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2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

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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: 90689
Folder ID Number: 90689-003

Folder Title:
Tuesday, June 16, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Handwritten Notes	Re: Presidential Phone Call with James A. Baker III. (2 pp.)	06/16/92	(b)(1)	
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/16/92	(b)(3)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Tuesday, June 16, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: cap6149

OA/ID Number: 90689-003

Date Closed: 9/12/2019

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

ARRIVAL STATEMENT -- PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN OF RUSSIA
SOUTH LAWN \ JUNE 16, 1992 \ 10:00 A.M.

MR. PRESIDENT, MRS. YELTSIN, DISTINGUISHED MEMBERS
OF THE RUSSIAN DELEGATION -- WELCOME TO THE UNITED
STATES. AND OF COURSE, ALL OF YOU WHO HAVE COME HERE
TO MARK THIS HISTORIC MOMENT: WELCOME TO THE WHITE
HOUSE. //

MR. PRESIDENT, TODAY MARKS THE BEGINNING OF A NEW
ERA -- A NEW KIND OF SUMMIT: NOT A MEETING BETWEEN TWO
POWERS STRUGGLING FOR GLOBAL SUPREMACY -- BUT BETWEEN
TWO PARTNERS, STRIVING TO BUILD A DEMOCRATIC PEACE. //

- 2 -

FROM THIS SUMMIT WE SEE A NEW HORIZON: A NEW WORLD
OF PEACE AND HOPE, A NEW WORLD OF COOPERATION AND
PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN THE AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN PEOPLE.
OUR HOPE IS THAT THIS PARTNERSHIP WILL END FOREVER THE
OLD ANTAGONISMS THAT KEPT OUR PEOPLE APART -- THAT KEPT
THE WORLD ON THE EDGE OF WAR. //

MR. PRESIDENT, YOUR NATION IS EMBARKED ON A GREAT
EXPERIMENT -- A NEW RUSSIAN REVOLUTION -- WITH FREEDOM
AS ITS GOAL.

2 JUN 15 16:37

THE PROGRESS RUSSIA HAS MADE, AND THE PROMISE OF MORE TO COME, OWES MUCH TO THE COURAGE AND VISION OF PRESIDENT BORIS YELTSIN. MR. PRESIDENT, LIKE PETER THE GREAT, YOU ARE REDEFINING RUSSIA'S UNDERSTANDING OF ITSELF -- REDEFINING RUSSIA'S ROLE IN THE WORLD. BUT, FOR THE FIRST TIME IN MODERN RUSSIAN HISTORY, A LEADER CLAIMS AS HIS AUTHORITY NOT THE DISPENSATION OF HISTORY -- BUT A DEMOCRATIC MANDATE. //

ALREADY, MR. PRESIDENT, WE ARE TOGETHER TRANSFORMING OUR RELATIONS -- WITH BENEFITS NOT SIMPLY TO OUR TWO NATIONS, BUT TO THE WORLD.

TODAY, THE THREAT OF A CATACLYSMIC CONVENTIONAL WAR HAS VANISHED WITH THE WARSAW PACT AND THE RISE OF DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA. TODAY, THE THREAT OF A NUCLEAR NIGHTMARE IS MORE DISTANT NOW THAN AT ANY TIME SINCE THE DAWN OF THE NUCLEAR AGE. //

MR. PRESIDENT, I SAY THIS WITH A SENSE OF PRIDE, A SENSE OF AWE -- AND ABOVE ALL, A SENSE OF HISTORY: THERE IS NO GREATER GIFT TO THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA, TO THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA -- TO PEOPLE ALL OVER THE WORLD -- THAN AN END TO THE AWFUL SPECTER OF GLOBAL WAR. THINK FOR A MOMENT ABOUT WHAT THAT MEANS: NOT FOR PRESIDENTS, NOT FOR HEADS OF STATE OR HISTORIANS -- BUT FOR PARENTS, AND FOR THEIR CHILDREN. IT MEANS A FUTURE FREE FROM FEAR. //

THIS FIRST U.S.-RUSSIA SUMMIT GIVES US A CHANCE TO LAY THE FOUNDATION OF A MORE PEACEFUL AND PROSPEROUS FUTURE FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS. WE WILL DISCUSS RUSSIA'S HISTORIC TRANSITION TO THE FREE MARKET -- ITS INTEGRATION INTO THE WORLD ECONOMY -- AND OUR COMMITMENT TO SUPPORT THOSE REFORMS. WE WILL SEEK NEW WAYS TO EXPAND TRADE BETWEEN OUR TWO NATIONS, TO CREATE WEALTH AND GROWTH AND JOBS -- NEW LEVELS OF MILITARY COOPERATION TO REDUCE FURTHER THE RISK OF WAR.

FINALLY, NEW AGREEMENTS TO REDUCE NUCLEAR ARMS -- AND TO REMOVE FROM OUR ARSENALS THE MOST DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS.

BUT THIS MORNING, I WANT TO FOCUS ON OUR ULTIMATE GOAL: ON THE CHALLENGE WE FACE TO FORGE A NEW PEACE -- A PERMANENT PEACE BETWEEN TWO NATIONS WHO MUST NEVER AGAIN BE ADVERSARIES.

RIGHT NOW, THE PEOPLE OF RUSSIA ARE WAGING A VALIANT STRUGGLE FOR THE VERY SAME RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS WE AMERICANS PRIZE SO DEARLY.

THE FATE OF THAT REVOLUTION -- THE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY IN RUSSIA AND THE OTHER NEW NATIONS OF THE OLD SOVIET EMPIRE -- IS THE MOST IMPORTANT FOREIGN POLICY ISSUE OF OUR TIME.

THE UNITED STATES AND ITS DEMOCRATIC ALLIES MUST PLAY A KEY ROLE IN HELPING FORGE A DEMOCRATIC PEACE.

THAT IS WHY I URGE CONGRESS ONCE AGAIN TO PASS THE FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT -- TO STRENGTHEN DEMOCRATIC REFORM IN RUSSIA AND THE OTHER NEW NATIONS OF THE OLD SOVIET UNION.

YES, THE AID I'VE REQUESTED FROM THE CONGRESS IS SIGNIFICANT -- BUT IT IS ALSO A TINY FRACTION OF THE FOUR TRILLION DOLLARS THIS NATION SPENT TO SECURE PEACE DURING THE LONG COLD WAR.

THE RESOURCES WE DEVOTE NOW ARE AN INVESTMENT IN A NEW CENTURY OF PEACE WITH RUSSIA. //

HISTORY OFFERS US A RARE CHANCE -- A CHANCE TO ACHIEVE WHAT TWICE BEFORE THIS CENTURY HAS ESCAPED OUR GRASP: IT IS THE VISION THAT PERISHED TWICE IN THE BATTLEFIELDS OF EUROPE -- THE VISION THAT GAVE US HOPE THROUGH THE LONG COLD WAR: THE DREAM OF A NEW WORLD OF FREEDOM. //

MR. PRESIDENT, WHEN WE THINK OF THE WORLD OUR CHILDREN AND THEIRS WILL INHERIT, NO SINGLE FACTOR WILL SHAPE THEIR FUTURE MORE THAN THE FATE OF THE REVOLUTION NOW UNFOLDING IN RUSSIA. YOUR RUSSIAN REVOLUTION -- LIKE OUR OWN AMERICAN REVOLUTION -- SIMPLY MUST SUCCEED. //

ONCE AGAIN, WELCOME TO THE WHITE HOUSE -- AND MAY GOD GRANT A PEACEFUL FUTURE TO THE AMERICAN AND RUSSIAN PEOPLE.

#

RE: INTERVIEW ON CNN 6/15/92 3:30 PM - 4:00 PM

WONDERFUL FORMAT FOR POTUS. WAS GOING TO VOTE FOR PEROT BUT HIS PERFORMANCE TODAY RESTORED HIS FAITH AND WILL NOW VOTE FOR POTUS.

WONDERFUL SPEECH. HOPE SWITCHBOARD LIGHTS UP WITH COMMENTS SUCH AS HERS.

GREAT JOB, POTUS WAS VERY RELAXED AND INFORMATIVE.

HELPING RUSSIA THROUGH AID TO THE PEOPLE IS GOOD.

HE CLOSED VERY STRONGLY AND LOOKED COMFORTABLE ONE ON ONE.

INTERVIEW WAS WONDERFUL. SHOULD DO MORE OF IT.

WONDERFUL INTERVIEW. HE CLARIFIED SO MANY THINGS - HIS BEST. HE IS A WONDERFUL PRESIDENT.

SPEECH WAS TYPICALLY GEORGE BUSH. I DETEST HIM BUT I WON'T VOTE FOR PEROT.

CALLER LIKED INTERVIEW BUT WANTS TO HEAR MORE ON DOMESTIC ISSUES. HE'S GOT MY VOTE BUT IF HE'S GOING TO WIN IN NOVEMBER, HE MUST SPEAK TO THE PEOPLE ABOUT THEIR CONCERNS.

A VERY GOOD INTERVIEW. HE DIDN'T PLAY INTO A TRICK QUESTION ON PEROT. I SUPPORT POTUS.

HE DID A GREAT JOB. HE NEEDS TO DO MORE OF THIS TYPE OF INTERVIEW.

I REALLY LIKED WHAT HE SAID AND HE NEEDS TO DO MORE OF THIS. THE PEOPLE AREN'T GETTING HIS MESSAGE AND THEY NEED TO HEAR IT. WHAT HE SAID HAD SUBSTANCE.

ADA FANNING OF FLORIDA SAID "THERE IS A PRESIDENT." THE OTHERS CANNOT HOLD A CANDLE TO HIM.

CALLER FROM MICHIGAN, A STRONG SUPPORTER, SAID POTUS SHOULD HAVE GIVEN MORE EXPLICIT ANSWERS WHEN INTERVIEWER SAID PEOPLE DON'T KNOW WHAT HE STANDS FOR. HE SHOULD EXPLAIN HIS EDUCATION 2000 PROGRAM. GIVE MORE DETAILS AS TO JOBS AND OTHER DOMESTIC ISSUES. ETC.

CALLER FROM ORLANDO SAID POTUS WAS SUPERB, BRILLIANT, EXCELLENT. INTERVIEW SHOULD BE REPEATED AS CAMPAIGN MATERIAL.

EVELYN KENNA AND ELISE KENNA CLARK OF LACOMBE, LA. THOUGHT POTUS WAS GREAT. "WE WILL VOTE FOR YOUR REELECTION. YOU KNOW WHAT YOU ARE DOING."

PAGE 2

WE WERE VERY PLEASED WITH THE CNN INTERVIEW AND ARE DISGUSTED WITH THE NETWORKS WHO SLANT EVERYTHING. I'M GLAD POTUS ISN'T DOING ANYTHING MORE UNTIL AFTER THE CONVENTION. THIS WAS CLEARLY BUSH'S OWN THOUGHT OUT POSITIONS AND WE NEED MORE OF THIS.

THE WORM HAS TURNED AND WILL CONTINUE TO TURN IN HIS FAVOR IF HE TALKS FROM THE HEART AS HE DID ON CNN AND FORGETS HIS SPEECH WRITERS.

THE NEGATIVES ON THE INTERVIEW WERE THE USUAL "BUSH BASHERS."

POSITIVE - 21

NEGATIVE - 3

24

Dear
Jews' plural -
Love that Frog
card!! Ribbit, ribbit, ribbit!!
We are going to win -
Thanks, dear loyal friends
CJ

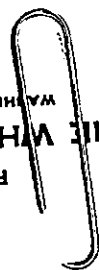
6-16-92

THE PRESIDENT



Mr. and Mrs. David D. Jews
11068 Thrush Ridge Road
Reston, Virginia 22091

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.



Dale CardsTM



(they're funny!)

This card is printed on 100% recycled paper.



B-830203

© RPP, Inc.

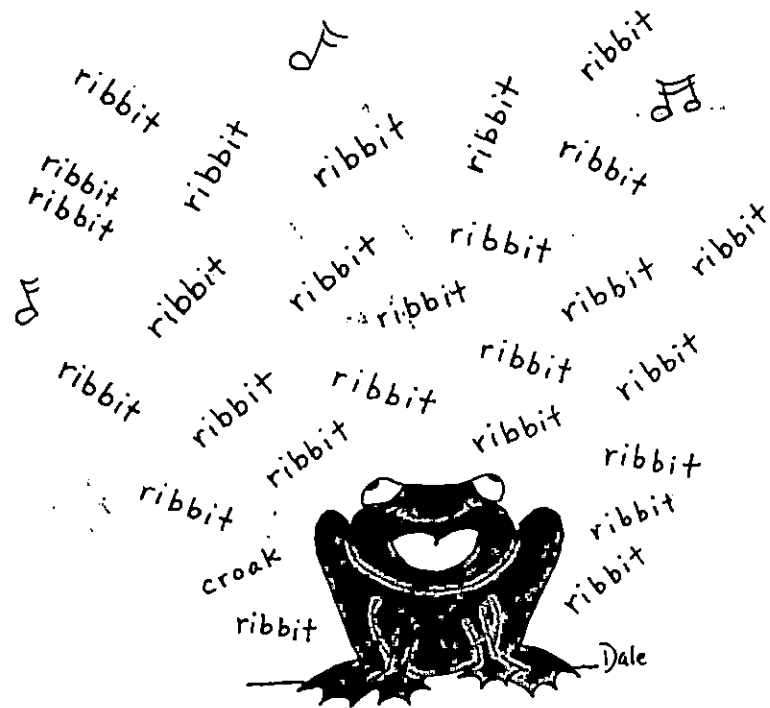
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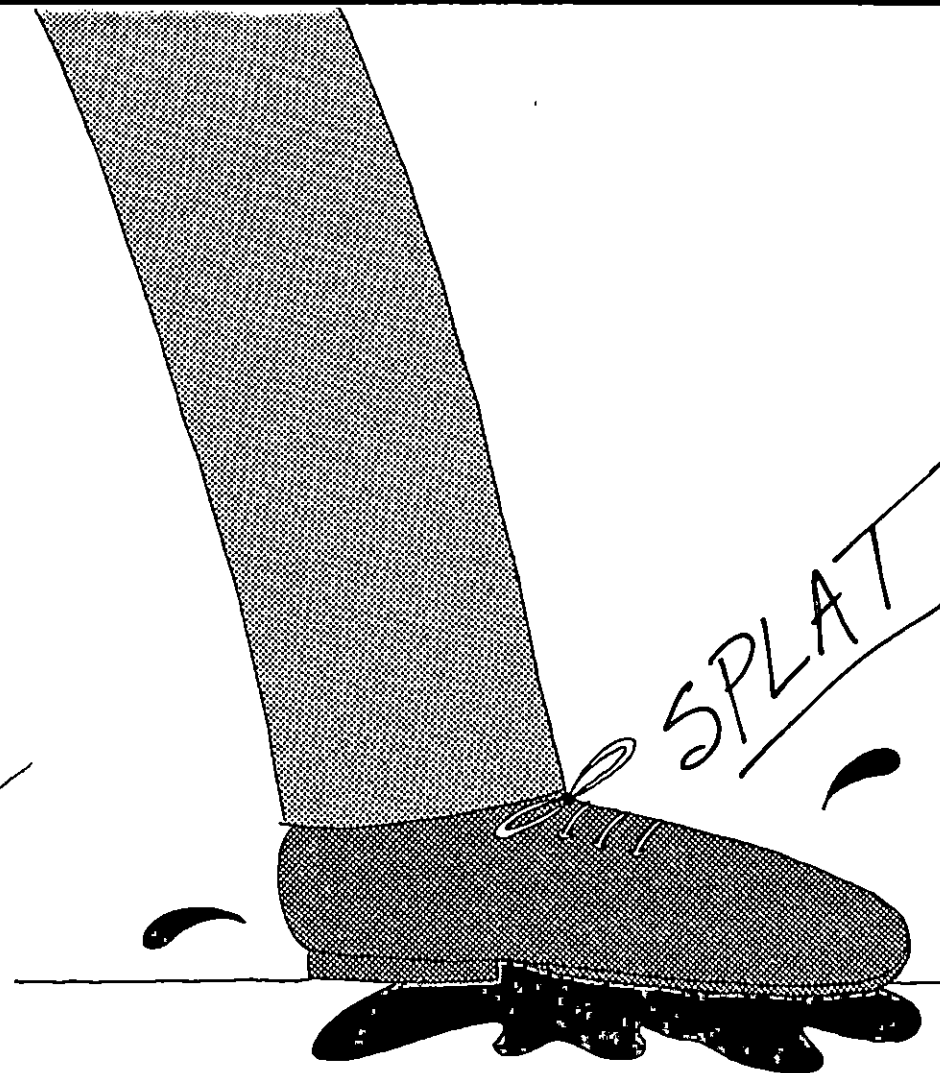
USA-1.50

My trained frog, ~~AA ROSS PEROT~~
~~ROSS PEROT~~ will now
sing Happy Birthday to you.



HAPPY BIRTHDAY
HANK IN TIGHT
WE WILL WIN

Dave & Lynda Fears



Aggravating little
bastard, isn't he?

His Excellency
Dr. Boutros Boutros Ghali,
Secretary General of the
United Nations, New York.



THE PRESIDENT

June 16 '92

Dear Boutros,

It was good seeing you
at Rio and I enjoyed our chat
at lunch.

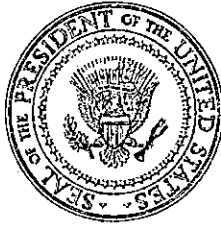
When I got back I
asked about the UNSC album
from the Tannay meeting.

It is on my desk
and I have enjoyed it.
May thanks —

Yeltsin is in town — lots to
discuss.

You and all the Secretariat
did a fine job on the Rio meeting..

Sincerely,



June 14, 1992

RZ

Boutro Gali⁹, UN SYG sent me a book on the New York Summit (Jan'31st '92). He asked if I had gotten it. I said "No". Can you run it down. I think I mentioned this to Brent.

GB

W

FROM THE PRESIDENT

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DATE: 6-15

TO: *Robin*

FROM: CHARLES M. FREE, JR.
Director
White House Gifts
Room 457, OEOB, x7133

- ☐ Your Comment
- ☐ Per Our Conversation
- ☒ Per Your Request *for Pres. to see.*
- ☒ Please Return *for archives --*
over-valued gift.

MAY 5 1992

Dear Mr. Secretary General:

Thank you for the album of photographs and for your kind letter. I am pleased to have this permanent record of the proceedings of the 1992 Security Council Summit Meeting for my future Presidential collection. Your thoughtful remembrance and your warm message of goodwill are very much appreciated.

I am grateful to you and the members of the United Nations for your dedicated efforts in promoting world peace.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

His Excellency
Dr. Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Secretary General
of the United Nations
New York, New York

GB/CMF/CH/jt (Corres. #: 713176)

cc: Wh Gifts

xeroxed copy of signed original:

The Honorable Thomas R. Pickering
United States Representative
to the United Nations

The Honorable James A. Baker, III
Secretary of State

DISPATCH THRU STATE DEPT.

CLEAR THRU PHILLIP D. BRADY AND NSC

PRESIDENT TO SIGN

WHITE HOUSE GIFT UNIT

ID 9200169 A INITIALS CMF

LOGGED 920430 ARRIVAL 920428 PRESENT 920423
ARRIVAL FORM O OTHER

DONOR H FOREIGN OFFICIAL
PREF HIS EXCELLENCY
NAME BOUTROS BOUTROS-GHALI

TITLE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE
ORG UNITED NATIONS

CITY NEW YORK ST NY

SALUT DEAR MR. SECRETARY GENERAL
ACKNOWLEDGE BY GB FORM DFT DATE 920505

INTEND P PRESIDENT
CATEGORY 0203
PHOTOGRAPH - (PERSONAL LIKENESS) - PHOTOGRAPH (INCLUDES ALBUM)
DESCRIP PHOTOGRAPH ALBUM. A BLACK ALBUM OF 18 COLOR PHOTOGRAPHS WITH
TEXT COMMEMORATING THE SECURITY COUNCIL SUMMIT MEETING OF
JANUARY 31, 1992. EXCELLENT QUALITY PHOTOGRAPHS.

VALUE 000510
APPR WH PHOTO. OFF.

DISP WW WEST WING; FOR OFFICIAL USE/DISPLAY
REMARK BOOK RETRIEVED FROM AF & SENT TO R. MACLEAN FOR POTUS TO SEE, 5/15.
DESIG AF ARCHIVES FOREIGN

COMMENT GIFT REC'D THROUGH ASSISTANT SECRETARY JOHN BOLTON'S OFFICE AND
FORWARDED TO WH GIFTS BY STATE PROTOCOL.

TOTALU 0000510 GIFTS A

His Majesty
Hassan II,
King of Morocco,
Rabat.

Date

June 16, '92

THE PRESIDENT



Your Majesty,

Thank you so very
much for those lovely flowers
and the candles. How
very thoughtful of you.
I celebrated my birthday

in Rio.

I hope things go well

for you. I follow developments

there, and all across the

Maghreb, with keen interest

Barbara joins me in

sending our warmest personal

best wishes. Your friend Ag. Bush

Hassan II

UNIT

PRESENT 920615

PREF DONOR H FOREIGN OFFICIAL
NAME HIS MAJESTY
SUFF HASSAN
II

TITLE KING OF
ORG MOROCCO

CITY RABAT
CNTRY MOR MOROCCO

SALUT YOUR MAJESTY
ACKNOWLEDGE BY GB FORM PNL

INTEND P PRESIDENT
CATEGORY 9904
FLOWERS

DESCRIP LARGE FLORAL ARRANGEMENT OF GIANT ALLIUM, BIRD OF PARADISE,
LILIES, PALMS AND OTHER FLOWERS IN GREEN CERAMIC CONTAINER
WITH LEAF DESIGN; CONTAINER IS 16" IN DIAMETER, 14" DEEP.

VALUE 000185
APPR FLOWERS PER FLORAL EVENTS UNLIMITED, \$95; CONTAINER, \$90, SIMILAR.

DISP AO ACCEPTED BY OTHER AGENCY/OFFICIAL USE
REMARK GIFT SENT TO WHITE HOUSE MESS FOR OFFICIAL USE.

COMMENT GIFT REC'D IN MAIL ROOM VIA FLORIST. CONTAINER DELIVERED TO
FLORIST BY EMBASSY OF MOROCCO. GIFT DESCRIBED IN 9270144
PRESENTED SEPARATELY.

TOTVALU 0000185 GIFTS A

*President's
Birthday
floral arrangement
&
candy*



MR. Reeder:
 ADMIRAL F.M. REEDER
 of House Messages
 ask that you give this
 lot to the President
 He says he has discussed
 it with Mr. Buol and that
 Mr. Buol expects this
 to be delivered. Thank you.

Rear Fred,
 Ron Rhode brought
 our my new sun hat. So
 my way there. Now, I
 want to get to Maine to
 try it out. May we there
 try

6-16-92

THE PRESIDENT



Rear Admiral Frederick M. Reeder,
 U.S. Navy, Ret.
 Post Office Box 2097
 Laurel, Mississippi 39440

FROM
 THE WHITE HOUSE
 WASHINGTON, D.C.

Back

Only
6-12-92
Mr President
All we CEOs need
The right tools to
Make our great
decisions.
HAPPY BIRTHDAY - Herb

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Herbert S. Hoffman
Hoffman Apparel International Corp.
160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114



THE PRESIDENT

6-16-92

Dear Herb -

Heads - tails !! I
flipped my new birthday
coin and it predicted
victory in November. Many
may thanks - Liz

Georgette Mosbacher

Dals

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Georgette Mosbacher
1020 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York 10028



THE PRESIDENT

6-16-92

Dear Pillow giver — Dear
where-have-you-gone Georgette

I love my broccoli pillow —
sensational!! Even the color
fits the theme. This pillow
makes getting to be 68 a

piece of cake.

So many thanks, special
friend.

Con Afecto

A handwritten signature, likely "Gy", written in a cursive style.

**MATERIAL FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
June 16, 1992**

ACTION

1. Response to Jack Stein re Israel and our Relationship with American Jews.
2. H.R. 2788 -- Medical Device Amendments of 1992.
3. Photo for Wayne Valis.
4. Mail Sample.
5. Governors' Birthday Letters for the Month of July.
6. Calio Request for Signature on Photo of Wrenn Archer, Congressman Archer's son.
7. Veto Message for S. 2342 - Mississippi Sioux Indian Judgment Act Amendment.
8. Revised Points of Light Letters for June 18 and June 20.

CLASSIFIED

INFORMATION

1. CEA numbers -- Productivity and costs , 1st quarter 1992
2. Block schedule

REMARKS

1. Arrival Statement -- President Boris Yeltsin of Russia -- Cards.
2. U.S.-Russia Business Conference.
3. Presidential Scholars.
4. Toast in Honor of President Boris Yeltsin and Entertainment Card -- Cards.

SCHEDULE

1. And accompanying briefing papers.

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Handwritten Notes	Re: Presidential Phone Call with James A. Baker III. (2 pp.)	06/16/92	(b)(1)	

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FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

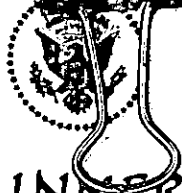
C(1) Closed by Executive Order 13526, governing access to national security information
C(2) Closed by statute or by the agency which originated the information
C(3) Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift [formerly listed as only C]
PRM. Removed as a personal record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

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

P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

Daily 6-16

Document
16/7-921



DINNER

*Honoring His Excellency
The President of the Russian Federation
and Mrs. Yeltsin*

*California Beluga Sturgeon
Sauce Diplomat
Sesame Galettes*

*Roast Loin of Veal Ambassadeur
Wild Mushroom Sauce
Duchesse Potatoes
Green Asparagus & Baby Carrots*

*Summer Salad
Herbed Capri Cheese*

*Caramel Mousse with Roasted Dried Pears
Orange Sauce
Cookies*

*CAKEBREAD Sauvignon Blanc 1990
SANFORD Barrel Select Pinot Noir 1989
GABRIELEY CAROLINE Late Harvest Riesling 1982*

THE WHITE HOUSE
Tuesday, June 16, 1992

From the desk of
George Bush

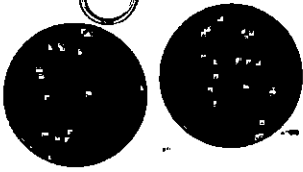
Back to Res

BPB office

Ok by Pol. Affairs

Daily 6-16

EVENT: Jun 17
DUE: Jun 17



WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 16, 1992

I am pleased to join with everyone who has gathered in our Nation's Capital to roast Clif White.

If I were a vengeful person, this roast might offer a welcome opportunity to get even with Clif for once referring to me by the worst possible name in his vocabulary: a liberal. Luckily for your honoree, however, I am a forgiving man.

When our mutual friend Barry Goldwater was quoted as saying, "I do not believe in punishing success," he was probably referring to a conservative view of taxation and economics. Yet, in many ways, roasts are all about "punishing success," and those of you who are putting the flame to Clif White on this occasion have a great deal of work cut out for you. Over the years, Clif has succeeded not only in fostering a strong and influential movement on our Nation's political right but also in helping peoples around the world to reap the blessings of constitutional democracy. I am delighted that, in addition to supporting the F. Clifton White Chair at the Ashbrook Center, this event will benefit the International Foundation for Electoral Systems, an organization that Clif founded. By working to promote free, fair, and credible elections in other countries, the Foundation is advancing the universal cause of freedom while also reminding Americans of the rights and liberties that we can too often take for granted.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for an enjoyable evening.

Ag Bush

Senator Barry Goldwater and Bunny White
Invite you to cast your vote for
Conservative Statesman of the Century
at a Roast of
Clif White

with Roastmaster William Rusher
Surprise Roasters and Very Special Guests

at the "home" of the 1964 campaign
The Mayflower Hotel
1127 Connecticut Avenue, Northwest
Washington, District of Columbia

Wednesday, the seventeenth of June
Nineteen hundred and ninety-two

For the Benefit of:
The F. Clifton White Chair at Ashbrook Center
The International Foundation for Electoral Systems

Cocktails at seven
Dinner at eight
Black Tie

HONORARY CO-CHAIRMEN

Senator Barry Goldwater

Mrs. F. Clifton White

HONORARY COMMITTEE

Honorable and Mrs. Ronald W. Reagan

Honorable and Mrs. James E. Carter

Honorable and Mrs. Gerald R. Ford

Honorable and Mrs. Richard M. Nixon

*Special thanks to Fred A. Lennon
Chairman Emeritus of The John Ashbrook Center*

Duty 6-16

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

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1992

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter. I was pleased to receive your suggestions, and it is good to know that you support our efforts to address problems in inner cities across the Nation.

We share a great faith in the power of families as a force for good in our society. I also agree with you that positive role models within a child's environment are vital to a sound moral education. The various organizations that you mentioned in your letter certainly do an outstanding job of fostering individual responsibility, self-reliance, and respect and concern for others.

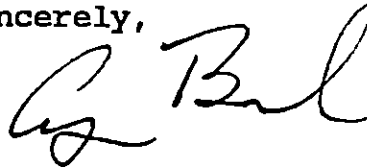
You may know that I have established a National Commission on America's Urban Families to help us determine what can be done to support the urban family structure and to provide role models and mentors that inner-city children need. The Commission will seek to identify Federal, State, and local programs that have been successful in preserving and strengthening urban families. It will also analyze ways to improve efforts by nonprofit organizations and others in the private sector to support urban families. I've asked my staff to pass along your suggestion to the Commission's Chairman, Governor John Ashcroft,

so that the Commission can consider it as a means by which communities, families, and individuals can help provide the guidance that our young people need and deserve.

Thank you for your concern and for giving us the benefit of your ideas.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "C. B. Bul".

Mr. George V. Grune
Chairman of the Board and
Chief Executive Officer
Reader's Digest
Reader's Digest Road
Pleasantville, New York 10570-7000

*You all have been great -
always - about supporting
the Boys Clubs*

JUN 16 1992

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter. I was pleased to receive your suggestions, and it is good to know that you support our efforts to address problems in inner cities across the Nation.

We share a great faith in the power of families as a force for good in our society. I also agree with you that positive role models within a child's environment are vital to a sound moral education. The various organizations that you mentioned in your letter certainly do an outstanding job of fostering individual responsibility, self-reliance, and respect and concern for others.

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so that the Commission can consider it as a means by which communities, families, and individuals can help provide the guidance that our young people need and deserve.

Thank you for your concern and for giving us the benefit of your ideas.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

Mr. George V. Grune
Chairman of the Board and
Chief Executive Officer
Reader's Digest
Reader's Digest Road
Pleasantville, New York 10570-7000

GB/JO/DT/BW/Ch/jt (Corres. #: 744230)

✓ cc: Betsy Anderson, Rm 213
Jim O'Neill

xeroxed copy of signed original:

✓ The Honorable John Ashcroft
Chairman
National Commission on America's Urban Families
Room 305-F
200 Indiana Avenue, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20201

CLEAR WITH PHILLIP D. BRADY

PRESIDENT TO SIGN



THE READER'S DIGEST ASSOCIATION, INC.
READER'S DIGEST ROAD
PLEASANTVILLE, N.Y. 10570-7000

32 JUN 3 P2:11

GEORGE V. GRUNE
Chairman of the Board
Chief Executive Officer

(914) 241-5450

May 26, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Along with most of the nation, I watched in horror as much of South Central Los Angeles went up in flames. I have also watched and listened to your responses to this problem and am intrigued by one of your solutions: a return to and strengthening of family values.

This solution is indeed admirable and supported by the entire nation. However, one of the elements of the development of values is the presence of a positive role model and I must note that in our inner cities, these are sadly lacking for a number of reasons. Values cannot be learned or taught without a mentor or teacher. We do have a number of youth organizations in this country who do teach sound positive values--the Boys & Girls Clubs, Boy Scouts, Big Brothers, Big Sisters, YMCA and YWCA, to name just a few.

While these organizations are doing a phenomenal job, limited financial resources prohibit them from reaching their full potential. These organizations are well established, with proven records. Most important, they have the confidence of the communities in which they work.

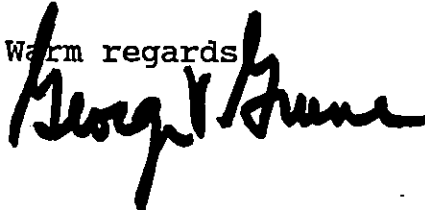
I would suggest that one way to buttress the development of values is to provide significant government funding to these organizations that focus on the overall development of our young people to help them gain self respect, respect for others and a sense of belonging and usefulness--all very positive values.

The President
Page Two
May 26, 1992

I know a collaborative effort is underway through the creation of a major youth development block grant proposal which would allow federal dollars to reach directly into local communities in response to local needs. This puts the money where it is needed and where it will do the most good. I hope you will earmark those needed funds for the organizations that are already on the scene and ready to teach family values.

I was pleased to see your news conference from a Boys & Girls Club in the Los Angeles area. I want you to know that you have the full support of the Boys & Girls Clubs of America as you respond to this crisis in our inner cities.

Warm regards

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "George H. W. Bush". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "G".

Reader's Digest

32 JUN 3 P2:11

1730 RHODE ISLAND AVE., N.W., SUITE 212
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036

To
Phil
Bry,

MELVIN R. LAIRD
Senior Counsellor:
National and International Affairs

(202) 223-1642

May 27, 1992

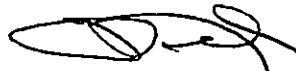
Dear Sam:

I promise I won't make a habit of this, but you did such a great job the last time that I thought I would try it again with the enclosed letter written by George V. Grune, Chairman and CEO of The Reader's Digest Association, Inc. I do agree with George and believe the letter should be brought to the attention of the President.

You did a terrific job at Top-Side the other night and it was good to see you.

With best wishes and kindest personal regards, I am

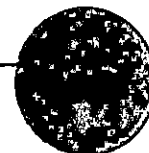
Sincerely,



Melvin R. Laird

The Honorable Samuel K. Skinner
Chief of Staff to the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

OFFICE OF PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE
REQUEST FOR CLEARANCE/COMMENT



To: Betsy Anderson

213

Date Due: ASAP

Type Response:

☐

Multiple Mailing

☐

Form Reply

☒

One-Time Reply

Subject:

GB reply to George Grune

Requested by:

Beverly Ward

Background:

please see attached reply, as we discussed. Thank you.

Signature:

Date:

6/9/92

Clearance Office Recommendations:

☐

Approved

☐

Approved w/changes

☐

Disapproved

Comments:

Edits by Betsy Anderson 6/9

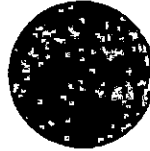
Signature:

Date:

SIGN AND RETURN THIS DOCUMENT TO ROOM 94, OEOB BY COB ON DUE DATE.

QUESTIONS SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO REQUESTOR AT EXTENSION 7610.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



DATE: 6/4/92

TO: SHIRLEY GREEN

FROM: PHILLIP D. BRADY
Assistant to the President and
Staff Secretary

Please prepare a response for
the President's signature.

Thank you.

Dear George:

Thank you for your letter. I was pleased to receive your suggestions, and it is good to know that you support our efforts to address problems in inner cities across the Nation.

We share a great faith in the power of families as a force for good in our society. I also agree with you that positive role models within a child's environment are vital to a sound moral education. The various organizations that you mentioned in your letter certainly do an outstanding job of fostering individual responsibility, self-reliance, and respect and concern for others.

support the urban family structure
and provide the role models and mentors
inner-city children need.

The Commission
will seek to
identify

You may know that I have established a ^{National} Commission on America's Urban Families to help us determine what can be done to

~~strengthen families and to keep families together. Their work~~

~~will include a study of programs and organizations -- public and~~

~~private -- sponsored at the local, State, and Federal levels, to~~

~~determine which ones are doing the best job of helping people~~

~~overcome circumstances that breed despair. I've asked ^{my} the staff~~

~~to pass along your suggestion so that the Commission can also~~

~~consider it as a means by which the Federal Government might do~~

~~more in providing the guidance that our young people need and~~

deserve.

families and
communities, ^{and} individuals
can help provide

Thank you for your concern and for giving us the benefit of your ideas.

that have been successful in preserving
and strengthening urban families,
and will analyze ways to improve
efforts ~~through~~ by non-profit organizations
and others in the private sector to support
urban families

Federal,
State
and
local

to the
Commission's
Chairman,
Gov. Ashcroft,

STATE DINNER (RUSSIA) TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992 - 7:30 PM
STATE DINING ROOM (EAST ENTRANCE - VALET PARKING) (140)

THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH
The Vice President & Mrs. Quayle

HE THE PRESIDENT OF THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION & MRS. YELTSIN
HE Y. T. Gaidar
Prime Minister of the Russian Federation
HE A. V. Kozyrev
Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
HE P. S. Grachev
Minister of Defense of the Russian Federation
HE M. E. Nikolayev
President of the Republic of Sakha
HE The Ambassador of the Russian Federation & Mrs. Lukin
Mr. V. V. Ilyushin
First Assistant to the President
Mr. Y. V. Petrov
Chief of Presidential Administration
Mr. Y. V. Shokov
Secretary, Security Council of the Russian Federation
HE P. O. Aven
Minister of Foreign Economic Relations of the Russian Federation
HE V. N. Khlystun
Minister of Agriculture of the Russian Federation
HE D. B. Ryurikov
Assistant to the President
Mr. S. A. Kovalev
Chairman, Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights
Mr. M. M. Molostvov
Member, Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights

Mr. & Mrs. Robert E. Allen (Betty)
Chairman & CEO, AT&T
Mr. Terry Anderson & Ms. Madeleine Bassil
Chief Middle East Correspondent, Associated Press -(on leave)
Hon. & Mrs. Dwayne O. Andreas (Dorothy)
Chairman & CEO, Archer-Daniels-Midland Company
Mr. & Mrs. Dexter F. Baker (Dorothy)
Chairman, President & CEO, Air Products & Chemicals, Inc.
The Secretary of State & Mrs. Baker (Susan)
Mr. & Mrs. Ronald H. Benson (Kristy Kay)
President, PHIBRO Energy Production, Inc.
Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. James H. Billington (Marjorie)
Librarian of Congress
The Secretary of the Treasury & Mrs. Brady (Katherine)
Hon. (Rep.) & Mrs. William S. Broomfield (Jane)
(R/Michigan)
Mrs. Dean Burch (Patricia)
Potomac, Maryland
Mr. R. Nicholas Burns
Director for European Affairs, NSC
The Secretary of Defense & Hon. (Dr.) Lynne V. Cheney
Mr. & Mrs. Leonard Cohen (Pamela)
Mrs: Union of Councils for Soviet Jews

Mr. & Mrs. E. Gerald Corrigan (Linda)
President, Federal Reserve Bank of New York
Hon. & Mrs. Mitchell E. Daniels, Jr. (Cheri)
Vice President, Eli Lilly Co.
Ms. Kathleen DeLaski & Mr. Edward Grubb
White House Correspondent, ABC
Mr. Kenneth T. Derr
Chairman & CEO, Chevron Corporation
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(R/Kansas) (Chairman, American Red Cross)
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Chairman, International Institute for Strategic Studies
The Secretary of Commerce & Mr. Wallace Barnes
Mr. & Mrs. Robert W. Galvin (Mary)
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Mr. & Mrs. Louis V. Gerstner, Jr. (Robin)
Chairman & CEO, RJR Nabisco, Inc.
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Mr. & Mrs. Robert F. Greenhill (Gayle)
President, Morgan Stanley Group, Inc.
Hon. (Dr.) Alan Greenspan & Ms. Andrea Mitchell (NBC)
Chairman, Federal Reserve System
The Governor of New Hampshire & Mrs. Judd Gregg (Kathleen)
Hon. (Rep.) & Mrs. Lee H. Hamilton (Nancy)
(D/Indiana)
Hon. (Sen.) & Mrs. Mark O. Hatfield (Antoinette)
(R/Oregon)
Hon. (Dr.) & Mrs. Edward A. Hewett (Nancy)
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The Hillman Company
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(R/Illinois)
The Secretary of Housing & Urban Development & Mrs. Kemp (Joanne)
Mr. & Mrs. Donald M. Kendall (Sigrid)
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Senior Editor, Roll Call
Mr. Parker B. Ladd
New York
The Secretary of Agriculture & Mrs. Madigan (Evelyn)
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President, Chardonnay, Inc.
Mr. Gerald McRaney & mother, Mrs. Edna Lenore McRaney
Actor - "Major Dad"
Mr. & Mrs. John J. Murphy (Louise)
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Assistant Secretary of State for European Affairs
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Vice President, Governmental & Public Affairs, Hunt Oil Company

General & Mrs. Colin L. Powell (Alma)
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Mr. & Mrs. Ahmad Rashad (Phyllicia)
Sports Announcer -- Actress

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist

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Associate Professor of Political Science, Stanford University

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Director, Policy Planning, Department of State

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Arnold Scaasi, Inc.

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Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs

Hon. & Mrs. Samuel Skinner (Honey)
Chief of Staff to the President

Mr. & Mrs. Richard A. Snyder (Christina)
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U.S. Ambassador to Russia

His Beatitude Metropolitan Theodosius
Archbishop of Washington, Metropolitan of All America & Canada

Mrs. Helen Thomas
White House Correspondent, UPI

Mr. R. Emmett Tyrrell, Jr.
Editor-in-Chief, The American Spectator

Miss Carol Theresa Vaness & guest, Mr. Lotfollah (Lotfi) Mansouri
Singer (performing) (Mr: General Director, San Francisco Opera)

Hon. Paul A. Volcker & daughter, Mrs. Janice Zima
Chairman, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

Dr. & Mrs. William B. Walsh, Sr. (Helen)
President, Project HOPE

Hon. (Amb.) & Mrs. John G. Weinmann (Virginia Lee)
Chief of Protocol

Ms. Betty White & guest, Mr. Wayne Ferguson
Actress

Miss Kristi Yamaguchi
Olympic Gold Medalist

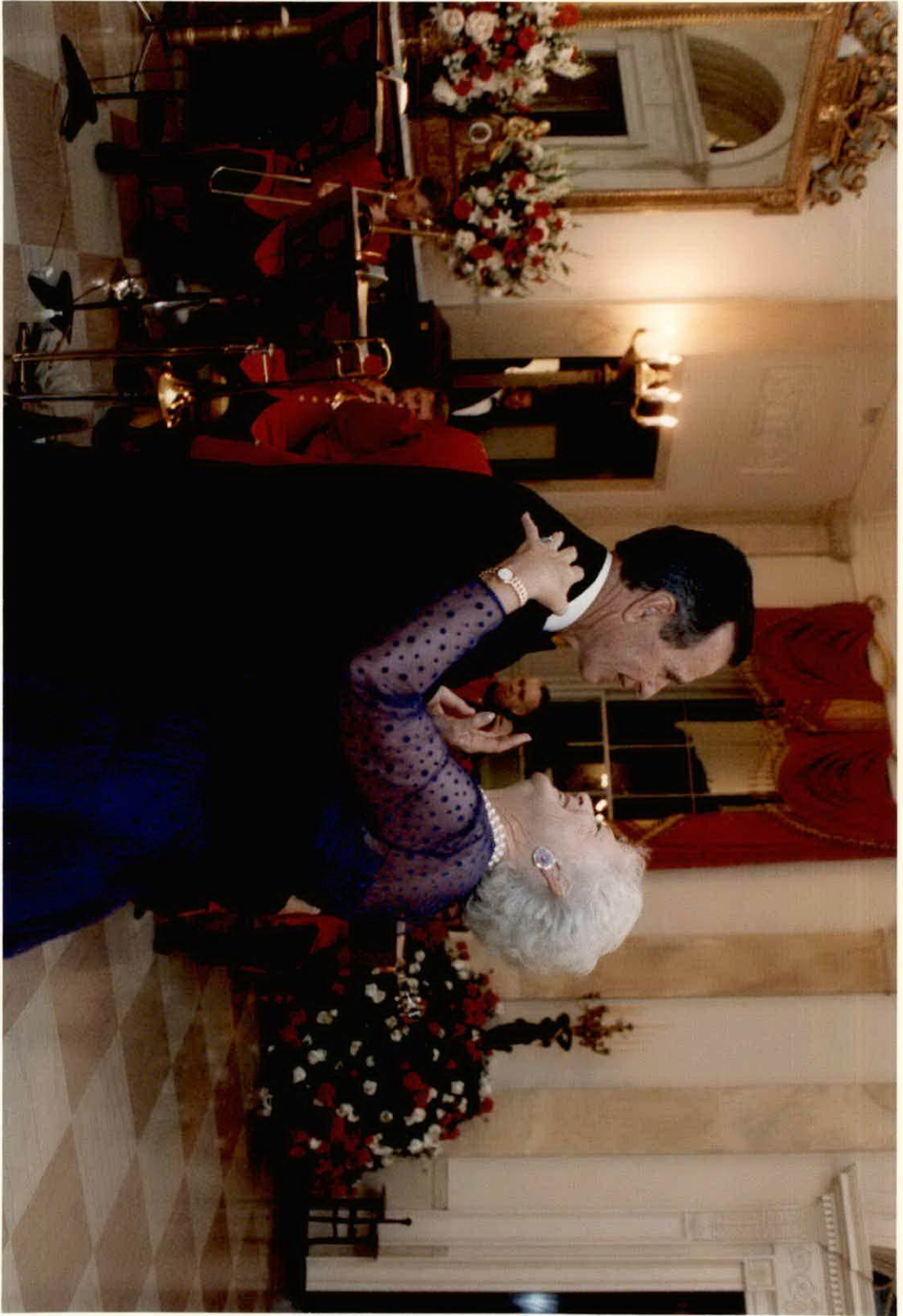
Dr. & Mrs. Zach Zachariah (Rachel)
Ft. Lauderdale, Florida

Mr. & Mrs. Gordon Zacks (Carol Sue)
Chairman & CEO, R. G. Barry Corporation

Hon. & Mrs. Fred M. Zeder II (Martha)
President, Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC)





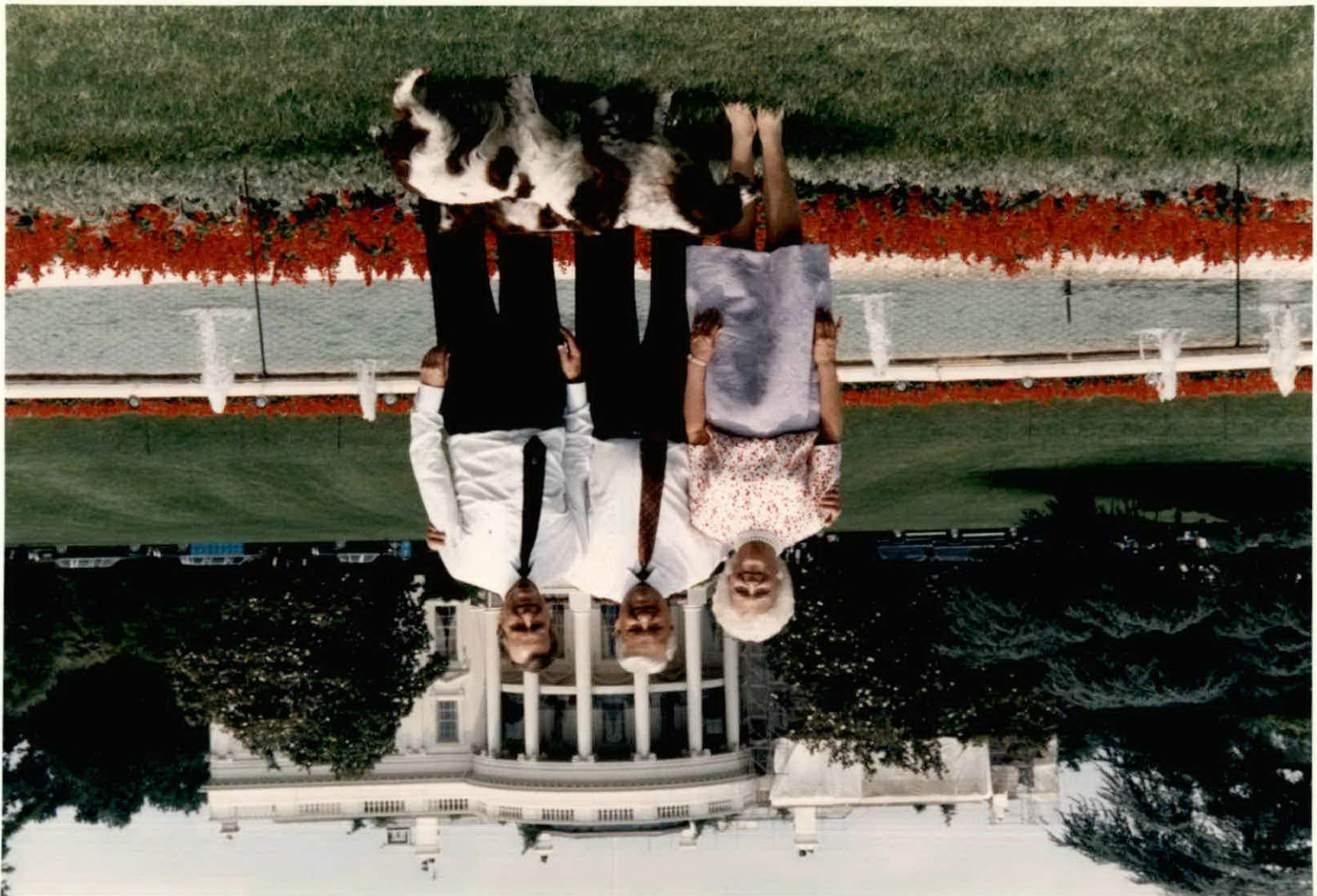


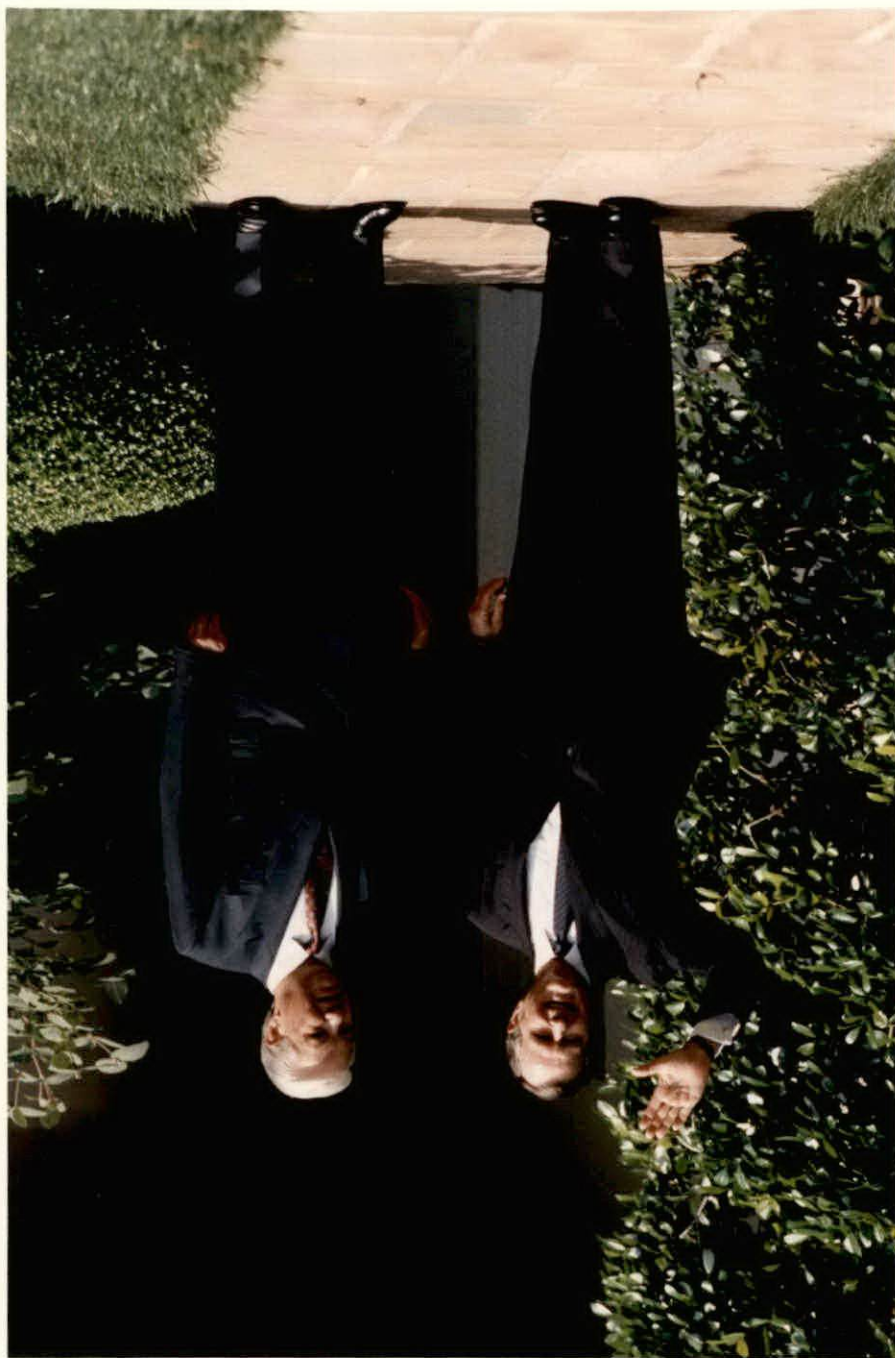




Sec. of
Commerce
Barbara
Franklin







DATE: June 16 '92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

USA TODAY

4A • TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992 • USA TODAY

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

No Panama warning, Bush aide asserts



By Tim DeBon, USA TODAY
FITZWATER: Panama trip a success.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater Monday denied that President Bush's advisers urged him not to speak at last Thursday's outdoor rally in Panama. Fitzwater said the trip was successful despite the chaos that erupted at the rally after police fired tear gas at demonstrators. Bush and his party were forced to flee. The *Los Angeles Times* said Sunday that advisers had warned Bush against speaking in public in Panama City and also cautioned that police there were ill-trained to cope with riots.

URBAN APPEAL: Boston Mayor Ray Flynn urged Congress to pass a stalled \$2 billion urban aid bill and said its failure "would be yet another sign that no one in Washington cares." Flynn, head of the U.S. Conference of Mayors, complained of inaction on the emergency measure, meant to be an initial response to the Los Angeles riots. The measure awaits House and Senate approval. President Bush threatens to veto it as too expensive.

ALBANIAN VISITOR: President Bush warmly welcomed Albanian President Sali Berisha and asked Congress to approve legislation expanding trade ties with the former Stalinist state. Berisha, his country's first democratically elected president, expressed hope that their meeting would open "a new era in Albanian-American relations."

SYRIAN IMPORTS: President Bush suspended Syria's right to duty-free imports into the USA because Syria has not taken steps "to afford internationally recognized worker rights." Workers' rights recognized by the International Labor Organization, a U.N. agency, include the right to organize unions freely and to bargain for benefits.

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

SA DAY

Hurdles remain in arms talks

Russian aid bill on hold

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

Congress may get around to action on a bill to help Russia's reforms — but it won't be this week while President Boris Yeltsin is in town.

The reason: Nobody wants to risk the embarrassment of a fight with the visitor looking on.

In an election year, aid to Russia — and other former Soviet republics — has lost ground in Congress to voter-pleasing domestic issues such as extended unemployment benefits, a jobs bill and aid to U.S. cities.

Rep. David Bonior, D-Mich., is determined to keep domestic bills ahead of Russian aid.

"His feeling remains it's totally unrealistic for the president to think we're going to send billions to the former Soviet republics," says Bonior aide Mike Freedman, while domestic bills languish.

"He's not opposed to aid," says Freedman.

"But it's a matter of priorities," Freedman said. "You can't continually say 'no' to Americans and say 'yes' to former Soviet republics."

Adds Thomas Mann, congressional analyst at Washington's Brookings Institution: "President Bush will have to get out front and make it happen. Congressional leaders want him to win, but they don't want to pay the political price. They want him to pay it."

In April, Bush presented a \$24 billion international aid package.

The plan includes a \$5 billion U.S. contribution, largely in loan guarantees and agricultural credits.

It calls on the United States to increase by \$12 billion its share of the International Monetary Fund's loan guarantee basket earmarked for Russia.

The bill also gives the White House a wide latitude in determining allocations.

That won't fly, says Paul Goble, a former State Department Soviet specialist.

"Congress does not pass laws that say things like that," says Goble, who quit in protest over Bush's approach to the breakup of the Soviet Union.

"So the idea that bill is going

Plucking Russian corruption



By Viktor Korotzyev, Reuters

TARGET: Russian workers at a government-owned farm steal chickens, an example of the corruption President Boris Yeltsin is battling in his drive for reform. Monday, Yeltsin ordered thousands of state enterprises to pay their debts or they will be sold to private owners. Enterprises have three months to pay up or be declared bankrupt.

Treaties on the table

President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin may sign up to 14 agreements and treaties during their two-day summit.

They include:

- An agreement formalizing most-favored-nation status for Russia, giving a break on U.S. tariffs.

Movement toward the favorable U.S. trade benefits became possible when the Russian parliament Friday ratified a pact signed by Bush and former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev last year.

- A Charter of Cooperation and Friendship, designed to guide U.S.-Russian relations.

- A pact enabling U.S. firms doing business and paying taxes in Russia to deduct those taxes from their U.S. taxes.

- A treaty providing for a system to warn against ballistic missile attacks.

- A cooperation pact for dealing with space debris.

- An agreement that Washington will relax its prohibition against using Russian rockets to launch U.S.-made satellites or components.

- A bilateral investment treaty has hit snags over intellectual property rights and Russian screening of foreign investment proposals but may also be signed.

anywhere is utterly absurd."

Bush had pressed Congress to pass the aid package in time for the Yeltsin visit, but held back from a full-scale promotion on Capitol Hill.

Now, unable to provide the largesse he'd hoped to hand Yeltsin, Bush is focusing on the arms-control aspect of summit talks.

Monday, Andrei Kolosovsky, Russia's deputy ambassador to the United States, said he wants more than a weapons pact. "We'd like to see this summit as a balanced one, with progress in all areas. ... We expect the support of Congress for the packages presented by President Bush. It's very important, not only financially,

but politically."

Dmitri Simes, a Russia-born analyst at Washington's Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, says failure to pass an aid package could, in fact, doom Yeltsin's reforms.

While reform may not die completely, "there will be a reassessment of how far and how fast to proceed," he said.

SCHEDULE

Times are all Eastern.

10 a.m.: President and Mrs. Bush greet President and Mrs. Yeltsin at White House.

10:45 a.m.: Bush, Yeltsin hold first meeting in the Oval Office.

12:30 p.m.: Yeltsin attends luncheon at the State Department.

2:30 p.m.: Second and third summit meetings in the Oval Office and the Cabinet Room.

7:15 p.m.: Bushes host state dinner for Yeltsins in White House East Room.

First ladies: At 11:15 a.m., Barbara Bush and Naina Yeltsin visit a soup kitchen to serve lunch to the homeless.

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

A DAY

Arms control summit 'relic' of Cold War

Two leaders with problems at home hope superpower atmosphere wins points

ANALYSIS

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

Superpower summits aren't what they used to be.

President Bush greets Russian President Boris Yeltsin at the White House today with all the pomp of a state visit: five-and-drum band, national anthems, review of the troops.

But Yeltsin and Bush, two embattled leaders who both need the bounce superpower summits often brought, may find those history-making events part of the past.

COVER STORY

Meeting as partners, not adversaries

Please see COVER STORY next page ►

Continued from 1A

ades protecting democratic reform from the Soviet Red Army tanks.

Now under attack at home by reformers and conservatives, Yeltsin wants to surpass the celebrity showered on former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev — who opened the door to democracy but who has declared his preference for socialism.

Meanwhile Bush, fresh from a tear-gas clouded visit to Panama and mixed reviews at the Rio Earth Summit, has his own problems.

Voters are growing more isolationist, rejecting his expertise on foreign affairs. Domestic concerns top the nation's agenda. Independent Ross Perot keeps gathering supporters.

A summit may not be in Bush's best political interests, but a sour one would be even worse.

Bush is unable to offer Yeltsin the economic aid he needs. Congress is balking at a \$24 billion aid package for the former Soviet Union.

So instead, Bush is using the old Cold War agenda of arms control to prove his mettle — and to define the success or failure of the summit.

Critics worry that in backing Yeltsin up against the wall on weapons — demanding that Russia give up its prized SS1s while Washington keeps its sea-launched missile advantage — the White House may miss a chance to keep him as a friend.

Richard Perle, former assistant secretary of Defense and a hard-liner in President Reagan's circle of arms control experts, thinks the most important thing Bush can do for Yeltsin is on the economic front.

Perle's idea: a Bush campaign to convince Western banks and governments to forgive Russia's \$38 billion foreign debt.

"We should find a way to wipe the books clean and give Yeltsin a fighting chance," says Perle. "The least we can do is cancel the IOUs of his undemocratic predecessors."

Democracy is something Yeltsin is eager to show his support for.

In a CNN interview Monday, Bush called Yeltsin "a courageous leader

who's facing difficult problems at home. He's coming here as a friend, not as an adversary."

Yeltsin is so determined to make a good impression — on his visit in 1989, he left a trail of rumors about excessive drinking — he sought advice from one of Washington's top consultants: former Democratic chairman Robert Strauss, now U.S. ambassador to Russia.

At dinner with Strauss a few weeks ago, Yeltsin rehearsed even the cadence of the speech he'll make to Congress Wednesday.

"I wanted to learn a little personal diplomacy in the American style," Yeltsin told Strauss, "and thought it would be nice to practice with you."

The rivalry between Yeltsin and Gorbachev is unending.

Yeltsin is quick to tell visitors he is the first Russian leader to address a joint session of Congress — in contrast to Gorbachev, who was invited to give a less formal talk last month.

Upset by Gorbachev's rave reviews in the USA's heartland last month, Yeltsin added a stop to his itinerary — Kansas on Thursday.

Even as Yeltsin departed for Washington, Gorbachev stole headlines with a trip to Israel that captivated the public and press.

Gorbachev "is the most important man ever to visit the land of Israel, taking into account the fact that Moses was never allowed to enter," wrote the Israeli newspaper *Maariv*.

Biblical references are not limited to Gorbachev. A year after Yeltsin took office:

► Protesters picketed the Moscow TV center as he headed for the USA, calling him a "Judas" who has sold their country to the West.

► Farmers are threatening not to harvest crops unless there is privatization of land — a proposal languishing in the Russian parliament.

► The International Monetary Fund is balking at a \$4 billion loan unless Yeltsin lifts price controls on oil, coal and natural gas.

That's something he's reluctant to do because those industries — demanding back-pay of billions of ru-

After decades of tension-filled summits in locations such as Helsinki, Finland; Vladivostok, Russia; and Malta, the relationship between Moscow and Washington is becoming one of normal diplomatic cable traffic.

"Arms control summitry is a relic of the Cold War, it's inertia on both sides," says Patrick Glynn, author of a new arms control history called *Closing Pandora's Box*. "This will be the last shot at using the word summit. From now on, we'll have working meetings."

In this, the first summit where no hammer and sickle flag flies overhead, Bush and Yeltsin come with different needs.

Yeltsin, the only democratically elected president Russia has ever had, craves the respect of the West. He is the hero of August's attempted coup, the man who stood on the barri-

bles from Moscow — are threatening to strike.

Through it all, Yeltsin has worn a reformer's mantle, trying to reassure the West that there will be no "communist revenge" in his government.

His latest move: appointing Yegor Gaidar, a reform-minded economist seen as the key to Russia's attempts to convert from a managed economy to a free-market system.

Yeltsin also phoned Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, the Soviet author exiled in 1974 for writing an expose on Soviet prisons called *Gulag Archipelago*, inviting him to return.

Yeltsin and Solzhenitsyn, who won the 1970 Nobel Prize in literature, discussed their shared "pain for Russia," said Yeltsin spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov, but set no date for Solzhenitsyn's return from Vermont.

Bush, however, who supported Gorbachev long after others questioned his democratic stripes, is unlikely to leave the comfort of arms control for a new-age agenda.

"A decision might have been made to concentrate media attention on arms control," says Leon Aron of the American Enterprise Institute. "If Yeltsin fails to play ball, they can punish him by withholding the carrot that probably doesn't exist anyway."

But at the very least, the White House signaled Monday that Bush will give Yeltsin the public approbation he craves.

"It's a new day," Secretary of State James Baker said in a White House briefing hours before Yeltsin arrived. "This summit is going to revolve around democracy and freedom. We don't now have a situation where bitter adversaries, bitter enemies, are meeting."

Outside, the red, white and blue Russian flag shared poles with the Stars and Stripes — signaling a new partnership between allies.

But missing from the sidewalks were the vendors hawking Yeltsin memorabilia — showing the glory days of Cold War summits are over.

Contributing: Carole Landry in Moscow

Foreign kidnapping upheld

Yeltsin, Bush to sift aid question

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin sit down today for a "friendly" summit focusing as much on economic cooperation as on arms control.

Bush, in a CNN interview Monday, called Yeltsin "a friend, not an adversary" who deserves U.S. help.

For his part, Yeltsin said on arrival in Washington that "We shall never again be adversaries. We are moving toward a major reduction in strategic arms. We shall be friends."

But the newfound friendship could be tested by Congress' failure to approve aid Bush promised — the main reason behind the summit.

Instead, the White House focused on arms control and economic cooperation, saying the issues are equal.

Asked if Bush will make aid contingent on Russia's weapons cuts, Secretary of State James Baker said, "There's been no linkage."

But Baker also admitted a new agreement cutting nuclear missiles was stuck in the negotiating stages.

"We have four or five problems, two of which, I think, are extraordinarily difficult problems that we hope to work through," he said.

Still, the two leaders are expected to sign several economic agreements, including one granting Russia most-favored-nation trade status, cutting U.S. tariffs on Russian goods.

Yeltsin said he's confident as he approaches two days of meetings. "We shall be successful in our visit."



SUMMIT AWAITS: Russian President Boris Yeltsin, left, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker at Andrews Air Force Base. "The gap between us has been closed," said Yeltsin.

By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

- Mrs. Yeltsin, 2A
- POWs, germ warfare, 4A
- Today's debate, 12A

Ruling a global 'hunting license'

By Tony Mauro
USA TODAY

The Supreme Court ruled Monday that foreigners may be forced to face trial in the USA, even if they were kidnapped to get them here.

Critics — including dissenting Justice John Paul Stevens, who called the ruling "monstrous" — said the decision amounts to an endorsement of international lawbreaking.

The 6-3 decision, by Chief Justice William Rehnquist, gives the green light to a trial for Humberto Alvarez-Machain, a Mexican gynecologist accused of aiding in the 1983 torture and murder of U.S. drug agent Enrique Camarena.

In 1980, Alvarez-Machain was taken from Guadalajara to El Paso at the direction of the Drug Enforcement Agency.

To protest the ruling, the Mexican government Monday banned all activity by U.S. drug agents there and called the ruling "invalid and unacceptable."

In a statement from his cell, Alvarez-Machain said the ruling was "a slap in the face of the people of Mexico and the Mexican government."

Human rights advocates say the ruling will invite unfettered cross-border kidnapping by U.S. and foreign governments.

"If it's good enough for us, Iran might think it's OK for them to come and capture Salman Rushdie," says Yale law professor Ruth Wedgwood. "It could be a hunting license for any federal agency to grab their favorite fugitive."

Attorney General William Barr reassured foreign governments that "our general policy remains cooperation."

For Manuel Noriega, taken from Panama by U.S. forces in 1989 to face drug charges, the ruling was a setback.

"We're disregarding foreign governments now," says Noriega lawyer Frank Rubino. "This is like... the Roman Empire conquering the world."

- Behind the ruling, 10A
- Editorial, 12A

COVER STORY

Russia's first lady prefers the quiet life

By Marilyn Greene
USA TODAY

Naina Yeltsin is no Raisa Gorbachev. And she's an unlikely match for her colorful and controversial husband, President Boris Yeltsin. In fact, the Russian first lady's image comes straight out of the Cold War era, when wives of the likes of Soviet leaders Leonid Brezhnev and Alekssei Kosygin were rarely seen — and never heard from by the public. Naina Yeltsin, 60, wants to keep it that way.

Despite a degree and more than a quarter-century's experience as an engineer, Yeltsin identifies herself as "a pensioner, and I concentrate on being a mother and grandmother." Comfortably stout, she usually dresses in drab, even dowdy, suits, making her a vivid contrast to the fashionable and forthright Raisa Gorbachev. Gorbachev was resented at home for her seeming extravagance and forwardness.

The Yeltsins have two daughters and three grandchildren. — In Washington and Wichita, Kan., this week, on her second visit to the USA, Yeltsin's not likely to career off into the crowd to shake hands and flash smiles, as Raisa Gorbachev invariably did. Instead, she'll help first lady Barbara Bush dish up lunch today for



DIFFERENT STYLE: Boris and Naina Yeltsin arrive at Andrews Air Force Base. Naina Yeltsin says she mostly stays out of her husband's business. By Tim Olson, USA TODAY

the homeless from a mobile kitchen in downtown Washington, then visit a children's nursing project. The Bushes host a state dinner for the Yeltsins tonight, with entertainment by soprano Carol Vaness and pianist Warren Jones. On Wednesday, Barbara Bush throws a luncheon for her counterpart at George Washington's home, Mount Vernon. Like Bush, Yeltsin claims to stay out of her husband's business. "I never say something, he takes it just as information," she told a Dutch magazine. "He listens politely, but he doesn't react." One of Naina Yeltsin's fans is Robert Strauss, the U.S. ambassador to Russia. Says Strauss, "There is nothing showy about her."

6A • TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992 • USA TODAY

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

More talk shows on line for president

President Bush will be guest-starring on more TV talk and interview shows, he said Monday, but no way will he mimic Ross Perot, Bill Clinton and Jerry Brown by inaugurating his own 800-number.

"I think to turn the White House into a clearinghouse for 800 numbers is a little beneath the dignity of the White House," Bush said in a CNN interview, his debut into the 1992 TV air wars.

Bush also said he doesn't think the three-way presidential race will end up in the House and responded "don't press me" on how Texan Ross Perot will fare.

Asked to define reasons for his candidacy, Bush said he likes to "finish what I start out to do ... whether in my business experience ... or being president of the United States."

COUNTERING PEROT: The Bush campaign has entered the fray with a new techno-tactic — teleconferencing. Last Thursday, GOP officials, convention delegates and state chairs dialed a toll-free phone number, and for 20 minutes listened to Bush campaign manager Fred Malek and GOP Chairman Rich Bond deliver a pep talk and anti-Ross Perot strategy outline. The 645 callers could only listen, but "it's a good way to stay in touch with the troops," said Charles Black, Bush campaign senior adviser.

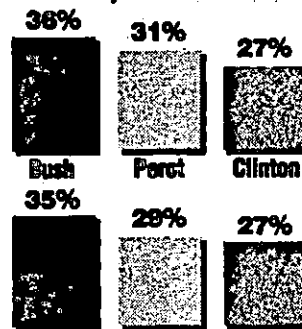
Election coverage

- Bush-Yeltsin, 1A, 4A
- Arsenio and politics, 1D

IN THE PAINT: With the NBA playoffs over, along come New York Gov. Mario Cuomo and Vice President Quayle talking up a playground shooting match. Cuomo, calling Quayle's New York City trip a "political game," issued a public challenge to a game of basketball. "If you really want to come and make a fool of yourself, bring your jock and a pair of sneakers and let's play ball," Cuomo, who turned 60 on Monday, said. "But if you want to be vice president, let's talk substance." Quayle, hearing of the remark, responded by saying, "If I had time, I'd be there for sure. Remember, I'm from Indiana. Maybe he's forgotten that."

Seeking a change

Voters may want a strong leader, rather than Ross Perot in particular, a new poll shows. Retired General Norman Schwarzkopf would fare nearly as well as Perot.



Source: Separate surveys by Times Mirror Center for People & the Press
Margin of error: 2 percentage points.

By Marcy E. Mullins, USA TODAY

QUAYLE SPUDERS:

Vice President Quayle puzzled Trenton, N.J., elementary school students by misspelling the word potato during a spelling bee. At the blackboard, a boy correctly spelled "potato" only to be told by the vice president he was missing the letter "e." The boy added the letter and was praised by

Quayle, to the amazement of reporters. Quayle was reading an incorrect spelling on a handwritten flashcard he was using. The blunder followed the correct spelling of the first word Quayle chose from the set of flashcards: president.

QUICK TAKES

NEW DEPARTURE: Rep. Frank Horton, a 15-term Republican from upstate New York, announced he won't seek re-election, the 71st Congress member who won't be back.

PEROT AT GM: During a 1986 feud with General Motors, Ross Perot considered paralyzing the automaker by shutting down its computer systems, the *Los Angeles Times* reported. The shutdown never occurred. But the newspaper said executives at Perot's computer firm, which he had sold to GM, considered it a serious option. The Perot campaign referred questions to former EDS president Morton Meyerson, now chairman of Perot's new computer firm. "It was said in the heat of battle. There was never any serious plan to implement these things," Meyerson said.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrat Bill Clinton: Answers questions on MTV, 10 p.m. EDT; Los Angeles; Las Vegas.

Republican George Bush: White House.

Independent Ross Perot: Dallas.

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A DAY

CAMPAIGN '92

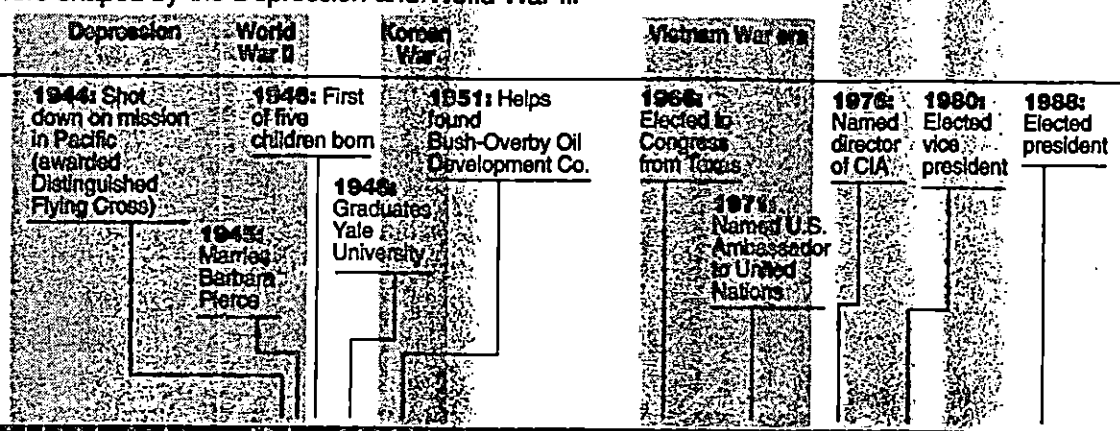
Different times, different lives

The presidential campaign highlights generational differences that helped form each of the candidates. Bill Clinton, a baby boomer, faces two older men whose lives were shaped by the Depression and World War II.

George Bush



June 12, 1924: Born in Milton, Mass.

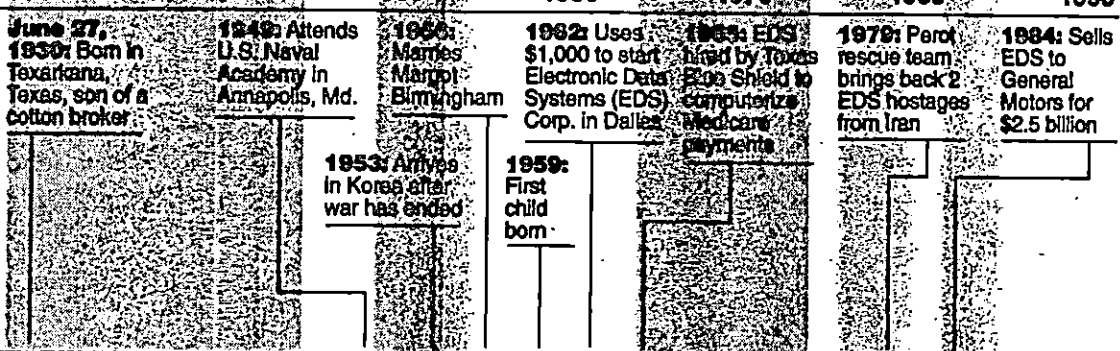


AVIATOR: Youngest naval aviator at the time — age 18

Ross Perot



June 27, 1930: Born in Texarkana, Texas, son of a cotton broker

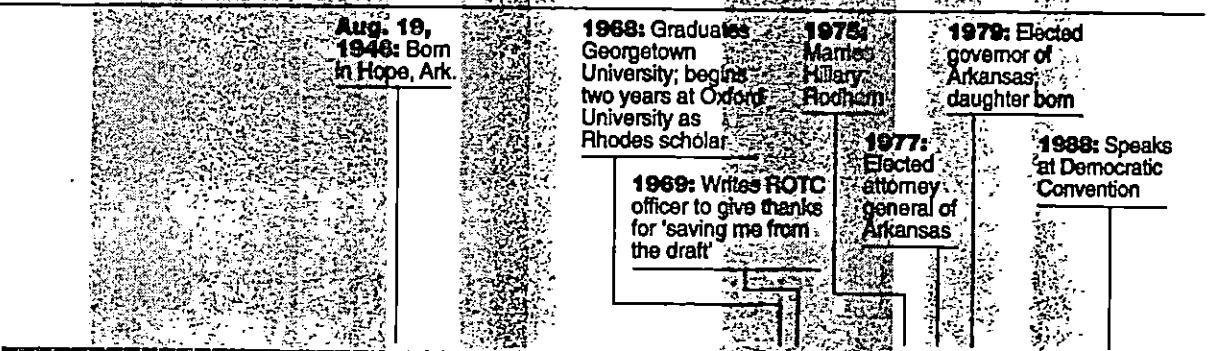


TYCOON: As businessman on TV's 'Wall Street Week'

Bill Clinton



Aug. 19, 1948: Born in Hope, Ark.



GOVERNOR: Addressing Arkansas lawmakers in 1980

Source: USA TODAY research

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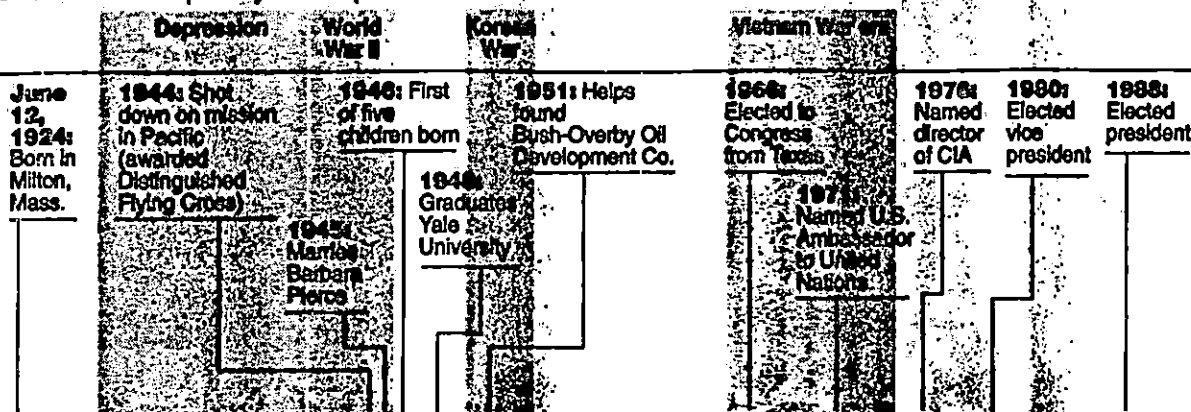
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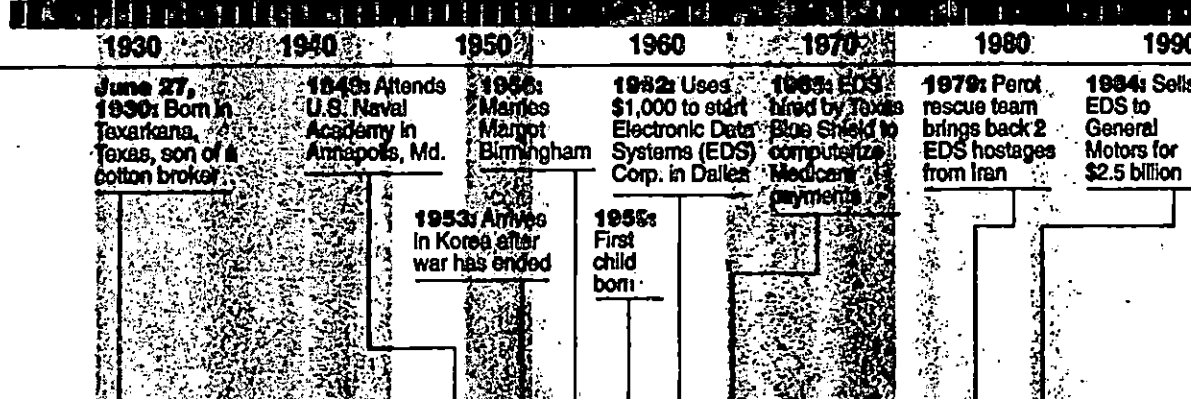
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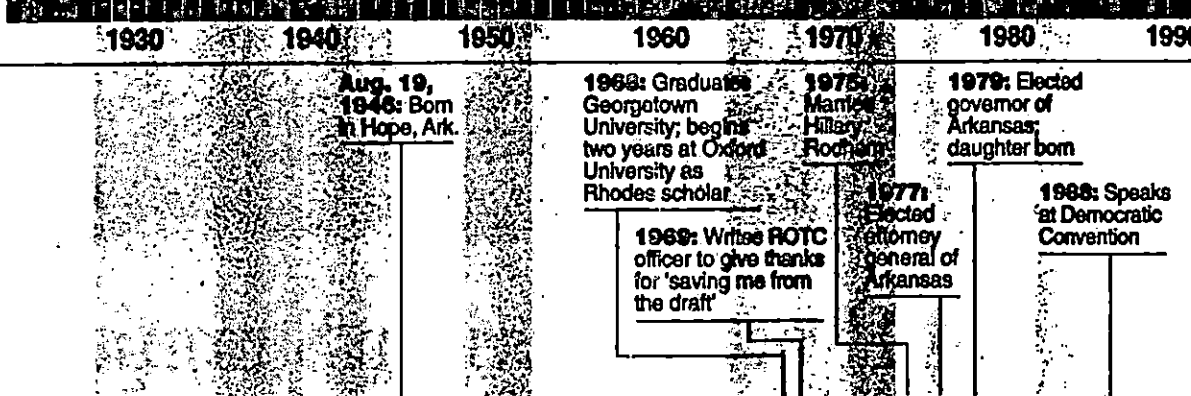
PILOT: Youngest naval aviator at the time — age 18



Ross Perot



TYCOON: As businessman on TV's 'Wall Street Week'



Bill Clinton



GOVERNOR: Addressing Arkansas lawmakers in 1980



Source: USA TODAY research

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USA TODAY

Yeltsin in precarious position

By Juan J. Walte
USA TODAY

The United States and Russia remained at odds Monday over the scope, shape and timing of a plan to make newer, deeper cuts in long-range nuclear weapons.

At stake: how many nuclear warheads the two sides should retain on their biggest land-based and sea-launched missiles and aboard their fleets of strategic bombers.

There's another issue: When should the cuts be made?

A few hours before Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived in Washington, Secretary of State James Baker conceded that obstacles remained in the way of a new agreement.

Baker revealed no details, but on the table are two proposals: President Bush wants a limit of 4,700 long-range warheads overall. Yeltsin wants to go down to 2,500 or fewer.

Arms control experts said Monday they believe a compromise may be reached under which both sides would limit their strategic nuclear warheads to 4,000 each.

Whatever the final agreement, the new level will be considerably below the 6,000-warhead limit set by the START treaty, signed last July in Moscow by Bush and former president Mikhail Gorbachev.

Arms control analysts believe that in addition to setting a new, lower warhead limit, other sticking points include:

- Whether to ban all or limit many of the biggest of the former Soviet multiple-warhead, land-based ICBMs.

- Whether to include limits on U.S. multiple-warhead submarine-launched missiles.

- The reductions' timing.

Paul Warnke, President Carter's nuclear arms negotiator, urged Bush not to push Yeltsin into a corner when it comes to negotiating weapons cuts.

"It would be a mistake to try to push him too hard," Warnke told USA TODAY's editorial board.

"If we'd try to get all of the concessions we possibly could that would do much to discredit him in his own country," Warnke said.

Yeltsin "has got to come out with something that looks like a reasonable deal."

Other analysts agreed.

"If he gives away too much of the Russian arsenal without too much to show for, that will be very unpopular with some of the conservative elements in Russia — particularly the Russian military," said David Wright of the liberal Union of Concerned Scientists.

- Bush-Yeltsin summit, 1A
- Reclusive Naina, 2A
- Today's debate, 12A

USA TODAY

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SA DAY

Today's debate is on AID FOR RUSSIA and whether U.S. money should be used to help rebuild former Soviet states.

Push for faster action on U.S. help for Russia

OUR VIEW Beating former Soviet swords into Russian plowshares is a wise investment for the U.S.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin's summit with President Bush this week is no time for the USA to be smug. Or complacent. Or chintzy.

For while the West has won the Cold War — at a cost of trillions of dollars — only a transformation of the ex-Soviet regimes to free economic and democratic politics can secure a lasting peace — and save additional trillions.

Yeltsin's reform government is dismantling a military machine that provides a quarter of all Russians with jobs. While here, he hopes to get President Bush's support for \$4 billion in immediate loans from the International Monetary Fund to help do the job.

As long as Yeltsin continues economic reform, Bush should seize any opportunity to help. And so should Congress.

But unlike the Congress and the Truman administration that forged the Marshall Plan for Western Europe after World War II, Congress and President Bush seem to be holding back.

Bush hasn't pushed hard for his aid proposals. So, the Senate and House have tied up a \$450 million package of direct aid along with a \$12 billion increase in future U.S. commitments to the IMF for Eastern bloc loans.

Such niggling is dangerous.

It ignores the fact that a Russia having to sell arms to make money, or turning to fascism to avoid chaos, would make hoped-for \$100 billion a year defense savings here disappear.

It ignores the billion-dollar opportunities a freer market in ex-Soviet states provides — both as a securer supplier of oil than the Middle East and as a buyer of U.S. services and goods.

And it ignores the lessons of history. When the USA has helped to put former enemies on the road to freedom, as it did after World War II, the nation has prospered. When it has ignored them, as it did after World War I, it has fought bloodier wars.

Aid to the ex-Soviet republics is not only a down payment on democracy for them, but it's also a cheap purchase of security for us.

► Bush-Yeltsin summit, 1A

No more aid for Russia

OPPOSING VIEW U.S. taxpayers can't solve everybody's crises; only Russia can solve its problems.

Russian President Boris Yeltsin is visiting, and the Bush administration wants Congress to write him a big check.

Aid supporters argue that Russia can move to capitalism and democracy only with the assistance of the West. Many Europeans voice similar sentiments, but they are more worried about the former USSR's \$62 billion debt, most to European banks.

Congress should say no to the president's proposal. First, the USA obviously has problems enough at home. Surely, at some point U.S. taxpayers are entitled to keep their hard-earned cash rather than being expected to try to solve literally every problem around the globe.

Second, there is no reason to believe

that foreign "assistance" will help the Russian people. It is no secret why the former Soviet Union collapsed economically; a disastrously collectivized economy. Thus, the necessary reforms, starting with widespread privatization, are obvious. Moscow shouldn't have to be bribed to do what is in its own interest.

Anyway, assistance is more likely to sap than bolster the Yeltsin government's commitment to reform. It is only desperation that is moving one-time Communist apparatchik Yeltsin toward a free market, just as it was only undeniable failure that led Mikhail Gorbachev to begin perestroika. If Western transfers alleviate the symptoms of the decaying socialist system, Russian politicians will feel less need to risk the political consequences of dealing with the root causes.

It's time to say, "No more." Additional cash transfers will bail out European banks, not Russian workers, and are likely to slow rather than accelerate the reform process.

The transition of the former Soviet republics to capitalism and democracy will be painful; but, unfortunately, Western money cannot change that.



By Doug Bandow, acting director of the Cato Institute Project on Global Economic Liberty.

VOICES FROM ACROSS THE USA

Question: Does what Dan Quayle is saying help or hurt George Bush's campaign?

Vice President Quayle continued his crusade for "family values" Monday, meeting in New York with Cardinal John O'Connor and speaking to a conservative think tank. Quayle has stirred up controversy by criticizing unwed mother Murphy Brown, the media and Hollywood. USA TODAY asked readers how he will affect Bush's campaign.



Debbie Taylor, 26
Material coordinator
Gastonia, N.C.

It will help him. Welfare is not handled well. A lot of people could work like I do, and many people on welfare are unwed mothers. They know if they have kids, we'll support them. Young people see Murphy Brown and think, "I can do that, too."



Adriana Villars, 36
Hotel sales executive
Washington, D.C.

It definitely does not help. Working women feel Bush is not doing much for us. There are a bunch of us who are single mothers and do a lot for this country. He's calling for a traditional family living in the suburbs, and we think family values are much more than that.



Thomas Bolan, 64
Travel agent
Erie, Pa.

It hurts him because Quayle has no reputation and seems shallow. I don't believe anything Quayle says. I will definitely not vote for Bush. Bush sends his lackey out and then denies knowing what he is saying.



Sheila Korte, 46
Welfare fraud investig.
Ottoville, Ohio

He's alienating people, especially with Murphy Brown. She should have pleased the Bush administration; she didn't have an abortion. I heard Quayle was talking about moving the homeless off the streets before the convention. Great; hide your dirty laundry.



Jeff Berner, 51
Author, photographer
Mill Valley, Calif.

I heard Quayle is spreading rumors that Bill Clinton is the father of Murphy Brown's baby. Seriously, I'm glad he brought it up, but he's just being opportunistic. Our values have either gone down the toilet or been coopted by fundamentalists. That's a wide gap.

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USA TODAY

THE EDITORIAL PAGE

Law's arm grows longer

On another subject, USA TODAY says kidnapping foreign citizens is a tactic the USA must abandon.

If agents of another country kidnapped someone from our streets and prosecuted him, we'd be outraged.

So where is our anger when our own government does the same thing?

The Supreme Court said Monday that the USA's outrageous kidnapping of a suspect in the 1985 killing of U.S. drug agent Enrique Camarena was legal — even if it wasn't particularly smart.

Dr. Humberto Alvarez-Machain was captured in Mexico by U.S. agents on suspicion that he used his medical skill to prolong Camarena's torture.

Extradition was never requested, even though it would have forced Mexico to bring the doctor to trial. When Mexico sought his return, it was rebuffed by the Bush administration.

Even Chief Justice William Rehn-

quist, writing the court's opinion that the kidnapping was legal, questioned whether the action was wise. He called it "shocking . . . and in violation of general international law principles."

It certainly is. Even South Africa rejects such tactics. Its highest court tossed out a case recently because the defendant was kidnapped abroad.

For both moral and practical reasons, this is no way to behave.

It jeopardizes relations with other nations. It sends a message to the world that we hold ourselves above the law. It reduces us to the level of Iran, which put a death sentence on author Salman Rushdie, then living in England, because a book he wrote offended Iranian law.

Other nations will treat our citizens and laws no better than we treat theirs. This policy puts the nation on a dangerous course. We should veer away.

► Court ruling, 1A; other action, 10A

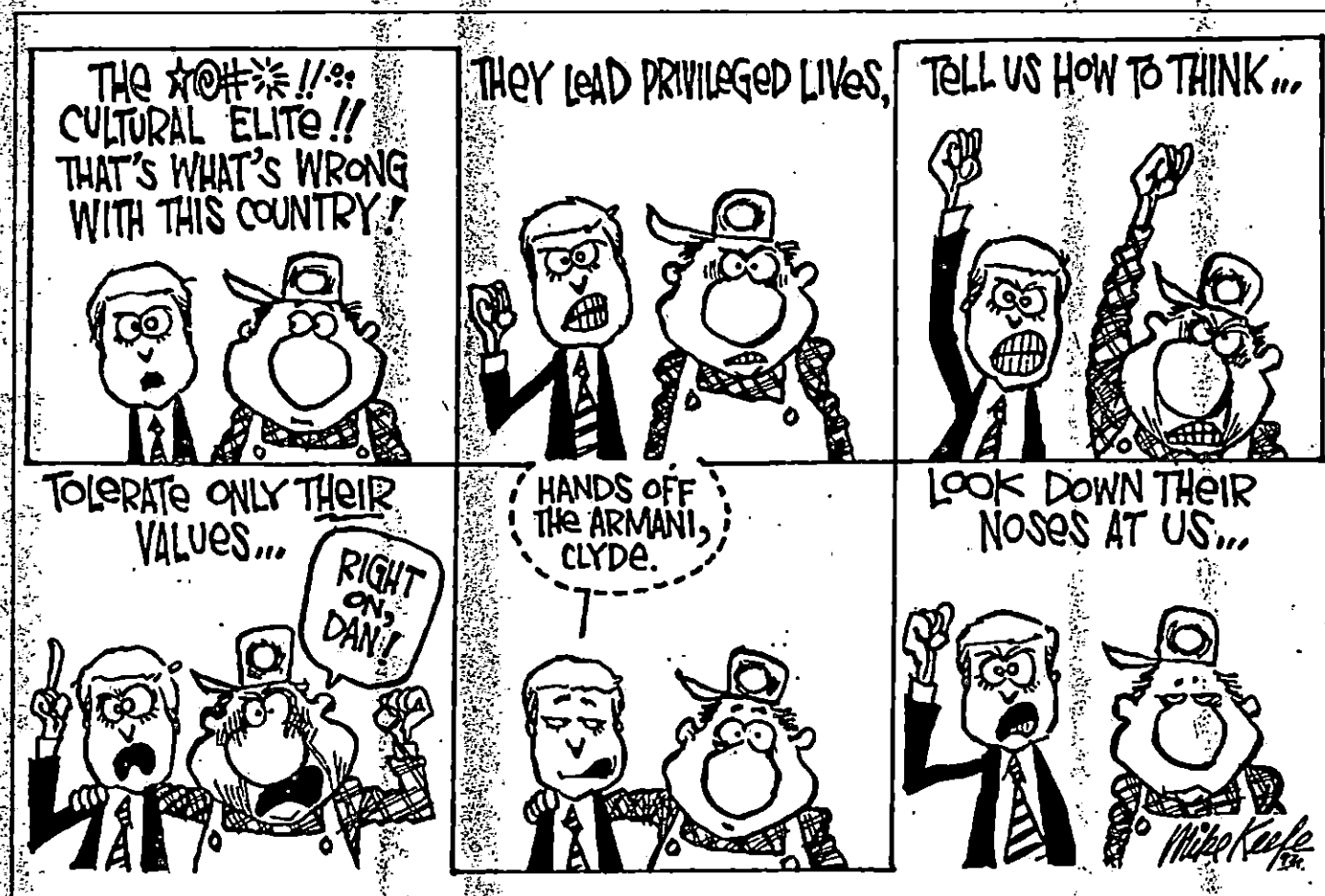
Should the U.S. kidnap foreign suspects to prosecute here?

Tell USA TODAY's 6.6 million readers what you think about the Supreme Court's decision allowing such kidnappings. Or comment on other topics. The paper's opinions are reached in daily debates of our 15-member editorial board — people of many backgrounds and interests. But we value your views, too. Send LETTERS TO THE EDITOR to 1000 Wilson Blvd., Arlington, Va. 22209.

- Call in your views toll free, 1-800-828-0909
- Hearing impaired with TDD equipment, 1-800-331-1706
- Fax 703-247-3134

The most effective letters are brief and direct, as in today's paper. Include your name, address, day and evening phone numbers for verification and, if you wish, your photo for possible publication.

THE EDITORIAL PAGE



By Mike Keefe for USA TODAY

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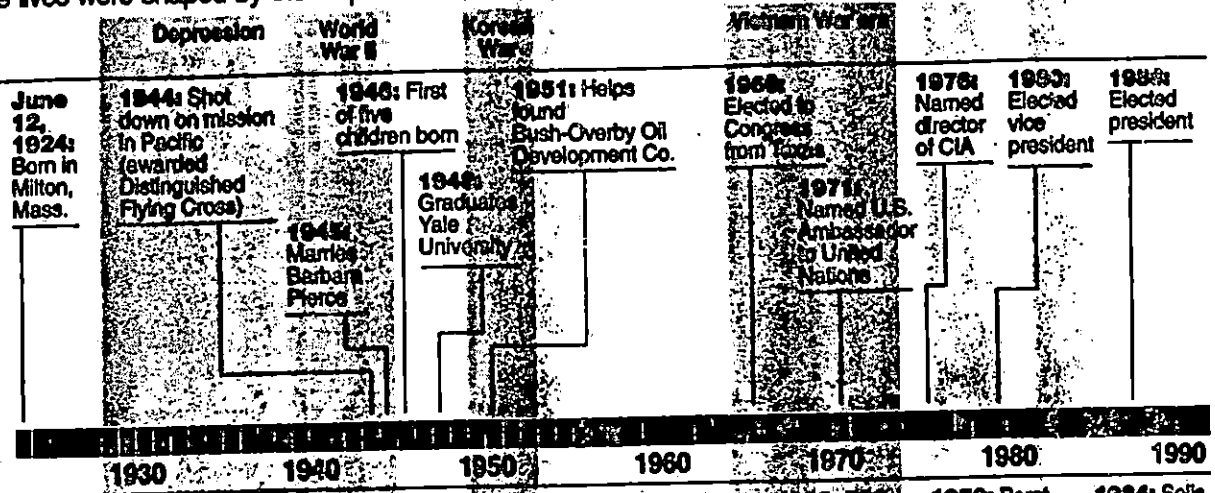
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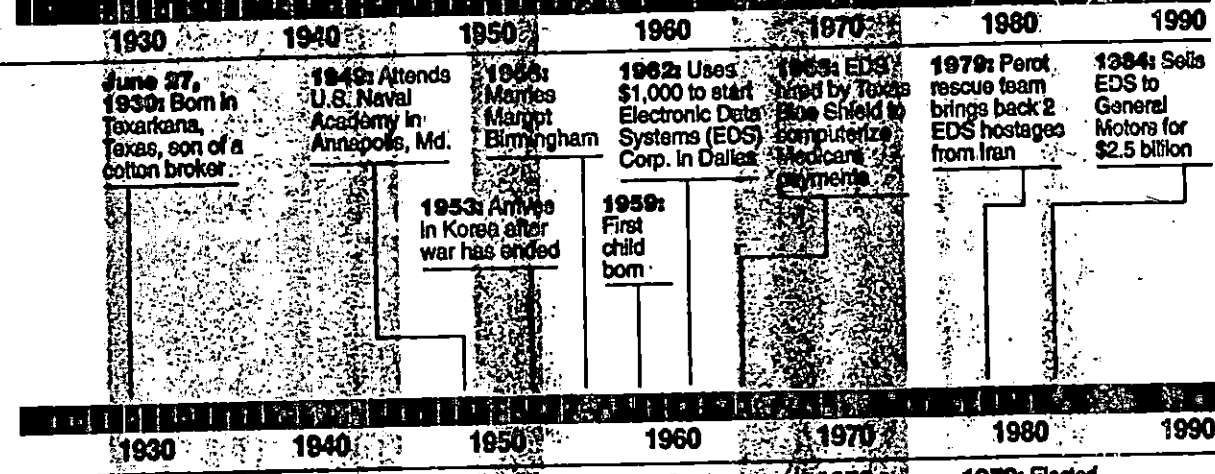
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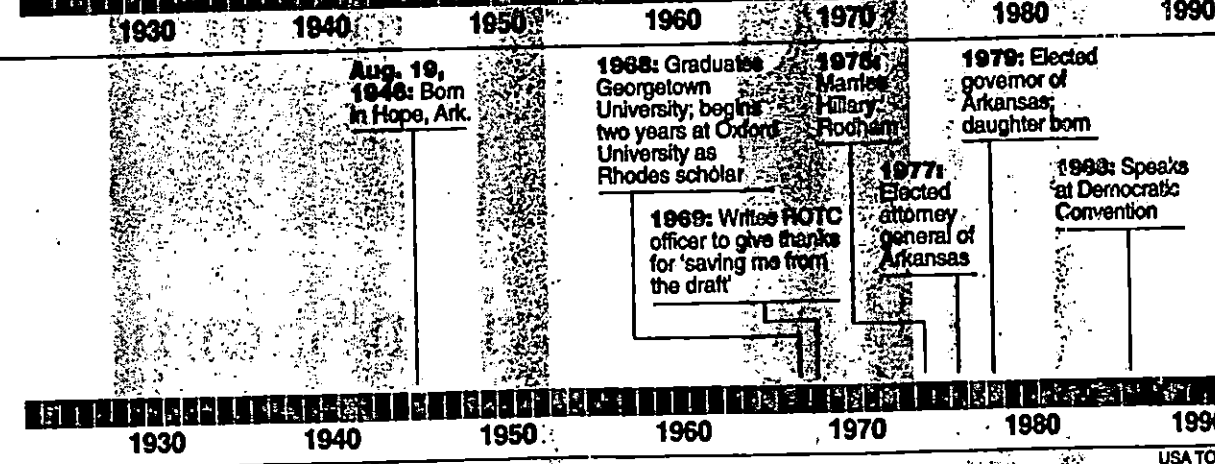
TYCOON: As businessman on TV's 'Wall Street Week'



Bill Clinton



GOVERNOR: Addressing Arkansas lawmakers in 1980



Source: USA TODAY research

USA TODAY

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992



For the Record

From remarks by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) June 11 at the National Press Club:

I'm a child of the Cold War. I remember as a 12-year-old drawing the design of my own special bomb shelter with a specific place for my cot, my books, my favorite foods and my basketball.

In 1962, I can remember, like some of you, perhaps, going to bed during the Cuban missile crisis, not knowing whether I'd be alive in the morning.

For 45 years, the prospect of nuclear war has haunted our collective imagination. Now all that is over. The threat has disappeared.

Boris Yeltsin's [arrival] in Washington . . . should signal the beginning of a new era of friendly, cooperative, Russo-American relations. The new reality is that Russia and the other republics are not the Soviet Union. They are new countries, distinct from each other and from their common predecessor.

We have to stop talking about them as if they carry the taint of the old union.

The old system was controlled by a few who had power, but no legitimacy. Now forces that are democratic, market-oriented, national and spiritual seek institutional arrangements through which they can build for a better tomorrow.

I believe Congress and the American people should help make this change irreversible. A new beginning is at hand.

The question is: What kind of new beginning? What will the next 45 years in Russian-U.S. relations look like? What are the opportunities for each of us, for the world? What must each of us do to seize this moment?

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1993

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Mr. Perot's Unsubstantiated Attack

I am a nonpartisan at-large member of the Washington Board of Education. I have voted for Democrats, Republicans and Independents. I have given consideration to the candidates this presidential election year, and let me tell you whom I am not voting for: Ross Perot.

In a January speech in Dallas, Mr. Perot said, "If you want to see the

worst school board in the country, go to Washington, D.C. . . . It is the most rotten, crooked thing in the world." A June 6 Metro article explained that Mr. Perot "could not elaborate on how he reached his conclusions." According to reports, Mr. Perot's attack on the school board was prompted by "his inability to persuade the city to

create an alternative school modeled after one he helped fund in Dallas."

Let me set the record straight. In November 1990 I was contacted by the director of an alternative residential school in Bath, Maine. He said he was frustrated in his efforts to begin serious discussions with our previous superintendent about an alternative school in the District. He came to Washington to meet with me and two other board members. When I asked him about potential funding sources for the school, the director told me that there was a possibility that Mr. Perot would be interested in funding a school in the nation's capital.

The director returned to Washington last summer to meet the new superintendent and other board members, and there has been regular communications since. In fact, last month the board approved the development of an alternative school similar to the Maine school.

I called Mr. Perot hoping to get an explanation for his remarks. He has not returned my call. To my knowledge, Mr. Perot has never met or talked to any members of the D.C. School Board, nor has he ever lived in Washington. Yet he feels comfortable attacking the District and its school board without any foundation.

It is all too easy for politicians to rail against our big cities, with their high minority populations, high crime rates, high welfare rolls and low test scores. The District is an easy target for such attacks. After all, it is not even a state, therefore there's no governor, no voting senators or representatives to challenge Mr. Perot.

There is no evidence of corruption on the part of members of the school board. In the past, there have been problems in the District's schools, which is why the school board voted unanimously one year ago to hire a new superintendent. This board and superintendent are working to reform the school system. People in this city know that change is occurring in the schools.

President Bush and Gov. Clinton cannot get away with making such broad statements with no substantiation. As an elected school board member, I cannot give false statements citywide without documentation. How is Mr. Perot able to get away with it?

Mr. Perot has set his own standards, whereby he doesn't have to provide facts and figures to support his claims. And he gets away with it. That is unconscionable.

He owes the District and the school board an apology.

KAREN SHOOK
Washington

Comity, Not Kidnapping

ONLY A YEAR ago, the Court of Appeals of the Republic of South Africa ruled that the prosecution of a defendant kidnapped by agents of that government in another country must be dismissed. Such a seizure, in violation of international law and disruptive of the comity among nations, was held to invalidate the criminal proceedings that followed. On Monday, the Supreme Court of the United States took the opposite position in a case involving a Mexican physician wanted in connection with the murder of a U.S. Drug Enforcement agent, Enrique Camarena.

It may come as a surprise to many Americans, but courts in this country have traditionally held that the manner in which a defendant is brought into U.S. territory is irrelevant to the question of whether he can be tried here. Bounty hunters and others have, since the last century, brought fugitives across the border for trial. The courts have even refused to intervene when defendants have been kidnapped in one state and brought to trial in another. The case decided this week, however, differed from these precedents in several respects. The wanted man, Humberto Alvarez Machain, is a Mexican captured in his own country, not a fugitive. The kidnapping was engineered and rewarded by U.S. government agents, not bounty hunters acting privately. The crime was committed in Mexico, though it was also a violation of U.S. law. And, of paramount importance, this country has an extradition treaty

with Mexico, which is supposed to govern the transfer of individuals from one country to the other for trial.

A six-man majority of the Supreme Court found none of these differences persuasive and after an excruciatingly lawyerly analysis ruled that the abduction does not violate the extradition treaty, because that document does not specifically prohibit kidnapping. They accepted the reasoning that while the pact ostensibly sets out the rules for returning fugitives, these rules aren't exclusive and that each nation retains the option of violence as an alternative. Chief Justice Rehnquist, writing for the majority, does not applaud this alternative. But, he says, even if it is shocking and in violation of international law, it has no impact on the trial.

This government, of course, should never have authorized the kidnapping. It is a reckless act belying this country's adherence to the orderly settlement of disputes and most dangerously inviting retaliation. If the courts won't intervene, the responsibility is on the executive branch to abandon tactics that, if nothing else, put Americans at risk. And if the president persists in using the abduction option he should not be surprised if countries with whom the United States has extradition treaties press for amendment, clarification and a firm assurance as part of the treaty itself, that only lawful means will be used by this country's agents to bring fugitives to justice.

Hold the Fire: 1-800-ATF-GUNS

TO THE MANY residents of Greater Washington who don't hear the sound of gunfire every night or don't see the bodies of neighborhood kids being tucked into ambulances, the establishment of a toll-free guns hot line may not seem all that significant. But at the U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms, which has begun taking calls about illegal firearms activity in the region, the response and the information coming in are proving extremely valuable. Reliable word has it, in fact, that some gunrunners as well as some gun purchasers responsible for much of the local bloodshed are targeted for arrests in the days ahead.

The bureau works closely with the police, the FBI and other law enforcement agencies in tracing gun traffic and trading information on drug and gang activities. Since establishment of the

hot line earlier this year, General Dynamics has assisted the effort with a \$300,000 advertising campaign; since then, the number of calls has more than doubled, according to BATF officials. Callers not only have supplied valuable information, the agency says, but also have supplied agents with sites for observation of illegal activities.

The Washington area remains a priority, with more than 3,000 people killed in the past five years, most by gunfire. The growing response to the phone line is attributed by officials to a mounting sense of outrage in the threatened neighborhoods. A slogan may be helping too: "Gangs, Guns, Drugs. . . . Had enough?" Those who have had enough—and who have information as well—are doing a service by using the confidential line: 1-800-ATF-GUNS.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Panama: The Song, the Reality

RIO-BOUND President Bush's brief stop-over in Panama was intended to call attention to the gratitude, democracy and social justice that supposedly flowed from the American intervention of 1989. But a "Meeting Between Friends"—Mr. Bush and a thousand singing guests in a Panama City plaza—seemed artificial even by the standards of these occasions, and it became a fiasco when the police, reacting to a few demonstrators, threw too much tear gas and drove the president away. In its clumsy conception and contrary result, the event seemed all too true an image of the American-Panamanian relationship overall.

The 1989 intervention was justified by a requirement to protect American citizens and Canal interests and to peel a drug-dealing dictatorship off the back of a friendly government whose elected leaders had sought rescue. But there's no denying—as the Bush administration regularly does tend to deny—that the invasion inflicted heavy costs on Panamanians: in losses of human life and property, in hollowing out the power structure and in sapping Panamanians' confidence in ordering their own affairs.

In the attack, for instance, the United States destroyed the 20-year-old defense force, which it

had invented (as it had invented Gen. Noriega himself) and which had become the core of official corruption. But as the plaza affair showed, it has been slow work building a new police force and system of justice; drug dealing is rife again. The American attack and the embargo that preceded it had their political rationale—to bring down Manuel Noriega—but they inflicted continuing economic damage. The whole intervention appears to have deepened dependency: A majority wants U.S. troops to stay after the time when the Panama Canal Treaties—conceived as a wise American bow to ascendant Panamanian nationalism—compel them to withdraw.

There is a certain line of glib commentary that takes in the considerable frustrations of post-intervention Panama and concludes the country was better off under Gen. Noriega. This is absurd. But the American government does not help by trying to paint the new picture in exclusively bright hues. Mr. Bush invited trouble when he thought to stage a Panamanian celebration of his own Operation Just Cause. That campaign left Panama with a democracy, but an imperfect one, and plenty of economic and social cares. A quiet, no-hoke, long-haul policy is best.

Gov. Clinton's Remarks

EARLY IN his speech before the Rainbow Coalition Bill Clinton assailed the vice president's recent attacks on "cultural elites" and added, "Don't let this election be about Willie Horton or Murphy Brown . . . about the denial of the need for new directions by all people of both parties." To judge from the angry reaction of some to Gov. Clinton's subsequent comments, though, what the Democratic candidate said about Sister Souljah—the rapper who uses the rhetoric of race war to defend the Los Angeles rioters—is being relegated to something very near the Willie Horton category. Some black leaders have expressed hurt and shock, and others are suggesting that this "insult" is a reason for blacks to withhold their support from Mr. Clinton's candidacy.

These reactions in our view are a mistake—a mistake both in substance and in terms of what kind of discussion and criticism are right and fair in a campaign and what must be attacked as insulting. To suggest that criticism of what a black woman rapper says is unacceptable in a campaign even if justified—to set the whole topic off limits—can only render the campaign discourse even more empty and useless.

A great deal has been made of Mr. Clinton's presumed motives and calculations in criticizing a black rapper at this juncture, thus—so the argument goes—showing his independence from the Rev. Jesse Jackson, positioning himself with white voters and so forth. It's true that in a campaign, things get said for all kinds of reasons, tactical reasons looming large among them. But

it remains important *what* is said and whether it is right. To reduce every campaign utterance to its possible motive is to condemn campaigns more than ever to a discourse devoid of meaning. Are presidential candidates to be blocked from taking part in the kind of discussions that millions of thinking American voters *and* nonvoters are having nightly around their own kitchen tables?

The question is not whether politicians should talk about "values" on the campaign trail, or whether white politicians should criticize black rappers, but whether what they say makes sense. What Mr. Clinton said about Sister Souljah was that she represents "a kind of hatred that you"—his Rainbow Coalition audience—"do not honor here tonight." He complained that she should not have been given the Rainbow Coalition forum and quoted her on white people and racism: "You can't call me or any black person anywhere in the world a racist. We don't have the power to do to white people what white people have done to us. And even if we did, we don't have that lowdown, dirty nature. If there are any good white people, I haven't met them."

Comments like these represent a wide stream of angry and hate-filled thought that plays a large part in our race relations tangle. To explain the emotions and motives of rioters, to evoke their rage as Sister Souljah has gained some prominence doing on the TV interview circuit, is not necessarily to excuse it; that too has its value. But she is one who takes the next step. We agree with Mr. Clinton that this is a form of racism and that it deserves to be publicly criticized.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Jim Hoagland

More Than A Protest Candidate

In nearly two weeks in Russia and Estonia the name Ross Perot and the words Earth Summit scarcely crossed my lips or ears. This capital seems to have talked of little else while I was away. Think of me as the Rev. Terry Waite of American politics, returning to marvel at what has been going on.

The Perot phenomenon may be like one of those giant Renoir paintings that should be viewed from across a large hall as well as up close. From across the Atlantic and the Gulf of Finland, in societies that live hand-to-mouth and on the edge of economic apocalypse, America seems more exceptional than ever in this out-of-kilter year.

Russians and Estonians are trying to form representative political parties at the same time Americans seem to be repudiating and abandoning them. The ex-subjugated of the East see virtues in a functioning party system that escape an affluent, fed-up American electorate that seems to yearn for a no-party state.

In Moscow, I mentioned to a Russian official a scathing attack on President Boris Yeltsin by his erstwhile ally, Vice President Alexander Rutskoi. The adviser's response:

"This is what happens when you don't have the discipline in the system that real parties provide. You can say anything, attack anybody, contradict yourself every other day, and get away with it. You don't have to reconcile it with what your party stands for or what the party said yesterday or even what you said yesterday."

Perot seems too smart to get caught in big contradictions of that kind. But his status as an independent who has never run for office lets him float above the "positions" that suffocate George Bill Bush-Clinton, the single, unlikable establishment candidate that the pollsters and campaign coverage have Cuisinarted into being.

Why do Yeltsinites dream of the future that Perot avoids and Bush-Clinton stumbles over? In part because the Russians have seen what it like for a personally popular leader to hold together almost singlehandedly a government in hard times. They would not envy the task of a President Perot, who would operate without the shock absorbers that party structures and traditions provide.

The few people—usually Americans living in Moscow—who did inquire about Topic A in the U.S.A. always did so in a disbelieving, amused way. This was just protest polling, they assumed, a fairly harmless American take on protest voting. Voicing springtime support for Perot to pollsters was a way to stick it to Bush-Clinton before getting serious in the voting booth in the autumn. Right?

Operating on my own fuzzy impressions of Perot, I did not disagree. That was in my Terry Waite stage, before I returned to watch the two-hour "Today" interview, which displayed Perot's essential political strength in a new light. He is a natural Explainer, a political character in short supply in today's complicated world.

As Perot homespun his way through the viewers' questions, I was reminded of an observation I heard in Paris a few months ago about French politics and the rise of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front, the ecologists and other protest parties:

"Traditional politicians are not explaining our times to the people," my friend said. "For one thing, the media won't let them. The media have usurped much of the explaining role that politicians had for their constituencies. But the voters know that the media can interpret but cannot deliver. The media explanations cannot change anything. Leaders answerable to voters have to explain and change things."

Perot clearly agrees. He gains support by bypassing the establishment media that have alternately conspired with and trashed Bush-Clinton. As is the case with Le Pen, and the Greens in Germany, the making of myths that explain a complex world in simple terms is at the heart of the Perot phenomenon. The Texas billionaire has proven himself far more adept at myth-making than Bush-Clinton has.

In his two hours on "Today," Perot uttered inaccuracies and overstatements on the Persian Gulf War and other hot-button issues for me. But I was more impressed by his clear, trenchant conclusions about the unreality of a war in which politicians and generals were lionized or enriched, but no Audie Murphys or Sergeant Yorks were honored. Even though he opposed Desert Storm, which I supported, I found myself nodding when he described the absurdity of asking Americans to die in that war but reassuring them they would not have to pay taxes for it.

Perot emerged as more than a vessel for protest polling or voting. He has the power to explain, something Bush has never been accused of for very long, and something Clinton complains the media robbed from him at the outset of the campaign.

Explaining a complex world in simple, if not simplistic, terms is different than solving its problems, or even understanding them, of course. Perot treads the fine line between "explaining" and demagoguery.

But Ross Perot has harnessed his rocket to a powerful force in a time of generalized confusion and anxiety. Bush and Clinton can only wait for the rocket to descend on its own—they must hope for a crash—and see who can best pick up the pieces.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Nat Hentoff

Wrong Judge For the Job

There was a time when an urgent letter to members of the Senate from four front-ranking paladins of the civil rights movement would have attracted a fair amount of attention in that body—and in the press. But the times, they have changed. The only presidential candidate who is playing civil rights riffs on his saxophone is Bill Clinton, but all during his reign as governor, Arkansas has been one of only two states in the nation without a civil rights law.

The barely noticed letter to the Senate last month was from Coretta Scott King, Benjamin Hooks, Joseph Lowery and Julius Chambers. It was in strong opposition to the elevation of Edward Carnes, an Alabama assistant attorney general, to constitutionalist Frank Johnson's seat on the 11th Circuit Court of Appeals.

Carnes, whose insistent champion is Howell Heflin (D-Ala.), had already been approved by the Senate Judiciary Committee. There were four dissenters: chairman Joseph Biden (D-Del.), Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), Howard Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) and Paul Simon (D-Ill.). There now appeared to be no further serious obstacle to a Carnes triumph on the Senate floor.

Yet, in the past, these civil rights veterans had sometimes been able to turn the odds upside down. Anyway, they felt they had to try this time, because Carnes is the very model of indifference—and often hostility—to the core principles of civil rights in the justice system. The writers emphasize, for instance, that Carnes has often defended in appellate courts the practice in "numerous cases where African Americans have been systematically stricken from juries on technical grounds that were subsequently found

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

to have been a pretext for racial discrimination."

In one such case, the prosecutor used 26 strikes to remove 26 blacks to make sure the jury would be all white. That jury list, by the way, was neatly set up under the categories: "strong, medium, weak and black." Carnes went along.

These civil rights opponents of Carnes noted that during the repeated striking of blacks from juries in the sovereign state of Alabama, there is "no evidence to suggest that Mr. Carnes even protested quietly against this obvious injustice."

Sen. Biden found the separation of a jury list into "strong, medium, weak" and, separately, "black," which is more than a little troubling, particularly when Carnes testified that sorting out a jury in this manner would not necessarily violate "fundamental fairness." (Any judicial nominee who believes that should not be a judge on any court, let alone a federal appellate court that still has some—though diminishing—power to review convictions in state courts.)

Or, as Biden put it rather gently: "I am not convinced that Mr. Carnes fully appreciates that racial discrimination undermines the essential justness of verdicts and undercuts public confidence in our justice system."

Yet Carnes would have been measured for his black robes by now if at various times, four senators—Metzenbaum, Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), Carl Levin (D-Mich.) and Paul Wellstone (D-Minn.)—had not put holds on his procession to the Senate floor.

Not a single Republican senator—not even constitutional expert Arlen Specter—has been sufficiently troubled by Carnes's approval of all-white juries to join the dissenters. As for Senate leader George Mitchell (D-Maine), I am told that he has not "focused" on the Carnes nomination. He was once a federal judge who took care that the Constitution not be mauled in his courtroom, but now Mitchell has much larger responsibilities—like drawing up a living will for the Democratic Party.

If they can focus, Mitchell and some of the other senators might also look at Carnes's ubiquitous work as the point man for attorneys general around the country in the campaign to severely limit the habeas corpus rights of state prisoners to get a review in federal courts. This is of greatest concern, of course, to boarders on death row, many of whom claim they would not have received so violent a sentence if they were not black.

But, says Carnes, there is no racial discrimination anywhere in the country when it comes to capital punishment. However, the patterns of racial discrimination leading to the last mile could not be more clear (General Accounting Office Report, February, 1990).

Sen. Heflin's prize candidate has also insisted that "capital defendants receive excellent legal representation." But the National Law Journal—reporting from six southern states, including Alabama—has concluded that defense lawyers in capital cases are "too often ill-trained, unprepared, and grossly underpaid." To say the least.

But that doesn't really matter. Carnes has told the National Law Journal that "the problem [capital] defendants have is that 99.9 percent of them are guilty as hell."

He is just the federal appellate judge we need in these times of trouble when the presumption of innocence gets in the way of certain justice.

Richard Cohen

Sister Souljah: Clinton's Gumption . . .

It is the rare politician who tells an audience what it does not want to hear. A willingness to do just that commended Paul Tsongas to the primary voters of New Hampshire. For a time, he stood in bold contrast to, among others, George Herbert Walker Bush, who would say "kitty, kitty" to a dog if he thought there were any votes in it. As for Ross Perot, his vaunted candor has been swallowed by his ambition. Recently, he's been giving phonies a bad name.

That brings us to Bill Clinton, the supposedly "Slick Willie" of yore. Three times now this most consummate of politicians has stood before audiences and said what had to be said—no matter the consequences. In Brooklyn, he looked an audience of Orthodox Jews in the eye and appealed to them in the name of the very people who they think bring them so much grief: African Americans. That night, Clinton gave a swell speech on civil and human rights.

A bit later in the campaign, Clinton went into the blue collar heartland of suburban Detroit (Macomb County), and once again talked about race. This is a county that has gone from Democratic to Republican in presidential campaigns on the single issue—or so focus groups indicate—of race. In Macomb County, Bill Clinton did not pander: "I do not believe we have any hope of doing what we have to do in America unless we can come together across racial lines again."

Clinton has taken on Sister Souljah, the rap singer with the incendiary rhetoric. Following the Los Angeles riots, she was interviewed by The Post and said some amazing things. "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people? . . . So if you're a gang member, and you would normally be killing somebody, why not kill a white person?" These trenchant questions

were not out of character. She has called the Los Angeles riots a form of war—"We are at war!" she said at a Washington rally—and suggested that black people should not cooperate with the police when they are seeking to arrest other blacks. The day before Clinton's speech, Sister Souljah appeared on a Rainbow Coalition forum.

"You had a rap singer here last night named Sister Souljah," Clinton said to the very same Rainbow Coalition. "Her comments before and after Los Angeles were filled with a kind of hatred that you do not honor today and tonight." With that, Clinton quot-

ed what Sister Souljah had told The Post and said, "If you took the words 'white' and 'black' and reversed them, you might think that David Duke is giving that speech." Jackson didn't like that one bit.

No doubt Clinton had some political purposes in mind—not the least of them being just getting back in the news. It also helps him with certain whites to take on Jackson. But Clinton was right about Sister Souljah and right to criticize the Rainbow Coalition for inviting her to its convention. Her remarks are exactly as Clinton characterized them: racist. If her purpose is to show that certain African

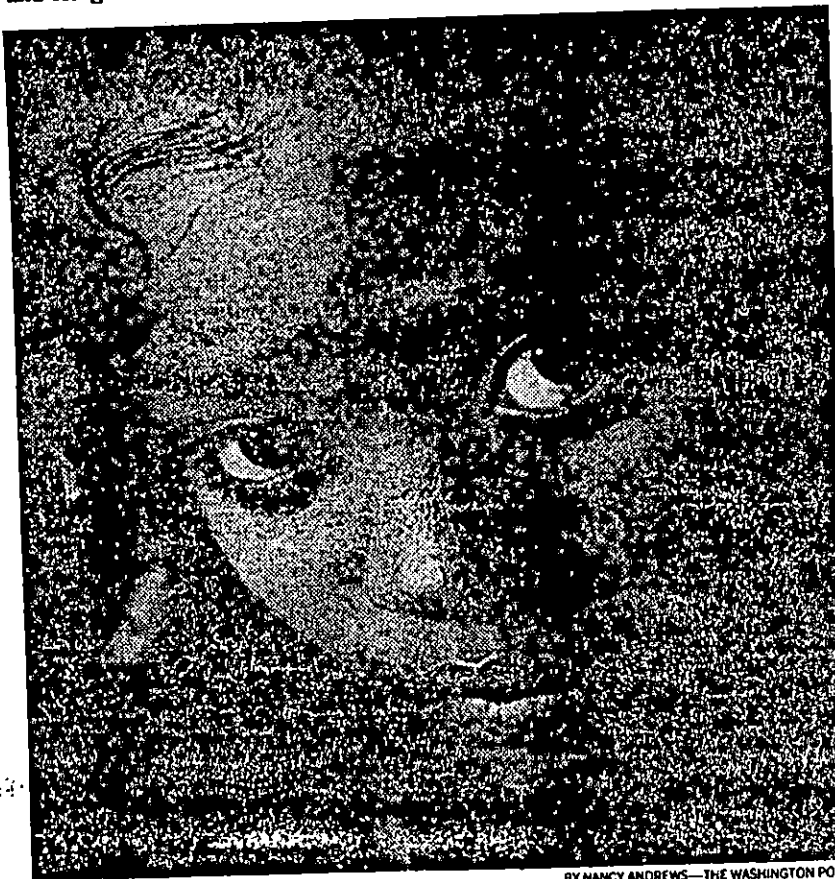
Americans are angry, this is hardly news. Anyone with a television set knows that.

It's interesting to contrast Clinton not with Bush but with Perot. We are still waiting for *the speech* in which he looks an audience in the eye and tells it something it needs to know but doesn't want to hear. Tsongas did that when he said, "No more Santa Claus" and talked about both raising taxes and trimming entitlement programs. Perot used to say something similar. No more. Having once called for a tax increase, he now says the opposite. He will balance the budget and eliminate the deficit by reducing waste and collecting taxes more efficiently. Where's voodoo economics when you need it?

Sister Souljah may be a terrific entertainer, but she is also a divisive figure. Clinton described her as both bright and young, more the latter than the former, if you ask me. But if what she said has to be pardoned on the basis of youth, Jackson and his organization cannot be similarly indulged. He offered Sister Souljah a forum when what she deserved was a rebuke. Not for the first time, though, has Jackson embraced someone whose message to whites (and many blacks as well) is repugnant. He did the same with the Rev. Louis Farrakhan, a racist and antisemite.

So maybe Jackson appeared stunned at Clinton's remarks because someone finally challenged his moral authority. Maybe, though, it was because Jackson, like the rest of us, expects a politician to do nothing but pander to his audience. Either way, Bill Clinton did something neither Bush or Perot would even think of doing. If that's his way to get some attention, then it's well deserved.

Welcome back to the campaign, Bill.



BY NANCY ANDREWS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Lane Kirkland

A Valid Bill, Not a Setup

Secretary of Labor Lynn Martin ["Government Not at Work," op-ed, June 9] should spare us the crocodile tears when she decries the partisan politics surrounding the emergency unemployment insurance program. Her attempt to blame Congress for any delays in the further extension of unemployment insurance benefits shows that the Bush administration is not above playing politics either.

This administration waited until the recession was a year-and-a-half old before lifting its opposition to the initial extension of unemployment

and minimize the possibility that political game-playing will mess it up.

The bill passed by the House last week would also change the eligibility requirements in order to bring extended benefits to more jobless workers who need them. And it would require employers to notify the workers they lay off about how to apply for and get their benefits.

Martin criticizes these provisions as "side issues" that have "bogged down" the administration's efforts to pass another extension of benefits. But does the administration oppose them? She doesn't say. Rather, she appears to be interested solely in presenting the administration's bill as the only solution; while all other proposals—regardless of merit—are nothing more than "partisan politics."

Even if Congress were to accept the administration's proposal to simply extend unemployment benefits to next March, millions of unemployed Americans would go without any help. Under the program now in place—and with the unemployment rate at an eight-year high—nearly half of America's jobless still do not receive unemployment insurance benefits. Apparently, these people do not exist in the eyes of the Bush administration.

While the expansion of eligibility in the congressional proposal would raise the cost, its sponsors have come up with a way to pay for it out of a fund that has been amassed specifically for that purpose, as well as a mechanism to meet the general standards of the new budget process. Although Martin trashes that mechanism, she has never described how the administration would pay for its own proposal—not in her op-ed article and not in her testimony last month before the Senate Finance Committee.

The congressional proposal is a reasonable effort to reform the process of extending unemployment compensation in times of economic dis-

stress. It would make the unemployment insurance system work better for the people it is intended to help.

If the secretary of labor believes that to be politics, then so be it. But in representing an administration that has done more than its part to politicize the issue, she should save the sanctimony for another day.

The writer is president of the AFL-CIO.

Taking Exception

benefits, because it didn't want to publicly admit that a recession was underway.

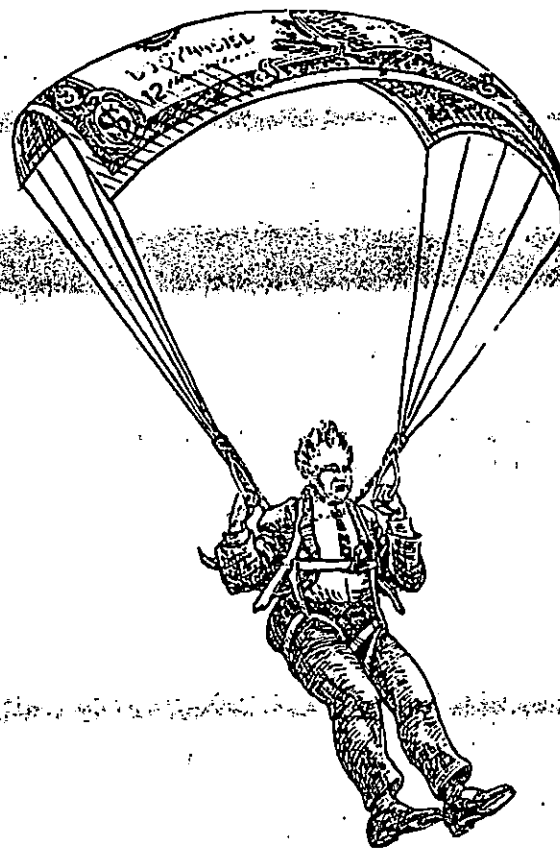
While that political game went on for months and months, many thousands of jobless families went without these benefits.

Now, Martin derides a congressional proposal—one that would make much-needed reforms to the process of extending unemployment insurance benefits in times of recession—as a "political setup [that] can't be passed quickly."

Just what is it in the bill that the secretary opposes?

The congressional proposal would set a trigger mechanism that would *automatically* provide extended benefits to jobless workers in states where the unemployment rate reaches 6 percent with a 10 percent increase from the preceding year. Unemployed workers in states with an 8 percent jobless rate would be eligible for a further extension.

In other words, in the next recession the system would work as it's supposed to—and get the benefits flowing when people need them most—



BY BRINTON

Ronald Walters

... Clinton's Gall

The beginning of a panel discussion on politics at the National Rainbow Coalition's recent policy Conference in Washington was interrupted by heated denunciations of the remarks Bill Clinton had made about the rapper Sister Souljah in his luncheon speech minutes before. I sat there knowing that people at the conference represented a cross-section of the Democratic Party's progressive wing, but that the black community had been especially hurt and insulted, once again, by a Democratic nominee.

The depth and power of Sister Souljah's art may make some people anxious, but her voice represents an authentic expression of sentiment among a substantial segment of black youth and black people in general. One wonders at the intellect of those who would take hyperbole and exaggeration for literal expressions, while overlooking the causes of the pain and dehumanization of black people she is attempting to communicate with her art. Sister Souljah, however, has gone beyond merely rapping to use her considerable intelligence as a community organizer for productive causes in the black community, and she was sharing these experiences as a panelist at the Rainbow conference.

I would be the first to condemn anyone who said and meant that "Blacks should kill whites," but I believe that to have been beside the point of Bill Clinton's attack. The point was that by attacking Sister Souljah, Bill Clinton's strategists intended to accomplish the objective of

"This incident will, no doubt, deepen the cynicism in the black community with respect to the current election and about Clinton's candidacy in particular."

having him appear strong and independent by standing up to a "special interest" of the party, putting blacks "in their place" and in the process, appealing to the white middle class. It is an approach to the black vote that has characterized his campaign the balance of the primary election season.

For example, Clinton arrived at the last Rainbow Coalition Conference early this year to speak, the day after he had permitted the execution of a mentally impaired black convicted killer in Arkansas. Then, days before the most recent appearance before the Rainbow Conference, he angered the National Newspaper Publisher's Association, the major black newspaper organization, by abruptly canceling his appearance as their luncheon speaker. Clinton, however, has not similarly insulted any other constituency of the party, and in that context, his ambivalence toward the black vote raises the question of the objectives of his political strategy.

To begin with, this incident will, no doubt, deepen the cynicism in the black community with respect to the

current election and about Clinton's candidacy in particular. The bottom line is that he did not have to comment upon any aspect of the Rainbow convention, so this must have been selective and deliberate.

Moreover, it is a strange strategy inasmuch as it represents the considerable risk that Clinton can compete successfully in a three-way race for the suburban vote, quite without the benefit of a fully mobilized black constituency, which made up 20 percent of the voting base of the Democratic Party in the 1988 election. Data from the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies show that black turnout in the 1992 primaries dropped as much as 65 percent in Tennessee, 59 percent in New York, 57 percent in Louisiana and by similarly disastrous amounts in other states. But rather than concentrating on measures to stimulate turnout for the general election, Clinton's strategists appear to be depressing black turnout.

Jesse Jackson and other leaders in the black community must consider whether these repeated insults constitute the basis for a more indepen-

dent stance from the Democratic Party, since they must operate on the theory that Clinton's handlers would only take the risk of insulting blacks if they were not convinced that blacks have nowhere else to go. Black leaders, however, must challenge this perception directly by taking advantage of the competitive situation created by the striking emergence of Ross Perot.

In this respect, they can attempt to increase voter registration in cities and thereby constitute and estimate 11 million voters this year, a block that cannot reasonably be overlooked by any of the campaigns. Otherwise, they can demonstrate that the basis of Clinton's strategy is flawed because they do have somewhere to go. They can vote for Clinton, for Perot, or they can stay home. It is unlikely that many would seriously consider George Bush.

Bill Clinton's foray into the cultural politics of the black community was as offensive as it was crassly opportunistic, making his calls for racial harmony ring hollow. But just as troubling is the strategy of his campaign, which seeks to neutralize the black vote by depressing turnout and matching it with suburban votes. Can the Democratic Party actually win without a mobilized black vote? We will see.

The writer is chairman of the political science department of Howard University.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

MARY McGRORY

Backing Jackson Into a Corner

Democrats who agonize over Bill Clinton's character might want to consider that their inevitable nominee at least has a temperament suited to the ups and downs of life in the White House.

Clinton does not often give way to self-pity, although he has cause. People still talk of Somebody Else even though he won 28 out of 36 state Democratic primaries. When he started out, it was good to be tall and smiley; now, however, it is high chic to be short and short-tempered, as proven by the fact that Ross Perot has shoved him into third place.

Through this and other vicissitudes—brought largely by his habit of withholding information like a wary teenager until skewered by a precise formulation—Clinton soldiers on. He is resilient and resourceful. Compared to chronic whiner George Bush and "Ah'll-wap-you-out" Perot, he seems a veritable stoic.

Over the weekend, when Bush was gassed in Panama—on his way to being razzed in Rio—Clinton gave politicians in the Democratic Party more important reassurance: He is a pol. He proved it when he went eyeball to eyeball with Jesse Jackson on Jackson's turf and did not blink. Jackson, who has been torturing Democratic presidential candidates since 1984, was furious when Clinton questioned his judgment.

It was a brilliant coup. He didn't take on Jackson directly. He didn't pick the fight on a central black concern. All he did was go before the Rainbow Coalition at an "emergency" meeting called by Jackson and suggest that Jackson is not infallible. Clinton observed that Sister Souljah, the rap singer, who was on a youth roundtable the night before, was out of line in suggesting, as she did in a Washington Post interview, that black men kill white men.

In fact, he said, if the races had been reversed, "you might think David Duke was giving that speech."

Jackson, seated beside Clinton at the head table, leveled a molten gaze at the crowd. Afterwards he called Clinton's remarks "unfortunate" and "divisive." His mood could not have been improved when Clinton stepped down and was enveloped in a swarm of autograph-seekers and reporters, while Jackson roamed alone on the edges.

To several who endured Jackson's lash in other campaigns, it was a moment to treasure.

Take Bob Beckel, Walter F. Mondale's 1984 campaign manager. He

had the job of trying to please the implacable Jackson. It was a time-consuming occupation. He had no less than 73 meetings in which he tried to divine what Jackson wanted.

"If only we had had the opportunity," he said wistfully.

He does not believe that Jackson can deprive Clinton of black votes on the basis of Sister Souljah—"most black voters don't think that kind of talk does any good."

John Sasso, Michael S. Dukakis's in-and-out-and-in-again 1988 campaign manager, thinks that Clinton has done himself no end of good with the encounter.

When Sasso's exile ended, fatally late in the campaign, and he came back to take the reins, he had to drop everything to rush to New York to soothe Jackson over some imagined slight, some inadequacy in the accommodations or the size of his plane. Sasso has many memories burned into his soul. Included among them is Jackson, seething over not being chosen vice president and unleashing an incendiary metaphor on the Atlanta convention:

He compared his voter registration drive to "slaves carrying cotton bales to the Big House."

Says Sasso, "Millions of Americans draw impressions of a candidate's strength on how he deals with the Rev. Jackson. I watched two good men, Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis, men who really care about equality and justice, grapple with Jesse Jackson and struggle with a relationship to make it work. They were unsuccessful. This is a moment of historical importance. You have got to treat him like any other politician and tell him when you agree and when you disagree. Bill Clinton has handled this better than we have in the past."

Clinton has already been rewarded for his boldness. After weeks of languishing in the classifieds, he has been catapulted back to page one. Jackson is calling editors and reporters to rail about the injustice of it all. But he can hardly tell his followers to vote for Perot because Clinton dared question him.

Will Clinton lose black votes? Not likely. They know him as a preacher of racial harmony. Will he gain white votes? Surely in New York, where he will stiffen support among Jewish voters who were horrified at Jerry Brown for hinting he would make Jackson his running-mate.

Jackson could try revenge, but he could pay dearly for it, for once.

The Washington Post

What Do Kids Know & How'd They Learn It?

By Laura Blumenfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

Watergate. Heard of it? Not these students, whose eyes are suddenly as dull as the cement wall they're sitting on outside the District's Wilson Senior High School.

Watergate. You know, the worst political scandal in American history?

"American history?" Delrica Austin, 17, asks suspiciously.

"I remember!" says Taunya Artisst, a junior. "Leonard and Bernstein—they thought something was a burglary and then realized it was the president. They wrote a book about it, 'All the King's Men.'"

"I wish I took that class," says Rebecca Altes, a senior.

"Don't know much else," Artisst concedes. "We just memorized: Leonard and Bernstein. Leonard and Bernstein."

Bob Woodward isn't the only sock lost in the Watergate wash. Asked about Richard Nixon's role, Luis Rosales, 18, says: "Did he have something to do with it?" For many teenagers born around the time Watergate unraveled, the affair seems as irrelevant as the Teapot Dome scandal. It's a fill-in-the-blank on a history test, a list of obscure names to cram and then to promptly forget.

District students learn about Watergate in 11th grade, as part of a four-week unit called "Challenges at Home and Abroad," says Edna Pearson, supervising director for social studies. The unit also covers U.S. policy on Cuba and the impact of the nuclear age on foreign policy. The curriculum guide asks students to develop a chronology of events that led to Nixon's downfall, to write an essay on how the separation of powers influenced events, and to explain the impeachment function of Congress.

Now ask 11th graders how Watergate is taught.

"We glossed over it in class," says Jennifer Crescenzo, a junior. "No one read the chapter."

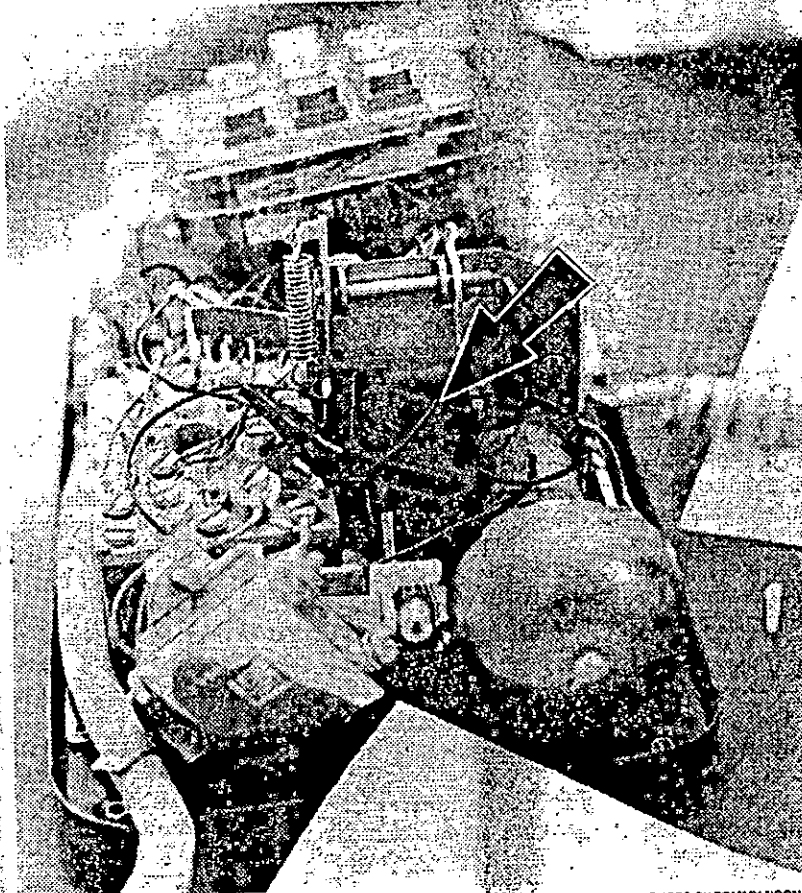
"We'll never get up to it," says Arpad Danos, 11th grade. "We've been lost, babbling about farms for two months now."

Will Dalrymple, a junior in an advanced-placement history class: "We skipped over it. We knew it wouldn't be on the AP exam."

What Is Watergate?

Among the teenagers littering the Wilson high schoolyard, a few have a sketchy sense of Watergate. Then there's the rare Antonio Deguzman, an 11th-grade history wizard, who rattles off the entire cast: District Court Judge John Sirica, special prosecutor Archibald Cox, CRP, the Committee for the Re-Election of the President. ("I got extra credit for CRP!") As for the rest of the students...

"No idea," says Theresa Bohannon, ninth-grade. "My crusty mother—she's old, she's 45—she would remember."



MCGOVERN STAFF PHOTO BY TOMMY NOONAN

One of the telephones that was bugged (arrow) during the Watergate break-in.

"I basically know nothing about it," says Austin Lear, 11th grade. "Except for 'Family Ties' had this episode where Valerie cheated on her test and they mentioned it. . . . Um, I watch a lot of TV."

Never mind the 1972 electronic bugging of the Democratic National Committee offices. Watergate refers to Richard Nixon spying on John F. Kennedy, according to Andrea Dillard, 10th grade. It was the break-in at Eugene McCarthy's campaign office in California, says Alex Brown, 11th grade.

"Watergate?" says Leisa Tonauf, 10th grade. "The one in Virginia?"

"Nixon unplugged his answering machine for, like 20 minutes," says Brian Ellsworth, 10th grade.

"All I know," says Keegan Musgrove-Wesley, 10th grade, "is, it was on the front page of The Washington Post a long, long time ago. Like four or five years."

How Was Nixon Caught?

"The Pentagon Papers?" says Annan LeMon, a junior. "Or am I really off?"

Bryan Johnson, 12th grade: "His friends set him up."

"Quayle," says Deilert Lora, a senior. "No wait. It must have been Carter."

"The FBI," says Brian Combs, 12th grade. "Or the CIA. One of those three-letter things—NBC?" Combs recognizes Nixon because he saw the Patrick Swayze film, "Point Break." A man wore a Nixon mask while robbing a bank. Combs observes: "Nixon had a big nose."

Woodward and Bernstein?

"Did they tape Nixon?" says Combs. "Woodward and Lothrop?" says Elizabeth Stevenson, 10th grade.

And Bernstein.

"Sounds like a historical pact," Stevenson guesses.

Sarah Brodsky, 11th grade: "They

exposed the security guard who left tape on the door."

"They were top politicians," says Luis Rosales, a senior, "who were involved in the scheme to break in."

More Trivia

The plumbers, Nixon's Special Investigations unit to stop news leaks, were "a doo-wop revival group" guesses Allison Shook, a sophomore. They were "crooks who pretended they were plumbers," says Combs.

Former U.S. Attorney John Mitchell? No takers. They knew Paul Mitchell hair products.

"Wait, Yes!" says Stevenson. "We did an essay on Mitchell."

"No," moans Jules Cohen, a sophomore. "That was Wallace. Another guy we don't care about."

Spiro Agnew? "The name's familiar," says Shook. "Did Tony Kornheiser just write about him?" Her friends stare silently. She backpedals. "I honestly, don't, really, read."

"I know Acme, not Agnew," says Brian Crockett, 12th grade. "On the Wile E. Coyote cartoon."

As to the impact of Watergate on American society, Rosales sums it up: "People are more unsure of who to support. You can't trust politicians like Woodward and Bernstein."

Enough. Give these kids a break. Watergate went down too recently to study it, too long ago to remember it.

"It happened during that nonexistent point between history and current events," says Jocelyn Powers, 11th grade.

Good point. How could they be expected to know about anything from way back in 1972?

"1972?" says Cohen, perking up. "Fourth Led Zeppelin album came out."

"Aerosmith was formed," chimes Ellsworth.

Cohen: "Hendrix had been dead for two years and Morrison was . . ."

Today's Lesson: Watergate

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992



Sky, an ex-Marine and full-time environmentalist, serves as pilot and guide for tourists who include members of Congress.

A Wing and a Prayer for the Forests

Aerial Tours of Clear-Cut Land Designed to Boost Support for Protections

By Tom Kenworthy
Washington Post Staff Writer

ALOFT OVER OREGON—"Class five rapids!" whoops the pilot as we come over the crest of the Cascades near Crater Lake and hit turbulence that sends a reporter's head thumping into the ceiling of the Cessna 210.

What's to worry when you're flying with a pilot named Sky? That's Sky as in Sky King, except in this case, Sky is his whole, legal name.

Welcome aboard Lighthawk, which bills itself as the "Environmental Air Force," an organization begun 13 years ago on a shoestring that has grown to become a player in the national debate over timber cutting in the national forests of the Pacific Northwest.

The idea behind Lighthawk's campaign on behalf of the Northwest's ancient forests is simple: fly enough people, particularly members of Congress, businessmen and other community leaders, over the extensively clear-cut timberland of the Northwest's national forests—"like a dog with mange," is one environmentalist's description—and they'll come back outraged and ready to support legislation to preserve millions of acres of forest for habitat for the endangered northern spotted owl.

So far, 17 members of Congress have made the tours, and according to Lighthawk founder Michael Stewartt, most of them "got religion on the issue."

"I'd seen photographs of what we saw from the plane, but it was really very impressive," recalled Rep.

James R. Olin (D-Va.) of his flight with Lighthawk last year over the Olympic Peninsula in Washington state. "We could see the degree to which large areas had been clear cut and we could see the degree of regeneration, if there was any. My

BEYOND THE BELTWAY

appreciation of old growth was improved," said Olin, who has become a strong supporter of legislation to shield old-growth timber from logging.

A few weeks ago, Sky took House Interior Committee Chairman George Miller (D-Calif.) on a tour of coastal forests. Both came back impressed, Miller with the extent of the deforestation, and Sky with Miller's fondness for a certain four-letter epithet uttered repeatedly as he looked at the clear cuts.

Yesterday Miller's committee released a study detailing problems the U.S. Forest Service has had growing trees back on land that has been cleared of timber. The Forest Service has claimed a 99 percent reforestation success rate, but the analysis said only 64 percent of the cut timber volume is growing back.

On Wednesday, Miller's panel is expected to approve legislation protecting millions of acres of old growth, northern spotted owl habitat on the west side of the Cascade mountains from timber cutting. The legislation most likely to be approved would set aside less than the 8.8 mil-

lion-acre reserve of federal land approved by an Interior subcommittee a few weeks ago, but more than the 6.8 million acres reserved by a House Agriculture subcommittee.

Besides ferrying members of Congress, Lighthawk also does survey and research work, and provides flying services to other environmental organizations. With a budget of about \$1 million donated from foundations and individuals, Lighthawk conducts environmental projects in the U.S., Canada, Mexico, Costa Rica, Belize, Nicaragua and Panama. It owns four planes, including a 14-seat Twin Otter, and has a large network of volunteer pilots and aircraft owners who donate their time and airplanes.

Among them is Sky, a free-lance pilot, part-time manager of his own 180 acres of timberland, full-time environmentalist and guide on a day-long aerial tour of the bug-infested national forests of eastern Oregon. In his younger days, Sky, an ex-Marine, flew DC-3's for an airline in Bali and did contract flying in Vietnam.

Now, he flies over the northwest, and gets angrier with every flight. "I've been flying over these forests since 1969," he said. "I see a constant increase in fragmentation."

The forest products industry and the Forest Service disagree, arguing that national forests are being managed for sustained yield and replanted as fast as they are cut.

But Stewartt and Sky say the evidence is right there under the wings. "Seeing what's there," Stewartt said, "is by definition the most objective approach you can take."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

New Chief Vows 'Cultural Revolution' to Revamp NASA

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

As the Endeavour astronauts reached for elusive communications satellite 200 miles above Earth recently, NASA employees on the ground put their own spin on a game favored by Daniel S. Goldin, the new chief.

Instead of "Carpe diem" (Seize the day!), they urged, "Carpe IntelSat." Nobody knows yet whether the agency in Goldin's days will manage to mold a new identity as imaginatively as the astronauts abbed their quarry. But Goldin has taken the gloves.

A hard-charging outsider with strong clank inside the White House, the former aerospace company executive, 51, has vowed to bring about "a cultural revolution" to develop a new NASA.

His promise is blowing through the civil space program like a tempest, ruffling feathers and raising hopes.

Goldin took the post on April 1, after the White House grew impatient with his predecessor, former astronaut Richard H. Truly, whom they saw as clinging to an outmoded NASA culture. Prompted by the National Space Council, chaired by Vice President Dan Quayle, the president fired Truly in February.

Goldin hit the ground running, arriving amid NASA's annual spring budget battle on Capitol Hill and preparations for the possible announcement of new joint space activities at this week's U.S.-Russian summit here.

Goldin's mantra is "faster, better, cheaper." A review of his speeches dating back to 1988 shows that he adopted that line—now the Space Council's approach—way ahead of it. Goldin says he will achieve his goals largely through sharpened management but without compromising safety.

He already has generated angst among the workforce by ordering a speedy and weeping review of the agency's programs and direction, aimed at cutting costs and establishing what he calls "a new contract with America." The difference between his and previous reviews is that he has asked NASA employees to conduct it themselves, rather than waiting for outside experts or Congress to impose change on them.

His 10 weeks on the job have also brought a different style to the agency. He speaks for NASA in a new voice, and not only because it bears the imprint of his South Bronx boyhood. In contrast to the dry diction preferred by NASA's engineering culture, Goldin's voice is free-flowing and unabashedly emotional. "I beg and plead with you," he might say to a crowd, or "Search your souls. . . ." He sometimes slaps a lectern for emphasis.

NASA personnel around the country have



Daniel S. Goldin's 10 weeks have brought a different style to the agency.

greeted Goldin's arrival with an uneasy mixture of hope and trepidation. Some grumble that he is "destabilizing" the agency. Others believe, as one veteran official put it, "You may yearn for a leader who will kick ass, but you have to realize it could be your own ass."

Space policy analyst John Logsdon of George Washington University said Goldin is "totally committed to [developing] a program that fits political and fiscal reality."

Some aerospace veterans note that Goldin has spent most of his career in California, working on secret national security space projects where mistakes are shielded from public scrutiny. They suggest that he does not understand the political and bureaucratic obstacles that lie in his path.

But Goldin—a registered Democrat, now a self-described political agnostic—has undertaken a whirlwind of self-education, seeking advice from past NASA chiefs, meeting with members of Congress and a wide variety of other experts, as well as the NASA ranks.

He has lowered the drawbridge for just about everybody—including some of the agency's most vocal critics—easing the defensive, fortress mentality for which NASA has been faulted for two decades.

Bruce Murray, an energetic NASA critic who has opposed what he sees as exorbitant costs of the planned space station and the shuttle program, said last week that he can

suspend that fight because "Goldin understands where the problems are. . . . He is clearly a man of action. The trick is to help him succeed."

NASA nemesis John Pike of the Federation of American Scientists also is impressed. After being invited to the NASA administrator's office for a chat, he said, "Goldin knows he's got a political job—explaining the program to the public, not running the program in private."

Much more than his predecessors, in fact, Goldin has made himself a "Mr. Outside," focused on NASA's relationship to the world beyond its door.

He ardently defends space activity—with both humans and robots—as an essential investment in the future. But he is also mindful that some view NASA as increasingly irrelevant and argue that funding for programs such as the space station should be used for "real" problems on Earth. "We need to do a better job of connecting NASA to peoples' lives," he said.

Goldin also has shown a more aggressive interest in international partnerships than previous NASA leaders. For example, colleagues say he is interested in increased cooperation with the Russians and recently spent two hours listening to Russian space scientists describe their upcoming robotic missions to Mars. Sources also say he has been a key player in preparations for this week's summit.

U.S.-RUSSIAN SUMMIT

The U.S.-Russian summit here this week is expected to result in increased cooperation in peaceful space activities. The Russians retain control of most of the space assets of the now-fragmented Soviet empire. Among the issues on the agenda are:

- A U.S. space shuttle rendezvous and docking with the Russian Mir space station, using a widely praised Russian docking system, and an exchange of astronauts and cosmonauts.
- U.S. purchase of the Russian Soyuz-TM spacecraft for use as an emergency "lifeboat" for the planned international space station Freedom.
- Launch of at least one U.S.-built communications satellite by a Russian Proton rocket, ending a longstanding Cold War prohibition.
- U.S. participation in a Russian robotic mission to Mars.
- Expansion of a 1987 government-to-government agreement to expand space cooperation on several fronts such as biomedical studies and astrophysics.
- A U.S. commercial contract for up to \$10 million over two years for the right to study various Russian space hardware and technology for possible American use.

Goldin has emphasized the need to move away from paperwork-mired projects that stretch over decades, to win back credibility with taxpayers by delivering projects that work as promised, on schedule and within cost.

To that end, he speaks with near-religious zeal—"I believe it deep in my guts!" he told NASA employees recently—of the potential for sharpening NASA's management approach. He refers often to "empowering" employees, but also warns that he will hold them "accountable." He works long hours and expects others to do likewise.

In addition to ordering an internal, bottom-up review of current programs, with the aim of reducing costs by more than a quarter, he has set up a "vision team" to draft a new statement of NASA's "role in American society," and he has warned NASA contractors that he will hold them more accountable than in the past. He has also created a stir by ordering a return to the NASA logo of the Apollo era, known as the "meatball."

When asked, Goldin says he was aware when he took the job that he might not have it for long—given the uncertainties of the presidential election. But he felt that he was "the right man for this job, at the right time. I'm an agent of change. My whole career has been dedicated to that." He will forge ahead, he said, "until somebody stops me."

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ON CAPITOL HILL

Senate Finance Panel to Vote On Bentsen's Mini-Tax Bill

The Senate Finance Committee is scheduled to vote today on Chairman Lloyd Bentsen's (D-Tex.) proposal for a mini-tax bill that would extend about a dozen popular tax breaks, including low-income housing credits and targeted jobs credits, that are scheduled to expire June 30.

Committee aides said Bentsen also will propose five revenue measures, generating \$8 billion to \$9 billion, to finance the tax bill and a separate energy bill.

One of those measures is designed to resolve protracted Tax Court disputes over deductions claimed by acquiring corpora-

tions of the intangible assets and "good will" of the companies they take over. House Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) backed a similar intangible assets measure earlier this year—part of the middle-class tax relief bill vetoed by President Bush—that was criticized by some as a costly giveaway.

Corporations that acquire or merge with other entities may deduct for tax purposes the depreciated value of intangible assets, such as copyrights, computer software or the syndication rights to movies. However, the courts have disallowed deductions for other, more vaguely defined intangibles which are known as "good will."

The Bentsen plan to be unveiled today would drop one of Rostenkowski's provi-

sions that would have allowed corporations to retroactively lump together intangibles and "good will" of companies already acquired and amortize the deductions over 17 years.

Under Bentsen's plan, companies could settle their disputes by retroactively amortizing 75 percent of the intangible value of companies they have acquired, but they would not be allowed to deduct for "good will."

New York's Horton to Retire

■ Rep. Frank Horton (R-N.Y.), who has served 30 years in the House, announced yesterday that he would not seek reelection.

He said New York's redistricting plan "has caused me to reassess my options." Under New York's plan, Horton would face

Rep. Louise McIntosh Slaughter, a Democrat. He also was expected to face a challenge in the GOP primary.

Natcher to Brief News Media

■ A week after House Appropriations Committee Chairman Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.) relinquished his day-to-day responsibilities to Vice Chairman William H. Natcher (D-Ky.), Natcher invited reporters to a briefing today on 1993 appropriations.

While it may not seem like much, considering Capitol Hill's usual torrent of news conferences, aides said this is the first time in the committee's 127-year history that the panel has called a news conference to answer questions about its work.

—Eric Pianin

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Kidnapping Outside U.S. Is Upheld

Supreme Court Rules Government Can Seize Foreigners for Trial

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

The U.S. government may kidnap people from foreign countries to stand trial here, even if the United States has an extradition treaty with the other country, the Supreme Court ruled yesterday.

Voting 6 to 3, the court cleared the way for the trial of Humberto Alvarez-Machain, a Mexican doctor who is accused of participating in the 1985 kidnap and murder of Drug Enforcement Administration agent Enrique Camarena Salazar and his pilot.

Although it has its roots in a century-old precedent, yesterday's ruling comes at a time when the United States has indicated an increased willingness to reach outside its borders, even without the approval of the foreign country, to go after criminal suspects in international terrorism and drug trafficking cases.

Last night, the Mexican Department of Foreign Affairs called the decision "invalid and unacceptable" and in protest virtually severed all cooperation between the two countries in the war against drugs, the Associated Press reported. Mexico suspended activities of U.S. drug agents in Mexico and Mexican agents in the United States.

Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist, writing for the court, said that although such kidnappings may be "shocking" and violate international law, they are not prohibited by the extradition treaty outlining procedures for obtaining criminal suspects or the Constitution.

"The fact of [Alvarez-Machain's] forcible abduction does not therefore prohibit his trial in a court in the United States for violations of the criminal laws of the United States," Rehnquist said.

Justice John Paul Stevens, in a dissenting opinion joined by Justices Harry A. Blackmun and Sandra Day O'Connor, said the "desire for revenge" is "no justification for disregarding the rule of law that this court has a duty to uphold."

Courts "throughout the civilized world will be deeply disturbed by the monstrous decision the court announces today," Stevens added.

The DEA, believing that Alvarez-Machain helped prolong Camarena's life so that the kidnappers could continue to torture and interrogate him, arranged to have the

U.S. May Seize Foreigners To Stand Trial, Court Rules

COURT, From A1

doctor forcibly abducted from his office in Guadalajara and flown to El Paso, where he was arrested by DEA agents.

The Mexican government protested the kidnapping, arguing that it violated a 1978 extradition treaty between the countries. It demanded Alvarez-Machain's return and promised that he would be prosecuted in Mexico. Alvarez-Machain, who has maintained he is innocent, has been jailed here since the abduction in 1990. Last night, the Mexican government said it will consider any attempt to capture another suspect a "criminal act."

But Attorney General William P. Barr called the ruling "an important victory in our ongoing efforts against terrorists and narco-traffickers who operate against the United States from overseas."

Barr, who as head of the Justice Department's Office of Legal Counsel wrote a controversial opinion that the FBI has authority to violate international law and arrest individuals overseas, said the court's decision "vindicates the position we have taken from the outset."

The ruling does not directly affect

the case of former Panamanian leader Manuel Antonio Noriega because the Panamanian government did not protest handing Noriega over to the United States. But it does appear to place an additional roadblock in the path of Noriega's lawyers, who have argued that his arrest was the fruit of an illegal invasion. Noriega was convicted of racketeering and drug trafficking in April and is awaiting sentencing.

The federal appeals court in California had ordered the return of Alvarez-Machain and overturned the conviction of another man, Rene Martin Verdugo-Urquidez, who also was abducted to stand trial here for the murder of Camarena. The government's appeal in the Verdugo-Urquidez case has been pending at the high court, awaiting the outcome of *United States v. Alvarez-Machain*.

The Bush administration told the justices that the appeals court ruling "generates uncertainty about the United States' obligations under its 103 extradition treaties with nations throughout the world, and improperly provides a criminal defendant with a form of immunity from prosecution in this country's courts that is not authorized by law."

In decisions that date back more than a century, the high court has said that prosecutions are not prohibited simply because the defendant's presence has been procured through questionable means. In an 1886 case, *Ker v. Illinois*, it refused to throw out the larceny conviction of a man who was kidnapped by a private messenger from Peru rather than obtained through the United States' extradition treaty with that country.

Rehnquist said the Alvarez-Machain case was governed by the court's decision in *Ker*, even though in that case there was no governmental involvement in the kidnapping and Peru did not object to the prosecution.

In analyzing the treaty, Rehnquist noted that it "says nothing about the obligations of the United States and Mexico to refrain from forcible abductions of people from the territory of the other nation, or the consequences under the treaty if such an abduction occurs."

Stevens, in his dissenting opinion, said the majority's view would transform the extradition treaty "into little more than verbiage." Under that interpretation, he said, "If the United States, for example, thought it more expedient to torture or simply to execute a person rather than to attempt extradition, these options would be equally available because they, too, were not explicitly prohibited by the treaty."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

SHORT TAKES

Panel Halts Hike In Federal Retiree Health Payments

A House Appropriations subcommittee last week effectively stopped the Bush administration from trying to make some retired federal employees pay more for health care and prescriptions in an effort to cut the deficit.

Under the Federal Employees Health Benefits Program, when a retiree goes to a doctor who does not take Medicare-only patients, Medicare reimburses the doctor up to set fees. FEHBP makes up the difference.

The Office of Personnel Management wanted to make retirees cover the difference, for a \$75 million savings.

On Wednesday, the Treasury, Postal Service and general government subcommittee added language barring any funds for the change.

"OPM has unfairly sought to impose cost increases on one group," Rep. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.) wrote. OPM chief Constance Newman replied that the changes "were not designed as take-aways" but rather to encourage federal retirees "to be wise consumers while minimizing any potential negative impact."

The bill goes to the full committee early this week.

Mental Health Bill

■ The Senate last week voted 86 to 8 for a \$4 billion measure reorganizing federal efforts against mental illness and substance abuse.

The measure goes next to a final House vote. It would reauthorize and overhaul the Alcohol, Drug Abuse and Mental Health Administration and set up a Substance Abuse and Mental Health Services Administration to distribute funds to states.

From staff reports and news services

Independent Panama Aid Study Sought

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

A senior official at the Agency for International Development called yesterday for outside investigators to evaluate the economic impact that \$420 million in U.S. assistance authorized for Panama has had there.

Analysts at the General Accounting Office, the investigative arm of Congress, have concluded in a draft report that the aid package, appropriated by Congress after the U.S. invasion in December 1989 and meant to jump-start the economy, has had "no significant impact on the economy." It also says that 70 percent of the money earmarked to aid the poor and promote democratic institutions has not yet been disbursed.

"The allegations are so serious and damaging, so contrary to what I strongly feel is a well-designed and -managed program," said James Michel, assistant administrator at AID for the Latin America and Caribbean bureau. "I want to know if this is right. Can we be so wrong? If it's so, get rid of us all."

In the draft, which The Washington Post wrote about Saturday, GAO analysts said AID had "overstated" an expected post-invasion run on the banks. Expectation of such a run was the agency's justification for infusing nearly \$352 million into the banking sector.

Michel said in an interview yesterday the money did help build the business confidence necessary to avert a banking crisis and better Panama's standing among international financial institutions.

The GAO draft said that "AID officials blame their own lengthy project design, approval and development process for" the delay in disbursing money for the development projects. Yesterday, Tom Stukel, AID's mission director in Panama, said it has taken time to develop projects to reform Panamanian institutions. "These are not solved overnight or formula kind of solutions," he said.

Although AID routinely evaluates its own programs, Michel said he will ask the agency to hire outside analysts to review the aid package to Panama. "I want to find out if we're as awful as this says we are," he said.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1993

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

Russian President Boris Yeltsin has acknowledged that an epidemic of anthrax in the Ural Mountains about 12 years ago was caused by military researchers trying to make a germ weapon, not by natural causes as previously claimed by senior officials of the former Soviet Union.

Yeltsin's unusual public statement—an admission that the Soviet government hid the truth for a long time on an issue of importance to Washington—is being taken by U.S. intelligence analysts as a final vindication of the view they first put forward in 1980. Their claim was criticized at the time by some U.S. allies and independent U.S. experts who said it was based on thin evidence.

The mysterious outbreak of anthrax in 1979 in the city of Sverdlovsk 850 miles east of Moscow, which caused scores of deaths, initially attracted only brief notice in

the Soviet emigre press. But in early 1980, it was catapulted suddenly onto front pages around the world when the Carter administration said the cause was "inadvertent exposure . . . to some sort of lethal biological agent."

The Reagan administration subsequently made the event the principal basis for its annual claim that Moscow was violating an international treaty barring work on germ weapons. But U.S. skeptics said they wondered if Washington was skewing the evidence as the Cold War heated up.

Yeltsin made his statement about the notorious incident in a May 27 interview with a Russian mass circulation daily, Komsomolskaya Pravda, that attracted little public notice. It was brought to the attention of a reporter here by a senior Russian official who, on the eve of Yeltsin's summit meeting with President Bush, characterized it as an example of the Russian president's commitment to expose the

See SVERDLOVSK, A15, Col. 1

Yeltsin Blames '79 Anthrax On Germ Warfare Efforts

SVERDLOVSK, From A1

truth about ugly activities that Soviet leaders before him tried to conceal.

Last week, Yeltsin also disclosed in a letter to Congress that a dozen Americans shot down over Soviet territory in the 1950s had been secretly kept in Soviet prisons and psychiatric clinics. He said in the Komsomolskaya Pravda interview that he already has revealed the secret tale of Sverdlovsk to Bush, British Prime Minister John Major, and French President Francois Mitterrand, and that he has also signed a decree barring any future germ weapon activities by the Russian military.

Yeltsin, who in 1979 was the head of the Communist Party in Sverdlovsk, may have felt a personal compulsion to set the record straight in a public statement at home. The Russian press in the past year has printed a dozen or so articles alleging a government coverup of military involvement in the tragedy that also raised questions about what Yeltsin knew.

Yeltsin explained in the brief portion of the interview touching on Sverdlovsk that he said nothing previously because "nobody has asked me about it." He then disclosed that, even as Moscow officials were telling the world the incident was not associated with military activity, the KGB had admitted privately to him that "our military development was the cause."

Yeltsin said he responded by going to KGB chief Yuri Andropov, who in turn called Defense Minister Dmitri Ustinov "and ordered [him] to liquidate these facilities completely." But Yeltsin said he learned later that the military's laboratories in Sverdlovsk "had simply been moved to another region and the

development of this weapon continued."

Western suspicions about the incident were partly aroused by the fact that anthrax is highly lethal and persistent in soil, making it a top candidate for biological warfare. A British island used for testing anthrax-filled bombs produced in collaboration with the United States during World War II remains dangerously contaminated today.

But the Soviet explanation that the anthrax outbreak came from natural causes also had at least the ring of truth. Officials maintained that spores indigenous to the region's soil were spread among cattle through ingestion of contaminated bone meal and among humans through the illegal sale of diseased cattle from private farms. Limited outbreaks of anthrax among U.S. farm animals have been caused by contaminated feed.

A skeptical 1986 Defense Intelligence Agency report listed "hundreds of deaths" in the first week of the outbreak and attributed the severity and type of illness to inhalation of spores released accidentally by a military research center. But senior Soviet health officials stubbornly insisted in a 1988 presentation at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington that the deaths were many fewer, much slower and due solely to eating tainted meat.

U.S. specialists such as Philip Brachman of Emory University, Matthew Meselson of Harvard and Alexander Langmuir, former chief epidemiologist at the Centers for Disease Control, said following that presentation they considered the Soviet claim plausible although not completely proven.

One of the first major cracks in the official tale inside Russia came last November in Komsomolskaya

Pravda, which reported that people living near a military research center in Sverdlovsk remembered seeing "a discharge in the form of a pink cloud that rose behind the high fence." The article also quoted a deputy chief for science at the research center acknowledging that the facility was conducting experiments in 1979, allegedly to develop an anthrax vaccine.

Izvestia, a popular newspaper formerly controlled by the government, subsequently printed damning allegations from a retired general, A. Mironyuk, who was a senior official in the Ural Military District at the time. Mironyuk said he learned from the KGB that "someone from the laboratory arrived early in the morning and began to work without turning on safety filters and other protective mechanisms."

The resulting discharge swiftly claimed both military and civilian victims downwind, Mironyuk said. "Only after they were pinned to the wall did the specialists confess. It was then that an entire program to disinform the public in the country and the world was developed," the retired general said.

The newspaper explained that a second anthrax outbreak several weeks after the accident was provoked when workers failed to don respirators during a massive cleanup operation, not by delayed sales of tainted meat as officials had claimed. The cleanup of the laboratory itself lasted five years and required the replacement of floors and ceilings.

Mironyuk said some of the laboratory equipment was secretly transported to Irkutsk. "Naturally I carried out" an order to burn all related documents, he said. Izvestia reported that the chief of the military base committed suicide.

The Washington Post

Russian Threatens Georgia

Shevardnadze Rebuts Parliament Speaker

By Eleanor Randolph
Special to The Washington Post

MOSCOW, June 15—The head of Russia's parliament warned today that Russian troops may be sent to Georgia to protect citizens in the tiny, mountainous enclave of South Ossetia who have asked to be united with Russia.

But Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze called Speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov's comments "insulting" to Georgia and said that such comments "play into the hands of extremism, regardless of what national clothes it wears."

Khasbulatov's statement raised the stakes in another of the many ethnic conflicts along the borders of former Soviet republics.

The South Ossetians, who have been fighting for independence from Georgia, have asked to be reunited with North Ossetians in Russia. Should Khasbulatov persuade the Russians to come to the aid of Ossetians looking to Moscow, Russian troops could be pitted directly against their Georgian neighbors.

In South Ossetia, where hundreds of people have died since early last year, there were reports today of Georgian soldiers attacking Ossetians. The Russian Tass news agency reported that Georgian soldiers had shelled the South Ossetian capital of Tskhinvali with rockets, heavy artillery and mortars.

Khasbulatov warned that if Georgians do not agree to a cease-fire and participate in new negotiations over the remote mountainous region, the Russian parliament "may find itself forced to immediately consider the question of annexing [Ossetia] to Russia."

The conflict "can no longer be regarded as a purely domestic affair of Georgia," he said. "It directly affects the state interests of Russia."

Both Tass and the newspaper Izvestia interpreted Khasbulatov's statement as accusing the Georgians of "genocide" of the South Ossetian people. But Shevardnadze, head of Georgia's State Council, said that Khasbulatov's statement was "insulting" since there had been a series of terrorist attacks against Georgian citizens in the last few days.

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"We are making a tremendous effort to extinguish the flames of senseless conflict in [the] region," Shevardnadze said, adding that "Khasbulatov's statement, broadly addressed to the citizens of Russia, is like another fuse set off close to a powder keg."

Shevardnadze also accused Khasbulatov of making a "populist and demagogic statement designed for 'certain circles' that are conspicuously raising their heads."

Yeltsin Arrives For Summit With Bush

Says Vietnam POWs Were Sent to U.S.S.R.

By Don Oberdorfer
and Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Staff Writers

Russian President Boris Yeltsin arrived here last night for a two-day U.S.-Russian summit meeting that, both sides declared, would underscore the demise of the Cold War and the emergence of a new partnership between the former foes.

"America and Russia are becoming friends," announced Yeltsin as he alighted from a Russian jet at Andrews Air Force Base shortly before 5 p.m. for his first full-scale summit with President Bush. He said the discussions and the documents he will sign, which may include an accord on deeper cuts in long-range nuclear weapons, "will

prove that the gap between us has been closed."

Meanwhile, NBC News reported that Yeltsin, in answer to a question about whether any U.S. prisoners of war from Vietnam could still be alive in the Soviet Union, said that Russian archives showed some had been transferred to Soviet labor camps and that "we can only surmise that some of them may still be alive."

The statement appeared to be a turnaround from last week when the Russian leader, in a letter to U.S. senators, said "no data are as yet available" about Americans missing from the Vietnam War.

But retired Gen. Dmitri Volkogonov, chairman of the Russian commission tracing the whereabouts of American servicemen, in a telephone interview late last night indicated

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Yeltsin Arrives for Summit With Bush

YELTSIN, From A1

some surprise at Yeltsin's remarks and said he had no information to "confirm or deny" them. "We cannot give an answer to this right now. It needs additional investigation."

Bush, in a television interview two hours before Yeltsin's arrival, struck a tone of amity and cooperation. "I will pledge to work with him in every way we can to help his economy and to keep moving forward in terms of world peace," Bush said on Cable News Network.

Bush conceded in the interview that "we have some differences," referring to the still-unfinished arms negotiations, but added that both he and Yeltsin believe this is "a good time to take another step" toward reducing the awesome stocks of nuclear weapons piled up during the years of mutual fear and antagonism.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III told reporters that four or five areas of difference—including at least two "extraordinarily difficult problems"—stand in the way of full agreement on nuclear weapons cuts that would go well beyond those called for under the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) signed last year but still unratified. Baker declined to elaborate but expressed hope that meetings here, starting with a session he held at the State Department last night with Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev, would resolve the remaining issues.

The first summit meeting between a U.S. president and the elected president of a democratic Russia comes at a time when both leaders are under stress domestically.

Yeltsin is facing pressure from conservatives demanding that he slow his drive toward a market economy as the country faces the prospect of hyper-inflation and mass layoffs. Bush is at a low point of popularity as he struggles for reelection in what he yesterday

termed "a crazy year" politically, when many Americans seem to have concluded the two-party system has failed.

Shortly after arriving, Yeltsin took the symbolic step of telephoning exiled Russian novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn in Vermont and appealing to him to return home. Presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov told a news briefing at the Russian embassy that Yeltsin described Solzhenitsyn as a "great son of the Russian people" and expressed "repentance" for the Kremlin's decision to strip him of his citizenship in 1974 for alleged anti-Soviet activity.

The Russian spokesman said that Solzhenitsyn expressed support for the political and economic reforms underway in Russia, but said Solzhenitsyn was concerned about the fate of 25 million ethnic Russians living in other former Soviet republics, particularly Ukraine. The Nobel laureate has said that all obstacles to his return to Russia have been lifted, but has not set a precise date to return.

As the chronicler of the Stalinist labor camp system in the Soviet Union, Solzhenitsyn enjoys immense moral authority in Russia and could be a valuable source of support for Yeltsin as he attempts to dismantle the totalitarian communist system. Yeltsin has also sought to tap into the vein of moderate nationalism represented by Solzhenitsyn.

As a symbolic demonstration that relations between Washington and Moscow have fundamentally changed, Yeltsin is being given full state honors that were denied to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev in his meetings here in 1987 and 1990, including residence at Blair House and an address on Wednesday to a joint session of Congress.

In a White House press briefing yesterday, Baker said the meetings with Yeltsin are intended to forge "a true and enduring peace" with a free and democratic Russia, "not a cold peace such as existed during

the Cold War when all we could hope to do was to manage conflicts and contain crises."

U.S. officials conceded that the conversion of Russians from potentially deadly adversaries to friends has robbed the visit of some of the drama and suspense of earlier summits. This should be cause for relief but not disinterest, they said.

In another symbol of the changed relations, U.S. sources said Bush and Yeltsin will sign an accord opening virtually the entire territory of each country to unrestricted travel by diplomats and journalists. Until now, about one-third of the land area of each country has been restricted because of the fear of espionage.

Both Bush and Baker issued last-minute appeals to Congress to promptly pass an aid bill for the states of the former Soviet Union that the administration proposed April 1. Bush said he will "do whatever it takes" to persuade lawmakers "to stand up and make a tough vote here" in the U.S. national interest, despite the unpopularity of foreign aid at a time of recession.

Baker called on the Senate to pass the bill this week to demonstrate U.S. national unity behind democracy and reform in Russia. The legislation provides for a \$12 billion increase in U.S. backing for the International Monetary Fund and authority for many new U.S. assistance programs.

Senate Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) remained non-committal on the timing of Senate action. He said he is canvassing Democrats on the issue and has asked Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) for an account of GOP stands. A Senate Republican aide said Dole determined last week that at least half of the body's Republican members would vote for the aid bill.

Many Democrats have been pushing for action first on high-priority domestic initiatives, including urban aid and extension of unemployment benefits.

In their own effort to emphasize



James Baker shows the way for Yeltsin at Andrews Air Force Base yesterday.

the break with the past, Russian officials have arranged an unprecedented exhibit of formerly top-secret Communist Party documents, which was opened yesterday at the Library of Congress to coincide with Yeltsin's visit. They have also acknowledged for the first time that 12 Americans were shot down over Soviet territory and kept in Soviet prisons and psychiatric clinics in the 1950s.

Volkogonov told a Library of Congress news conference yesterday of "unconfirmed reports" that one American remained "incarcerated in our country." He said last night in an interview that his associates would fly today to a location in the northern Urals to check the report and he hoped to provide more information later in the week.

A senior administration official disclosed yesterday that an American taken prisoner by enemy forces during the Korean War may have been transferred to Russia and held there for an undetermined period. The official said the Defense Department received the tip about the Korean War prisoner last week.

The official said "we have been given a name" of an American taken

prisoner in Korea but Pentagon officials have no information about where the prisoner may have been held or for how long. The official said it is not yet clear whether the American is listed among those missing from the Korean War or whether he is still alive.

Yeltsin, who was driven to Blair House from Andrews Air Force Base, will be welcomed to the White House by Bush this morning. The two are scheduled for meetings in the morning and afternoon. Yeltsin is to attend a State Department luncheon and a White House state dinner.

On Wednesday, Yeltsin and Bush are to address U.S. and Russian business leaders, take a boat ride on the Chesapeake Bay, sign a variety of agreements on subjects ranging from space cooperation to trade and investment issues, and have a joint news conference. Yeltsin is also scheduled to speak to Congress.

On Thursday, before leaving on a brief tour in Kansas, Yeltsin is to meet Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton.

Staff writer Helen Dewar contributed to this report.

Yeltsin Names Economist Acting Premier

By Margaret Shapiro
Washington Post Foreign Service

MOSCOW, June 15—Russian President Boris Yeltsin appointed economics czar Yegor Gaidar as his acting prime minister today, a clear signal of Yeltsin's commitment to further economic reforms on the eve of his summit meeting in Washington with President Bush.

The appointment of Gaidar, the 36-year-old economist who as first deputy prime minister has plotted Russia's "shock therapy" course toward a free market, was described by Yeltsin aides here as a necessary first step toward making him the permanent prime minister with day-to-day responsibility for running the country.

News services here suggested that a permanent appointment could take time because the Russian parliament would first have to approve a law delineating the cabinet and the structure of government. In addition, under the Russian constitution, parliament must approve the appointment of the

prime minister. Government officials today said Yeltsin intended to submit Gaidar's name to the parliament after the law is passed.

At an airport press conference just before he left for Washington, an upbeat Yeltsin announced Gaidar's new duties and said, "This is the most important thing: Because he is prime minister, because he is acting prime minister, he remains in charge of reforms; this means the reforms will go ahead."

Yeltsin also said he was looking forward to a productive meeting with Bush and intended to "extend my hand to the American people for cooperation and for friendship because we are no longer enemies and we will never be."

Yeltsin made himself prime minister seven months ago in order to take full responsibility for the economic reforms, including free prices and tight monetary policy, that he was about to unleash on his hard-pressed country. But in April, at a stormy session of the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, conservative legislators upset with the

reforms challenged Yeltsin's authority and bitterly attacked Gaidar.

They demanded that Yeltsin step down as prime minister and appoint someone else—preferably someone who would slow the reforms—to run the government. Yeltsin was able to win the battle, but only after promising that he would appoint some more "experienced" people, meaning those from the old centrally run Soviet system, to his cabinet and would eventually replace himself as prime minister.

In recent days, Yeltsin has appointed men who had served well under the old system to top jobs, including making longtime industrial manager Vladimir Shumeiko first deputy prime minister, a rank equal to Gaidar's position until today. The appointments, some backsliding on the schedule for freeing energy prices and difficulties in negotiations between Russia and the International Monetary Fund raised concerns here and in the West about the Russian president's commitment to fast reform.

While Yeltsin has said in several

interviews that he is still committed to the reforms, today's announcement of Gaidar's promotion was the clearest sign yet that he meant what he said. The announcement apparently also was designed to reassure the United States, on the eve of the summit with Bush, and other Western financial powers, who have committed \$24 billion in financial assistance to ease Russia's transition to a capitalist economy.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III today hailed Gaidar's appointment, saying it "sends the signal that one of the champions of democracy and commitment to a free market economy is still very much a player" in the government. "My sense is that President Yeltsin and his team are still very much committed to the reform effort," Baker said.

Some Western diplomats, however, expressed concern whether Yeltsin will stay committed if conditions here worsen as expected.

According to Gennady Shipitko, the chief spokesman for the cabinet, Yeltsin's appointment of Gaidar "indicates confidence in the policy of



YEGOR GAIDAR

... mastermind of economic reform

reforms pursued by Gaidar's team, and the adherence of the president to the chosen path."

Yeltsin issued several other decrees today that were designed to bolster and regulate the increasingly chaotic move toward the market.

The most important decree established bankruptcy laws for the first time in seven decades.

The Washington Post

Bush and Clinton Take To Noncombative Milieu

TV Sessions Break Little New Ground

By Bill McAllister
and Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writers

The questions were friendly and the formats ran as long as two hours, but both President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton appeared satisfied yesterday by their efforts to reach voters by appearing on established television news programs.

"Frankly, I like this format," Bush told Cable News Network reporter Frank Sesno during a half-hour afternoon appearance from the White House during CNN's "International Hour." "We sit here in a rather relaxed way, I haven't detected any hostility, and get some very serious questions on foreign policy."

Earlier in the day, Clinton spent two hours in the CBS "Morning News" studio in New York, answering the equally cordial questions of a studio audience. "It's different. They ask questions which to you are old news but to them are new," Clinton told reporters afterward. "The American people get to watch you react in a totally unprepared way. I think that's good."

Neither candidate's appearance appeared to break much new ground. Bush continued to dodge questions about independent Ross Perot's likely bid for the presidency, but he did express doubt that the fall election would be thrown into the House of Representatives.

Bush turned aside Sesno's suggestion that his answer implied that the Perot campaign "will fizzle." "You can interpret [it] any way you want, but don't press me," Bush replied.

White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said later that the president's response indicates he believes he will receive the required 270 electoral votes as a result of the Nov. 3 election. That would forestall a deadlock in the electoral college, which might then send the presidential election to the House where each state would cast a single vote for the next president.

The White House said Bush's appearance was another in a series of responses to news media requests for interviews. "We haven't started the talk show circuit yet," said Fitzwater, seeking to distinguish the president's appearance from those of Clinton and Perot.

"First of all, we think interviews with straight news reporters are an appropriate forum for the president," Fitzwater

said, adding that the White House was "looking forward" to Perot's first news conference with "the working press."

Intead of telephone calls from viewers, a format the NBC "Today" show used for Clinton last week, CBS filled its studio with men and women with some knowledge or personal experience in areas of importance in the presidential contest. The result was a wide-ranging, if largely sympathetic, discussion of issues with the prospective Democratic nominee.

Barbara Brown, a laboratory technologist from Norwalk, Conn., and a single black mother, asked Clinton: "I want to know if it would benefit you or the country that women that are on welfare don't always want to be there, and they are penalized because they can't work? If they do work, they can't make but a certain amount."

Clinton, noting the loss of medical coverage and the other "costs" facing welfare recipients who try to work, said: "The answer is spend more money on education and training so people can get better jobs. Provide child care. Provide medical coverage for the children. Then you can move people into the workplace. You can even require them to work."

Clinton flew to San Diego to address the United Auto Workers' Convention where he told the 2,000 delegates "you're stuck with me whether you like it or not."

He used much of his speech to soothe the concerns of the union members over negotiations for a free-trade agreement with Mexico. "There is no such thing as free trade and no such thing as complete protectionism," Clinton said. He was well received by a union that just months ago thought him too conservative to be the Democratic nominee.

Meanwhile, another national poll showed that Perot has pulled ahead of Bush and is drawing support equally from supporters of Bush and Clinton.

The poll, released yesterday by the Times-Mirror Corp., showed that Perot, a Texas business executive, held a 36 percent to 31 percent lead over Bush in a survey of 3,517 voters. Clinton was third with 27 percent. In a two-way race, the survey showed that Bush was running ahead of Clinton by 45 percent to 41 percent.

Staff writer Maralee Schwartz, traveling with Clinton, contributed to this report.

Perot's Style in Navy as Now: Full Speed Ahead

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Staff Writer

Hayes McClerkin recalls Ross Perot resplendent in the starched white uniform of a Naval Academy midshipman. Proud and confident, Perot looked so natural in uniform.

They were two pals from grammar school reunited for a double date. It was 1952. Out of the blue, as McClerkin remembers it, Perot said he was thinking of volunteering for the Marines.

"I said, 'Are you crazy?' This was the height of Korea, and Marine first lieutenants were coming home in coffins," McClerkin said recently. "You'll end up dead," I told him.

"And he said, 'Sure. But if I survive, I'll make general a lot faster.'"

Ross Perot was then as he is now. Impatient, ambitious. He always wanted to go fast, to run in an uncrowded lane, to chase boldly after the big prize. Forty years ago, he could surprise his old friend McClerkin with a glimpse of his high-risk, high-reward calculus. Now, Perot surprises a whole country, pinning his presidential hopes on a gamble that he can bypass traditional politics.

Perhaps he took this latest risk partly because he passed on that gamble years ago. Perot did not join the Marines. Rather, he stuck with the Navy, the cautious thing to do. And it made him miserable.

Loaded with honors from the U.S. Naval Academy, Perot shipped out aboard the destroyer USS Sigourney in 1953, seemingly

destined to be an admiral. Two years later, safe but stymied by a weak commander, he was pleading for a discharge.

New York Times columnist William Safire, among others, has sniffed scandal in Perot's efforts to get out of the Navy after he realized his mistake, and in his explanations for those efforts. But conversations with Perot's shipmates, and an examination of the few relevant records available to the public, reveal no scandal.

Instead, Ross Perot's Navy life, with its fast start and faster end, opens a window on the unusual personality of the billionaire independent who leads President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton in several national polls. He was revealed in the

See PEROT, A6, Col. 4



ROSS PEROT

... in '50s, he grew impatient in Navy

The Washington Post

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Perot Was Respected by Peers, Troubled by Boss

PEROT, From A6

graduated 454th in a class of 925—he won some of the school's most-prized laurels. In his last year, he was chosen class president ahead of even Cassile A.H. Trost, the valedictorian who would one day command the U.S. Navy.

And so it was that when Perot graduated in June 1953 and boarded the Sigourney, many of his classmates expected their friend to be an admiral one day. He made a similar impression on his new shipmates.

"We didn't have many Naval Academy people on board at that time; most of the people on board had been called back from World War II . . .," said Leo G. Roell, one of Perot's fellow junior officers. "He was the first one I served with, and I thought, 'Boy, these guys are really sharp.'"

Rick Madden was a 19-year-old enlisted man in the damage-control unit. Perot was his supervisor. "A natural-born leader of men," Madden, now a stockbroker, recalled not long ago. "He had an ability to make everyone feel important and do a good job. I was a real screw-off in the Navy, but he got the best out of me. It was some special God-given skill, like Magic Johnson with a basketball."

The Sigourney set sail for Korea as the war was ending. Commanding the ship was the late B.A. Lienhard, a soft-spoken, straight-backed product of the University of Notre Dame Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) program. Lienhard was, Roell said, "a fine man, a good leader, stern, a disciplinarian."

Apparently he saw a kindred spirit in Perot, who was so straight, Madden recalled, that "you just didn't swear in front of him." As the Sigourney sailed around the world after the Korean cease-fire, Perot served as the permanent shore patrol.

"Captain Lienhard was an outstanding officer and a great man, a moral man," said Scott Campbell, who served as division commander over Lienhard during the cruise. "He thought a great deal of Ross Perot. They were close then, and they stayed close for years afterward."

Campbell continued: "When the Sigourney's chief engineer was detached from the ship, Lienhard thought so much of Ensign Perot he promoted him into the job. I recall that because it was rather unusual to take a brand-new ensign and make him chief engineer."

Perot was a by-the-book whirlwind on a by-the-book ship. A superstar, said Glenn Stock, second-in-command to Lienhard.

"It's like being a baseball scout," he said recently. "After seeing a few hundred, even a few thousand, junior officers, you know a great one when you see him."

All that changed after August 1954, when Lienhard was replaced by Cmdr. Gerald J. Scott. Where Lienhard was righteous and stern, by all accounts, Scott was informal and flamboyant: One of his favorite memories of his Sigourney command is of throwing a two-day party for his crew during a stop at Greenwich, England. "Two dance bands, steaks, two girls for every sailor," he recalled during a recent telephone interview.



Ross Perot, in uniform, with from left, sister, Bette; father, Gabriel Ross; mother, Lola May; and wife-to-be Margot on day he graduated from U.S. Naval Academy.

Where Lienhard was a stickler for regulations, Scott did not mind bending a few rules. Once, to the horror of many on board, he stood on the fantail, called for a gun and took target practice at a school of dolphins. "That was very, very limited, just a .22 pistol," Scott said during a second interview. "There was also trash and what-not that I was shooting at."

Scott could be mercurial, several junior officers agreed. He once ordered a supply of blueberries dumped overboard because "he didn't want the men to have them," according to Don Phelps, a gunnery officer.

And where Lienhard took a particular interest in Perot, Scott apparently paid little attention; in fact, Scott said he did not realize he had served with Perot until two weeks ago, when columnist Safire issued a public appeal for the former commander's whereabouts.

Though Scott says he has no recollection of Perot, shipmates remember them clashing several times. "Ross is a man of high principles," said Roell. "He knew the rules and it really bothered him when it wasn't done by the book."

There was the time, remembered by Roell and others, when Scott spied a stack of structural steel on the pier next to another ship. He sent Perot to collect it for the Sigourney. Perot refused, saying it would be wrong to steal from another ship. Scott denies this ever happened.

Another time, Perot was taking his turn planning menus for the officers' meals. One Friday, the steward set a plate of fish in front of Scott, and the commander exploded, several witnesses recall. He summoned Perot to his stateroom and demanded to know why fish and why on Friday.

"Ross told him fish was nutritious and we ought to eat it once a week, and as long as we were eating it we might as well have it on Friday to accommodate the Catholic officers," said Roell. "Scott said not to serve it on Friday. I'm Catholic and I thought it was kind of funny, but Ross couldn't believe an officer could be so petty." Scott said he does not recall such an incident.

Still another time, according to Phelps, the commander asked Perot

to release money from the crew's morale fund to redecorate his quarters. Perot controlled the fund as one of his duties, said Phelps, who was Perot's roommate for a year aboard the Sigourney. Perot told the same story in a Newsweek interview earlier this year, though he did not use Scott's name.

Scott denies making any such request: "I'm not the decorating conscious type. How do you redecorate a cabin that's all steel? We spent those funds on that big party for the crew, and it was a real morale boost."

In the same Newsweek interview, Perot said he controlled the keys to a small supply of liquor kept on board as a brace should a man fall overboard. He said a commander, presumably Scott, wanted the keys to get at the liquor, but he refused. Scott strongly denies the charge.

Phelps, now an actor living in Los Angeles, supported Perot's story, however. "Scott liked his little snort, so he kept it there. He had his little supply."

In spite of the confrontations, Perot was promoted to lieutenant, junior grade, in December 1954. But he took little pleasure in the new rank, he wrote soon afterward, because "every officer of my acquaintance who had not done exceptionally poor work was also promoted. The deciding factor seems to me to be time . . . instead of capability."

Disdainful of his commander and impatient with the lockstep progress he perceived ahead, Perot apparently told his father he wanted out. The two-year commitment Perot made when he entered the academy had been extended to four because of the Korean War. Now that the war was over, Perot hoped he could be spared the extra two years.

In March 1955, Gabriel Ross Perot sent a letter to his congressman, Rep. Wright Patman, asking for help for his son. Four months later, he tried Texas Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson. Perot opponents say this was pulling strings, but others disagree.

"I don't think he had any particular influence," said Josh Morris Jr., who got a sense of the Texarkana network growing up in one of the town's pioneer families. "Around here, we're

just the kind of people who write their congressman when they have a problem. I expect my father did the same thing when I wanted out after Korea."

Patman offered no help, advising Perot to go through channels; Johnson said nothing at all. The discontent young officer put his request for release into the chain of command and requested an investigation of life on the Sigourney.

He listed six other reasons for his dissatisfaction in a letter to his father, now contained in the Lyndon B. Johnson Library in Austin, Tex.:

He wanted "a career where extra effort brings results." He was impatient with rote promotions. He felt the Navy was "a fairly Godless organization (with the exception of the Naval Academy)" where his shore patrol duties subjected him to "drunken tales of moral emptiness; passing out penicillin pills and seeing promiscuity on the part of married men." He hated "the use of foul language." And because Navy officers, faced with a challenge, were rewarded for cautiously protecting their careers rather than taking decisive action.

Because the Navy involved so much moving, it was not a proper job for a family man, he wrote. And because he intended to leave anyway at the end of four years, training him for two more years would be a waste of money.

Over the years since, Perot has emphasized first one, and then another, of these explanations for his decision to abandon a military career. Once he blamed it on slow career advancement. More recently, he blamed a bad commander.

The Navy was not eager to lose him. Although by this time, according to sources, Scott had given him at least one unsatisfactory fitness report—labeling him "immature"—Perot nonetheless got a meeting with the chief of naval personnel, Vice Adm. J.L. Holloway. Holloway gave Perot his choice of available postings. Perot chose duty on an aircraft carrier, USS Leyte, where he served his remaining two years.

Looking back, Scott Campbell, the former division commander, said he sympathizes with Perot. "It's not unusual for young officers to get discouraged; it happened once to me, but you can't just up and quit whenever it happens."

Perot's nemesis, Cmdr. Scott, ended his tour on the Sigourney ignominiously, several officers recalled, crashing the ship into a pier in Scotland. "The pilot had too much speed on, so to protect the fantails, rudders and engines I had to take the con away," Scott recalled. "There was just a minor dent in the bow." The commander spent the remaining seven years of his career on what he called "routine shore duty."

With his mistaken career choice behind him, Perot went looking for a life where he would suffer no disappointing superiors and go as fast as he wanted. He did not find it in his first civilian job, as a salesman for IBM, but his next step was golden.

Electronic Data Systems, where he was founder, boss and final arbiter. Perot gave the orders, and made money beyond imagining.

Clinton Finds Biracial Support for Criticism of Rap Singer

By David S. Broder and Thomas B. Edsall
Washington Post Staff Writers

Democratic standard-bearer Bill Clinton found significant support yesterday from both black and white Democrats as he came under continuing fire from Jesse L. Jackson for his criticism of a black rap singer who participated in an earlier program at the Rainbow Coalition's convention last week-end.

Jackson said yesterday that Clinton's attack on his hosting rap singer Sister Souljah was part of "a consistent attempt to provoke me." But the Arkansas governor insisted to reporters in New York that he "didn't go there to pick a fight with anybody." He refused, however, to soften his criticism.

In interviews yesterday, a number of prominent black officials—many of them backers of Jackson in his earlier campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination—said Clinton was correct in his criticism of the rap singer and should not suffer politically for what he said.

"If she said what she is supposed to have said, he would be remiss not to have criticized it," said Joel T. Ferguson, the head of the successful Jackson campaign in Michigan in 1988.

Clinton's criticism focused on the rap singer's remarks in an interview in *The Washington Post* May 13, in which, discussing the Los Angeles riots, she said, "If black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?"

Cleveland Mayor Michael White, who is black, said "we don't need songs of hatred by either whites or blacks. What we need is more understanding and fairness now."

White said Clinton's comments will not hurt him in the African-American community:

"The issues we confront are too great to allow this minor flap to divide us."

Rep. Mike Espy (D), who represents the heavily black Delta region of Mississippi, said that as long as Souljah was not misquoted, "I don't find anything wrong with

what Governor Clinton said. She is an influential entertainer and she does have the listening ear of hundreds of thousands of black youths, and any attempt to encourage actions that would threaten the lives of anyone is something we ought to condemn."

All three, and a number of other black leaders, said they doubted that Jackson's

"The issues we confront are too great to allow this minor flap to divide us."

—Cleveland Mayor Michael White

anger would lead to a permanent split or cost Clinton black votes in November. "There's no risk of their not supporting him [Clinton]," Ferguson said. "Where else are they going to go?" Espy said: "I can't believe it will [hurt Clinton]. He was just rebuking someone for using language that would incite people to kill."

Clinton kicked off the controversy Saturday, when, at the end of a generally conciliatory speech, he publicly questioned Jackson's invitation to Sister Souljah to participate in a youth roundtable the previous day.

Jackson at first questioned the accuracy of the tape-recorded interview though later said he opposed any call to violence. But he complained yesterday in a telephone interview that Clinton "was invited as a guest and he used the platform to . . . embarrass us."

Listing a number of earlier instances when he said Clinton had rejected his overtures or been quick to denounce him, Jackson said the Arkansas governor had deliberately tried again "to provoke me . . . I invited him to establish unity, but he came to establish distance."

Although some of his aides had told reporters in advance that Clinton might use the occasion to demonstrate his differences

with Jackson, Clinton said yesterday that was not his intention. "I started out this race determined to bring people together across racial lines, and I'm going to speak out against anybody who is not doing that," Clinton said.

He told reporters that "it has become a much bigger deal to him [Jackson] than it has to me" and discounted the possibility of political retaliation.

But Robert Starke, a Chicago black activist and political scientist, said Clinton made a mistake. "Even if he felt strongly about Sister Souljah, he didn't have to choose that forum to express it. It will hurt him with young people, and especially the young professionals he needs to carry his banner . . . It was a below-the-belt blow [to Jackson]. It may win him some votes [from whites] but it won't make up for the number he'll lose, especially among young people in the African-American community."

Another former Jackson supporter disputed this assessment. "Governor Clinton was trying to emphasize his message of bringing the country together," said state Rep. Calvin Smyre of Georgia. "I don't think anything was intended that was malicious."

Bob Beckel, who managed the 1984 campaign of Walter F. Mondale and spent many hours negotiating with Jackson, said he believes the civil rights leader "is making a mistake fighting for this woman . . . I go back to who votes in the black community. If the people who vote listen to Sister Souljah, I'd be surprised, and if they listened to her, they would not agree with what she said."

Beckel said "I could understand a fight over workfare, but not over a defense of this woman."

Sen. Robert C. Byrd (D-W.Va.), issued a statement congratulating Clinton "for his courage in speaking the minds of millions of people in this country—black, white, brown and other." Byrd said Clinton had reminded "the country that no race has a monopoly on racist provocation and demagoguery."

Staff writer Marjorie Schwartz contributed to this report.

In Her Own Disputed Words

Transcript of Interview That Spawnd Souljah's Story

Following is a partial transcript of an interview between rap singer Sister Souljah and Washington Post staff writer David Mills on the subject of the Los Angeles riots. Speaking at the Rainbow Coalition convention Saturday, Democratic candidate Bill Clinton cited remarks in this interview—which appeared in *The Post* on May 13—as "filled with a kind of hatred" and criticized the group for having Sister Souljah at the convention.

Q: A lot of people look at the violence that was unleashed and say . . . let's talk now about white America and middle-class black America—will see the videos of the looting, the burning, people with their kids walking away with merchandise, people shooting at firemen, and think, you know, "Thank God for the police, because the police is what separates us and our property and our safety and our lives from them, because look what they're capable of."

Sister Souljah: They [middle-class blacks] do not represent the majority of black people, number one. Black people from the underclass and the so-called lower class do not respect the institutions of white America, which is why you can cart as many black people out on the television as you want to tell people in the lower and underclass that that was stupid, but they don't care what you say.

You don't care about *their* lives, haven't added anything to the quality of their lives, haven't affected anything for the quality of their lives, and then expect them to respond to your opinions which mean absolutely nothing? Why would they?

But even the people themselves who were perpetrating that violence, did they think it was wise? Was that wise, reasoned action?

Yeah, it was wise. I mean, if black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people? You understand what I'm saying? In other words, white people, this government, and that mayor were well aware of the fact that black people were dying every day in Los Angeles under gang violence. So if you're a gang member and you would normally be killing somebody, why not kill a white person? Do you think that somebody thinks that white people are better, or above and beyond dying, when they would kill their own kind?

I'm just asking what's the wisdom in it? What's the sense in it?

It's rebellion, it's revenge. You ever heard of Hammurabi's Code? Eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth? It's revenge. I mean, that seems so simple. I don't ever understand why anybody [would] ask me that question. You take something from me, I take something from you. You cut me, I cut you. You shoot me, I shoot you. You kill my mother, I kill your mother.

And the individuals don't matter?

What individuals? If you killed my mother, that mattered to me. That's why I killed yours. How could the individuals not matter? You mean the *white* individuals, do they matter? Not if the black ones don't. Absolutely not. Why would they? If my child dies, your child dies. If my house burns down, your house burns down. An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. That's what they believe. And I see why.

U.S. Returns Destitute Haitian Family That Sought Schools on Its Shores

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Foreign Service

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—Sony Clairmont crouches in the meager shade of a parked bus to tell his story. The youngest of his six children—a feverish, angel-faced 2-year-old named Jessica—drapes her arm sleepily around his neck. She is a large part of the reason he tried to leave Haiti.

Clairmont and his family did not get far. In a small wooden boat captained by Clairmont and crammed with 27 other Haitians, they set off last month, spent three days floundering in the Windward Passage and were picked up by the U.S. Coast Guard. The Americans delivered the Clairmont family to the tent city at the U.S. Navy Base at Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, where they spent nearly a month.

Their application for U.S. political asylum was denied, Clairmont said, on the basis of a five-minute conversation with an immigration official at Guantanamo.

On June 10, a Coast Guard cutter pulled into the port here and dropped off the Clairmonts—Sony, 34, his wife Margaret, 36, sons Fanne, 9, and Sanio, 5, and daughters Joanne, 6, and Jessica. Clairmont's two oldest children, 14-year-old Sonnelle and 11-year-old Sonise, had been left with his brother at home in the southern coastal town of St. Louis du Sud.

President Bush's decision last month to close the Guantanamo tent city set up for Haitians and deliver those picked up at sea directly back to their country has abruptly halted the outflow of boat people. The Coast Guard, which was rescuing hundreds of Haitians a day just a month ago, has reported picking up only a handful in the last few weeks. After interdicting and processing some 37,000 Haitians since a bloody military coup Sept. 30, the United States has decided, in the words of one diplomat here, that "enough is enough."

Soon the remaining few thousand unsuccessful asylum-seekers still in Guantanamo are to be returned. But for Haitians like the Clairmonts—penniless families with nothing to lose—the dream of a better life in a richer, more stable country will not die easily.

At the teeming dockside processing center where about 500 Haitians are being delivered daily from Guantanamo, Clairmont searched for shelter from the searing midday sun and lulled Jessica to sleep.

"I didn't see any way to send the kids to school," he said, brushing a fly away from Jessica's cheek. "I was a fisherman, a spear fisher, and I wasn't catching much. I



Back in Haiti from stay at U.S. base in Cuba are, from left, Margaret, Fanne, Joanne, Sony, Jessica and Sanio Clairmont.

couldn't find any other job. I didn't care what job I got. . . . All I care about is being able to feed the kids and having enough money to send them to school."

Clairmont owns little more than his clothes, the flip-flops on his feet and a few spoons his family uses to eat. Still, his conversation is dominated not by material concerns but by the theme of school for his children.

Clairmont attended school for two years, until he was 10. He can write his name in a painstaking script but cannot read or write anything else. His wife also is illiterate. She said of her grandmother who raised her, "You know, these old peasants, they don't send their kids to school."

What drove them to risk their lives at sea was not any sense of immediate danger or political persecution—the criteria Haitian refugees must meet to qual-

ify for U.S. asylum. It was the certainty that if they did not leave, their children would be condemned to the same life they have lived.

"I see that when kids go to school at least they have a guarantee, at least they can get a job," he said. In a country where many poor people make their living hauling loads of goods on two wheeled carts, he said, "If you go to school, at least you won't be pulling a cart in the road like an animal."

School tuitions are only \$15 or \$20 a year, but even that is out of reach for many, especially those with several children. The little cash that Clairmont earned from fishing was used for food and shelter. "A lot of days, I could only make 5 or 6 gourdes [50 or 60 cents]. On a good day I might make \$7 or \$8 but then there might be nothing for 15 days after that," he said.

"I was born in this. My father was a fisherman and taught me and it's all I know," he said. "Back in '78 or '79 it used to be good. But now there are too many fishermen and not as many fish and lobster. You don't get anything anymore."

After the army coup last year, hard times came to St. Louis du Sud on Haiti's southwestern peninsula, where the Clairmonts lived. There was violence as the army exerted its control and an international boycott on trade with Haiti crippled the fragile economy.

When a relative of Clairmont's became ill, he sold his diving equipment—and thus his livelihood—for medicine and a doctor. "We couldn't find work, we couldn't find money, we couldn't send the kids to school," said Margaret. "The only one of the children who had ever been to school was Joanne, the 6-year-old, who went for only a year. We had to do something."

On May 14 they set out in a small wooden boat, called Thank You Grandmother, owned by Clairmont's brother. Because he was captain, Clairmont and his family paid no fare, nor were they paid. The Coast Guard picked them up and, in keeping with policy, burned their boat.

In Guantanamo, the family sat down one day with an official from the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service, who asked why they had left Haiti. "I said it was to take care of the children," Clairmont recounted. The INS official had what he needed.

Although Clairmont said he voted for Jean-Bertrand Aristide, the president ousted in the army coup last fall, the fisherman has never taken an active interest in politics. And U.S. law denies political asylum to those like the Clairmonts who have fled their homeland simply to escape poverty.

When the Clairmonts returned to Haiti, they received 7.50 apiece in crumbling local currency from the Haitian Red Cross. They planned to find a ride back to St. Louis, where they could stay at the crowded house of Clairmont's sister.

But not for long, Clairmont said. "I don't want to stay because there's a lot of 'freak out,'" he said, using the English words. "The people can point their finger at you, and then for no reason they can come and kill you."

He said it will be impossible to make any money in St. Louis, and already he has laid plans for a new departure. "On the 28th of June I'm ready to take another boat, this time to Jamaica," he said. "We'll get together a couple of guys and get a boat and go. Things are too rough here. I just can't stay anymore."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

U.S. May Withdraw Naval Force Off Jordan

U.N. Team Would Police Iraqi Sanctions

By Nora Boustany
Washington Post Foreign Service

AMMAN, Jordan—The United States has proposed a plan for enforcing U.N. sanctions against Iraq that would replace a U.S. naval force off Jordan with U.N. monitors on Jordanian soil, according to Jordanian and diplomatic sources.

The United States has said the plan would tighten enforcement of U.N. sanctions against Iraq while allowing quicker shipment of food and other humanitarian supplies to Baghdad. But Jordanians have criticized the proposal, saying key features infringe on Jordan's sovereignty.

The United States currently has two ships, a destroyer and a frigate, off the Gulf of Aqaba, Marine Lt. Col. Stuart Wagner, a Pentagon spokesman, said in Washington. Another 18 U.S. ships on station in the area of the Red Sea and Persian Gulf are also available to help with inspections, he said, and France, Australia and Canada have one warship each in the force.

Since sanctions were imposed against Iraq in August 1990, the U.S.-led naval force has intercepted 14,025 ships, Wagner said. Of these, 4,554 were boarded and 287 were diverted from Jordan. Since last Thursday, 24 ships have been boarded and one diverted, he said.

The U.S. plan would place a team of U.N. observers in Jordan to enforce the sanctions by inspecting goods arriving at the seaport of

Aqaba and patrolling the long Jordanian-Iraqi desert border. The U.S. warships would then be withdrawn.

U.S. officials say implementation of the proposal, known as "Aqaba Plus," would be likely to curb what they describe as shipments of contraband across the Jordanian-Iraqi border in violation of the sanctions.

At the same time, officials and diplomats here said, it could expedite shipments of supplies permitted under the U.N. embargo, thereby saving Iraqi and Jordanian importers time and money. The interception and inspection of ships bound for Aqaba have delayed cargo shipments by as much as several weeks and added to their costs.

Many Jordanians, however, said they see the plan as an infringement of their country's sovereignty and the U.S. insistence on it largely as pressure for a political gesture. King Hussein could run a domestic political risk by allowing foreign inspectors to operate in Jordan, Jordanian officials and diplomats said.

Jordan is holding back because "taking a clear measure to cooperate with the West might be a direct cause for riots in the country" by well-organized Muslim fundamentalist groups and leftist activists, said a senior official who favors the plan. Such concerns come at a time when Jordan is trying to carry out economic reforms and reschedule \$7.2 billion in foreign debts.

In an interview, Basil Jardaneh, See JORDAN, A17, Col. 1

U.S. May Withdraw Naval Force Near Jordan

JORDAN, From A14

Jordan's minister of finance and customs, said: "I, as minister of finance, have no problem with the Aqaba Plus plan. Politically, however, I object to it. The opposition may use it to discredit the government."

But, he added, "it might be better for the future." The blockade, he noted, "is costing us at least \$30 million a year in surcharges on freight because of delays and diversion costs."

The proposal calls for deploying about 20 to 30 U.N. inspectors in Aqaba. They also would have a mandate to travel to Jordan's arid land border with Iraq to oversee traffic in goods trucked across the desert.

Hussein, Prime Minister She Zeid Ben Shaker and other cabinet officials appear prepared to endorse the plan, close advisers said, but heated debate is expected when the legislature resumes Saturday. The final decision, however, will not be subject to a vote, the advisers said.

In response to intelligence reports indicating continued movement of contraband across the Jordanian-Iraqi border, the United States indefinitely postponed a joint military exercise in Jordan that was scheduled to begin at the end of May.

Although Jordanian customs officials have imposed strict inspections and other controls in the last three months, the moves have been described as insufficient by officials in Washington.

There have been persistent, but largely unconfirmed, reports here of traffic in tires, plywood, steel rods and other equipment into Iraq in violation of the sanctions. Jardaneh insisted, however, that none of this material was filtering through his border control system.

Jordanian officials have moved the border customs post about 25 miles eastward, closer to the Iraqi frontier, and have built a berm about 10 feet high and more than 15 feet thick at the base in an effort to block smuggling.

Nevertheless, Iraqi importers and Jordanian officials say, smugglers have dug tunnels through the earthen wall. "We close the tunnels every now and then, but we cannot find the smugglers. Smuggling has always been a developed industry and it is one of my nightmares," Jar-

The Aqaba Plus plan and the transformation of Amman into a kind of "Baghdad West"—an outpost for thousands of businessmen, emigres and others—have strained U.S.-Jordanian relations, which had appeared to be improving last spring at the time of a visit by Hussein to Washington.

"It is a psychological and a perception problem," said a former

minister who remains close to the government. "The American administration has locked itself into a position. It wants to end the Iraqi regime."

"Jordan is an outlet for the Iraqis," he said. "The Americans don't like it. It bothers them. It is much more than sanctions busting, it is how you deal with a national American objective. We are not contributing to it, but they forget that it is not our job."

There are an estimated 25,000 Iraqis in Amman, a significant drop from the 100,000 who flocked to the Jordanian capital after the Persian Gulf War. Businessmen, bankers, vacationers and thousands of professionals seeking to emigrate to the West have come for prolonged stays.

"Trade with Iraq is off and running," a Jordanian economist whispered, adding, "Thank God." Iraq, previously a major market for Jordan, has had a trade agreement with it since 1987.

"The United States complains that some Jordanian companies are cooperating with Iraq, and that is true," said Jardaneh. "I don't think I can do anything about that unless I have evidence they are violating the sanctions. There is nothing in the sanctions that requests me to act against Iraqis forming front companies with Jordanians to make money."

European diplomats here said Iraq also has done business with Asian countries that still maintain embassies in Baghdad. Western travelers say they have seen Turkish, German and Greek beer in Baghdad supermarkets as well as imported caviar and Swiss cheese.

Japanese Company Sues Bush Brother

Prescott Bush Jr. Accused of Breaking Pledge

By Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, June 15—A Tokyo investment company linked to the Japanese underworld has filed a \$2.5 million lawsuit against Prescott S. Bush Jr., the president's older brother, over an investment that he helped arrange in an American firm that collapsed last year.

The lawsuit, by West Tsusho Co., was filed in federal court here on May 8 but attracted public attention only today, when a judge ordered Bush to respond by June 25.

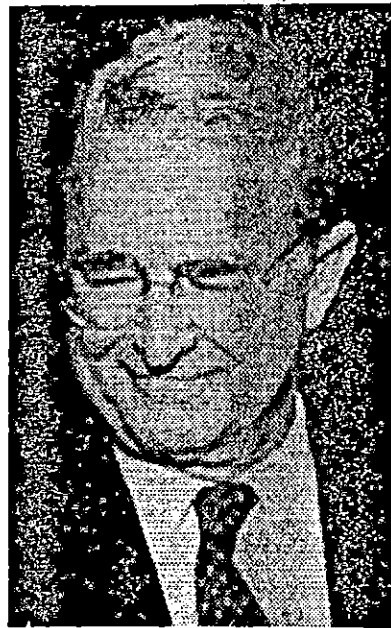
The suit involves Prescott Bush's role as a member of the senior advisory board of Asset Management, International Financing & Settlement Ltd., or AMIFS.

Founded in 1987 as a New York-based merchant banking firm, AMIFS entered bankruptcy court proceedings in March 1991 and was liquidated earlier this year.

According to the complaint by West Tsusho, Bush reneged on a promise he allegedly made in the summer of 1989 to protect West Tsusho against part of the risk that it might lose money when it invested \$5 million in AMIFS at that time.

According to the lawsuit, and a copy of a letter from Bush that was made available by the Japanese company's lawyer, Bush agreed to pay West Tsusho \$2.5 million if AMIFS were liquidated within five years.

Bush received \$500,000 in fees for helping to arrange the deal, according to documents filed by AMIFS with the Securities and Exchange Commission. He received an additional \$250,000 from other business involving West Tsusho. He also was the beneficial owner of 200,000 shares of Asset Management, ac-



PRESCOTT S. BUSH JR.
... arranged investment deal

cording to the lawsuit. A beneficial owner is entitled to all the benefits of ownership even though a broker or bank holds the security.

Bush did not return a message left on the answering machine at his home in Greenwich, Conn., and calls to two of his attorneys also were not returned.

Prescott Bush's involvement with West Tsusho and AMIFS attracted attention a year ago, when it was disclosed that Japanese police had concluded that West Tsusho was an arm of a company controlled by Susumi Ishii, who was one of Japan's top organized-crime figures before he died last September.

West Tsusho's American attorney, John R. Bartels Jr., said the Japanese company's reputed mob con-

See LAWSUIT, C4, Col. 3

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Bush Brother Sued by Tokyo Firm Linked to Underworld

LAWSUIT, From C1

nections were "totally irrelevant" to the suit against Bush.

"This is a simple action on a guarantee," Bartels said.

AMIFS said last year that no one at the company "had any knowledge whatsoever" of the reported links between West Tsusho and gangsters at the time that the investment was made.

Prescott Bush attracted headlines earlier this year when he went on a business trip to Asia shortly before the president's own trade mission there.

Asked about the West Tsusho lawsuit, White House spokeswoman Laura Melillo said the president would not comment on "a private matter," the Associated Press reported. She said she believed the suit would have "no effect at all" on the election campaign.

West Tsusho apparently paid a premium price for its stake in AMIFS, which was set up to make money by providing financing services to exporters and importers.

The Japanese company paid slightly more than \$1 a share for its 4.8 million shares in AMIFS, whereas in 1990 the stock traded on the over-the-counter market for 12.5 cents to 14 cents a share.

Bush was only one of several prominent business executives on

AMIFS's senior advisory board, according to a company brochure prepared for potential investors.

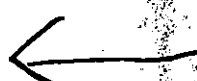
Other senior advisers listed in the brochure included retired admiral Elmo R. Zumwalt Jr., former chief of naval operations; Lyman C. Hamilton, former president of International Telephone & Telegraph Corp.; and Raymond G. Petersen, then executive vice president of the Hearst Magazines subsidiary of Hearst Corp.

The complaint implied that a critical issue in the lawsuit may be whether Prescott Bush gave his personal guarantee that he would pay West Tsusho \$2.5 million if AMIFS failed, or if he merely pledged that one of his consulting firms, Prescott Bush & Co., would do so.

The exact status of the consulting firm was unclear, but the lawsuit said that Bush had "intentionally shut down" the firm when it appeared to him that it would owe the money to West Tsusho.

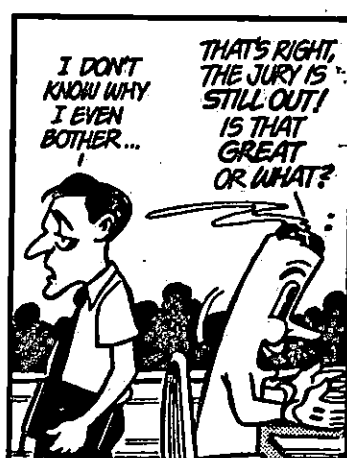
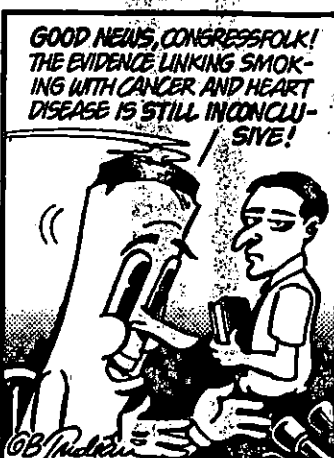
The complaint said Bush was personally responsible for the consulting firm's obligations, because he "dominated [the firm] that it had no will or existence of its own."

The lawsuit also alleged that Bush "purposely undercapitalized [the firm] with the intent of rendering incapable of meeting its financial obligations" to West Tsusho.



DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau





BY CRAIG HERNDON—THE WASHINGTON POST

On the official James Brown Day, the Godfather of Soul finally got around to business.

On the Hill, James Brown's Sloooow Moves

He showed up nearly two hours late, didn't sing and, in fact, seemed a bit fuzzy on the topic he was there to talk about. But it was his day, according to a proclamation by Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly—so he could do what he pleased.

And he did.

After a full morning—a meeting with House Speaker Tom Foley and a radio interview with Cathy Hughes—and a noon appearance on Black Entertainment Television, the Hardest Working Man in Show Business took a break. A long break.

Seemingly forever, autograph-seeking interns and pages loitered in the Rayburn hallway (pens and congressional note pads in hand), hoping to see James Brown when he announced a Los Angeles Relief Concert, set for Sept. 5 at the L.A. Coliseum.

Finally, as happy hour approached, "The New James Brown" (as his people called him) showed with his Imelda-looking wife, Adrienne. He mostly talked about the need "to rebuild, to put back" after the riots.

"I couldn't believe seeing that many people laying on the street," he said. "I've never seen that in my life. . . . I stop and talk to the kids—get out of the limousine and let them see me." He knew little about the actual concert plans.

Former D.C. mayor Marion Barry, with constant companion Cora Masters, was there as an old pal of Brown's. In fact, Barry went to see Brown's concert Sunday night at Wolf Trap and stopped backstage afterward, he said, because "we share a lot of commonality in our lives."

Like prison, for one?



BY RON GALELLA

A robust Taylor once upon a time.

Larger-Than-Life Liz, Stepping Out on the Town

■ Remember when movie star extraordinaire Elizabeth Taylor was a Republican senator's wife? And not your average size 6, perfectly coiffed, Chanel-suited, chicken-salad-and-iced-tea-lunching wife either.

We can thank the don of the *paparazzi*, Ron Galella, for this reminder of Capitol Hill Liz, arriving for a party with her pal the late Steve Rubell, owner of the famed Studio 54, in American Photo's July/August issue.

Media Notes

Live From N.Y. ... It's DNC-TV

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Some of the footage you see from next month's Democratic convention in New York may come from a new journalistic venture: Democratic Party television.

Worried about the networks' plans to limit coverage of the four-day coronation of Bill Clinton, the Democratic National Committee is paying for its own studio and editing rooms, a 50-person staff and 109 hours of satellite time, all to provide local stations with coverage they can broadcast as their own.

"The main goal is to get our guys and our message on the air," says Anne Reingold, a former CBS producer who is running the party's media operation. "It's part of making the Democrats more aggressive in television terms."

The Democratic feed, which will focus on interviews and events away from the podium, will have no anchors or commentators.

See MEDIA NOTES, E2, Col. 6

Democratic Party TV

MEDIA NOTES, From E1

though it's safe to assume the assorted party honchos will be cast in a favorable light.

In some respects the Democrats are catching up with the Republican Party, which has provided gavel-to-gavel satellite coverage since its 1984 convention. Unlike the Democrats', a spokesman says, the GOP's cameras will remain trained on the podium at its Houston convention in August.

Democratic officials say the satellite service is aimed at budget-conscious local stations that can't afford to send a reporter to New York.

"The idea is to get Senator So-and-So on the air, mostly in his home territory," Reingold says. "If [Senate candidate] Carol Moseley Braun is addressing the Illinois delegation, we'll shoot it and feed it to the Illinois stations. . . . It's really useful for them to have something that suggests a live presence at Madison Square Garden."

And will viewers know they are watching a Democratic Party production? "That's up to the stations," Reingold says. "We're not putting the DNC logo on it."

Shootout With NBC

The National Rifle Association has opened fire on NBC News President Michael Gartner.

In an ad airing on CNN and some local stations, actor Charlton Heston quotes from a Gartner column urging a ban on handguns, and another NRA spokesman warns of "a national media movement to repeal your constitutional right to keep and bear arms."

The sniping began after Gartner, in a USA Today opinion piece, wrote in January: "Let's change the Constitution. . . . The only way to control handgun use in this country is to prohibit the guns."

NRA members also flooded NBC's affiliates with protest calls in the days before a recent Tom Brokaw special on violence. Chief NRA lobbyist James Jay Baker wrote members that Gartner was using "the network to advance his personal anti-gun agenda."

NBC spokeswoman Katherine McQuay says the June 5 special was unrelated to Gartner's views. "Total misrepresentation. Total fabrication," she says. "They'd never even seen the show. Once the show aired, I never heard a peep from anyone."

But NRA Executive Vice President

Wayne LaPierre called the program "shallow and biased" and says some NBC employees gave his group warning on its contents. "We're not about to see any media news president come along and tear a hole in the Bill of Rights," LaPierre says, adding that Gartner's views and NBC's approach are "inseparable."

Gartner told the Des Moines Register that his USA Today column "has nothing to do with my role as a journalist and manager at NBC."

Media Morsels

Mike Barnicle, the mean-streets columnist at the Boston Globe, isn't leaving after all. Barnicle had announced he was taking an employee buyout, but he changed his mind after the Globe hired an old friend, Matthew Storr of the New York Daily News, as its new executive editor. Barnicle has taken a leave of several months to pursue writing projects . . .

The latest trend in tabloid television is high-tech theft. "A Current Affair" recently obtained exclusive footage of Amy Fisher, the accused teenage call girl in the "Long Island Lolita" case, in a sexual encounter. But the Fox program's satellite signal was intercepted by "Hard Copy," which stripped off the logo and used the steamy footage itself—in some markets hours before "A Current Affair" was aired. Paramount Pictures, which owns "Hard Copy," has written a letter of apology, and Fox officials have stopped talking about a possible lawsuit . . .

R.W. "Johnny" Apple Jr., the New York Times' chief Washington correspondent and noted gourmand, did more than just cover politics during the California primary. He made a pilgrimage to the restaurant Masa's, as recounted by San Francisco Chronicle columnist Herb Caen: "It was edifying to watch the great man in action, as follows: Beluga caviar and wild rice with creme fraiche ('82 Krug champagne); vegetables with truffles and foie gras (a superb white Rhone, Chateau de Fonsalette); young Maine lobster with carrot and lobster sauce (Amontillado sherry); salmon in oxtail au jus with potatoes mousseline (Alsatian Pinot); single fillet of mignon of veal with mushrooms (Grands-Echezaux '85) and assorted desserts washed down with a '75 Chateau D'Yquem."

Asked to confirm the menu's accuracy, Apple says: "Why don't you ask Herb Caen? He ordered it! He arranged the evening and the meal. Herb is a very old friend of mine, and he transformed it from an ordinary meal to a grand production." Caen must have a heck of an expense account.

Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ Those older, stiff fellows trying to look cool in the front row at Bill Clinton's MTV forum tonight will be his Secret Service detail. The rock cable network has insisted that the agents dress down to blend in with the 18-to-24-year-olds who will be grilling Bill in Los Angeles. "They'll look hipper than they ever have," assured a spokesman for MTV.

■ Dr. Willie Smith (you might recall him from Court TV last year) was spotted at Twins, a local jazz club, partying away this past weekend.

■ Katherine Perot, the 21-year-old youngest child of Ross, is reportedly doing her senior thesis at the University of

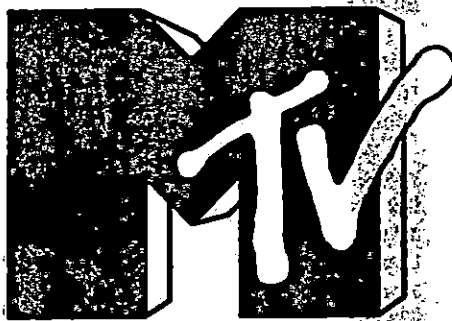
North Carolina on Dad's presidential bid.

■ Doro Bush LeBlond is taking time out of her frenetic wedding planning schedule to keynote a breakfast today at the annual convention of the National Council of Hispanic Women. The meeting's theme: "Learning the Survival Game in the Global Economy and the Intense Political Environment." She should know.

■ Marilyn Quayle was heard to say recently that politicians should have to



Smith: Party animal?



Clinton on MTV: Secret party animals?

go out and raise money because it makes them accountable to the people. "Money is the great equalizer," she said.

■ Dan Quayle is only as good as his flash cards. Yesterday at an elementary school spelling bee in Trenton, the vice president encouraged a young boy to

misspell the word "potato" because it was wrong on Quayle's own cue card. When the boy added an "e" to the word on the blackboard, Quayle praised him—to the astonishment of the traveling press corps.

A bad spell for Dan Quayle.



Buttons? Buttons? Who's Got the Buttons?

■ She got a better deal than her husband.

Felicidad Noriega, accused of stealing 27 status buttons from 10 designer outfits at a Burdines department store in Florida, yesterday agreed to a plea bargain that requires her to perform 100 hours of community service. She also has to pay Burdines \$1,320.94 for the clothes she ruined. In return, charges of grand theft were dropped.

Noriega, wife of Manuel, and a girlfriend were arrested in March, after store surveillance monitors showed one of them plucking buttons from expensive dresses and the other holding up clothes to block the view.

The accused didn't show up for yesterday's hearing, and her lawyer would only say that she was out of the country "on one of five continents."

And here's the best part of the deal: After 10 years the charges will be expunged. And she can do her service anywhere law enforcement officials are able to keep an eye on her.

Manuel is doing his time here for drug trafficking crimes he committed elsewhere. She'll be doing her time elsewhere for crimes committed here. Is this a great country or what?



Button-bedazzled Felicidad Noriega.

THE NEW YORK TIMES OP-ED TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

The Archeology of a Crisis

By Michael Schudson

A third of America's population was not born or not yet in kindergarten when, 20 years ago tomorrow, burglars working for the Committee to Re-elect the President were arrested breaking into Democratic National Committee headquarters at the Watergate hotel complex in Washington.

It's no wonder that the memory of Watergate has grown dim. A survey of high school students in 1986 found that one in three could not place Watergate as an event that happened after 1950 and one in five associated it with the resignation of some President other than Richard Nixon. In 1975, just a year after Mr. Nixon resigned, senators debating a permanent legal provision for appointing a special prosecutor complained that the memory of Watergate was fading.

This is no surprise to those who insist that Americans are amnesiac, that Watergate is forgotten. Watergate, they say, changed nothing. Corruption and Presidential abuses of power have continued. The media are complacent and compliant. Congress proved maddeningly cautious in pursuing Ronald Reagan over Iran-contra.

But this view expects more from individual memories than they can deliver and fails to recognize that memory is stored not only in our minds but in social institutions and cultural symbols. The special prosecutor law was enacted in 1978, after all. Words and phrases that were unfamiliar in June 1972 are now part of our public political vocabulary — stone-wall, cover-up, "what did he know and when did he know it?" smoking gun.

Michael Schudson, professor of sociology and communications at the University of California at San Diego, is author of "Watergate in American Memory."

and, of course, the suffix "gate."

Our expectations of public life have also changed. Consider how much more thinkable impeachment became after Watergate. Calls for President Nixon's removal did not start until October 1973, 16 months into the crisis. Yet when the Iran-contra story broke in November 1986, the impeachment of Ronald Reagan was under discussion almost instantly and a special prosecutor was appointed within weeks.

Post-Watergate legislation made conflicts of interest more visible (via campaign finance laws), made investigation of the Government easier (the Freedom of Information Act was strengthened) and required the President to take personal responsibility for authorizing covert operations (through reforms of the intelligence agencies).

The many ways to remember Watergate.

The political climate after Watergate also empowered public-interest groups (like Common Cause), encouraged more open and democratic legislative procedures in Congress and state and local governments and helped rejuvenate the muckraking ideal in journalism.

None of these changes made a revolution. They just made it a little harder to abuse power without getting caught. And they changed the legends of politics, making the personal integrity of public officials a central and abiding issue. Ever since Watergate, it has been rhetorically profitable to run against Washington. Jimmy Carter ran as an outsider, as did Ronald Reagan. Witness the success of Ross Perot today.

Interpretations of Watergate differ

in important ways to this day. There is still debate about Richard Nixon's role — not about his guilt for abuses of power and obstruction of justice, on which almost all observers are agreed, but about whether his abuses were any worse than those of his predecessors who didn't get caught. Thanks to Watergate, the mid-1970's saw a wave of investigations that made it clear that previous Presidents had also abused their power. The question of Watergate in 1974 was whether to impeach a President; by 1976, the question was whether to impeach a system that gave rise to an impeachable President.

There is a related debate on whether the public drama of Watergate was primarily a matter of good guys rooting out bad guys or whether it was largely a convenient accident that liberals used to destroy an enemy while sweeping under the rug the abuses of their own leaders. John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson.

A few critics see Watergate as primarily a public spectacle stage-managed by liberal elites. Most agree, however, that grave offenses took center stage. Watergate taught us that Presidents may overreach themselves and threaten constitutional government and that the remedy of public exposure and the threat of impeachment are necessary instruments in the toolbox of American democracy. That much is remembered, even if the details, including important ones, are lost in a hazy past.

Richard Nixon once said that Watergate would one day be no more than a footnote in the history textbooks. He hoped that his foreign policy would be remembered rather than his fall from power. This is unlikely to happen. When you look at school textbooks or children's games or picture books about the Presidents, what remains when pages are whittled down to paragraphs and paragraphs to captions or phrases is "the President who resigned."

And while Mr. Nixon's "rehabilitation" has become a leading symbol of the American capacity for forgetfulness,

its dimensions have been exaggerated. His comeback has gone much further among Republican officials eager to be seen with the former President than among the general population. According to a 1991 Harris poll that asked which postwar President held the lowest moral standards for the nation, Mr. Nixon came in first. As for foreign policy, even in the year of his resignation, the public judged his record favorably. Americans seem able to keep the opening of China and Watergate horrors in mind at the same time.

This is not to say that Watergate is remembered in altogether sound or satisfying ways. Why, after all, does discussion always pit Mr. Nixon's foreign policy achievements against his Watergate failures and then ignore his five-year prosecution of the Vietnam War?

Why should discussion of Watergate in school books regularly insist that "the system worked" and fail to communicate the sense so many had at the time that our Government was deeply compromised and in danger of collapse?

Why should the investigative work of The Washington Post be taken as representative of the news media when it was a relatively lonely — and very anxious — exception to standard news practices? "If this is such a hell of a story," publisher Katharine Graham, asked editor Ben Bradlee, "where is everybody else?"

Many people will never forget the gripping feeling as we watched the Senate Watergate hearings or the shock, fascination and outrage when we read transcripts of the White House tapes. We will never forget John Dean and Sam Ervin and Archibald Cox and Sam Dash and Barbara Jordan and others forever connected to either the perpetration or the pursuit of Watergate. But even for the millions of Americans who do not recognize those names, a Watergate legacy has been passed on. □



On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

Congress, Yeltsin and Prisoners

Boris Yeltsin and the American Congress have an opportunity, immediate and glorious, to turn his visit to the United States into a richness far beyond ceremony and speeches.

They have the opportunity to help the heroes of the Soviet anti-Communist revolution, the men and women who endured years of imprisonment for Russia's freedom and so made this visit possible. Thousands of them, and their children, are now adrift, or in great want.

Every day of every year, from Lenin's time through much of Gorbachev's, Soviet citizens were arrested, tried in mock courts and sentenced to the vileness of the gulag for political crimes. These crimes were: speaking or writing thoughts distasteful to the Government, teaching religion, trying to leave the country without official permission, or even planning to do that.

The archives of terror are being opened in Moscow, slowly, partially and fearfully. They document what the world knows — that throughout its seven decades of power Soviet Communism used murder and imprisonment as the basic instruments of Soviet rule. All officialdom — bureaucracy, police, press, laws — functioned to help.

The latest batch of papers detail some of the particular viciousness of Yuri Andropov. This fellow lived only briefly after becoming top man in Moscow in 1982. But he had long years of murder behind him, as head of the K.G.B. When I read excerpts from the Andropov file, I thought of the lickspittle stories that once appeared in the American press about how he was a pretty good guy who liked reading novels and drinking Scotch.

Mikhail Gorbachev, a protégé of Andropov, failed in his efforts to rescue Communism through reform. But in the process the political prisoners were released. Some had stayed in cells all the years of his own reign.

But even after his own strange three-day house detention, which he said was so racking for him and his wife, he never expressed gratitude, regret or understanding to those whom the regimes he had served had imprisoned not for days but years.

The political prisoners were released into a society where survival was a day-to-day struggle. For many, the essential tools of survival in freedom had been destroyed during the prison years.

Families were shattered by death or divorce. Old friends had nothing to share. Jobs, apartments, skills — all lost, irreplaceably.

All Russia suffers — one more heritage of Communism. The prisoners are among the Russians who suffer most.

They were the poets of the revolution. With their words, their thoughts, with their imprisoned bodies, they

A gift to the past and the future.

wrote the truth about the vast political penitentiary that was the Soviet Union. Thus they prepared the way for the Yeltsins and the Gorbachevs.

Last year, legislation was passed in Moscow to give them a bit of assistance. But in Russia there is neither the money nor the organization to carry through.

In the West, the International Rescue Committee helps with medicine and supplies. It has raised \$74,000 for the former prisoners.

Mr. Gorbachev is asking for millions for his own foundation. Wouldn't it be lovely if Americans thinking of contributing to this personal comeback fund would instead send the checks to the I.R.C.: 386 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10018.

Now, the opportunity for Congress and Mr. Yeltsin. To start, Congress can ask him about the 127,000 "economic" prisoners arrested during the Gorbachev and Yeltsin eras, under Soviet anti-capitalist laws. Most of the offenses of entrepreneurship would not be crimes at all in the free-market economy that is supposed to be Russia's goal.

There is talk of amnesty. When, please?

And then, Congress can legislate that a tiny portion of the funds that will eventually go to help Russia be used for political prisoners living in want. The funds should be dispensed through a joint Russian-American committee, including former prisoners of the gulag.

Mr. Yeltsin and Congress would be sending a message to all other fighters for freedom, wherever they lie in prison cells.

The message will be that when freedom comes for their nations, the prisoners of today will not be the forgotten of tomorrow, left to suffer in liberty after suffering in enchainment. It would be a gift to the past and the future. □

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

Save That Arch For Fu

Having recently betrayed irritation with the homilies of Parson Quayle, I am suffering the consequences. A New Jersey man suggests I belong to "a cabal of ultra-leftists," and a fellow in Illinois, who really knows how to hurt a guy, calls me an "arch-liberal."

Isn't it bad enough being a liberal, plain style? Do I have to bear the burden of liberalism to the arch degree? It makes me wonder about the age of this Illinois fellow, so angered by my disrespect for the Right Reverend Quayle's moral discourse. I suspect he is a rather young man, too young to know the terrible sting of "arch."

In the literature and movies consumed by youth in the 1930's, "arch" was pretty much confined to the world's nastiest people. The culture abounded in "archvillains," the kind of people whose loutishness could not be adequately expressed as mere "villainy." Sax Rohmer constantly had brave Nayland Smith, the only man who could save the British Empire from enslavement by the Yellow Peril, referring to Fu Manchu as "the archfiend."

I believe if my correspondent were old enough to know the dreadful weight carried by that "arch," he would have been content to let me off as just a plain unmodified "liberal." Knowing the vileness that conservatives attribute even to plain unmodified liberals, I would have got his point. "Liberal" would have been stab enough, good Quayleman.

The other fan's placing me in "a cabal of ultra-leftists" was more pleasant. It's childish, yes, but in my fanciful moments I've always been attracted by the idea of cabals. Cabals have always seemed wickedly exciting, maybe because the alien sound of the word — "cabals" — suggests big-time conspiracies being cooked up by top-drawer people, the kind of people who, in real life, never let me in on their secret scheming.

Isn't it bad enough being a plain-style liberal?

I can imagine cabals of the most glamorous courtiers in England plotting to make sure King James finally dispatches Raleigh to the block. In fact, I wouldn't be surprised to learn that a cabal or two of fancy, high-class conservative intellectuals is pulling the strings that operate Dan Quayle in his present role as giver of moral counsel to the nation.

The present attempt to create divisive emotional confrontations over phony issues is a favorite strategy of, for instance, Patrick Buchanan, who studied the method under one of its masters, Richard Nixon.

The technique is to take a position so outrageously provocative and so offensive to the targeted crowd that you lure them into emotional defenses of the indefensible. In Nixon's heyday, Democrats spent themselves denying that they were part of a Soviet scheme to destroy the United States.

With Quayle we have an effort to create a villainous — oh, all right, an archvillainous gang of cynical sneerers — yes, a cabal, if you please, who are trying to destroy everything that has made the American family precious. This has the effect of making sensible people insist that Quayle is all wet, that they really do cherish the family.

What a waste of time, energy, intellect. What nonsense. And for the Quayle cabal — the Quaybal? — what fun.

The elements don't vary much. The provocateur sets up an Us vs. Them game, Good Guys vs. Bad Guys, Commie Haters vs. Commie Pals, Family Folks vs. Cynical Sneering Folks. The politics of a campaign is simplified down to the shouting level. Questions of governance go out the window while everyone has a good, dirty saloon brawl.

Typically, the mail fills with ridiculous letters about cabals of ultra-leftists and liberals of the arch variety, tempting the sucker to waste himself in replies attempting to refute nonsense: "What do you mean with that 'ultra-leftist, archliberal' stuff? I've spent my whole life fighting progress and campaigning to restore America to the way it used to be. That makes me conservative, you klunkhead. I'm the most conservative guy in this etcetera..."

Pretty soon, what do you have? A passionate campaign issue allowing everybody to blow out his arteries in excesses of emotion about an issue that isn't an issue. It is the classic old-style politics: Get everybody's brain turned off and tell 'em they've got to save home, flag and mother, but only if she's married and has father in the house. □

Perot's Ticket to the White House

By Larry Gelbart

Mr. Edward Rollins
Dallas, Tex.

Dear Ed,
Congratulations on signing on to (co-)run Ross Perot's campaign. I'm very proud of the fact that you got your professional start in the Nixon Administration. I have always liked to keep an eye on young people — not just protesters — and I often recall your truly remarkable work as Congressional liaison in the Department of Transportation. I always made it a point to spread the word that you were a young man who was going to hit one into the bleachers.

Well, Ross Perot is certainly in the big leagues, with every chance of sending the election into extra innings. He's unquestionably struck out the sluggers of the print media — 20 years too late, if you ask me. The way I see it, as brilliantly as he's handled himself to date, Ross needs only to play one more card to make sure he picks up all the chips. That card is his choice for Vice President.

As somewhat of an expert on the office, let me say it is not a slot that has always been filled well. George Bush was a lousy Vice President. He certainly couldn't carry water for

Reagan the way I did for Ike, or the way Spiro carried water for me (unfortunately, it was in a stolen bucket), and nowhere near as well as the way young Dan is carrying it now.

Quayle, taking a leaf from my book, is a perfect Vice President, willing and eager to be an attack rather than a lap dog. Good as Quayle is, what I'm offering Ross is a chance to hook up with a teacher, while Bush has to settle for the student. What I am proposing is a Perot-Nixon ticket.

Can anyone, has anyone, ever offered the voters a Vice Presidential candidate who has actually served as Vice President for eight years? And a further five years as President? Who could Ross find who would be more qualified to get around Congress while he takes the high road and speaks to the nation on Oprah and Phil and Geraldo? Can anyone match my qualifications as an insider, who has spent 20 years on the outside, despite the clamor of some that I belonged on the inside?

Ross and I go way back, as I'm sure you remember. He's done a lot for me and I've always been one who tried to pay people back. During my 1968 Presidential campaign, he gave me the use of a corporate jet and the free services of seven of his employees. He gave \$200,000 to my 1972 campaign. In the darkest days of Vietnam, he offered to spend \$50 mil-

lion of his own money to buy either a major newspaper or the ABC television network, in an effort to help my image, and then volunteered to create a pro-Nixon think tank for an additional \$10 million. A man doesn't forget little things like that.

We'd make a good team. We're both very security-conscious; both

Guess who is a natural for Vice President?

very open about our belief in covert operations. The two of us are ex-Navy men, and, like Ross, I was disgusted by the lax morals, the coarse vulgarities, of the men around me.

O.K., I know what you're thinking, so let's cut right to the chase. What about Watergate, right?

Well, what about it? Tomorrow is 20 years to the day since the flap started that eventually prompted self-righteous types like then U.N. Ambassador George Bush to call publicly for my resignation "for the good of the country." Not too many years later, there were those who felt that

the then-Vice President Bush might prove impeachable for his role in Iran-contragate (to say nothing of Iraqgate — one gate closes, another opens), along with then President Reagan.

Congress took no steps to remove either man — the same Congress that was filled with post-Watergate electees who were going to restore "decency" to Washington, and who, in turn, turned Government into a system of bounced checks and balances.

But nobody was ever hounded from office again. No one was ever choppered out of Washington on every channel on the dish. No. After Watergate, we realized that this country could not survive these ongoing traumas, so no one was punished, no matter what their transgressions. Ever since Watergate, everyone high enough up has been safe. Well, I'm clean now, Ed — as clean as they all are. I resigned for their sins.

Think of it: Perot-Nixon. It's a dream ticket. Call me soonest. You have my private number. If I'm not in, just leave a message on my tape.

Best wishes,
RN

Larry Gelbart, a television and screenwriter, is author of "Mastergate," a political satire.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

**GEORGIE
ANNE GEYER**

Policy card for Bush

Given the extraordinary meeting about to take place here, there is remarkably little excitement about the visit of Boris Yeltsin. Indeed, the few major stories about the historic trip have focused obsessively on arms control.

Of course, there is nothing wrong with Secretary of State James Baker dramatically flying to London at the last minute in an 11th-hour bid to achieve a major nuclear arms-reduction deal just in time for the June 16-17 presidents' meeting. But all that staged movement misses the sheer wonder of this moment.

Consider what we are about to see acted out on the streets of Washington:

- On the more obvious level, for the first time in history, a president of the United States will receive a freely elected president of Russia.

- On a deeper level, Boris Yeltsin comes to his nation's former enemy having in the last six months reversed the traditional strategy of the Russian nation. As Sovietologist Leon Aron of the American Enterprise Institute puts it: "Russian nation-building was always linked inexorably to external expansion. Yeltsin has delinked the two. The Russian 'national idea' is no longer linked to the Russian imperialist idea. And he did that by linking Russia to democracy."

- And if you'll forgive even hardened journalists a moment of wonder, this trip strangely fulfills a famous prophecy made a century and a half ago. Perhaps it is time to remember the great French historian Alexis de Tocqueville writing in his classic "Democracy in America": "There are at the present time two great nations in the world, which started from different points, but seem to tend towards the same end. I allude to the Russians and the Americans."

"All other nations seem to have nearly reached their natural limits, and they have only to maintain their power; but these are still in the act of growth..."

"Their starting point is different and their courses are not the same; yet each of them seems marked out by the will of Heaven to sway the destinies of half the globe."

Indeed, Mr. Yeltsin seems at times not only to represent, but instinctively to understand, what Tocqueville's sharp historical instincts told him in the 1830s. For in his last interview with foreign correspondents in Moscow before leaving for the United States, Mr. Yeltsin argued passionately that Russia's status "derives from its illustrious history and not — as it was for the United States and the former Soviet Union — from the number of its nuclear warheads."

And when from Washington Mr. Yeltsin telephones long-exiled Russian writer Alexander Solzhenitsyn (who was deported from the Soviet Union in 1974) to ask him to come home, he will indeed be fulfilling the prophecy of a new Russia, free from its recent past and welcoming to a new and better home its best but thwarted sons.

Given the significance of this visit, what should the Bush administration be preparing to do for Mr. Yeltsin that would truly lay the basis for more binding ties between the two former enemies?

To be fair, the Bush administration is not making the same mistakes it made on Mr. Yeltsin's earlier trip, when the White House, considering him a Russian "muzhik," or peasant boor, went out of its way to insult him. Mr. Yeltsin will also become the first elected Russian or Soviet president to address a joint session of Congress, and he will be socially feted at every turn.

But there is considerable concern among our best analysts about how much, in a fragile election year, the Bush administration is actually going to do for Moscow. There is even worry that all the focus on arms control is to overshadow the fact that we aren't going to give very much at all.

Here are some realistic goals: Make clear that the United States does not support military action by Moscow to "protect" the Russian minorities in the successor states. Forget the nuclear warheads and talk seriously about economic cooperation.

Initiate, to name just one possibility, a program of exchange of military men between our two armed forces. Push, push, push Congress to pass the bill authorizing America's \$4 billion part of the West's \$24 billion package for Russia — and use the visit to shame Congress into it. Finally, do something modest but effective, like dispatching American-made pickup trucks to Russian farmers so they can get the rotting crops to market — and, by the way, undermine the remaining collective farm system.

One can only hope and pray that this moment is not lost. We've been waiting for it a long time.

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

SAMUEL FRANCIS

ALAN DERSHOWITZ

Reopening the Demjanjuk files

A case unravels

The Office of Special Investigation was set up within the Justice Department by act of Congress in 1979 for the sole purpose of investigating and prosecuting Nazi war criminals living in the United States.

In the 13 years since, the OSI, as the bureau is known, has dispatched a number of Americans believed to be guilty of war crimes to the tender mercies of Soviet and East European communist justice systems. Now, with the rapid unraveling of its case against its most famous target, John Demjanjuk, it turns out the real criminals may have been inside OSI all along.

Demjanjuk is the 72-year-old retired steelworker who was sentenced to death in Israel for being "Ivan the Terrible," a guard at the Treblinka concentration camp who tortured and murdered Jewish inmates. From the beginnings of his case, he and his family have claimed he is not Ivan, that he's an innocent man. Nevertheless, five Israeli witnesses swore he was Ivan, and the gallows gaped. Virtually the only man to defend Demjanjuk was columnist Patrick J. Buchanan, who was promptly vilified for it.

More recently, more doubts have arisen about Demjanjuk's guilt as the evidence piles up from Soviet archives that the real Ivan actually was someone else. The prosecutors now claim that even if Demjanjuk isn't Ivan, maybe he committed other crimes and should hang for them. That's a bit like claiming Rodney King's beating by the police was OK because he had once committed armed robbery.

The Israeli Supreme Court is hearing Demjanjuk's appeal, and the whole case is now an embarrassment to Israel and professional Nazi-hunters who like to boast of their infallibility. Last week a New York Times editorial acknowledged that "new uncertainties about whether Mr. Demjanjuk is in fact 'Ivan' of Treblinka clinch the argument against executing him." So far, no one has suggested that an apology to Mr. Buchanan might be in order, let alone congratulated him on being courageously right.

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.



Demjanjuk may well go free, but there's more to the story. Just as the Israeli Supreme Court was reconsidering the case, a U.S. federal appeals court was examining whether Demjanjuk's extradition in 1986 may have been based on "erroneous information."

It would be bad enough if the Justice Department had merely blundered in branding an innocent man a Nazi war criminal and deporting him to stand trial for capital offenses in a foreign country. But there's more still.

Last week, The Washington Times reported that the Justice Department's Office of Professional Responsibility is investigating whether OSI officials themselves may have committed perjury — not only in the Demjanjuk case but also in that of one of their earlier targets, Andrija Artukovic. Artukovic was extradited to Yugoslavia and sentenced to death for wartime atrocities. He died in prison there in 1988, so comatose he never knew where he

was or what he was charged with, and clearly mentally unfit to stand trial.

The allegations that OSI officials, including the director, may have deliberately falsified evidence against two innocent men in capital cases is most serious. Most serious? If true, it would be perhaps the biggest scandal in the history of the Justice Department, shoving the shenanigans of Watergate and Teapot Dome clear off the scandal sidewalk.

It has never been entirely clear why a U.S. government agency should concern itself with hunting down criminals who were not Americans, whose crimes were not committed on American soil, and whose victims weren't Americans either. The OSI has no authority to pursue, and no interest in pursuing, Japanese war criminals who committed atrocities against American POWs in World War II or any other war

see FRANCIS, page F4

Israeli justice

The Israeli Supreme Court will almost certainly vacate the death sentence imposed on John Demjanjuk, who was convicted of atrocities against Jewish death camp inmates during the Holocaust.

In vacating the death sentence — the second ever imposed in Israel, the first having been against Adolf Eichmann — the Israeli high court will not be declaring Demjanjuk innocent. It will be saying that doubt has been raised about whether Demjanjuk was "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

In fact, his supporters acknowledge that Demjanjuk was a guard at Sobibor, the notorious death camp, which a quarter-million Jewish babies, grandmothers and parents were murdered. Indeed that is what his alibi boils down to: He could not have been murdering Jews at Treblinka, because he was too busy helping the Nazis murder Jews at Sobibor. As his most vocal supporter, Patrick Buchanan, put it: "Authoritative Soviet sources insist he served at Sobibor... where I was known as 'Ivan the Bloody.'"

The new evidence that will probably cause the Israeli court to vacate Demjanjuk's sentence comes from recently opened police files from the former Soviet Union. These files show that Demjanjuk did indeed serve as a death camp guard at Sobibor — an allegation he has persistently and perjurally denied since he fraudulently entered the United States shortly after World War II. They also show that there was another guard named Ivan Marchenko who was known as "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka.

The defense is now arguing that these documents provide reasonable doubt about whether Demjanjuk was Ivan the Terrible of Treblinka. The prosecution has responded by pointing out that Sobibor was only a few hours by train from Treblinka and thus Demjanjuk could easily have worked at both death camps — as many guards did. The prosecution also argues that there may have been more than one "Ivan the Terrible" at Treblinka. Ivan

see DERSHOWITZ, page F4

Alan Dershowitz, a professor at Harvard Law School, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

DERSHOWITZ

From page F1

the most common Ukrainian name, and any cruel death camp guard with that name would naturally be called "Ivan the Terrible."

Moreover, when Demjanjuk was asked on his American visa application what his mother's name was, he wrote "Marchenko" — the name of the other "Ivan the Terrible" of Treblinka. Demjanjuk now explains this remarkable coincidence by claiming that he forgot his own grandmother's last name and wrote a common name that just popped into his mind. It is certainly plausible that the name "Marchenko" popped into his mind because he worked alongside the other Ivan the Terrible at Treblinka for a time, thus lending support to the prosecution's "Two Ivan the Terribles" theory.

The prosecution also points to the hearsay nature of the new evidence that Ivan the Terrible was Marchenko. All the newly revealed evidence comes from the written statements of Treblinka guards who were executed many years ago. These statements were elicited by the KGB and are themselves as suspect as any information elicited by the KGB during the Stalin period. Moreover, the statements contradict one another and were never subject to cross-examination. They certainly would not be enough to convict Ivan Marchenko, were he to be found alive and now prosecuted. But they are enough to cast doubt on the certainty that should be required before Demjanjuk is subjected to the death penalty.

The U.S. Court of Appeals in Cincinnati has just reopened the case under which Demjanjuk was extradited to Israel for trial. They reopened the case not on the basis of any action brought by Demjanjuk's American lawyers or any new evidence presented in affidavit form. They reopened it — quite remarkably — on the basis of newspaper and television accounts of what is now transpiring in Israel. And they did so on their own motion, years after the matter was no longer within their jurisdiction. This judicial action is in striking contrast to a recent decision by the U.S. Supreme Court in refusing to consider the merits of a possibly innocent Virginia death-row inmate's claims because the condemned man's lawyer had missed a filing deadline of one day.

It would be hypocritical in the extreme for the U.S. courts to demand a higher standard of justice from the Israeli judiciary than it demands from our own courts. In any event, the Israeli Supreme Court seems to have the Demjanjuk case well under control. It has given Demjanjuk far more rights than our courts currently give death penalty inmates. And it will almost certainly reverse Demjanjuk's death penalty and conviction — without the intervention of the American judiciary.

Indeed, it is fair to ask whether our current Supreme Court would permit an American death penalty case to be reopened on the basis of hearsay statements by dead co-conspirators. Our Supreme Court can learn much from the manner in which the Israeli Supreme Court is carefully considering Demjanjuk's newly discovered evidence.

FRANCIS

From page F1

criminals from any other conflict.

Moreover, simply because of the time that has passed since the crimes of the World War II era and the often decrepit condition of the available witnesses, it's inevitable that much of the evidence OSI could collect would be questionable.

Regardless of the final Israeli verdict, John Demjanjuk's guilt has not been proved beyond a reasonable doubt. That calls into question the reliability of much "eye witness" testimony in this as well as similar war crimes trials. And now there is more than reasonable doubt that OSI itself is a reliable or even an honest investigatory agency.

Forget the National Endowment for the Arts and the Public Broadcasting System. At worst, they simply waste taxpayers' money. The OSI strips you of your citizenship, calls you a Nazi and a war criminal and sends you abroad to stand trial for your life under a foreign justice system. It's time to close the OSI down for good. And if it turns out that its officials committed perjury, let them stand in the dock instead of the innocent men whose judicial murder they tried to engineer.

STEPHEN GREEN

President Bush remains down in the opinion polls, but he is about to receive a golden opportunity to play one of the best political cards he has available to him in this election year — the advantage of incumbency.

His summit meeting here today with Russian President Boris Yeltsin offers Mr. Bush an occasion to remind the nation that he remains in charge of foreign affairs and that he continues to fulfill the responsibilities of commander in chief.

This may seem politically inconsequential to those who prefer to dwell on the fact that Americans presently want their leaders to pay more attention to domestic problems.

But regardless of what should be done at home, the voters know that whomever they send to the White House is responsible for the nation's security from threats abroad. Perhaps more than anything else, this factor can work to Mr. Bush's advantage between now and the November election.

Neither Democrat Bill Clinton nor independent H. Ross Perot can claim any expertise in foreign policy. In contrast, Mr. Bush's record has far more pluses than minuses.

The summit with Mr. Yeltsin ought to underscore that during Mr. Bush's watch the remaining Soviet threat evaporated, the United States emerged victorious from the Cold War as the sole superpower and Mr. Bush won his spurs in crisis management by putting together the winning coalition in the Persian Gulf war.

These accomplishments should not be regarded lightly. Indeed, they are achievements that should motivate the voters to consider whether they really desire to entrust the nation's safety to a seasoned incumbent or to risk the future with one of the untested challengers.

Despite the importance of foreign policy, domestic matters still may prove decisive in the election. All along, the president and his advisers have declared that Mr. Bush's standing in the polls will climb as the economy bounces back from recession.

There are media skeptics who deride Mr. Bush's contention as overly optimistic. But history supports the

Sheer wonder of the moment

president. Incumbents generally are re-elected when times are good. The most recent signs suggest that a genuine economic recovery is under way.

If the voters feel secure in their jobs by fall, they will become more reluctant to turn to Mr. Perot, who is totally inexperienced in public office, or to Mr. Clinton, whose party's economic policies have been rejected in the last three presidential elections.

Mr. Clinton, whose negatives remain high, has received recent media plaudits for appearing on popular television programs to promote his candidacy. But resorting to playing the saxophone on "The Arsenio Hall Show" suggests a strategy of desperation rather than inspiration.

Furthermore, Mr. Clinton's decision to work out a common agenda with Democrats in Congress means he no longer can run as an outsider who wants to change the system.

In cozying up to congressional incumbents, he's gambling that he may be perceived by the voters as part of the problem and not the solution.

As for Mr. Perot, he may not be a flash in the pan, but he is likely to encounter serious problems — and not because of any stands he may take on issues. Mr. Perot's supporters do not especially care about his positions on issues. His candidacy is the product of a personality cult and not a genuine political movement.

Mr. Perot's popularity will diminish as voters discover aspects of his personality they find troubling. Already polls have uncovered concerns that Mr. Perot may be overly authoritative and insensitive.

Meanwhile, Mr. Bush has nowhere to go but up in public esteem,



GREEN

From page F1.

and there are signs that he is beginning to take the steps that will restore his popularity.

In dispatching Vice President Dan Quayle to shore up his conservative base, Mr. Bush has left himself free to focus on what he seems to do best.

Watching out for the nation's interests abroad and using the threat of a veto to keep Congress from too many legislative excesses have been the major Bush achievements thus far.

Some may desire more from a president. But considering the quality of Mr. Bush's competition, achieving a certain degree of success in maintaining stability at home and abroad is not a bad credential to place before the voters in November.

Stephen Green is managing editor of Copley News Service's Washington bureau.

see GREEN, page F4

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Best tactic tough love

As the first full-fledged summit meeting between President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin gets under way, Mr. Bush seems poised to repeat a costly mistake. In the name of "helping" Mr. Yeltsin — and supporting in the former Soviet Union the democratic reform movement with which he has been associated — the U.S. president appears inclined to ignore evidence that his Russian interlocutor is engaged in behavior inimical to American and Western interests. Worse yet, he may offer various new trade, financial and technology concessions.

Sound familiar? It should. After all, even Mr. Bush now acknowledges that this is precisely the mistake he made with Saddam Hussein prior to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. At his prime time news conference on June 4, Mr. Bush rather testily admitted the failure of his efforts to "moderate" Saddam's malevolent activities by granting him various concessions (for example, billions of dollars in U.S. agricultural credits and access to American militarily relevant technology).

Indeed, as I have argued in this space previously, this is the same mistake Mr. Bush has made with other foreign leaders — for example, the Soviet Union's Mikhail Gorbachev, Syria's Hafez Assad, Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, and the unreconstructed communist leaders of China and Vietnam.

Contributing to this tragic pattern is the bad advice Mr. Bush gets from inveterate appeasers like Secretary of State James Baker, Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence Eagleburger and National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft.

Unfortunately, at least some of the responsibility for the president's consistent reluctance to exercise firmness and disciplined conditionality in the conduct of foreign relations must be attributed to Mr. Bush himself. Illusions about his aptitude in the conduct of what he calls "personal diplomacy" combined with an overweening sense of noblesse oblige have played to the advantage of Saddam and his ilk — and to the detriment of American taxpayers and interests.

This is not to say Boris Yeltsin is on a par with the despots who have previously enjoyed the Bush administration's favor — at least not yet. Still, there is increasing evidence that the democratic and reformist spirit that brought Mr. Yeltsin to power and that marked his early days in office is giving way to pressures to accommodate powerful reactionary elements in the former Soviet Union. Consider the following:

Frank J. Gaffney Jr. is the director of the Center for Security Policy and a columnist for *The Washington Times*.

• **"Old thinking" on arms control:** Published reports concerning a closed meeting on June 10 between Mr. Yeltsin and Russia's top military officers offer fresh evidence that the Russian president feels compelled to pander to the former Soviet military-industrial complex. He did so on that occasion by criticizing the United States for its insistence that Russia dismantle the thousands of MIRVed warheads aboard intercontinental ballistic missiles inherited from the old U.S.S.R. — weapons optimized for strikes against the United States and still fully capable of executing such attacks on short notice.

• **"The Grachev Doctrine":** The appointment of Gen. Pavel Grachev as Russian defense minister is another sign of the military's ascendancy. On June 5, the *Financial Times* of London reported: "General Grachev ... said Russia had the right to intervene in any neighboring state when it felt there was a danger of foreign interference — a doctrine which could be used to legitimate a hostile intervention as much as a friendly one."

The Grachev Doctrine sounds ominously like Leonid Brezhnev's odious rationale for invading Czechoslovakia and threatening Poland and other East European states in the event their publics' demands for freedom jeopardized "fraternal socialist" governments.

The similarities are heightened by Gen. Grachev's view of the conditions under which his doctrine might be implemented: At a press conference on June 5, the defense minister threatened to use "the most iron-handed measures, including the use of armed forces" in response to any infringement on "the honor and dignity" of ethnic Russians living outside their homeland.

• **Russian spying on the West and technology theft continues:** According to Harry Brandon, deputy assistant director of counterintelligence for the FBI, "Their level of [covert-intelligence gathering] activity has not changed [and] it is a concern to us. They continue to try to collect classified information as well as sensitive new technology. We've seen very little, if any, change in personnel."

• **Economic reforms jeopardized:** In recent weeks, the pace of economic reforms in Russia has ground to a near halt, causing serious concern at the International Monetary Fund and elsewhere. For example, on May 30, Mr. Yeltsin said he would resist pressure from the IMF to free energy prices to rise to world levels, citing the fact that "the Russian people still support me, but their patience has its limits."

Mr. Yeltsin's efforts in the crucial area of privatization have also come a cropper. In early June, the Russian Parliament succeeded in obstructing government plans for privatizing state-owned enterprises by insisting that they could only be sold to the employees of such enterprises.

FRANK GAFFNEY JR.

Clearly, Mr. Yeltsin is being sharply pressed by those who oppose the program of political and economic reform he enunciated early on. Still, it is the height of folly to think that his reform program will be saved by appeasing its opponents.

The United States should for the moment continue to support Mr. Yeltsin — but not with expensive or reckless new concessions in the face of ever-more-ominous indications of where his government is headed. Instead, Mr. Bush should make it clear that U.S. support for the Russian leader is firmly conditioned upon the extent to which Mr. Yeltsin is doggedly advancing the cause of radical reform and systemic transformation.

That cause — and U.S. interests — can only suffer if, in the name of propping up Mr. Yeltsin, this country acquiesces to unacceptable behavior conducted by him or in his name.

Troops From Tokyo

It's a sign of the changing strategic map that Japan for the first time since World War II may now send ground troops abroad. Its legislature yesterday passed a hotly disputed "PKO" bill that would allow a maximum of 2,000 troops to take part in United Nations peacekeeping operations.

The bill is largely symbolic but looming behind it is the difficult issue of who will police Asia in the post-Cold War era. Among the weird legacies of World War II is a situation in which China—a repressive, unstable communist nation—fields one of the world's largest armies, has a permanent seat on the U.N. Security Council and carries out nuclear weapons tests. Japan, with its democratic system and superpower economy, still scares its neighbors and is now trying to meet the needs of modern defense with a constitution that renounces war.

PKO entailed months of discussion and weeks of filibuster by the socialist and communist opposition parties. This past weekend it reached a pitch urgent enough to prevent pro-PKO Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa from joining the leaders of the Earth and assorted other planets in Rio.

The danger in postwar Japan has always been that the country's secretive micromanaging bureaucrats would somehow regain too much power and then try to consolidate support by drumming up convenient ene-

mies abroad. Japanese "industrial planning" is a watered-down version of policies taken from the fascist days of a wartime economy. Were industrial planning a growing force in Japan today, there would be cause to worry.

Fortunately, Japan's postwar democratic setup and reliance on trade have produced a steady move toward a freer society increasingly linked to the larger world. The electorate has signaled that it wants a more open, responsive government, and the politicians are under growing pressure to deliver. In keeping with this trend Japan's defense debate has become more public. The more the Japanese and the world see of such debates, the better. That way, Japan's future military role will be decided not by a small core of bureaucrats or politicians, but by 124 million people who, like the rest of us, prefer wealth and freedom to armed conflict.

Japan's friends can make their own contribution. One way is to support America's continuing presence in the region and remind isolationist Americans that while regional powers find appropriate footing, the U.S. is still needed to support democratic advancement. The second is to keep world markets open, demonstrating to Japan's legislators that it is worth their while to work overtime to formulate responsible policies.

Asides

Final Hurdle

Today Judge Joyce Hens Green has the opportunity finally to make good on the Federal Reserve's March 1991 order to sever the links between First American Bank and the rogue Bank of Credit and Commerce International. After more than 14 months of delay

and haggling over the arrangements for a trustee to hold and ultimately sell the Washington bank's shares, the appointment of Harry W. Albright Jr. needs only her approval. If nothing else, the long hassle is good evidence that once finally in place, Mr. Albright will be a truly independent trustee.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Income Dynamics

We've remarked several times now on the tortured statistics being thrown around in the debate over the distribution of income. One of our regrets is that the simplistic use of these arcane statistics paints a totally inaccurate picture of American society.

The usual methodology is to break down families or households into five groups of 20% each: the top, bottom and three middle quintiles. If the difference between top and bottom increases over a decade or so, incomes are becoming

"more unequal." The unspoken assumption is that the same people inhabit the same quintiles in year

10 as in year one. This assumption is anything but accurate in a society as dynamic as America. With social mobility, people move up the quintile ladder, and down.

Happily, two new studies have come along to inject this missing factor of mobility into the "fairness" equation — one from the Treasury's Office of Tax Analysis, and the other from the liberal Urban Institute. In the words of the Urban Institute article by Isabel Sawhill and Mark Condon: "When one follows individuals instead of statistical groups defined by income, one finds that, on average, the

rich got a little richer and the poor got much richer."

The Treasury study measures movement among the quintiles. It picked out 14,351 representative taxpayers and tracked their progress through the quintiles between 1979 and 1988. In no quin-

tile was turnover less than 33% during the decade. In the bottom three, at least 66% of the occupants changed quintiles, generally trading up. In fact, taxpayers were more likely to rise than fall by odds of nearly five to one, excluding people in the top quintile who had nowhere to go but down.

What about those who started the decade in the bottom quintile? Sixty-five percent moved up at least two quintiles during the decade. Indeed, more of these poorest taxpayers made it all the way to the top quintile than stayed in the bottom one. These findings may be at odds with America's mood at the moment, but they provide a healthy perspective. "I suspect people's root fear is that there is no mobility," Treasury's Glenn Hubbard tells us. "If that's their fear, it's misplaced."

The Urban Institute study was even more revealing, working with data from the University of Michigan's 20-year longitudinal studies of incomes, which include non-taxpayers who wouldn't show up in the Treasury methodology. They break their find-

ings up for the decades 1967-76 and 1977-86. In both, nearly half of those who started in the bottom quintile were up and out 10 years later.

The Urban Institute then proceeded to calculate the income gains of those who started out in each quintile. The progress of the 1977 quintiles is displayed in the accompanying chart. This pattern is familiar to experts, the Sawhill-Condon article says, but "may be surprising to the general public, which has been led to believe that the poor were literally getting poorer over the last decade or two, and that the incomes of the rich were skyrocketing. This is simply not true."

How do people catapult themselves up the income scale? Mostly by old-fashioned sweat. They grow older, more experienced and more valuable to the economy; the bottom quintile then fills up with younger, inexperienced and less valuable workers starting their careers. The Treasury found, for instance, that wages and salary accounted for 88% of the total income of those who climbed from the bottom quintile to the top during the 1980s.

Everyone agrees that incomes measured in the usual static way have become somewhat less equal. Since the Urban Institute study finds that mobility didn't change much between the two decades measured, this suggests lifetime incomes will turn out



Incomes and Social Mobility

How 1977 quintiles fared in 1988
Average family incomes (in 1991 dollars)

1977 QUINTILE	1977 INCOME	1988 INCOME	PERCENT GAIN
Bottom	\$15,853	\$27,998	77%
Second	31,340	43,041	37
Third	43,297	51,796	20
Fourth	57,486	63,314	10
Top	92,531	97,140	5
All	\$48,101	\$56,658	18%

Note: Sample limited to adults, ages 25-64 in 1977
Source: Urban Institute

less equal as well. Ms. Sawhill and Mr. Condon say this is a result of "technological changes and international competition, which have put a high premium on education and experience. The rewards for both have been increasing since the late 1970s."

Nothing here denies we have serious social problems with the homeless or gangs or broken families, but the solution to these problems is not likely to be found by trying to change the general distribution of incomes. The usual proposal to use the tax system to redistribute income assumes that society is a fixed hierarchy, and that income transfers are necessary to ameliorate the condition of those stuck permanently at the bottom. But such policies may undermine incentives and thus the economic growth that keeps the quintiles fluid.

Properly understood, the real lesson of income statistics is that we need to improve education and fire up the Great American Jobs Machine. When we talked to Ms. Sawhill, she put it in a nutshell, "Economic growth is critical."

At the L.A. Times, a New Kind of Yellow Journalism

By SCOTT SHUGER

The extensive TV coverage of L.A.'s riots was a double-edged sword for the Los Angeles Times. All that raw TV footage shot from helicopters and news vans created a great thirst among Angelenos for the detail and analysis that the city's big newspaper could provide. But those same pictures were an independent proof that when it comes to issues of race, the Times ranges between confused and gutless.

In the face of all that video and the Times's own extensive accounts of unprovoked assaults and widespread looting and arson, the paper did what it could do to fuzz up the issue of personal responsibility for those actions. Just about the strongest headline I saw in the paper was "Opportunists, Criminals Get Blame for Riots" over a story that said they "seemed" to be the problem. Why not print instead what was obviously true—"Opportunists, Criminals Start Riots"?

One front page story stated that "most middle-class blacks understand why [the riot] happened. To them, it was inevitable, driven by an anguish that transcends class lines among blacks—an anguish so deep it cried out for something extraordinary to be done in response." And when the Times addressed the stealing the city suffered, it conjured up 60 column-inches (the article you are reading is 22 column-inches) under the headline "When Wrong and Right Blur: Looting Assumes Trappings of Justice if System Is Seen as Failing, Experts Say." The continuation of the story was under the headline "Looters: Motives Are Complex." Next to a picture of people trashing a supermarket, the article explained the behavior thusly: "Empowered by their sense of the verdict's injustice, they are applying a different standard."

After reporting that a mob of 25 people looted and burned the upscale house of a white family in Venice while a babysitter

and a five-year-old child feared for their lives inside, Times columnist Robin Abcarian described the episode as "the wages of gentrification." The Rev. Jesse Jackson, in his Times op-ed, reserved the word "crime" for the police beating of Rodney King, in contrast to L.A.'s violence, which Mr. Jackson described as "horrible, self-destructive, seismic eruptions of rage, cries of anguish." He never said it was wrong. Mr. Jackson's piece was headlined "A Terrible Rainbow of Protest."

Protest? When the authorities arrested those who pulled Reginald Denny out of his truck and crushed his skull, they didn't charge them with protesting.

If the protest motif was one piece of evidence that the Times was in denial, the rainbow motif was another. When the Times told its readers that "although young black men constituted many of the rioters and looters, Latinos, Anglos, and Asians also took part," or when it reported on the front page that those arrested for arson "ranged from career criminals to a USC professor's son" (leaving for page A13 the news that "most of those arrested so far have felony criminal records" and that "the vast majority of [them] are black and Latino"), it was wallowing in half-truths.

Such talk suggests the falsehood that all segments of the city were equally subject to the pull of anomie. The Times never honestly confronted the following fact: 28% fewer whites, 9% more Latinos, and 27% more blacks were arrested during the riots than should have been on the rainbow thesis, given L.A.'s ethnic mix. A similar dodge was at work in "Stereotype That Won't Go Away," a riot-inspired front page story about the frequency with which young black males get stopped by the LAPD. The 54-inch piece saved until the third-to-last paragraph (on page A18) the information that in California, one-third of all young black males are caught up in the

criminal justice system, compared with about 5% of young white ones.

A page one story about the TV celebrity of two young gang members, Li'l Monster and Bone, waited until the inside of the paper to inform the reader that Li'l Monster had been convicted of first-degree murder and Bone of assault with a deadly weapon. The 67-column-inch story never explained how it was that a 26-year-old first-degree murderer wasn't still in prison instead of on "Nightline."

A profile of rapper Ice Cube by Robert Hilburn in the Sunday Calendar section noted that the singer's pre-riot track "Black Korea" had "warned Korean merchants to show more respect to black customers or face the possibility of their stores being burned down," but took no more issue with that sentiment than to say that "some critics . . . branded it as irresponsible and hateful." Mr. Hilburn didn't mention that the song talks about shooting Koreans in the head. Nor did he wonder if there was a connection between the song's wide distribution and the targeting of Koreatown during the riots. As for Ice Cube's forthcoming song about the riots called "We Had to Tear This Motherf--- Up," Mr. Hilburn's only assessment was that it was "bound to raise eyebrows."

The first issue of the Times magazine to address the riots contained just a single article on the subject. It was by a black woman, Itabari Njeri, who said this of the people we'd all seen lay siege to L.A.: "Given no socially sanctioned place to express their despair over the injustice of the system, they release their distress where they can." Every time the word "riot" appeared in the piece it was in quotation marks.

Overall, it was as if the Times took its cue from the editor in a recent New Yorker cartoon who tells a writer, "It's a brilliant piece of writing, Ted, but we feel that it

might prove offensive to those who've been convicted of violent crimes."

Referring to the 58% of the city's blacks and the 76% of its Latinos who, according to the Times's own postmortem poll, thought the rioting was totally unjustified, an occasional contributor to the paper recently asked me an important question: "Who speaks for them?"

Huell Howser knows the Times doesn't speak for him. On the second day of the riots, Mr. Howser, a local TV reporter, had just stepped out of his home when he saw that the windows of the Radio Shack on the corner were smashed in and that people were carrying away all sorts of electronic gear. Mr. Howser and a few of his neighbors chased off the looters and wrote down about 20 license plates from the getaway cars, which he turned over to police. In many cities, Mr. Howser and his friends would have been front-page heroes. The Times never mentioned them.

Mr. Shuger, a contributing editor of *The Washington Monthly*, lives in Los Angeles.

Notable & Quotable

Anthony Patrick Carnevale, executive director of the Institute for Workplace Learning of the American Society for Training and Development, writing in a current *ASTD* pamphlet:

Is cheap labor the key to economic success? The availability of cheap and plentiful labor is an advantage in Korea, Africa, Mexico, and other parts of the developing world. But labor scarcity after World War II is generally credited with forcing the intensive investments in human and machine capital that led to the current successes of the Germans and Japanese.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1992

Job Shaky? Hope for a Shutdown

Maybe it's an antisocial attitude, but these are difficult economic times. So if you think you may lose your job, maybe it would be wise to hope that the whole plant shuts down.

That, at any rate, is an implicit message in a paper by Robert Gibbons of Cornell University and Lawrence Katz of Harvard (National Bureau of Economic Research Reprint No. 1671). There's no ill will here; it's just a sensible way to try to look after No. 1.

In a layoff, union rules may determine, on the basis of seniority, who has to go. Union rules also may require that employees may be fired only for cause. If, however, the employer is free to lay off whomever he wants, there's a good chance he will pick that guy he's been trying to get rid of for several months. Such information is likely to circulate in the market, and the man laid off is likely to have an especially hard time finding another job — and the wage may be less than he's been accustomed to.

A plant shutdown, on the other hand, offers the market no such tips. The workers out pounding the bricks will be a mixture of the good, the bad, and the indifferent. There may be other ways of learning the quality of the newly jobless workers, but the process of job-separation, in and of itself, isn't going to hurt the job-seeker's search for a new position.

A layoff has at least an illusion of being temporary, although these days it's often just as permanent as being fired. The laid-off worker, the authors say, often

doesn't fully recognize the position he's in. Since he figures he has only a temporary problem, he thinks that pretty soon he'll be called back to his old job. Consequently, he may go fishing for a month or so, if he can afford it. He's not likely to go out immediately to scout around for another job.

The worker idled by a plant shutdown, on the other hand, is likely to see that

Speaking of Business

By Lindley H. Clark Jr.

his situation isn't temporary. If he doesn't, his wife does, and he's likely to be out there pretty quickly hunting another job.

All of this will have an effect on how much workers get paid. To minimize the complication of union rules, the authors used a sample of white-collar workers, less likely to be covered by layoff-by-seniority rules than blue-collar workers.

"In our sample," they write, "the estimated mean percentage wage loss from displacement is 5.5 percentage points greater for white-collar workers displaced by layoffs than for (otherwise observationally equivalent) white-collar workers displaced by plant closings."

Workers laid off and not quickly recalled (even now, layoffs sometimes are temporary) are likely to be unemployed 25% longer than those who are displaced by a plant shutdown.

If an employer discovers that a worker isn't as productive as the employer thought he was, it might seem humane to offer to keep him on at a lower wage. The authors, however, say this would work only if the worker was equally productive at all firms — and all firms knew how good (or bad) he was. In such a case, other employers would not try to hire away the low-quality workers, because they would know just what they were getting.

In a world where information is imperfect — the sort of world we live in — such a result wouldn't happen. If an employer found he could retain low-quality workers at low pay, he might try to keep high-quality workers at low pay. But this, the authors say, would destroy the market's willingness to let the company retain any workers at low pay. So the company would have an incentive to lay off the substandard workers instead of trying to keep them. Other concerns would read the signal and would hire such workers, if they hire them at all, at low pay.

The authors admit that no model is perfect. If you assume that the plant being closed down is very large and that the town where it is located is very small, the results could be the opposite of those the authors predict. Unemployment in the community would rise sharply, greatly reducing job opportunities and potential wages.

In an average situation, however, the worker is better off with a shutdown than a layoff. In these times of industrial reconstruction, that may be a point to remember.



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

gift unit

Dear Arthur,

Thanks so much for the colored golf balls. I celebrated my birthday in Rio, but found your gift on my desk when I returned.

You were thoughtful to remember me on my 68th. Barbara joins in sending warm regards to you and Elisabeth.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Rabbi Arthur Schneier
President
Appeal of Conscience Foundation
119 West 57th Street
New York City, New York 10019

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Willard S. Heminway Jr.
14 Deer Lane
Greenwich, Connecticut 06830



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

Dear Betsy,

I just got back from Rio, and there on my desk was your wonderful birthday greeting and kind note about the press conference. Many, many thanks. I thought it came off okay.

Thanks for your thoughtfulness and your continued friendship. Barbara and I send our love to you and Spike.

Sincerely,

GB

sg

JAN'S

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

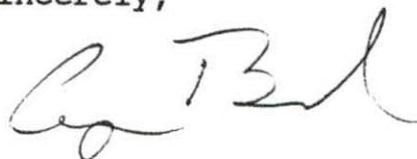
June 16, 1992

Dear Becky:

Barbara and I were pleased to learn of your graduation from Lake Braddock Secondary School. This accomplishment must be a source of great pride, not just to you, but your family as well. We and all of your father's friends here at the White House are happy to join them in congratulating you on a job well done.

We wish you every happiness and success in the future.

Sincerely,



Miss Becky McInnis
8923 Bald Hill Place
Burke, Virginia 22015

cc: Desiree Thompson

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

humor

✓

Mrs. John Ashmun
2119 Troon Road
Houston, Texas 77019



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

Dear Brucie,

I loved the birthday present you sent -- two priceless (???)
jokes!

Thanks, and I hope John had a happy birthday, too!

Sincerely, *Con Afecto*

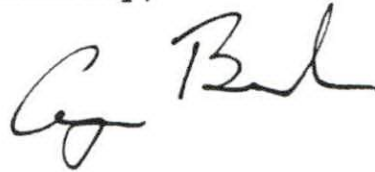
[Signature]

For this reason, I have asked Congress to act promptly on our six-point package of urban initiatives to empower individuals and to enhance commercial development, homeownership, drug eradication, and welfare reform. Hopefully, the Democratic leadership in Congress will put partisan politics aside long enough to help me enact these and other constructive measures and, thus, help the Nation.

Meanwhile, you can be sure that I will continue to lead the fight for the values that we share. In these and other efforts, I am heartened to know that I can count on your steadfast support.

Good luck to you in the upcoming football season. Also, please give my best to your father.

Sincerely,



Mr. Jay Paterno
University of Virginia
Football Team
Post Office Box 3785
Charlottesville, Virginia 22903-0785

Jay -

I had a nice long
visit with your Dad
a few days ago. He
rode with me to an airport
and we got all caught up.

GB

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

June 16, 1992

Dear Jay:

Thank you for your good letter regarding race relations. I appreciate the time that you took to share your perspective on this issue with me.

Like you and so many Americans, I am deeply concerned about the social problems that citizens who are living in our urban areas face, as well as the unrest that triggered those troubling events in Los Angeles and elsewhere. You're right: we need to do a better job as a country in building bonds between individuals. America needs to recapture the same sense of unity -- or teamwork -- that you witness daily as a college football coach.

We have made dramatic progress. The Civil Rights Act of 1991, for example, will help to eliminate the blight of racism from the workplace. Yet, much remains to be done to alleviate the tensions of which you wrote. Government can assist in some areas; in other areas, it falls upon the community, the family, and the individual to make a difference.

After more than two decades and trillions of dollars spent on social welfare, the time to change fundamentally our approach toward helping people has clearly arrived. Federal spending alone will not solve these problems. I think you will agree that it would not serve the people of South Central Los Angeles well if we were to restore the burned-out buildings while neglecting the ability of citizens there to build businesses and better lives for themselves and their families. We need to create the opportunities that provide hope for a brighter future.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

friendship

Mr. & Mrs. William A. McKenzie
4517 Beverly Drive
Dallas, Texas 75205 3003



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

Dear Sally and Billy,

When is the next bus leaving for Dallas, and how soon can I get a ticket?! Many thanks for the great birthday card.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Bill Clinton.

Handwritten initials, possibly "AB", in cursive script.



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

Gift sent

Dear Betty and Emile,

How thoughtful of you to remember me on my 68th birthday. Barbara and I love the paper weights with our pictures. Many, many thanks!

Best wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Emile J. Roy
7 Ridgeway Avenue
Sanford, Maine 04073

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Herbert S. Hoffman
Hoffman Apparel International Corp.
160 North Washington Street
Boston, Massachusetts 02114



THE PRESIDENT

6-16-92

Dear Herb -

Heads - tails !! I
flipped my new birthday
coin and it predicted
victory in November. Many
may thanks - CJ

Jan Burmeister

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. Lodwick M. Cook
Chairman & Chief Executive Officer
Atlantic Richfield Company
Suite 5178
515 South Flower Street
Los Angeles, California 90071



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

Dear Lod,

Your birthday fax was waiting when I returned from Rio.
Many, many thanks, my friend.

Barbara joins in sending best wishes to you and Carole.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Bill Clinton.

Handwritten initials "sg" in cursive script, located near a horizontal line.

JAN 1

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mrs. Elsie Hillman
Suite 375 - Box 113
Westin William Penn Hotel
Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15219



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

Dear Elsie,

Thank you for your letter in support of Ambassador Kimelman's recommendation that Dr. William L. Mellon receive the Presidential Medal of Freedom. I will certainly give Dr. Mellon every consideration when selecting future recipients for this award.

Barbara joins me in sending our warmest best wishes.

Sincerely,

See you tonite! *Ag B*
G/

MB

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. James C. Quayle
2251 East 600 North
Huntington, Indiana 46750



THE PRESIDENT

June 16, 1992

Dear Jim and Corrine,

Thanks so much for the birthday card and those kind words of support. You were thoughtful to remember me on my 68th.

It's been a strange year, but I'm quietly confident about November. Dan has done a first-class job and I'm glad to have him on my team.

Barbara joins in sending our warmest regards.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, likely belonging to Bill Clinton, written over the word "Sincerely,".

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

JAN

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

gift sent

Rear Admiral Frederick M. Reeder,
U.S. Navy, Ret.
Post Office Box 2097
Laurel, Mississippi 39440



THE PRESIDENT

6-16-92

Dear Fred,

Don Rhodes brought
me my new sun hat. So
my my thanks. Now, I
want to get to Maine to
try it out. May my thanks
Lyn

Jan Bultman



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Tuesday, June 16, 1992

8:00 am (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
8:30 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:45 am (30 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
9:15 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
9:45 am (15 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
10:00 am (40 min)	B <u>Arrival Ceremony for Russian President Boris Yeltsin</u> (Scowcroft) (TAB A)	South Lawn
10:45 am (90 min)	<u>Photo and First Meeting with President Yeltsin</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately)	Oval Office
12:15 pm (75 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
2:00 pm (20 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Brady</u>	Oval Office
2:30 pm (5 min)	<u>Greet President Yeltsin</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
2:35 pm (5 min)	Drop by Meeting of National Governors' Association Executive Committee with President Yeltsin (Demarest) (TAB B)	Roosevelt Room
2:40 pm (80 min)	<u>Second Meeting with President Yeltsin</u> (Scowcroft) (Distributed Separately)	Cabinet Room

UNP 06/15/92
6:00 pm

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/16/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Tuesday, June 16, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 9/12/2019

OA/ID Number: 90689-003

FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]

Appeal Case #:

Re-review Case #:

Appeal Disposition:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Disposition Date:

AR Case #:

MR Case #:

AR Disposition:

MR Disposition:

AR Disposition Date:

MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]



4:10 pm
(80 min)

Third Meeting with President
Yeltsin
(Scowcroft)

Cabinet Room

(Distributed Separately)

7:15 pm

B State Dinner for President
Yeltsin
(Scowcroft) (Black Tie)

State Floor

(TAB C)

7:18 POTUS In
7:44 Dr. Moore In / 7:46 Out
8:04 Skinner In
8:19 Skinner Out
8:33 Scowcroft, Howe, (b)(3) In
8:48 (b)(3) Out
8:58 VPOTUS In
9:02 Scowcroft, Howe Out
9:10 Skinner In
9:13 Moore In
9:25 Moore, VPOTUS Out
9:26 Skinner Out
9:45 Scowcroft In
9:55 POTUS, Scowcroft Out to Dip. Room.
10:00 POTUS, POTUS announced Out
"See Tab A"
10:40 POTUS, Yeltsin In Baker, Scowcroft,
Kozyrev, Ryurikov In
2 Interp.
12:10 POTUS, Yeltsin out for walk on South
grounds
12:28 Yeltsin departs
12:31 POTUS departs for Res. Lundy with
Mrs. Bush.
1:53 POTUS In
2:09 Sec. Brady In
2:25 " " Out, Fitzwater In
2:29 VPOTUS In
2:32 Fitzwater, VPOTUS Out
2:37 Skinner, VPOTUS In
2:42 Scowcroft In
2:43 Sec. Baker In
2:44 Scowcroft Out / Fitzwater In
2:45 Yeltsin, In

2:50 POTUS, Yeltsin announced out
to Rose Garden for Press
Statement
3:17 POTUS, Yeltsin In Roosevelt Room
3:24 " " Out to Cabinet Room
4:09 POTUS, Yeltsin In oval
4:18 " " In Cabinet Room
5:21 POTUS, Yeltsin In oval. Skinner I
5:25 Yeltsin departs South Grounds
5:32 Skinner Out
5:37 Firestone In
5:50 Firestone, POTUS Out to Res.

61534

UNP 06/15/92
6:00 pm



