concerns that injections of killed or weakened whole AIDS virus particles could be very dangerous because they might infect people with the virus.

Many AIDS experts believe that the galloping epidemic of new HIV infections, particularly in developing countries, is sufficiently acute that large-scale vaccine tests should go forward before such details are worked out in the laboratory.

The World Health Organization estimates that the number of HIV-infected people, now between 9 million and 11 million, will increase to between 30 million and 40 million by the end of the decade. Earlier this month, an international team, led by Harvard School of Public Health researchers, said the WHO figures were too low and that as many as 116 million people may be infected with HIV by 2000.

"We are moving rapidly because we have a serious problem," Bolognesi said. "If this weren't as serious as it is, we could probably take a lot more time to get the information."

Compared with the time it has taken to develop other widely used immunizations, the pace of AIDS vaccine research has been quick.

The first human tests of AIDS

vaccines began in 1987, three years after the virus was discovered; dozens of small trials are in progress. These Phase I tests have focused more on safety considerations than the possible protective effects of a vaccine. Those asked to volunteer have primarily been healthy individuals at very low risk of acquiring the infection.

In contrast, the large-scale AIDS vaccine trials that are planned will target people at high risk of becoming infected. Some participants will receive the test vaccine while others will get placebo injections. Neither the participants nor the physicians conducting the trial will know who is receiving which injections.

The use of placebo injections places researchers in a somewhat conflicting position. On one hand, they are obligated to educate all trial participants about how to protect themselves against HIV infection and to stress that they are not immune to HIV infection simply because they are participating in a trial.

Yet if educational efforts are very effective, most trial participants might avoid behavior that puts them at risk of infection. If very few people become infected, it may be impossible to tell if a vaccine really works.

The preliminary vaccine trials have bolstered the idea that combining vaccines may be the best route to take, said Bolognesi of Duke University. So far, some of the most impressive test results have been obtained with a combination that includes a recombinant vaccine made by Bristol-Myers

Squibb. This vaccine incorporates a gene from the AIDS virus into the vaccinia virus, which is used to vaccinate against smallpox. A booster injection, made by Micro-GeneSys, follows the primary injection.

The combination "induced an immune response that was much greater than any achieved in previous [small] trials using a single AIDS vaccine," Dr. Barney S. Graham of Vanderbilt Medical Center in Nashville said at the international AIDS conference last year.

But there is concern that an AIDS vaccine using the vaccinia virus might cause health problems if it fails to work and people become infected with HIV after taking it. Although the vaccinia virus is harmless to individuals with normal immune systems, it can cause serious illness or death in people with weakened immune systems, such as people with HIV infection.

Moreover, some AIDS vaccine manufacturers fear people who participate in AIDS vaccine trials might sue if they later become ill. Bristol-Myers Squibb recently said it would not provide researchers with additional supplies of experimental vaccine for further testing, federal officials said.

The decision, which Bristol-Myers Squibb acknowledged reflected liability concerns, does not necessarily mean that this vaccine or a similar product will not be involved in large-scale vaccine trials. But, experts said, it increases the pressure on the federal government and industry officials to work out solutions to the liability problem before it becomes a greater stumbling block.

Federal officials will meet this summer with industry representatives to try to resolve the issue, said Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, director of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases.

In addition to scientific and legal concerns, the large-scale AIDS vaccine trials will raise ethical issues, particularly for the trials conducted in developing nations.

An AIDS vaccine should be "reasonably available to the citizens of the country [where it is being tested] at the completion of successful testing," said Dr. Robert J. Levine of Yale University, who is a leader of an international project to develop ethics guidelines for AIDS vaccine testing.

Some worry that AIDS vaccines will be too expensive for developing nations to afford. The World Health Organization is working with vaccine manufacturers to find ways to solve this problem, said Dr. Michael Merson, the director of the organization's AIDS program. According to Merson, the ideas under discussion include the creation of a global fund to purchase AIDS vaccines, a special pricing mechanism for vaccines in developing countries, and special tax breaks or other advantages for companies that supply AIDS vaccines to developing nations.