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2009-0166-S

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

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OA/ID Number: 90689
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Folder Title:
Wednesday, June 17, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
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01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/17/92	(b)(3)	

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Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

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WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Wednesday, June 17, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML15985

OA/ID Number: 90689-006

Date Closed: 10/23/2024

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

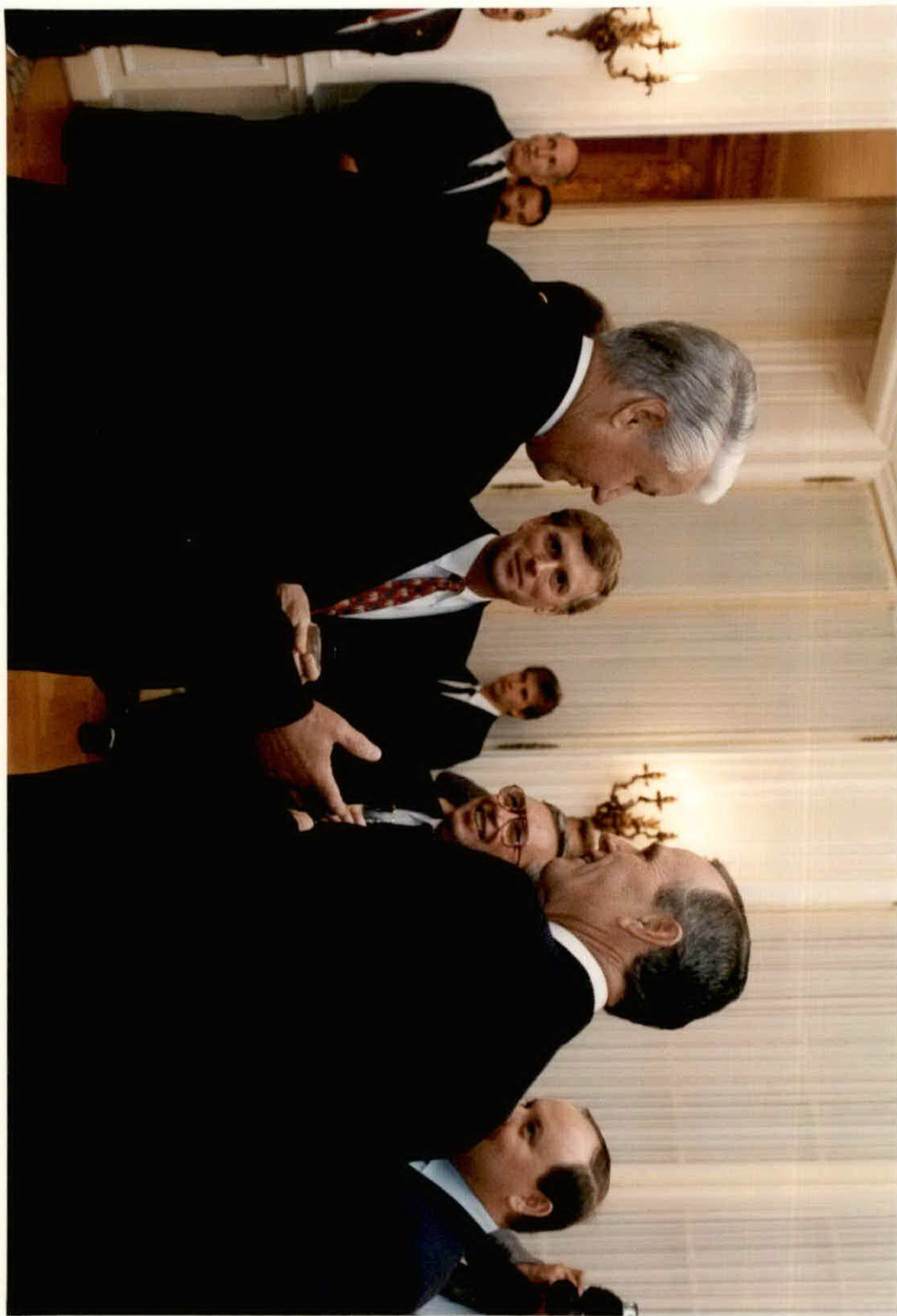
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OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO P032748 17 JUN92 88 -15A —





JURICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTOGRAPH 17 JUN 92 P32732-11 04

DATE: June 17, 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Ross's Army: Perot's Fans Want Change Above All

Continued From First Page

Clinton campaign. He has never worked for any kind of political organization. He too isn't interested in where Mr. Perot stands on issues, such as how he would balance the budget or deal with Congress. "I listen to Ross Perot for his principles," he says. "He's a man who will examine the facts."

Among those who saw Mr. Mac Kay's personal ad was Kathy Mason, a motivational consultant. "I'm not political at all," she says. She likes Mr. Perot because "over the years he has been consistent and solutions-oriented."

Though Mr. Perot has said little that's specific about public policy and the family, "I've watched him being interviewed by [NBC-TV's] Jane Pauley about abused children, and I know — I just know — he's sensitive to family issues," Mrs. Mason says.

More than 150 people responded to Mr. Mac Kay's ad, including Mrs. Mason. And when these political amateurs invited others to join them at an organizational meeting at the Hyatt Hotel in downtown Buffalo, 1,000 turned out.

"It was such fun," Mrs. Mason recalls. "So many people showed up we had to roll back one wall, and when those seats were filled, we had to roll back another one."

Mr. Mac Kay is now the Perot chairman for western New York. Mrs. Mason, a grandmother, is now the draft-Perot chairman for the entire state.

New York's Democratic national committeeman Joseph Crangle, a Buffalo lawyer whose circle of local political friends is unrivaled, hasn't met any of these Perot organizers, "but what they are doing is remarkable," he says.

Mr. Crangle started out as a skeptic. He now believes Mr. Perot could carry Erie County (which includes Buffalo and many of its suburbs). A recent survey by Goldhaber Research Associates for the Buffalo News showed 37% for Mr. Perot, 24% for President Bush and 18% for Mr. Clinton.

Democratic Stronghold

Cheektowaga, an Indian name meaning land of the crab apple, is the kind of place that once formed the backbone of the Democratic Party—blue-collar, ethnic (Polish, principally), Catholic and hard-working (trade union, mostly). But in recent presidential elections, many of them have voted for Ronald Reagan and George Bush. So, because his coalition is so broad, Mr. Perot is pulling support from both President Bush and Mr. Clinton.

Mr. Perot appeals to these voters as no other third-party candidate has. "We're different," says Mr. Mac Kay. "George Wallace appealed to bigots. John Anderson's people drove Volvos. We're a real cross section."

The phenomenon seems to be national. Across the country at the posh

Perot People

Ross Perot's support among selected groups of registered voters according to the latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll:

BY REGION:	
Northeast	30%
Midwest	31
South	26
West	37
BY SEX:	
Men	35%
Women	26
BY PARTY:	
Independent	40%
Democrat	31
Republican	23
BY JOB:	
Blue-Collar	37%
White-Collar	26
Professional/Exec.	25
ALL VOTERS	30%

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL/NBC NEWS POLL

Perot campaign headquarters in Beverly Hills, Calif., enthusiastic volunteers include a mix of film producers, small-business people, public school teachers and auto mechanics. Mr. Perot's Wisconsin coordinator says she can't print bumper stickers and T-shirts quickly enough; the campaign already has distributed 60,000 bumper stickers, triple what a Senate race there usually consumes.

The grass-roots Perot campaign has little contact with what is, in fact, a highly professional operation that the volunteers refer to as "Dallas," the headquarters city for Mr. Perot's business and campaign. The New York idealists leading the draft-Perot effort and the Dallas professionals have met face to face only once, speak rarely on the phone and have never exchanged letters. Yet the professionals are supplying them with sophisticated back-up. "Dallas" hired two lawyers — Democratic State Sen. Martin Connor and Republican Ted Spargo, a one-time lawyer for the state GOP — to train the New York volunteers in how to collect the 20,000 legal petitions they will need to put Mr. Perot on the ballot in the fall. "Dallas" also paid \$6,000 for voter computer tapes from all of the state's 64 counties. The tapes list voters by name and address and by party affiliation.

Dallas will also pay for a roomy two-story headquarters for western New York, opening soon in Williamsville, fully staffed. The campaign already has produced a full line of handsome bumper strips, buttons and T-shirts.

Organizing Fire Districts

In less than 12 weeks, Mr. Kiesinger, the local Perot organizer, has built a Perot juggernaut in Cheektowaga. He has adopted the town's eight fire districts as his political subdivisions. He has drawn maps of each of them, with breakdowns for trailer parks showing the individual

trailers. He has prepared brochures on Mr. Perot's background and forms for Perot volunteers to fill out. Each fire district now has its own Perot chairperson, and each of them ultimately will be professionally trained to gather the petitions. When that's done, of course, Cheektowaga will have a fully functioning Perot campaign organization, unmatched by either the Republicans or the Democrats.

In August, the Perot volunteers will charter passenger trains and deliver stacks of the signed petitions to Albany, the state capital. "We're going to make a huge impression on the whole country," vows Mr. Kiesinger. "It's going to be the most awesome experience you've ever seen."

Scott Pasinski, only 23, is another political amateur. He works for a cable-TV company, going door to door selling the company's services.

He set up a booth at the Cheektowaga flea market, the biggest in western New York state. So far, Mr. Pasinski and his flea-market colleagues have distributed thousands of buttons and bumper stickers and registered more than 500 new voters, almost all of them Perot supporters. Many of them, he says, haven't voted in years.

Why is he doing all this?

"I love it," he says. "It's all I do."

And why Ross Perot?

"He's got class. He's unique. I don't like the politics in politics. We need to do what's best for the people, not what's best for the Republicans or the Democrats."

When it comes to how Mr. Perot would do that, Mr. Pasinski is vague. "He'd do something about jobs," he says. "He'd tackle welfare reform and get some of those people to work."

It's all enough to get Mr. Crangle, the Democratic party professional, to wax nostalgic. "We [Democrats] used to be able to do these things," he says. "We used to have block parties. If we tried it now, the only people who would show up would be officeholders."

He pauses for a moment. "This is kind of heart-warming, isn't it? These people are actually having fun. They even believe they can change the system."

Travelers Corp.

Travelers Corp. said it completed the sale of \$350 million of Series B preference stock, an offering increased from \$250 million due to strong investor demand.

The investors apparently were attracted by the yield, 9.2% based on the offering price, when many other investments are yielding less. A company spokesman declined to comment, referring the matter to the lead underwriter, Merrill Lynch & Co., where officials weren't available.

The Hartford, Conn., insurance company said the sale, together with \$300 million from the sale of senior notes in March, enhances the company's financial flexibility.

The shares were sold at \$25 each, with an annual dividend of \$2.31. They have cumulative dividends, are non-convertible, and are callable after five years.

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Ross's Army

Meet Perot's Fans: They Crave Change, Not Specific Proposals

In Western New York, They
Span Political Spectrum,
Shrug Off His Positions

Rallying the Fire Districts

By JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

CHEEKTOWAGA, N.Y. — Marie Majurowski is Polish and Catholic. When it comes to abortion, "It's wrong, and I'm against it," she says. Yet she has turned out for a Ross Perot campaign meeting at a nearly abandoned shopping mall.

Mr. Perot supports abortion rights for women, one of the few specific stands he's taken on a controversial issue. "I know where he stands," says Mrs. Majurowski, "and I'm still for him. I just dislike all politicians so much, and he's saying the things we've been thinking about all these years."

In many ways Mrs. Majurowski embodies the seemingly contradictory qualities of the Perot supporter. Mr. Perot's still-unannounced presidential campaign, here in western New York and elsewhere, is fueled by a combination of idealism and frustration among voters that cuts across political leanings, social class and individual issues.

The latest Wall Street Journal/NBC News poll paints a picture of an extraordinarily broad Perot coalition — men and women, black and white, blue collar and white collar, eastern and western. They defy political classification: Thirty percent say they are moderate, 30% say they are conservative, and 24% say they are liberal. What do they have in common? Perot supporters believe the country is seriously on the wrong track. They hold "very negative" views about Congress. They tend to think the people running the government are a little crooked.

Many politicians expect that as Mr. Perot is forced to become more specific on various issues, he will lose support, and some voters who are leaning toward Mr. Perot agree that they want to know more about him. "What worries me is that he seems evasive. He needs to get more positive," says Ken Cowley, a lifelong Democrat and a retired officer of a local carpenters union. Yet the Perot campaign may defy the conventional wisdom, if his supporters in Cheektowaga, a working class suburb of Buffalo, are any indication.

Political Innocents

Mrs. Majurowski, her husband, Arthur, who trains and finds jobs for disabled adults, and their 26-year-old daughter, Laura, are among about 70 people at the Perot campaign meeting. Most of them have never attended a political meeting before. They are political innocents, bound together by the feeling that traditional politicians are leading the nation to ruin and that Mr. Perot, wherever he may stand on specific issues, at least offers hope.

"When we were young, we could afford to buy a house," says Mr. Majurowski. "Young people can't do that any more. What have we done to this generation?"

"We need a change," adds his daughter.

Presiding at the meeting is Gregory Kiesinger, a 26-year-old sales representative and the informal manager of the Perot campaign here. He was a Reagan Republican who has lost whatever faith he once had in President Bush. Like so many other Perot supporters, he rarely even thinks about Democrat Bill Clinton.

"What I know about Mr. Perot is that he's the ultimate success story in American business," says Mr. Kiesinger. "He's got business savvy, and he'll know how to handle the special interests."

"The important point is that Ross is pragmatic and has a lot of common sense," says Robert M. Bennett, a black voter who dismisses the need for a detailed analysis of Mr. Perot's civil-liberties background. Mr. Bennett supported Jesse Jackson in 1984 and 1988. Now he's working for Mr. Perot. "He will put us all on a level playing field," says Mr. Bennett, whose father was the Democratic leader of the Fifth Ward in Buffalo.

Scant Interest in Details

These Perot enthusiasts have faith in Mr. Perot, and that may work in his favor when the inevitable negative TV ads start flying. They want a change, and that means more to them than quibbling about details of Mr. Perot's political platform.

Eugene Brogowski is 55 and unemployed. "I've been voting for so long for the lesser of two evils," he says. "This is the first time in as long as I can remember that I feel good about what I'm doing." He expects Mr. Perot "would cut down on government spending."

Jim Meinke, 47, works at a General Motors engine plant. He's a lifelong Republican, and he thinks Mr. Perot as president would produce jobs for American workers. Mr. Meinke says the country needs "fresh blood" that isn't tied to the special interests. "I just hope politically he doesn't owe anybody anything."

The grass-roots Perot campaign here in western New York is going like gangbusters. It began when Malcolm Mac Kay, a land surveyor, placed a \$135 personal ad in the Buffalo News early in March. "People interested in circulating petitions for Ross Perot, call 632-4859," it read.

Mr. Mac Kay is nothing like the professional organizers for a Bush campaign or a

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Welfare-Reform Program Falls Short As Fewer Receive Child-Care Benefit

By CATHY TROST

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Just about everyone agrees that getting welfare mothers back to work is imperative in solving the problems of the urban poor. But the provisions of the 1988 welfare-reform law guaranteeing child care to such mothers are falling far short of their promise.

The law, passed with broad bipartisan support, provides child-care assistance and health insurance for the critical "transitional" year after parents leave welfare to go to work. It also requires that mothers who are still on welfare and who have children over age three receive education and job training, and guarantees them child-care assistance to do that.

Administration Sees Progress

Administration officials overseeing the program say the number of children receiving such "transitional" child care has been rising — to 56,000 in March 1992, compared with 35,000 in March 1991, according to figures supplied by the Department of Health and Human Services Administration for Children and Families. Department spokesman David Siegel says officials are "encouraged by progress" in the program.

But the number is still far less than the 280,000 children a month that the Congressional Budget Office predicted would use the program in fiscal 1991. "It's a borderline disaster," says Paul Offner, legislative aide to Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, (D., N.Y.), an architect of the legislation.

"In nearly every state in the country, families are not getting the child care to which they are entitled . . . preventing mothers from getting off welfare," says Barbara Reisman, director of the Child Care Action Campaign, an advocacy group.

The problems come amid wide-ranging political attacks on the welfare system and a growing consensus that any kind of welfare reform must shift more to getting welfare recipients into jobs. Early evidence shows that the welfare-reform legislation can have a big impact, driving down welfare spending and increasing recipients' earnings in California.

But recessionary pressures on the states have limited their spending on the overall welfare-reform program. Only about 60% of the \$1 billion in federal money available for the job-training and education program, called JOBS, is being spent because states haven't been able or willing to come up with enough matching funds.

Limited State Participation

Though the jobs program has been more successful in delivering child-care aid, some states have limited participation because of slim resources. States can receive open-ended child-care funds by putting up the share they're required to meet for Medicaid funds. In fiscal 1991, total state and federal child-care expenditures for these welfare programs was \$541 million — not enough, critics say, to meet needs.

Some conservatives say the problem is that too many states have opted for child-care arrangements that parents are least likely to use. "Parents generally are least attracted to care in a secular-based center, usually being run for profit," says Gary Bauer, a former Reagan administration official now at the Family Research Council. "States generally don't provide assistance if you're paying your neighbor to watch your child or if you're paying for care in the basement of a church where religious symbols may be displayed."

Robert Rector of the conservative Heritage Foundation disputes the idea that

women even need child-care aid to get off welfare. "It's never been shown in any data that lack of child-care funding was a principal reason that people became long-term welfare dependents," he says, terming the legislation "a bunch of nonsense from the start, and a bunch of nonsense now."

But advocates of the program say a much bigger problem may be that not enough of the people who go off welfare because their earnings increase — an estimated 300,000 in fiscal 1990 — are even aware they may be entitled to the benefits. To remedy that, Rep. Thomas Downey (D., N.Y.), the measure's chief sponsor in the House, and others have proposed changes to make it easier to get the benefits, including making them an automatic benefit instead of requiring people to apply for them.

Currently, states are required to inform welfare recipients about the availability of the child-care benefits, but their methods vary. State officials contend that once people leave welfare, they tend to ignore welfare department mailings and try to escape the welfare stigma.

In Illinois, recipients now automatically receive a computerized notice when they go off welfare alerting them of the benefits. "We're now capturing many more of the clients than before," says Michele Piel, manager of child-care services for the Illinois Department of Public Aid. An Illinois survey showed that those who had left welfare for work and stayed off welfare were more likely to have applied for and gotten transitional child-care help. Still, only about 20% of the people who are notified obtain the assistance. (Not all those notified qualify for the program, however; some may have children who are too old, or may be receiving another type of federal child-care aid, or have children in unpaid care.)

Extraordinary Persistence

And many mothers complain bitterly that state welfare caseworkers often don't know or don't tell them about the child-care benefits and that getting signed up for them requires extraordinary persistence. They say overworked welfare workers in many states lose interest once people have left the system, or send out notices about benefits buried in bureaucratic jargon.

Darrell Woods, the mother of a three-year-old girl, spent less than a year on welfare in Oakland, Calif., before finding a job as a receptionist at a condominium complex last summer. She says her application form for transitional child-care benefits was lost four times by caseworkers, and the caseworkers themselves changed three times.

Finally six months after applying, the \$325-a-month benefit checks started coming regularly. (She pays an additional \$25 under the program's sliding-fee scale requirement.) With a gross income of \$1,200 a month and monthly child-care fees of \$350, the day-care assistance is the difference between working and returning to welfare. And that's something she never wants to do. "I'm not a regular quote unquote welfare recipient," she protests.

Advocates also raise concerns about the quality of child-care. Payment for day-care services is limited to the local market rate covering 75% of caregivers (though states can supplement that). Critics say that shuts out the top 25% of higher-cost child-care providers and makes it difficult to find good care that is fully reimbursable in many areas. "Many welfare families are being forced to place their children in low quality and potentially dangerous child care," says the Children's Defense Fund, a national advocacy group.

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POLITICS

Rep. Weber's Plan for a Time Limit on Welfare Draws Criticism From Some of His Usual Allies

By DAVID WESSEL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Rep. Vin Weber, a conservative Republican from Minnesota, has a plan to prevent poor people from getting hooked on welfare: Cut off their benefits after four years.

Some liberals blanch at the idea. But surprisingly, it's Mr. Weber's usual allies on the right who are giving him the hardest time.

"It's a blind alley," says Kate O'Beirne, top legislative strategist for the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank. "There's no way it'll get through without a government-guaranteed job attached and without a massively federalized child care program attached."

That's the rub. Rep. Weber's conservative critics are prepared to push welfare recipients off the rolls, but they don't want to give Democrats an excuse to spend more money on jobs and child care. "Weber thinks you are going to get away with one half of this," says Heritage policy analyst Robert Rector. "You're not."

Values at Risk

But Rep. Weber — who is attracting at least as much, if not more, attention since he decided against running for re-election than before — is willing to take the risk. "What conservatives ought to be saying is that we have a view that is closer to the values of most Americans than liberals: that welfare is temporary, until people get on their feet."

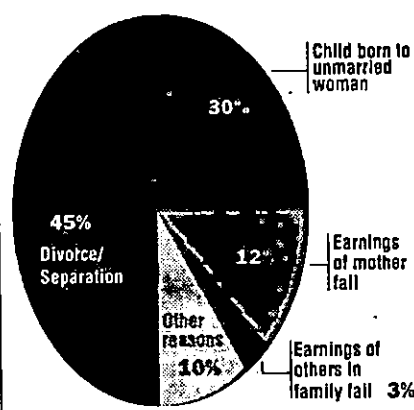
The dispute underscores the difficulty that conservatives have in harmonizing their sometimes contradictory impulses. They want welfare recipients to work, but they want mothers to care for their own children; they want to spend less on welfare, but they don't want to spend more on government jobs.

Rep. Weber is willing to spend more money if that's what it takes to help welfare recipients get the training and child care they need to get jobs. "I'd be very skeptical of any proposal for welfare reform that doesn't cost more in the short run," he says.

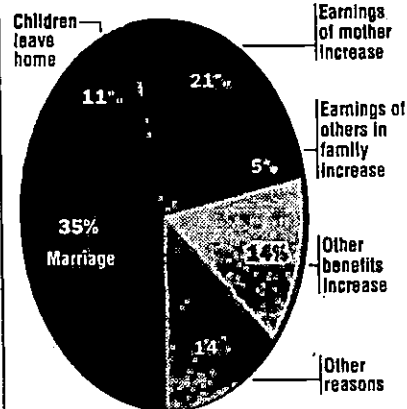
Some conservatives are aghast at that thought. "I think there is enough money in

Forces Behind Welfare Cycle

The most common occurrences that result in GOING ON welfare:



The most common occurrences that result in GOING OFF welfare:



Source: House Ways and Means Committee

the system," says former Reagan aide Gary Bauer of the Family Research Center. "Too much of it is sucked off by people in Washington making good livings running these programs."

But Rep. Weber isn't alone in his interest in setting time limits on welfare. There is a budding consensus on the right and the left that it ought to be more of a transition to work and less of an end in itself, a conclusion that leads to proposals to make welfare less attractive and work more attractive.

Boost Work Image

The bill that Mr. Weber will introduce shortly, with Rep. Clay Shaw (R., Fla.) and others, would require most welfare recipients to spend a quarter of their time in school, training or work. After four years, cash benefits would be cut off except for those with disabilities or, in some cases, children under the age of three. (Food stamps and Medicaid health insurance would continue.) Another bill being prepared by Republican members of the House Ways and Means Committee's Human Resources subcommittee would finance state experiments with limited-time welfare.

Although President Bush has said that "welfare was never meant to be a lifestyle," he hasn't taken a public position on welfare time limits. On this, he has been outflanked by Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic presidential nominee who proposes giving welfare, along with beefed-up training and education, for only two years. After that, welfare recipients would have to get a job or do community service, according to Bruce Reed, issues director for Gov. Clinton's campaign.

The targets of all this are mothers enrolled in the state-federal program known as Aid to Families with Dependent Children who get on welfare and stay

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& POLICY

there. In all, about 5% of Americans collect AFDC benefits, about 4.1 million adults and 8.5 million children. About half of those who go on welfare are off within two years, but about two-thirds of those on welfare at any one time are in the midst of what will be eight or more years, according to studies by David Ellwood of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government.

The toughest question is what happens to the poor mother and her children when the clock runs out. "You have to have something at the end of the period of time if the person isn't able to get a job," says Paul Legler, a lawyer who works with Mr. Ellwood at Harvard.

Rep. Weber's bill begs the question, leaving open the possibility of a government jobs program without endorsing one. He says most people would find work, particularly if they get training while on welfare and if the government provides wage supplements under the earned income tax credit afterward.

Some Democrats say the Weber critics are right in believing that a guaranteed job would be the price of their support. "They've figured me out," says Rep. Tom Downey (D., N.Y.), a leading Democratic voice on welfare issues. "If you want to time-limit welfare, make sure there's a job at the end of that rainbow."

The Heritage alternative is to require welfare recipients to do community service—rocking "crack babies" is the favorite example. "As soon as that obligation is put on these welfare recipients," says Mrs. O'Beirne of Heritage, "there would be an enormous decline in the number." She argues that politicians and the public will never accept a program that cuts off a poor mother's welfare check but would accept a community-service requirement. Rep. Weber says Heritage underestimates the administrative cost and problems of such programs.

The Minnesota Republican also has exposed another rift among conservatives:

whether mothers of infants and toddlers should work. As currently drafted, his bill would allow a woman to remain on welfare after the four-year limit if she had a child under three — but she could only get one such exemption in her lifetime. Slightly more than half of all mothers of children under age three are in the work force.

Uncomfortable with working mothers in general, some conservative analysts,

including those at Heritage, resist any restrictions on welfare that affect women with children under age five. When that point was made in a meeting between Rep. Weber and the Heritage analysts, Mr. Weber replied: "There is no way we can have a system where mothers of kids one and two years old go into the labor force and pay taxes so welfare mothers can stay home for four or five years."

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Truth and Consequences

As with the U.S.-Soviet summits of fading memory, arms control is the central focus of George Bush's meetings with Boris Yeltsin this week. Yesterday the two presidents agreed to reduce their nuclear stockpiles to no more than 3,000 to 3,500 warheads each. But arms control is only superficially what this "summit" is about. It really is about establishing a new, non-confrontational relationship between the U.S. and the former core republic of the Soviet empire. If that can be accomplished—and it can be—warhead numbers are of secondary importance.

Mr. Yeltsin is taking some steps to banish the ghosts of the evil empire he overthrew last year. He arrived with revelations that the Soviets, as suspected, secretly imprisoned many Americans who fell into their hands during the Cold War and even when America and the U.S.S.R. were allies in World War II. Yesterday the Washington Post headlined his confirmation that it was indeed a botched biological warfare experiment, and not natural causes as the Soviets lyingly insisted, that caused an anthrax epidemic near Sverdlovsk in 1979. (This will of course come as no surprise to readers of these pages; see below.)

Mr. Yeltsin is telling Washington, where he will address a joint session of Congress today, why the Russian government he heads is fundamentally different from the Soviet regime it supplanted. The empire is gone. Russia, with 150 million people the world's sixth most populous country, has deep problems but high hopes. Soviet pandrums were imperious visitors to the democratic world. Mr. Yeltsin, an elected president, is a legitimate member. He comes with truths instead of lies.

Both Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin stress that Russia and the U.S., as democracies, need no longer regard each other as adversaries. If they can turn those words into reality, they will achieve what arms control agreements never could, a mutual sense of security. Arms control deals are not predicated on trust, but on distrust.

Yet, until stronger ties are forged, arms talks are not yet irrelevant, if for no other reason than to undo the mistakes of the past. The arms reductions announced yesterday still leave each side with cataclysmic destructive power, but they nevertheless may build confidence—even though it is by no means clear who will be in charge in Russia by the time they take effect.

Also, there is need for some understanding about the weapons in the hands of three other former Soviet nations, Ukraine, Belarus and Kazakhstan. Finally, constructive process is served by the commitments by the 29 nations of NATO and the former Warsaw Pact last week to implement the conventional arms reduction accords agreed to before the Soviet collapse.

But the most important U.S. objective will continue to be its effort to persuade the Russians to allow abridgment of the 20-year-old Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty, opening the way for the U.S. to deploy a ground-based defense by 1996. Such a change could facilitate employment of the technology of both sides to create a space-based global ABM to defend against the threat of nuclear missiles in the hands of pirate nations. If relations improve, the U.S. and Russia will hardly need to brandish nuclear missiles at each other, but both will need the security of an ABM.

Some Americans, such as Senator Bill Bradley, fear that the U.S. national security establishment remains captive to Cold War mentality. This, they argue, risks creating resentments among Russian military men by taking excessive advantage of Russia's economic problems. Some U.S. officers who have visited with their Russian counterparts agree, finding them to be confused and frustrated by the task of dismantling part of their huge military establishment. Such concerns, to the extent they are valid, argue for joint work on ABM systems so as to give new directions and outlets for Soviet military technology.

Part of Mr. Yeltsin's economic problem is that defense conversion, as it has been envisioned, is an impossible task. Economies must be rebuilt from the ground up with new ventures, not by trying to turn tank plants into panty hose factories. If that message can be put across to Mr. Yeltsin and his new prime minister, Yegor Gaidar, it will be more help to them than the go-ahead on \$24 billion in Western aid they are seeking in Washington. Whether they will get this message from George Bush, who has had his own problems with the concept, remains problematic, but maybe they will get it elsewhere.

If it is understood this week that the best future for U.S.-Russian relations lies not in summits but in friendly, free and mutually beneficial contacts between Americans and Russians, it will be the most successful summit ever.

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On to Yellow Rain

We now have the explicit confirmation from the Russian president that his predecessors were lying in denying that the 1979 anthrax epidemic in Sverdlovsk was the result of an accident at a germ warfare installation. Now we would like to know what else the Soviet archives contain about the Soviet biological weapons program.

We've taken no little heat over the years for publishing material suggesting the Soviets were violating the Biological Weapons Convention of 1972. As openness dawned in the former Soviet Union, we were able to publish much about Sverdlovsk from the Soviet press, and indeed Peter Gumbel of our Moscow bureau reported Mr. Yeltsin's previous statements suggesting a military accident.

We and the U.S. government have long held that Sverdlovsk was a biological warfare accident, but met with withering skepticism from most of the media and the "scientific community" led by Matthew Meselson, the Harvard scientist who was the intellectual godfather of the 1972 convention. The same two sides have also been locked in battle over the yellow rain reported by Hmong tribesmen in Laos.

We and the government have con-

tended that the principal ingredients in yellow rain are trichothecenes, types of mycotoxin produced by certain strains of the fusarium fungus. The toxins were presumably Soviet supplied; trichothecenes were responsible for an epidemic of what was then called Alimentary Toxic Aleukia in the winter of 1943-44 in the Orenburg district of the Soviet Union. Similar bleeding symptoms were reported by the Hmong after yellow rain attacks, and trichothecenes were identified in environmental and blood samples from Laos. Prof. Meselson says, by contrast, that yellow rain was feces from the cleansing flights of bees.

It would also be interesting to know whether the Soviets mixed poisons with the penetrating chemical DMSO, whether chemicals were responsible for Afghans' reports that riflemen were found dead still looking down their sights, and whether there was a program to use genetic engineering for biological warfare under the late Yuri Ovchinnikov, a vice president of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. We would like to be sure, in short, whether the Soviet arsenal contained things even more lethal, and possibly accident-prone, than even anthrax.

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Urban Incivility

Chicago's streets were a mini-Los Angeles Sunday, with bouts of arson, looting and vandalism. Pundits came up with two explanations: economic want and political frustration. If those suffice to cause mayhem these days, we'd better roll up the sidewalks at dusk across America. Let's try another explanation. It doesn't apply to the vicious assaults—murders, even—that took place in L.A.; those are of a different order. But it could fit the spot rampages to which few communities seem immune. To use an antiquated word, call this a bout of immodesty.

It starts when a child fails to grow out of infancy and keeps hollering for candy or a toy. It continues in school where a cutup distracts classmates from the teacher. Next you see it in public places, where somebody parades in outrageous undress or totes a blasting stereo. In its latter stages, it intrudes on others' property—first with a spray can, perhaps, then with a stone, finally with a firebomb. This ethic implies a right to vent any emotion.

Our popular culture, a model for the wider world, is full of people flaunting themselves where subtlety

and quiet dignity were not long ago standard. Remember when a triumph at a sporting event did not entail sustained histrionics on the part of fans and athletes alike?

Which brings us back to Chicago. "When you celebrate something in America, you break a window and grab something," said Mayor Richard M. Daley. "When people have an excuse to loot, they loot." Hizzoner employs sarcasm where hizfather, in stricter times, threatened force.

"Shoot to kill" is not what we're asking for. A firm hand appropriately applied would do. We recall a friend's amazed tale from San Jose, a place not without rough edges. There, he saw a cop command a guy with a boom box to turn it down. What a simple, wonderful throwback to another era.

Human behavior goes in cycles, we suppose, and that's about the most hopeful thing that can be said. Maybe these dangerous times will run their course without too many people losing too much that is dear to them. We are all being deprived of basic civility, though, and in this case maybe a little impatience for action is in order.

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Europe's Awkward Love Triangle

By FREDERICK KEMPE

HAMBURG — A graying French diplomat uses the image of a love triangle to describe the bitter feud that has erupted between Paris and Washington over who is Germany's more ideal partner.

The diplomat says the Germans, whose relationships before unification were defined by post-war agreements and the Berlin Wall, relish the attention of two suitors as they play the field for the first time in four decades. Germans coyly refuse to choose between the two, hoping to keep both happy by telling each what it most wants to hear.

The Germans tell the French that they, as fellow Europeans, will always be more compatible mates. And Germany reassures the U.S. that Paris can never match the seduction of American global influence or America's proven loyalty during unification.

Yet American leaders are beginning to worry that Germany's devotion is waning. The proximate cause for this concern was Chancellor Helmut Kohl's decision to sign onto the creation of a 35,000-soldier Franco-German corps. Many in Washington see this as the beginning of the end for NATO.

Yet the real battle between Paris and Washington isn't over troops but over what role they each will play in post-Cold War Europe. The key variable is the health of their relationship with Germany, Europe's dominant power. The Danish vote against the Maastricht treaty makes Bonn all the more critical.

In a less centralized Europe, Germany becomes even more the center of attention.

"Don't worry," whisper the Germans in the American ear. "We'll use this Franco-German corps to bring Paris closer to NATO than ever before." The love triangle, in short, will become a ménage à trois.

"The Germans are deluding themselves," says Richard Burt, the former American ambassador to Bonn who always said things a bit too plainly for German liking. His argument is that since the French know more clearly where they want European security to go than do the Germans, they are more likely to get there. As for the U.S., he says, the new L.A.-riots, Ross Perot-America "isn't going to stay in Europe if it sees that's the role that's left for it."

There's another problem with this ménage à trois policy. French and American leaders have seldom liked each other less. A U.S. official said President Francois Mitterrand's comments after the Los Angeles riots, referring dismissively to Mr. Bush's "conservative economic theory," riled the campaigning president. Mr. Mitterrand's comments also followed weeks during which the French raised obstacles to virtually every American initiative in Europe that would have assured NATO—and Washington—a role for decades into the future.

Americans stress the strength of a German-American future. One senior American official notes the results of

the "partnership in leadership" in just the past year: the creation of the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, which brought the newly democratic states of eastern and central Europe into some association with NATO, the founding of a nuclear science center in Moscow to keep dangerous knowhow off Third World streets, the \$24 billion program to support Russian reforms.

But the Germans haven't any intention of choosing between the French vision (a European partner whose international actions are strictly limited by Brussels) and the U.S. vision (a "partnership in leadership" involving a Germany that accepts that it has entered the big leagues).

Germany will try to have it both ways. President Richard von Weizsaecker, in a recent Journal interview, laid out a plan for Germany to assume a "Mittel-lage," a middle position.

The most intelligent book trying to lay out a post-unification security policy for Germany is one written by Adm. Ulrich Weisser. Called "NATO Ohne Feindbild" — "NATO Without Enemies" — the book attempts to shake Germans out of their lethargy and into accepting increased international responsibility. "We Germans can't stand on the sidelines in neutral passivity or nurture our egotistical pacifism if we want to defend and construct European peace," says Adm. Weisser, who has been the adviser to defense ministers and chancellors. He sees no reason to choose between America and France. He wants Germany to decide its

own course with both.

Adm. Weisser's book warns his American friends that nostalgia — the Berlin Air Lift, the Care Packages, etc. — is a bad recipe for future success: "In relationships between peoples and states, gratitude is as unsuitable a basis for a common future as sympathy is in a marriage."

Nowhere did the inadequacy of nostalgia seem more poignant than at the fortieth anniversary celebration of the Atlantik Bruecke, a private organization whose members have been the elite in nurturing West German-American relations. They are the old guard from a dying world who are struggling to find new reasons for the relationship.

Henry Kissinger, who received the group's highest award, noted the success of the Alliance. But around midnight, toward the end of the black tie banquet, the communication problems became apparent. The German master of ceremonies made an awkward comment about how some of his countrymen regretted having let down some American friends during the Gulf crisis. He then offered compensation in the form of a pianist, flautist and singer to perform what he called "the Yellow Ribbon song."

The U.S. guests fidgeted, wondering what possessed the Germans to offer this odd and embarrassing gesture. The Germans smiled awkwardly and condescendingly. A celebration marking more than four decades of one of the more successful bilateral relationships of the 20th century ended with Americans trying hard to hide their discomfort and Germans at pains to share what they imagined to be unfathomable American pleasure about what they considered a quite silly song. They parted with polite words and opposing impressions.

Mr. Kempe heads the Journal's Berlin bureau.

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Nothing but the Best for Pennsylvania Legislators

By JOHN L. KENNEDY

Think congressional pensions are outrageous? You are of course right. A study by the Washington-based National Taxpayer's Union found that, for instance, former U.S. House and Senate member Richard S. Schweiker will collect a total of \$1,743,000 in pension checks if he lives to the 83.2 years projected by the actuaries—even though Mr. Schweiker's salary when he retired in 1980 was only \$60,663 a year.

But in fact, Mr. Schweiker made a big mistake. Had he sought office in his home state of Pennsylvania, he could have enjoyed a real windfall. The monthly retirement checks of former Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, Tip O'Neill, only slightly exceed the monthly pension of former Speaker of the Pennsylvania House, K. Leroy Irvis. Mr. O'Neill collects \$6,250 a month, Mr. Irvis \$6,065. Both served just over 30 years; Mr. O'Neill's salary when he left office in 1987

was \$100,800; Mr. Irvis's salary when he retired in 1989 was \$53,600.

But it doesn't end there. Mr. Irvis receives the modest sum he does only because he took option "two" of the state pension plan when he retired. This means that his designated survivor will receive an amount equal to his pension for the rest of his or her life. In order to choose this option, Mr. Irvis had to give up some of his monthly pension up front. Had he chosen option "one," with no rights of survivorship, he would be pocketing \$10,496 a month, or \$125,000 a year — more than double his highest salary.

Mr. Irvis owes his pension to a retirement system that pays state lawmakers elected before March 1, 1974, a pension more than triple the pensions of those elected after that date. Understandably, the later retirees are envious. Pennsylvania's Commonwealth Court is now hearing oral arguments in a case whose

outcome could raise the pensions of all 203 state House members and 50 Senate members back to the pre-1974 levels. And if the legislators win, little would prevent state employees from bringing suit on the same ground, which could make more than 100,000 civil servants fabulously rich and the Keystone state woefully broke.

The members and the civil servants actually have a pretty good case. The Pennsylvania Constitution contains a clause calling for uniformity in salary among state officials. Also on the side of the plaintiffs is a 1988 state Supreme Court case that equalized the pensions of the state's judges, who had previously been subject to the same pre- and post-1974 pension regime.

Pennsylvania got itself into this trouble because it established its pensions as a very favorable percentage of salary times the number of years served. In the 1950s, when state legislators were part-time employees earning \$3,000 a year, the pension system was readily affordable. Now Pennsylvania lawmakers earn \$47,000 a year, more than any state legislators except New York's.

For Nicholas Moehlmann, one of the plaintiffs in the case before the Commonwealth Court, the case is worth serious money. Elected in November 1974 and defeated in 1990, Mr. Moehlmann receives a pension of \$15,040 a year. If he wins his case, he will get \$47,000. Using the higher pension formula, it will take only six terms for a House member and three for a senator to retire at an amount equal to the highest amount earned while in office.

And the taxpayers, of course, will have to make up the difference.

Mr. Kennedy is a syndicated columnist in Hershey, Pa.

Notable & Quotable

From a May 27 interview with Russian President Boris Yeltsin in the newspaper Komsomolskaya Pravda. A related editorial appears nearby:

Komsomolskaya Pravda: You knew about the development of bacteriological weapons in Sverdlovsk. But it was only recently that you first talked about it publicly. Why did you keep quiet all that time?

Mr. Yeltsin: First, nobody asked me about it. And second, when I learned that these developments were under way, I visited [then KGB chief Yuri] Andropov. . . . When there was an anthrax outbreak, the official conclusion stated that it was

carried by some dog. Although the KGB had already admitted that our military developments were the cause.

Andropov phoned [Defense Minister Dmitri] Ustinov and ordered these production facilities to be completely scrapped. I believed that this had been done. It turned out that the laboratories were simply moved to another oblast and development of the weapons continued. And I told Bush, Major and Mitterrand this — that the program was under way. . . . I signed a decree setting up a special committee and banning the program. It was only after this that experts flew out specially and stopped the work.

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Perot Cancels Appearance Before Panel Investigating If Vietnam Holds POWs

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Ross Perot canceled his scheduled appearance before a Senate committee investigating whether Vietnam still holds U.S. prisoners of war and military personnel listed as missing in action there.

Citing a "politically charged atmosphere," Mr. Perot said in a letter to committee Chairman Sen. John Kerry (D., Mass.) that "it would do a grave injustice to the MIAs and their families to have a hearing on this important matter ... before the November election."

The Senate select committee on POW/MIA affairs decided to continue seeking an appearance from Mr. Perot, though the panel didn't move to issue a subpoena. In addition, Sen. Kerry released a letter in which he urged Mr. Perot to appear before the committee in July or early August.

Scheduled June 30 Appearance

Mr. Perot had agreed to appear before the committee June 30 to discuss his longtime involvement with the POW issue. But in recent days, aides to his ballot-petition drive expressed concern that Mr. Perot, who is leading President Bush and Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton in many opinion polls, would face a grilling at the hearing from Republicans and Democrats.

Mr. Perot echoed that concern in his letter, dated Monday. He said the hearings, "controlled by Democrats and Republicans and conducted just before the political conventions, with a witness who is being placed on the ballot as an independent" would "tend to become a political circus."

Mr. Kerry said Mr. Perot gave a different reason Friday for not wanting to appear before the committee. According to Mr. Kerry's letter, Mr. Perot told Mr. Kerry that he didn't want to testify June 30.

Clinton Maintains Cuomo Would Make Good Justice

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter
LOS ANGELES — Gov. Bill Clinton said he would favor nominating New York Gov. Cuomo to the Supreme Court in a Clinton administration.

Responding to questions from an audience of 18-to-24-year-olds on MTV, the music video cable channel, the expected Democratic presidential nominee said: "Gov. Cuomo would be a good Supreme Court justice. He is a legal scholar who also understands the impact of the law on real people's lives."

During the appearance, which will be aired several times on MTV, the Arkansas governor wore a flowered tie with his usual business suit and peppered his responses with phrases such as, "Let me tell you where I'm coming from." But the substance of his answers differed little from his stump speeches around the country.

because of pressing political obligations, but would be willing to testify in September.

Mr. Kerry's letter expressed frustration that Mr. Perot was canceling his appearance after preparations that date back to last fall. "You have much information to offer on the subject," wrote Mr. Kerry, a decorated Vietnam veteran, "and the public is entitled to hear it."

In a conversation late yesterday, Sen. Kerry said, Mr. Perot reiterated his desire not to be a committee witness before Election Day but agreed to discuss the matter with Mr. Kerry later this week. If Mr. Perot refuses to appear, the committee could subpoena him, but thus far "there's been no talk" in the committee of taking such an action, Mr. Kerry said.

Efforts Back to 1969

Mr. Perot has been engaged in various efforts to assist POWs since 1969, when he unsuccessfully tried to deliver Christmas parcels to POWs in what was then North Vietnam. In recent years, Mr. Perot's efforts have focused on bringing back U.S. citizens who may have been kept behind against their will. Although many experts say there's little hard evidence that POWs remain captive in Vietnam, controversy continues to surround the matter.

Mr. Perot's longstanding advocacy on behalf of POWs is among the most-cited reasons voters say they favor him for president, and an appearance before the Senate committee might have offered Mr. Perot a platform to rail against the government's inability to account for U.S. citizens who were declared missing during the Vietnam War. But Mr. Perot also was likely to face questions about recent press reports suggesting that he sought possible postwar business ties with the Vietnamese. The Perot campaign has denied that Mr. Perot was seeking any such ties.

The issue of POWs has been heightened in recent days with the disclosure by Russian President Boris Yeltsin that he has found evidence suggesting that American prisoners captured during the Vietnam War had been imprisoned in the Soviet Union. Previously, Soviet leaders had denied that their country secretly held U.S. servicemen and women prisoner within its borders. Mr. Yeltsin and President Bush discussed the matter yesterday at a White House meeting.

A spokeswoman for the Perot petition drive in Dallas wouldn't comment on Mr. Perot's decision not to appear before the committee.

Denmark's Unemployment Rate

COPENHAGEN — Denmark's unemployment rate for April was 11% of the labor force, or 307,900 people, the state statistics agency said.

The seasonally corrected figure was compared with a 10.9% unemployment rate, or 305,000 people, in March.

In April 1991, the figure was 10.2%, or 285,200 people, the agency said.

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Grand Jury Indicts Ex-Defense Secretary In Iran-Contra Affair

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notes sought by investigators.

During 1985 and 1986, when the arms sales to Iran took place, the former defense secretary took 1,700 pages of daily notes, according to the indictment, which accuses Mr. Weinberger of withholding the great bulk of these and then falsely denying that he had other relevant notes.

The defendant "withheld and concealed his daily notes" from Congress in 1987, according to the written charges. As late as three years later, the indictment cites an interview with the prosecutor's office when Mr. Weinberger again played down the scope of the notes he kept during the two terms of the Reagan administration. Attending the interview, on Oct. 10, 1990, was a special agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation whose written summary shows Mr. Weinberger saying that he didn't recall taking notes during meetings with the president and other cabinet members when the Iran arms sales were discussed.

Though the 31-page indictment only hints of the full depth of Mr. Weinberger's notes, the court papers cite several cases where the records provide further details regarding an early shipment by Israel to Iran of U.S.-made Hawk missiles in November 1985. This transaction became a major embarrassment as the scandal began to unwind a year later, and there was a concerted effort by some in the administration to conceal U.S. knowledge of the shipment.

The indictment alleges that Mr. Weinberger lied to Congress in 1987 about his knowledge of the transaction. Separately, the former secretary is also accused of falsely denying that he knew of tens of millions of dollars in secret aid from Saudi Arabia to carry on the U.S.-backed war against the Sandinista government in Nicaragua.

Though Mr. Walsh's office, already under attack for the length of its inquiry, is sure to meet criticism, the indictment also shows infighting among veterans of the Reagan administration. Robert McFarlane, Mr. Reagan's former national security adviser, appears likely to be a witness against Mr. Weinberger.

And the indictment, citing Mr. Weinberger's own notes by reference, alleges that after the scandal broke in late-1986, Saudi Prince Bandar bin Sultan told the defense secretary that Nancy Reagan, the president's wife, had discussed with him replacing then-Secretary of State George Shultz.

Mr. Gillen, the deputy independent counsel, declined to say what Mr. Weinberger's motive was for allegedly withholding information from investigators, but the prosecutor sought to damp speculation that the action yesterday had moved the investigation closer to bringing charges against other officials, including the former president. "Our investigation has been narrowed significantly by the events today," said Mr. Gillen, who seemed anxious for the case to stand on its own without leaving inferences about others. "This indictment is about Caspar Weinberger," he asserted.

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Weinberger Is Indicted In Contra Case

By DAVID ROGERS

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — Former Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger was indicted on charges of obstructing congressional investigators and making false statements to criminal prosecutors regarding extensive personal notes he kept during the Iran-Contra affair.

The federal grand jury indictment includes two perjury counts and represents the first time a member of President Reagan's cabinet will face criminal charges in the five-year investigation headed by Independent Counsel Lawrence Walsh.

Mr. Weinberger condemned the indictment as a "grotesque distortion" of the prosecutor's power and accused Mr. Walsh's office of pressuring him to testify falsely against others. "I would not give false testimony nor would I enter a false plea," said Mr. Weinberger, whose allies had mounted a campaign to head off the charges in recent weeks. "Because of this refusal, which to me is a matter of conscience, I have now been charged with felonies."

Mr. Walsh's office declined to comment on the complaint, but the prosecutor's deputy, Craig Gillen, didn't hide his frustration with what he said was the former defense secretary's record of withholding information. Now 74, Mr. Weinberger was one of Mr. Reagan's advisers who most strongly warned against the secret arms deals with Iran. But the charges allege he repeatedly concealed his own knowledge of the affair and withheld contemporaneous

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Deficits, Disaster and Ross Perot

By HERBERT STEIN

Responding to evident discontent in the populace, both George Bush and Bill Clinton tried early in the campaign to present themselves as the "Agent of Change." And then along came Ross Perot. He said: "You want change? I'll give you change! You want different? I'm the gold-dangest differentest cuss you ever did see!" And many Americans loved it.

The premise of the Perot campaign is that things in America are so bad, and the prospect of improving them by politics-as-usual so bleak, that any change, however ill-defined, has a good chance of making things better. In fact, the more ill-defined the change the better the chance that within its mysteries it contains the solution to our problems. What is meant by things being bad is that there are conditions that the American people want and urgently need and that government could give them but that government as it is now being run is unwilling or unable to provide.

This is saying much more than that America has problems. We have always had problems, worse at some times than at others, and we have surmounted or survived these problems with a government run by journeymen politicians usually no better than the ones we now have in office. Certainly there is a need to try to understand our problems better, to achieve better solutions and to find better government officials if we can. But that is different from saying that we need to throw in the cards we hold and enter a new game with cards we have never seen and rules we have never heard.

The Great White Whale

This premise, that conditions in America are desperate, deserves more careful examination than it is getting. Bemoaning the state of the nation is so fashionable that no one dares to raise his head to say that things are not so bad. Even President Bush, who would seem to have the greatest incentive for defending present conditions and processes, is inhibited from doing so, for fear of being labeled as "not caring." So he has to join the mourning crowd and content himself with blaming the Democratic Congress.

By common consent America's great white whale is the budget deficit. That is the monster that threatens to demolish the country. And the failure of the government to slay this monster is the definitive symbol of the impotence of politics-as-usual. On the rare occasions when Mr. Perot

specifies what evil he has come to correct, it is the budget deficit he mentions. And when Mr. Bush called a press conference to demonstrate that he was part of the solution and not part of the problem, his theme was the need for a constitutional amendment requiring a balanced budget. He used the words "balanced budget" or some variant 25 times in that 45 minute press conference. (He did not use the words "urban problems," "Los Angeles," "poverty," or "blacks" once.) The balanced-budget amendment was Mr. Bush's substitute for Mr. Perot, another *deus ex machina* to solve the problem ordinary mortals could not.

In view of this emphasis, it seems just-

per-capita income. But in the 1980s, when the deficits were largest, this effect was largely matched by the inflow of capital from abroad. Investment as a fraction of GDP was only slightly lower in the 1980s than in the 1970s and higher than in the 1950s and 1960s. The rate of growth of productivity was markedly slower after 1973 than it had been earlier, but it was higher in the big-deficit years of the 1980s than in the years from 1973 to 1980.

But suppose that the big deficits did slow down economic growth. How big could that effect have been? The total budget deficit of the 1980s was about \$1.1 trillion (1990 dollars) larger than the total deficit of the 1970s. That was an amount equal to less

than 10% of the value of the total capital stock in the U.S. One can imagine that if the deficits had been kept on the 1970s scale, the total capital stock in 1990 would have been 10% larger than it was. On a common calculation of economists, capital contributes about 30% of the national output. So one might conclude that the excess deficits of the 1980s, compared with the deficits of the 1970s, made the GDP in 1990 3% less than it would otherwise have been.

Is that what all the deficit-terror is about — that the GDP in 1990 was \$5.5138 trillion when it would have been \$5.6792 trillion if deficits had been kept to the 1970s level? And were there no gains to accompany this cost? Economists frequently say that the deficit would have been acceptable if it had been productively invested. Well, in the 1980s defense spending was about \$760 billion higher than in the 1970s, whereas the deficit was \$1.1 trillion higher. We invested three-fourths of the additional deficit in additional defense spending, which was an investment in national security from which Americans will benefit for years to come.

The fiscal policy of the 1980s was not the one that I would have preferred. I would have preferred higher taxes, lower expenditures on "entitlements" for the not-poor, and smaller deficits. But it would be arro-

gant to think that if the policy did not conform to my preferences it was a disaster.

And if it was not a disaster how do we know that the political process that yielded it was incompetent? The process is usually described as "gridlock." The word implies that the administration had one plan for eliminating the deficit and Congress had another, but that since they could not agree the deficit could not be eliminated. That was not the case, however. The administration and Congress were in complete agreement. Neither wanted to do what would have been necessary to eliminate the deficit — to raise taxes substantially or to cut entitlements substantially. The agreement was tacit, which left each party free to blame the other for failure to balance the budget.

Moreover, as far as anyone can see, the agreement conformed to the wishes of the American people. Twenty-three years ago I published a book in which, among other things, I reviewed the history of public attitudes toward the deficit. I found that although public opinion polls always showed a large majority for "balancing the budget," the feeling was not very deep — as evidenced by the continued election of candidates who had no intention of balancing the budget. That conclusion holds today.

Not So Dismal

In the next few years the deficit will probably decline as the economy recovers, defense spending is cut and the worst of the costs of the savings and loan bailout are behind us. Later there will be a tendency for the deficit to rise again, as the aging of the population raises Social Security and Medicare costs. Care will have to be exercised to prevent the deficit from rising to more dangerous levels in the future. But our past record of dealing with such problems is not so dismal that we have to throw ourselves in the arms of the mysterious Mr. Perot.

I do not want to insist on this appraisal of the budget deficit. My point is mainly that there has been no attempt to appraise it realistically at all. We just go around terrifying ourselves and others by repeating the word "Deficit!" If the budget deficit is Exhibit A in the case of Perot vs. Politics-as-Usual, the case is not very impressive.

A former chairman of the president's Council of Economic Advisers, Mr. Stein is an American Enterprise Institute fellow.

Board of Contributors

It is almost as if Americans were obsessed by the fact that everybody bears the burden of 15 pounds of atmospheric pressure per square inch (at sea level, of course).

fied to use the deficit issue as a test of the realism of the current view that conditions in America are terrible.

This public obsession with the deficit as unmitigated evil is amazing. I would guess that not more than one person in 10,000 has any very clear idea of the definition of the deficit, of the meaning of \$100 billion, of the nature and probable magnitude of the effects of the deficit or of the steps that would be required to eliminate it. It is almost as if the American people were obsessed by the fact that everybody bears the burden of 15 pounds of atmospheric pressure per square inch (at sea level, of course).

The federal government has run a budget deficit in 35 of the past 40 years. We have had Reagan-Bush-size deficits for 12 years. The federal debt, which was about 55% of gross domestic product in the good old days of President Eisenhower, fell to about 25% in fiscal 1974 (my last year in government), and has now risen back to about 55%. Federal interest payments, almost all of which are paid to Americans, have risen from about 1.5% of GDP to about 3.5%.

So where is the disaster? The usual view of economists, which I share, is that the budget deficit absorbs saving that would otherwise be invested and contribute to the growth of productivity and

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Bush, Yeltsin Meet, Agree On Surprise Warhead Cuts

Accord Halves Levels Set Last Year; Joint Probe Of POW Issue Planned

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The U.S. and Russia agreed to make surprising new cuts in their strategic nuclear arsenals that go significantly deeper than those the White House initially proposed.

At the same time, the two nations pledged to launch a newly invigorated investigation of evidence that Americans taken prisoner during the Vietnam War were sent to the Soviet Union.

President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin, in a meeting at the White House, agreed that the two nations will cut their arsenal of strategic warheads to between 3,000 and 3,500 apiece. That's roughly half the level the U.S. and the former Soviet Union had agreed to in the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty signed just 10 months ago, and it represents a cut of about two-thirds in existing strategic arsenals.

Significantly, Mr. Yeltsin said, Russia has agreed to give up all its big SS-18 land-based missiles, and the U.S. has agreed to reduce its submarine-launched strategic missile warheads. Those are the two most prized weapons in the respective nations' strategic arsenals.

At the same time that they moved ahead on arms reductions, the two leaders also scrambled to handle an explosion of interest in Mr. Yeltsin's disclosure this week that he has evidence suggesting American POWs from the Vietnam War were incarcerated in Soviet jails. Mr. Bush said the Russian leader presented information on the POW question in the White House meeting, and that Malcolm Toon, former American ambassador to Moscow, is leaving immediately for Moscow to participate in a joint American-Russian investigation of the information.

Mr. Bush said that he didn't receive evidence that American POWs are alive today in the former Soviet Union. But he added: "The cooperation that has been extended and, again, is being extended by the president of Russia will guarantee to the American people that, if anyone's alive, that person, those people, will be found."

The question of POWs and soldiers missing in action is a potentially explosive political issue for Mr. Bush. Independent presidential contender Ross Perot has spent years needling the White House to do more to investigate reports that Americans captured during the Vietnam conflict are still alive. In addition, some American intelligence officers have publicly testified before Congress that they saw reports over the years suggesting that U.S. prisoners were taken to the Soviet Union from Southeast Asia. A discovery now that Americans still are being held would raise questions about whether the government had done enough to investigate.

Threat to Aid

The POW issue now also threatens to further imperil legislation pending in Congress that would authorize additional assistance for the former Soviet Union. Sen. John McCain (R., Ariz.), a former POW, declared that the U.S. shouldn't move forward on aid without "resolving" the questions raised by Mr. Yeltsin's remarks.

Mr. Yeltsin first disclosed in a television interview on his way to Washington that he has evidence that Americans captured during the Vietnam War were sent to the Soviet Union. Yesterday, he told reporters at the White House that it is "very possible" that some Americans are still alive. But it wasn't clear from that cryptic comment whether Mr. Yeltsin was referring to Vietnam-era POWs, or prisoners from World War II and the Korean War, which Russia also has now acknowledged were sent to the Soviet Union. U.S. officials said that Mr. Yeltsin's explanation of the evidence he has seen was equally vague in private meetings, but seems to be drawn from old documents found in Soviet archives.

"I want to assure all Americans, and

particularly those families of the American POWs and MIAs, that we will spare no effort in working with our Russian colleagues to investigate all information in the Russian archives concerning our servicemen," Mr. Bush declared in a statement in the White House Rose Garden. "And while we do not have any specific information to make public today, I pledge to keep the American people informed of developments on this issue as we find out more about these latest leads."

'Absolutely No Animosity'

In general, the Bush administration is trying to use this week's talks with Mr. Yeltsin, which will continue today, as a way to bolster the Russian leader and give him the public support he needs to continue selling economic and military reforms at home. As a result, President Bush, who once was skeptical of Mr. Yeltsin, amply praised him and his Russian government yesterday. At one point, he declared: "There is absolutely no animosity between us."

The administration also is trying to move rapidly to lock in strategic arms cuts while Mr. Yeltsin is in clear command in Russia and has the political popularity necessary to override military objections to the reductions.

At the moment, both the U.S. and the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Russian-dominated collection of former Soviet republics, have about 10,000 strategic nuclear warheads in their arsenals, the Independent Arms Control Association estimates. The arsenal of the former Soviet Union is slowly being consolidated under Russian control.

Last year's Start agreement calls for reducing the American strategic arsenal to about 8,500 warheads and the former Soviet arsenal to about 6,500. In the just-completed negotiations with Russia, begun earlier this year, the Bush administration had originally proposed cutting further to a warhead level of 4,700 on each side. Mr. Yeltsin once suggested a level of 2,000 to 2,500, but negotiations had appeared to focus on the warhead ceiling of 4,700 the U.S. proposed.

As a result, the agreement to cut to between 3,000 to 3,500 warheads came as a surprise. The lower level appears to represent a compromise designed to make the cuts easier for Mr. Yeltsin to swallow. The Russian side had been arguing that if it were to agree to American demands that it eliminate its big, 10-warhead SS-18 missiles, it wanted in return a lower overall warhead limit that would force the U.S. to cut back on its submarine-launched missiles.

Fate of MX Missile

In the end, U.S. officials said, the agreement will eliminate all land-based missiles that carry multiple warheads. That means the U.S. will eliminate the 10-warhead Peacekeeper, or MX, missile, and the Russians will eliminate the 10-warhead SS-24 as well as the SS-18. And though the final agreement will allow a total warhead count of between 3,000 and 3,500, Bush administration aides said the U.S. intends to keep 3,500 warheads and the Russians intend to keep 3,000.

The new cuts are to come in two phases over the next decade. At the end of the process, Mr. Yeltsin said, there would be a ceiling of 1,750 on submarine-launched ballistic missiles. That would force the U.S. to cut its current arsenal of about 3,500 roughly in half.

Mr. Yeltsin hailed the deep cuts as "unparalleled and unexpected" and suggested that Russia would have been prepared to cut even deeper if it weren't for the expense of dismantling nuclear arms. The two sides now intend to put the agreed cuts into the form of a brief treaty. After the Senate considers and ratifies the existing Start treaty, which lawmakers now are considering, it would also have to ratify the new agreements.

I-Flow Gets FDA Approval

IRVINE, Calif. — I-Flow Corp. said it received permission from the Food and Drug Administration to sell a new disposable drug delivery system for antibiotics.

The new product, called the SideKick, will compete in the market for disposable pumps designed to deliver antibiotics at home.

USA TODAY

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WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Reagan may be ultimate target

Indictment 'maximum pressure'

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

Former Defense secretary Caspar Weinberger was an unlikely target of Iran-contra prosecutors: one of the Reagan administration's staunchest opponents of the ill-fated arms-for-hostages operation.

But the decision to indict Weinberger, 74, suggests that ex-president Reagan is being drawn squarely into the sights of special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh, observers say.

"It indicates (Walsh) wants to bring maximum pressure on Weinberger to reveal anything he might know about Reagan," says Georgetown University law professor Paul Rothstein.

"That's the only reason I can think of that is weighty enough to prosecute this old man who is the hero of Iran-contra," adds Vincent Cannistraro, a former CIA official who served on Reagan's National Security Council staff.

"It's fairly clear that the prosecutors believe there was a cover-up and that the cover-up derived from the very top of the government, and that is Reagan," says Cannistraro, who testified as a prosecution witness in the trial of fired White House aide Oliver North.

Weinberger, one of Reagan's closest friends, was indicted on charges pointing to a cover-up: two perjury counts, two counts of false statements, one count of obstructing investigators.

Prosecutors said Weinberger concealed his extensive personal notes about secret U.S. arms sales to Iran and aid to the Nicaraguan contra rebels at a time when U.S. support was banned by Congress.

Among items cited in the indictment: A November 1985 swap of U.S. Hawk missiles to Iran by Israel in return for the release of American hostages.

At a White House meeting the following month, Weinberger complained that the U.S. arms embargo on Iran made the shipments illegal, the indictment says.

"President Reagan responded that he could answer charges of illegality but that he could not answer the charge that he had passed up a chance to free the hostages," the indictment says.

His notes show Weinberger lied at 1987 congressional hearings about his knowledge of the shipment, the indictment says.

Prosecutor Craig Gillen, asked whether the indictment was designed to pressure Weinberger for evidence against Reagan, said: "I don't want to say that we are trying to get closer to President Reagan."

But Senate Republican leader Robert Dole called Walsh's efforts to pressure Weinberger's cooperation "blackmail."

The narrowing Iran-contra probe

The Iran-contra probe, which began in 1987, has continued to move closer to the Reagan White House inner circle. Tuesday's indictment "significantly narrowed our continuing investigation," said prosecutor Craig Gillen. The key targets:

Tuesday indictments

Casper Weinberger, ex-Defense secretary: Highest-ranking official charged in Iran-contra, he was indicted on charges he concealed knowledge of secret arms sales to Iran and aid to Nicaraguan contras.



Reuters

Third round

Elliott Abrams, ex-State Department undersecretary: Pled guilty Oct. 7, 1991, to withholding information from Congress about secret government efforts to support contras during ban on aid. Sentence: probation, community service.



Reuters

Alan Fiers Jr. CIA Central America task force chief: Pled guilty July 9, 1991, to withholding information from Congress about diversion of arms profits and other military aid to contras. He agreed to cooperate and was sentenced to community service.



USA TODAY

Second round

John Poindexter, Reagan's national security adviser: Found guilty April 7, 1990, of conspiracy, obstruction of Congress and making false statements. Sentence of six months in prison on each count was reversed on appeal.



AP

Oliver North, Poindexter aide: Three-year suspended sentence, probation for withholding information from Congress. Sentence vacated after appeal questioned whether congressional testimony tainted trial witnesses.



AP

Thomas Cline, ex-CIA employee: Found guilty Sept. 18, 1990, of underreporting income and falsely stating he had no foreign financial accounts. He was an arms-sales partner. Sentenced to 18 months in prison, \$40,000 in fines.



AP

First round of indictments

Richard Secord, retired Air Force major general, arms middleman: Pled guilty Nov. 8, 1989, to making false statements to congressional committees. Sentenced Jan. 24, 1990, to two years probation.



AP

Albert Hakim, businessman: Pled guilty Nov. 21, 1989, to supplementing North's salary. Company guilty of theft of government property by diverting arms sales proceeds. Sentence: two years probation and \$5,000 fine.



AP

Robert McFarlane, former national security adviser: Pled guilty March 11, 1988, to withholding information from Congress. Sentenced March 3, 1989, to two years probation, a \$20,000 fine and 200 hours community service.



USA TODAY

Carl Channell, Contra fund-raiser: Pled guilty April 29, 1987, to conspiring to defraud the United States. Sentenced July 6, 1989, to two years probation and 120 hours of community service.



AP

Source: Office of Independent Counsel

USA TODAY

Not in the loop: Weinberger didn't report to Bush

Four years ago, at the Democratic presidential convention, the chant rose up: "Where was George?"

Then-vice president George Bush steadfastly maintained he was not "in the loop" when the Iran-contra operation was orchestrated. And there's no indication prosecutors can pry any-

thing from former Defense secretary Caspar Weinberger to contradict that position or place Bush in legal jeopardy, observers say.

"Weinberger did not report to Bush, he was not in the chain of command," says Vincent Cannistraro, who served on President Reagan's White House national

security staff. "I don't think the Weinberger thing points to Bush at all."

Bush insists he was not involved in the supply of arms to the Nicaraguan contras at a time that such support was banned by Congress, and he denies any knowledge of diversion of funds from Iran arms sales to the rebels.

rectly to the White House.

But it's highly unlikely that any documents exist directly implicating the ex-president, Polgar says.

But, says Rothstein, if Weinberger provides damaging testimony, "there might be an indictment of Reagan."

Another possibility is that Walsh is developing material for a final report highly critical of Reagan, though not charging him with a crime, he says.

Weinberger insists the prosecutor's zeal has done a "terrible injustice" to him.

"I vigorously opposed the transfer and the sale of arms to Iran and fought it at every turn inside the administration," Weinberger said after the indictment. "At no time did I ever knowingly misrepresent the facts or deceive Congress or anyone else."

Some say that Walsh merely wanted a major legal trophy to justify his long-running probe.

"Walsh is being pressured to come up with more than a mouse in this gold-plated investigation," said Bruce Fein, a former Justice Department official who worked on the congressional Iran-contra probe.

Since Walsh's appointment in 1986, nearly \$31 million has been spent on the probe.

Gillen said the probe drags on because officials, like Weinberger, withheld documents.

► Weinberger indicted, 1A

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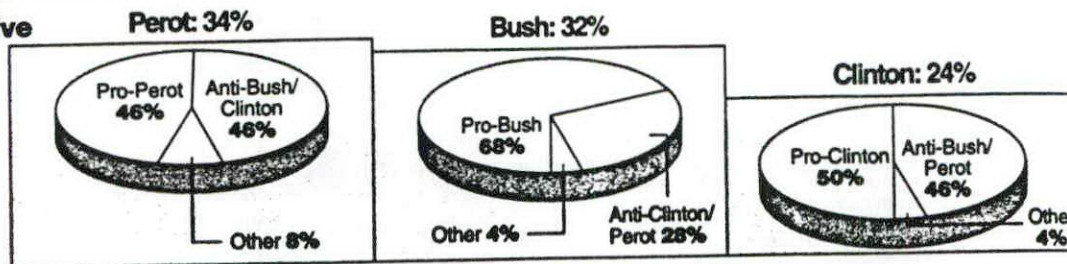
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Putting Perot in perspective

For the first time since USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup polls began measuring his support, Ross Perot's approval rating has slipped - 5 points since the last poll. However, his support cuts across the political spectrum, according to the latest poll. (Poll story, 1A; campaign index, 4A)

Bush support most positive

While Perot is virtually tied with President Bush in voter preference, nearly half his support comes from anti-Bush/Bill Clinton sentiment. Candidate total support (10% are undecided) and where it comes from:



Philosophy no barrier



By H. Darr Beiser, USA TODAY
Perot attracts voters of all ages and all incomes. He also attracts voters from all political viewpoints...

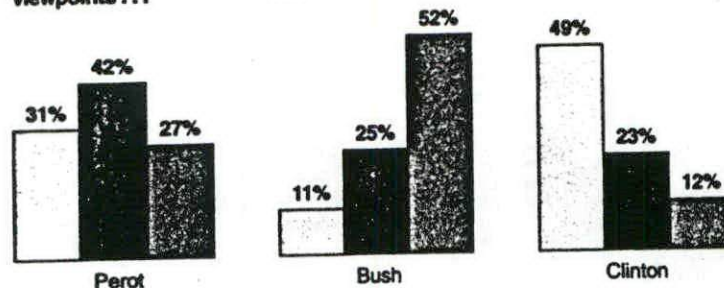


By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY
... while Bush voters are more conservative...



By Eileen Blass, USA TODAY
... and Clinton voters are more liberal

□ Liberal ■ Moderate ▒ Conservative



Political alignments vary

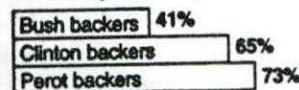
Perot supporters appear to take no singular political philosophy - sometimes taking a liberal stance and sometimes a more conservative one. Here is the percentage of each candidate's supporters who favor these national proposals:

	Bush	Perot	Clinton
Where Perot stands out:			
Reducing the U.S. role in international affairs	60%	74%	65%
Where Bush and Perot supporters agree:			
Favor new restrictions on Japanese products to protect U.S. jobs	58%	64%	51%
Ruling out any new taxes	52%	48%	41%
Giving priority to reducing the federal budget deficit	61%	57%	47%
New laws requiring mandatory drug testing	79%	70%	59%
Where Clinton and Perot supporters are in agreement:			
Taxpayer-paid national health care	46%	58%	65%
Limiting abortion	43%	25%	23%
Making deeper cuts in military spending	34%	50%	48%

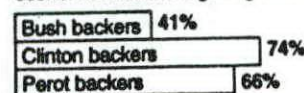
Voters dissatisfied

Perot and Clinton voters stand out in one key area - both groups are very dissatisfied with the status quo...

Percentage of candidate supporters who are dissatisfied with the way democracy is working:

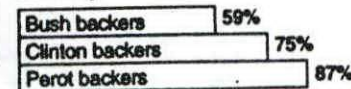


Candidate backers who think economic conditions getting worse:



... but Perot voters are most convinced that their candidate could fix the economic problems:

People who think their candidate would do the best job handling the economy:



Personal qualities: Perot, Bush in front

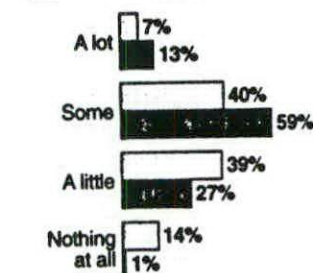
Here's the percentage of voters who say these characteristics fit one candidate best:

	Perot	Bush	Clinton	None
Where Perot leads:				
Puts country's interests ahead of politics	41%	23%	15%	
Can bring about changes the country needs	38%	20%	24%	
Can get things done	36%	28%	18%	
Cares about the needs of people like you	31%	22%	26%	
Where Bush leads:				
Would display good judgment in crisis	20%	49%	17%	
Has a good understanding of the issues	21%	41%	23%	
Is honest and trustworthy	25%	34%	15%	
Where "none of the candidates" leads:				
Has a clear plan for solving the country's problems	25%	18%	21%	28%

But who is Perot?

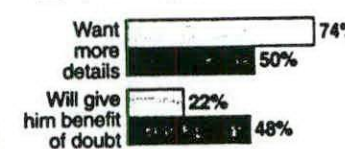
Perot is still not a well-known quant. How much all voters and Perot supporters say they know about the candidate...

□ All voters ■ Perot supporter



... and even among his supporters, half want him to provide details about his plans for solving national problems:

□ All voters ■ Perot supporters





USA TODAY / CNN / GALLUP POLL

Poll: 84% dissatisfied with state of nation

By Andrea Stone
USA TODAY

In 1979, double-digit inflation and long, snaking gas lines led to what President Jimmy Carter called a national "crisis in confidence."

Today, Donna Jenkins is having one.

Although inflation has eased and the gas lines are gone, the nation hasn't felt so bad about itself since Carter made his famous "malaise" speech on

national TV.

Yet today, the feeling is everywhere — and what's happened at Jenkins' house says a lot about why.

In the past year, six members of her family have lost jobs or had hours reduced, including herself. Two grown children have lost their homes. Her husband's company health insurance was dropped.

"It's been a rough year," says Jenkins, 64, of Fairfield, Calif. "This recession has cut

down my family."

Jenkins' views are reflected in a new USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll showing 84% are dissatisfied with the state of the nation, the most since 1979.

Then, as now, a teetering economy colors all.

The federal deficit, swelled by the savings and loan bailout, has reached \$400 billion. Unemployment is 7.5%, compared with 6% in July 1979, and the much-discussed economic upturn is modest for

many. Even worse, the recession has aggravated what many see as the intractable ailments of health care, education, the environment, race relations and increasing crime.

"If I were to diagnose the United States, it would be 'agitated depression,'" says Washington, D.C., clinical psychologist Richard Tanenbaum. People are "feeling sad and blue, helpless and hopeless. They don't have much control over what happens."

There's "ambivalence and uncertainty," says Fabian Lindden of The Conference Board, a New York consumer research group.

"There's obviously a low undercurrent of anxiety about the job situation."

There is anxiety on the homefront, too. With layoffs signaling to some that old rules about hard work and success are passe, "people are trying to redesign their values," says Tanenbaum.

The "new world order," with its stronger market competitors and more complex alliances, also has left many people confused about the direction of the country.

"The Cold War helped us define what we were opposed to and what we stood for," says Michael Marsden, popular culture professor at Bowling Green State University. Now people aren't so sure, he adds: "Who is the enemy?"

For many, though, the question is: "Who is our leader?"

Eddie Sims, 71, a Yukon, Okla., retiree whose college-graduate son is fixing bicycles instead of practicing engineering, says: "We ought to clean out Washington and get all new stuff. There has to be a change and there will be."

Like other Ross Perot supporters, Sims blames President Bush for focusing on foreign affairs at the expense of domestic problems. "What about taking care of our own people?"

Wednesday, June 17

USA TODAY

NEWS

Trouble for the White House

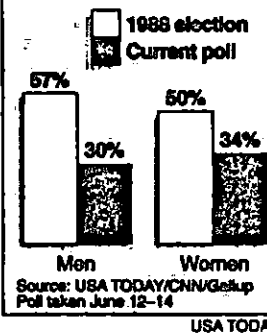


“For men, Perot seems like this macho can-do guy riding in from the West on a white horse and taking charge.”

— Fred Malek, Bush campaign manager

Men depart GOP

Faced with two opponents, President Bush is losing support — especially among men, a traditional GOP stronghold. Bush support:



Bush's focus, like his male support, is shifting

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

President Bush is taking a more prominent campaign role as a USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll confirms erosion in support among men, a cornerstone of his GOP base.

Though Bush refuses to campaign full time until after August's convention, he's gradually shifting his focus to politics.

He's now attending weekly strategy meetings of top campaign and White House aides, seeking advice from a wider range of allies, getting briefed more often on politics.

"He's getting more involved," says Robert Mosbacher, campaign co-chairman. "He's really taken hold of getting his message out."

He'd better, say alarmed GOP leaders, who warn Bush's meltdown in polls will continue unless he sharpens his themes.

"The election is ours to lose, and I think, thus far, we are doing a pretty good job of losing it," says Tennessee Republican Chairman Tommy Hopper.

"I don't think they should wait till after the convention," says Bill Bennett, Bush's ex-drug czar and education secretary, who's among those the president is tapping for advice.

"They need to provide a clear, unambiguous reason for re-election," he says. "The problem is momentum. ... I am dismayed, I am dismayed."

Bush is sticking with emphasis on his plans for economic recovery, health and education reform. Ohio GOP Chairman

Robert Bennett says it's the right prescription, but Bush must "sharpen it, focus it in the areas of welfare reform, education reform, health care."

Some GOP leaders' certainty that Ross Perot's appeal would fade has evolved into demands for counterattack — and consternation when nothing Bush tries seems to help.

In a memo to Bush three weeks ago, White House domestic policy adviser Clayton Yeutter defined the post-Cold War voter mood that has corroded Bush's support.

"It's a little like winning the Super Bowl and you have this letdown in the aftermath," Yeutter says. "People are really searching for direction. They've lost their gyroscope."

Voter anger, Yeutter says,

stems from inertia on economic and social issues, "many of which are very intractable. As people begin to focus on these issues, they get frustrated."

The poll shows twice as many men as women deserting the president. Without the support of 57% of male voters in 1988, Bush's blowout might have been a cliffhanger.

► Men are less likely than women to agree that Bush "cares about people like you," a reversal of 1988 views.

► Fewer men than women say Bush is honest — perhaps because of his broken no-new-taxes pledge. Also in contrast to 1988, fewer men than women believe he can get things done.

► Men were more likely than women in 1988 to favor Bush on economic issues; the

reverse is true this year.

Steelworker Robert Swain 28, of Beverly, N.J., voted for Bush in 1988, but now blames Bush for a \$20,000 salary cut since his hours were halved. He likes Perot's style: "He might be the one thing that could bring us back up quick."

Says Bush campaign manager Fred Malek: "For men, Perot seems like this macho, can-do guy riding in from the West on a white horse and taking charge." Bush can win them back "by demonstrating his leadership over time."

GOP strategist Steve Merksamer says that what Perot, unlike Bush, "has going for him is the ability to project a strong and coherent message. That strength translates into a higher percentage of male votes."

USA TODAY

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ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Bush brother's deal is Democratic ammo

A soured business deal between a Japanese company and President Bush's older brother, Prescott Bush Jr., could provide new ammunition for critics of his family's financial dealings. West Tsusho Co. of Tokyo, a company with alleged mob ties, is suing Bush's older brother for \$2.5 million involving a 1989 stock deal.

Election coverage

- ▶ USA TODAY/CNN/
Gallup Poll, 1A, 8A
- ▶ Perot and MIAs, 2A
- ▶ Clinton on MTV, 3A
- ▶ Family values, 1D
- ▶ Soufiah talks back, 1D

The company charged that Bush Jr. failed to honor a promise to reimburse half of its \$5 million investment in a New York financial company if the stock lost its value within five years. The company went out of business this spring.

The president has called his brother's business dealings "a private matter." But Democratic strategists say they are collecting information about business dealings by Bush's family that could be used in the campaign.

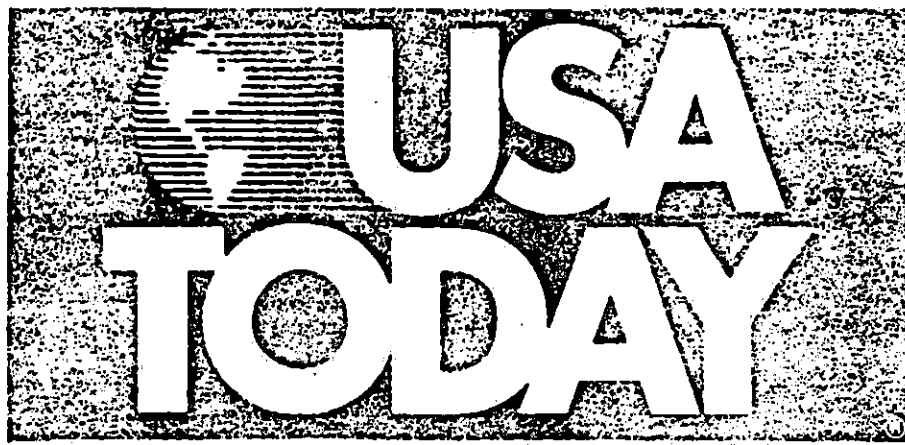
QUAYLE ON MURPHY BROWN: Vice President Quayle has had his hands full over his critical remarks about TV's single mom Murphy Brown. Asked how he's doing, Quayle said, "Murphy Brown's doing better than I am. At least she knows she's coming back next year." Quayle made the comment as he waited for Russian President Boris Yeltsin to arrive at the White House.

— Jessica Lee

CARTER PREDICTS: Former president Jimmy Carter said he expects the presidential race to deadlock and end up in Congress, with the House of Representatives choosing between Ross Perot and Bill Clinton.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrat Bill Clinton: Labor speech in Las Vegas.
Republican George Bush: Summit with Boris Yeltsin.
Independent Ross Perot: Dallas.



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THE POW ISSUE REKIN

Perot steers clear of mixing politics, POWs

By Debbie Howlett
and Carol J. Castaneda
USA TODAY

After 23 years seeking a spotlight for POWs, Ross Perot is refusing to testify before a Senate committee looking into the possibility that prisoners of war presumed dead in Vietnam are still alive.

The hearing "could become a rerun of the Judge Thomas-Anita Hill hearings," Perot said Tuesday in a letter to Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass.

"This whole matter could become a media circus conducted in a completely political atmosphere," Perot said. "Any remaining Americans still alive from the Vietnam War deserve better than that."

Kerry, chairman of the POW committee, refused to rule out a subpoena for Perot.

But Kerry also said he understands the political context. He promised he'd halt any questions that had political overtones. "He's been committed to this issue, and I would think he would be dying for the opportunity to ... tell people what he knows," Kerry said.

But Perot — expected to formally announce his independent bid for the presidency in a few days — refuses to step unprotected into an arena where both parties can make hay of his dealings on the issue.

The focus was to be twofold: ▶ Putting information that Perot has provided elsewhere into the formal record.

▶ Addressing charges that Perot tried to drum up business during POW talks with Hanoi.

The risk of not testifying: Perot may leave some wondering if he has something to hide.

"It would have been very treacherous ground, but there are some really serious charges here," says Peter Gold, who worked on Connecticut Gov. Lowell Weicker's third-party campaign. "Ducking the hearing altogether is bound to leave questions."

Perot's work on behalf of POWs dates to 1969, when he chartered two Boeing 707s to fly Christmas gifts and relief supplies to POWs in Hanoi. Officials in Vietnam refused to allow him into the country.

Since then, Perot has become "a lightning rod for people who felt (servicemen) were still alive," says Perot spokesman James Squires.

Among those who can't fault Perot is Lisbeth Hyde, whose father, Air Force Maj. Albro Lundy Jr., was shot down Christmas Eve 1970. His body was never recovered.

If it comes down to trusting Congress or Perot, Hyde will go with Perot. "He's not into bones and remains," she says. "Perot's into getting back live men."



POW CRUSADER: Ross Perot, in April of 1970, talks through an interpreter with North Vietnamese POWs being held in a South Vietnamese camp.

Perot became deeply involved in the issue in the mid-1980s, when President Reagan let him see Pentagon files, some of them top secret.

In 1988, he testified before a House subcommittee that he had evidence the government covered up knowledge of miss-

ing servicemen because of involvement by ranking Defense officials in a Thai drug ring.

Rep. Stephen Solarz, D-N.Y., who headed the subcommittee, says even though he has repeatedly asked Perot to name his sources, Perot has refused.

Perot even now declines to

talk about the matter.

The Solarz panel, on a tie vote, ultimately killed a proposal to establish a commission headed by Perot to investigate whether servicemen might have been left behind.

A few months later, in March 1987, Perot flew to Ha-

Billionaire's commitment to 'people we left behind'

Ross Perot has long been concerned about POWs. Since the end of the Vietnam War, he has focused on 2,266 servicemen missing in action but presumed dead.

Perot has hinted he believes some of those men are still alive. His crusade has made him a hero to families of POWs and MIAs.

In his own words:

"After years of neglect, your committee is probably the MIAs' last chance."

— June 16, 1992, letter to Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass.

"I had proved there was overwhelming evidence we

left men behind; high probability some were still alive; and zero possibility of getting them back by force. I was left with one option. Negotiate."

— Quoted by journalist Maaila Jensen-Stevenson in 1990 book *Kiss the Boys Goodbye*

"We walked out. We left people behind, and now what we've really got to do is sit down and negotiate their release. And the sad thing is that we've waited so long to do it."

— Testifying Jan. 27, 1988, before a House subcommittee on POWs

not to meet with Vietnamese officials to try to open the door for negotiations on POWs.

He hasn't forgotten that then-vice president George Bush told him Reagan wouldn't back him.

That trip also stirred controversy recently with allegations that Perot used the trip to discuss business with the hostile government under embargo.

Perot denies ever offering to

be Hanoi's advocate.

And Squires says it is "naïve" to believe Perot would endanger delicate negotiations by flat-out rejecting Vietnamese overtures on business deals.

"Is there any way ... he's going to make money in the computer business in Vietnam, of all places?" Squires says.

▶ Campaign index, 4A
▶ Editorial, 12A

POWS: ARE THEY ALIVE?

USA
TODAY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992



By H. Darr Beiser, USA TODAY

Lisbeth Hyde, 31, Centreville, Va. She is the daughter of Air Force Maj. Albro Lundy Jr., who was shot down over Laos Dec. 24, 1970.

**Life in the gulag, 2A
Editorial, 12A**



By David Greener, San Bernardino County Sun

Bruce Brown, 33, Highland, Calif. He is the son of Air Force Lt. Col. Robert M. Brown, who was shot down Nov. 7, 1972 over North Vietnam, and is believed to have been taken to the former Soviet Union.

Abuse issue avoided by many doctors

By Mike Snider
USA TODAY

Doctors could play a pivotal role in fighting domestic violence, but they're afraid to get involved, experts say.

As many as 4 million women and 2 million children a year suffer physical and sexual violence and neglect, but as few as 5% are identified as abused.

"There's a big hole" in the safety net for abuse victims "where health-care providers need to be," says Dr. Anne Flitcraft, University of Connecticut Health Center, Hartford.

"We must overcome our own denial and apathy," says Surgeon General Antonia Novello, who Tuesday announced a national network to diagnose and prevent domestic violence.

Today's *Journal of the American Medical Association* is devoted to domestic violence. Among studies:

► More than half of 38 doctors surveyed at an urban HMO said they had no training in recognizing domestic violence; 18% called it a "Pandora's box" they're reluctant to open.

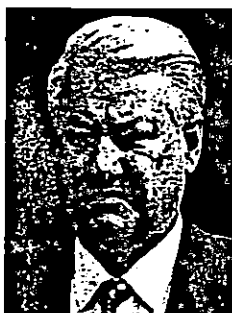
► 67% of 619 Ohio doctors surveyed would advise spanking in the home — even though it can escalate to abuse.

► One in 6 women seeking prenatal care at public clinics in Baltimore and Houston suffered "recurrent" abuse.

COVER STORY

'A feeling all will be coming home soon'

By Laurence Joldon
and Carol J. Castaneda
USA TODAY



By Tim Dixon, USA TODAY
YELTSIN: Says Soviets held Vietnam POWs

An anguished Vietnam War legacy stung the national conscience once more Tuesday with Boris Yeltsin's admission that missing U.S. soldiers had been held — and might still be alive — in Russia.

President Bush, claiming "no specific information about these latest leads," reacted quickly to Yeltsin's bomb: He ordered Malcolm Toon — former ambassador to the Soviet Union and now U.S. head of a joint Russian-U.S. panel on

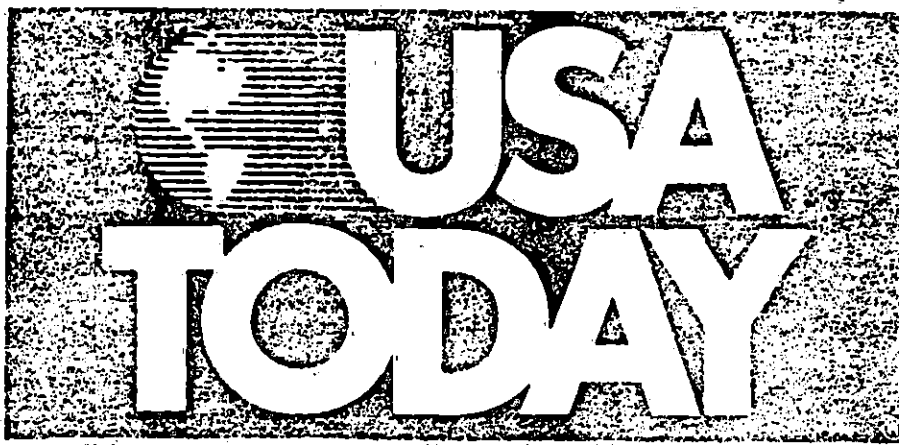
POWs and MIAs — to Moscow "immediately" to follow up. Senators on the Select Committee on POW/MIA Affairs scrambled to stay ahead of a politically explosive issue, urging Yeltsin to meet with them this week and huddling to plan a new agenda of hearings this month.

Pentagon officials sprang their own new report: an unconfirmed, recent live-sighting in Russia of a U.S. POW from the Korean War, which ended 39 years ago.

And at the heart of the issue, the frayed hopes of families of long-missing servicemen were raised anew — albeit higher this time.

"We actually believe we're going to see our dad soon," said Lisbeth Hyde, 31, of Centreville, Va., daughter of Air Force Maj. Albro Lynn Lundy Jr., who was shot down over Laos on Dec. 24, 1970. "We're praying for it. There's a feeling they will all be coming home soon."

Please see COVER STORY next page ►



NO. 1 IN THE USA 5.6 MILLION READERS A DAY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Weinberger indicted in Iran-contra

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

Caspar Weinberger Tuesday became the highest-ranking member of the Reagan administration to be indicted on Iran-contra charges.

The indictment of the former Defense secretary — on five cover-up related felony counts — fueled speculation the ex-president is a focus of

the continuing, 5½-year probe.

Last month, Reagan lawyer Theodore Olson told USA TODAY that Reagan had not been informed he was under investigation. Olson declined Tuesday to say if Reagan has been told recently that he's a target.

But Olson denied any wrongdoing by the former president.

Weinberger, 74, said Tuesday he'd rejected an offer by the office of special prosecutor

Lawrence Walsh to plead guilty to a lesser offense. "Nor was I willing to give them statements which were not true about myself or others."

Weinberger wouldn't identify those "others," but it was reported last month that Walsh was pressuring him to provide evidence against Reagan.

Weinberger, now publisher of *Forbes* magazine, vowed to "fight this injustice to the end."

Reagan said Weinberger would be "fully vindicated."

The indictment relies on 1,700 pages of Weinberger's personal notes, revealed in November. Prosecutors say they show he withheld information from Congress and probers.

If convicted, Weinberger could face up to 25 years in prison, \$1.25 million in fines.

► Reagan's vulnerability, 3A



WEINBERG

The irony is that nuclear weapons don't serve any purpose.

['Star wars' is] a non-existent defense against a non-existent threat.

USA
TODAY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

As Bush, Yeltsin meet, do nuclear treaties still matter?

INTERVIEW

Veteran negotiator Paul Warnke says yes, but our goals and opportunities are changing.

Q: President Bush and Boris Yeltsin are struggling to work out nuclear arms cuts this week. What's so difficult? Do those weapons have a purpose anymore?

A: The irony is that they don't serve any purpose. There is absolutely no incentive for the Russians to strike the United States. What they need is Western aid, so from their standpoint they'd be destroying the source of those resources. But there is still the question of prestige. There is still the question of not looking as if they're now a bankrupt country that has to sue for peace.

Q: So this summit is about getting as much as we can while letting Yeltsin save face? Why not just press our advantage?

A: This is a very important meeting for Yeltsin. On his first trip to the United States, I think a lot of people found him to be a bit of a buffoon and sort of a sad contrast to Mikhail Gorbachev. He needs to establish himself as the leader of what is still a very, very powerful country, so I think it would be a mistake to try to push him too hard. He is probably the best hope we have for a Russia which will be a constructive member of the international community. We ought to treat him well.

Q: We used to have 12,000 nuclear warheads each. This treaty would cut it to 4,700. How many warheads are enough?

A: Probably something like 1,000 strategic warheads. That is certainly far in excess of any real need.

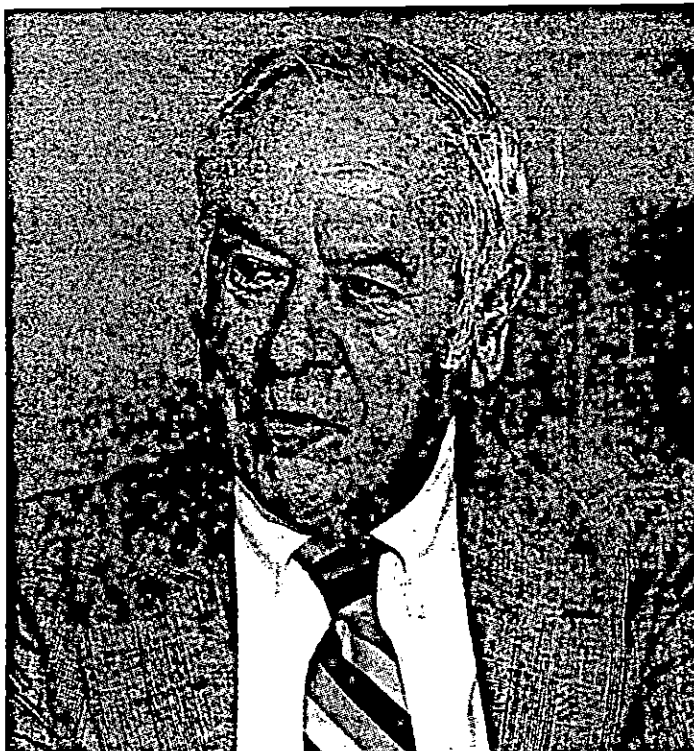
Q: Does the difference really matter?

A: It's easier to control a smaller number. And there's the emotional impact. What we have to do over a period of years is to devalue nuclear weapons, deprive them of their value as a status symbol because you've got a lot of countries that feel, "I'm not in the big league unless I have a nuclear weapon." I think this is the way in which we would have a real risk of nuclear war.

Q: How do you do that?

A: For one thing, go along with a test ban. Russia has declared a one-year moratorium. The French have stopped testing. The British couldn't test if we stopped because they test

Paul Warnke, former chief U.S. arms negotiator and assistant secretary of Defense, is founder of the Committee for National Security. Today's Q&A is edited from remarks he made in an interview with USA TODAY's editorial board.



By Tim Dillon, USA TODAY

at our Nevada test site. So we have China and the United States that are the only ones in the nuclear-testing club. When we try to justify continuing to test, we give a certain glamour to nuclear weapons.

Q: Some people say we need the tests so we can find a way to shoot down nuclear missiles — the "star wars" defense.

A: That's crazy. A non-existent defense against a non-existent threat.

Q: Does it have value as a defense against Third World missiles?

A: Unless you're concerned about a Canadian Scud attack, it serves no purpose.

Q: Why? Won't more countries acquire nuclear warheads and the ability to deliver them here?

A: Deliver them here by what means? If you mean a ballistic missile, it is at least a decade off. But, of course, there's always the suitcase bomb. There's always one you can drop from a Piper Cub or smuggle in a ball of marijuana. There are many ways of delivering nuclear weapons, so it's important that they not have them even if they don't have sophisticated means of delivery.

Q: How would you do it?

A: Eventually, you have international control over all remaining nuclear armaments, and that's going to take a long time.

Q: Do you think there will be a nuclear war someplace someday?

A: It depends on our ability to control proliferation. But take the Indian subcontinent, and look at what Hindu has done to Muslim and vice versa over the years. It would seem to me

that if you had a Pakistani bomb — which they may have — and an Indian bomb — which we know they have — and some kind of a conflict that aroused passions to a particularly high point of intensity, I can conceive of a nuclear war, yeah.

Q: Might not nuclear weapons deter war, as they may have deterred war between the USA and Soviet Union?

A: If nuclear weapons had never been invented, there still would not have been World War III during the past 45 years.

Q: How can you be so sure?

A: I became convinced in my talks with Soviets that they wouldn't possibly dare start World War III because the Soviet Union would have collapsed. And I think subsequent events confirmed that. The Soviet Union would be very heavily dependent in a war against NATO on Czechoslovakian troops, Polish troops, East German troops, and they knew well they couldn't count on them. So a major war between the Warsaw Pact and NATO would have meant the earlier demise of the Soviet Union.

Q: Then why did we spend all that money and suffer all that fear of Armageddon?

A: To scare one another to death. We genuinely believed that unless we built up an immense military machine, they would try to take over the world by force and violence — not a totally absurd assumption. Stalin did live, and he was a monster. And we had the experience of Hitler. So we necessarily were the captives of our own past experiences.

► Summit, 1A

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE USA 6.6 MILLION READERS A DAY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

What POWs faced in gulags

By Laurence Jolidon
USA TODAY

Living conditions for U.S. POWs held in the Soviet Union depended on when misfortune put them there.

Reports that GIs were shipped to Siberia surfaced after every war. But Russian President Boris Yeltsin has given the first official indication that U.S. soldiers, who should have been repatriated, were instead imprisoned after World War II and the Korean War, during the Cold War and even during the Vietnam War.

Accounts of a few U.S. civilians, clerics and military personnel, as well as Russian inmates and people of other nations placed in the gulags — some for decades, others for only a few months — tell graphic stories of interrogation, deprivation, isolation, exhaustion and death.

► **WORLD WAR II:** U.S. POWs liberated from German prison camps by the Red Army and not returned entered Stalin's slave-labor system — the gulags — at its worst.

The deaths of millions of Russians in the war meant the communist em-

pire needed laborers just to survive as a country.

Foreigners, ethnic minorities and Soviet political prisoners were marched off to gulag mines, factories and farms, where they worked in subzero temperatures and harsh conditions, often until they died.

► **KOREAN WAR:** The gulags lasted beyond Stalin's death in 1953, but living conditions did improve for those kept during and after the Korean War. After years in a labor camp, some inmates were put on "probation," allowing them to take up life in a nearby town, and even to marry, but never to leave the region.

U.S. soldiers taken prisoner in Korea were interrogated by both Chinese and Soviet officers. Intelligence reports during the war told of trainloads of U.S. POWs being shipped from North Korea, through Manchu-

ria, to Siberia.

► **VIETNAM WAR:** The Soviets served a similar role as in Korea, stationing intelligence officers and advisers with North Vietnamese forces.

And MIAs from the fighting in Indochina could have been kept by Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia.

But intelligence during and after the war indicates that U.S. POWs who were sent to the Soviet Union — so-called "Moscow-bound" POWs — were sought mostly for their technical and military expertise. Many were well-educated, highly trained pilots and technicians.

Retired major general Oleg Kalugin, a former head of the Soviet KGB, said this year he sent agents to Vietnam to try to recruit U.S. POWs, who would then return to the USA to spy for Moscow.

No such spies have ever been identified.



KALUGIN: Tried to recruit U.S. spies

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE USA 5.6 MILLION READERS A DAY

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

COVER STORY

MIAs: 'They're not all dead either'

Continued from 1A

Along with hope, some activists see a chance that Yeltsin's remarks — the first official confirmation of what they have long tried to expose — will lend credibility to a situation their own government has diligently denied.

The Russian connection to Vietnam POWs may mystify those who haven't followed the convoluted evidence that has accumulated since the U.S. brought its last troops home in 1973, relinquishing Vietnam to the communists.

The suspected link: Moscow backed North Vietnam with supplies and advisers. So when pilots and well-trained GI technicians were captured, Soviet military intelligence agents scooped them up and shipped them north. Dubbed "Moscow-Bound" POWs, they were to boost the U.S.S.R.'s own military weapons technology.

Bruce Brown of Highland, Calif., whose father, Air Force Lt. Col. Robert M. Brown, was shot down in 1972 over North Vietnam, said, "My dad had three things the Soviets desperately wanted" — updated space technology, intimate knowledge of U.S. anti-ballistic missiles and experience in the most advanced combat aircraft at the time, the F-111.

"He came down alive," Brown said. "It would be ridiculous if the Russians didn't take him."

Despite renewed optimism, POW/MIA families around the U.S. haven't yet heard the most essential facts: names to match their loved ones from lists of more than 2,000 MIAs from Indochina, more than 8,000 from the Korean War, hundreds from the Cold War and tens of thousands from World War II.

Since first admitting last week that servicemen were shipped to Siberia under his communist predecessors, Yeltsin has released no names from files of men who might have been among them.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said U.S. officials still haven't gotten names for even the most specific cases: 12 survivors of U.S. air crews Yeltsin said were put in labor camps or psychiatric clinics in the 1950s.

But MIA families are used to coping with slim chances. "We've never given up hope," said Jean Ray of Santa Maria, Calif., stepmother of Army Staff Sgt. James Michael Ray, missing in Vietnam since July 1969.

"They're not all alive, but they're not all dead either," Yeltsin's remarks about Vietnam POWs caught not only U.S. officials, but his own aides, by surprise.

Just last Friday, in a letter to 92 U.S. senators, Yeltsin said GIs had been sent to gulags after World War II, the Korean War and during the Cold War.

He said at least 12 U.S. crewmen — survivors of Cold War spy-plane shootdowns over Soviet territory — had been held and might still be alive, but that essentially "no data" dealing with Vietnam-era POWs had been found in the search of Soviet archives.

Williams, acknowledging Yeltsin's Vietnam-POW comments had "caught us a little off guard," said he still could supply no figures for Cold War crew or aircraft losses.

And Russian officials involved in summit talks said they can't add much. At the White House, Yeltsin said "It's very possible" POWs are still alive in Russia. "We are going to carry this all the way to the very ground to find out the fate of every single last American who might be on our territory."

Still missing, by conflict

Number of U.S. military personnel still listed as missing in action:

War	Number missing	Total serving in war years
World War II	78,750	18.4 million
Korean War	8,100	5.8 million
Vietnam War	2,266	8.7 million

Source: Defense Department

Administration officials stressed that Bush had been assured by Yeltsin's predecessor, Mikhail Gorbachev, that no POWs were shipped to the U.S.S.R.

"I want to assure all Americans, and particularly those families of the American POWs and MIAs," Bush said in a joint appearance with Yeltsin, "that we will spare no effort in working with our Russian colleagues to investigate all information in the Russian archives concerning our servicemen."

Sen. John Kerry, D-Mass., co-chair of the POW/MIA committee, praised Yeltsin for making the facts public, but said having POWs in "psychiatric hospitals" and possibly subjected to "experiments" instills "anxiety and uneasiness in all of us. That is what you get from the former criminal state which we know the Soviet Union to have been, and we shouldn't be surprised that they lied to us and deceived us. We knew they were doing that."

POW/MIA news is always political dynamite, and fallout from the Yeltsin remarks included some sparks:

► Sen. John McCain, R-Ariz., a former Vietnam POW, said he wants all aid to Russia halted, and all moves to normalize relations with Vietnam stopped, until the issue is resolved. He said he hopes the issue can be resolved quickly. "If there are Americans being held in Russia, President Yeltsin should release them immediately" and, if not, "he should provide conclusive evidence proving this fact to the American people."

► Rep. Robert K. Dornan, R-Calif., blistered Bush in a House speech, calling the Russian revelations "the greatest disgrace in my lifetime."

► Ross Perot, scheduled to testify before the POW/MIA committee in a few weeks because of his long involvement, announced he won't appear voluntarily because the hearings "could become a political circus."

Some activists are convinced the U.S. government has kept evidence of living POWs and MIAs in files hidden from public view and now think the coverup will be blown sky-high.

John Holland, a veteran and POW/MIA activist, said the coverup lasted this long "because there were too many people whose reputations were going to be hurt."

Scott Barnes, a former military intelligence agent and Perot supporter, believes the "Moscow bound" scheme is linked to the Indochina drug trade and government corruption. He warned that "Bush had better jump on this opportunity immediately" and send a high-ranking official to Hanoi.

Contributing: Jessica Lee

Bush, Yeltsin agree to historic arms pact

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin agreed Tuesday to reduce by nearly two-thirds what Bush called the "most dangerous weapons."

Each side agreed to cut arsenals of long-range nuclear warheads to, at most, 3,500 by 2003 — going beyond the reductions in the strategic arms treaty recently concluded.

The historic agreement came on the first of two days of talks aimed at shifting the U.S.-Russian relationship from adversarial to allied.

Bush and Yeltsin turn to economic matters today.

Bush said the pact marks another step toward ending the "nuclear nightmare for ... our children and grandchildren."

Calling the deal "unparalleled," Yeltsin said it "was achieved without ... anybody wishing to take advantage."

"We are departing from the ominous parity where each country is exerting every effort to stay in line," Yeltsin said. Such efforts, he added, "led to Russia having half its people living below the poverty line."

The agreement apparently eliminates Russian land-based multi-warhead missiles, the core of its arsenal, and cut similar U.S. submarine-based missiles, long sought by Moscow.

Today, Bush and Yeltsin wind up the summit by cruising the Chesapeake Bay before signing treaties including:

- Formalizing Russia's status as a most-favored-nation in trade, giving the Russians a break on tariffs.

- Allowing U.S. businesses to invest in Russia.

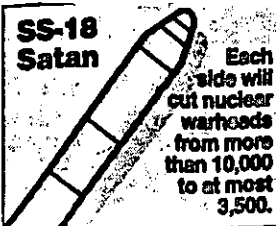
- Enabling U.S. firms paying Russian taxes to deduct them from their U.S. taxes.

- Relaxing U.S. prohibitions against using Russian rockets to launch U.S.-made satellites.

- Setting up joint work in dealing with space mishaps.

- Creating a Charter of Cooperation and Friendship to guide future relations.

- Charting the cuts, 4A
- Interview, 13A



Poll: Perot slips; mood pessimistic

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

Support for Ross Perot may be peaking in the presidential race, a new poll shows.

And it shows voters haven't been as pessimistic about the country in more than a decade.

Findings from the USA TODAY/CNN/Gallup Poll of 1,000 voters:

- 34% lean toward Perot, 32% to President Bush and 24% to Democrat Bill Clinton.

With the poll's margin of error at 3%, the two leaders are in a virtual tie.

- Perot's support fell from 39% in early June. Bush and Clinton stayed about even; undecideds rose from 5% to 10%.

- 84% are dissatisfied with things — the most pessimistic since July 1979 when Jimmy Carter was in the White House.

- Perot's unfavorable ratings rose from 25% in mid-May to 30%. Bush's climbed from 47% to 51%, while Clinton's slipped from 48% to 47%.

"When you combine the rise in unfavorables with the overall decline in support, it's reasonable to conclude Perot may be peaking," says Larry Huggick, editor of the Gallup Poll.

The poll was done June 12-14 after a tough week for Bush. Unemployment rose, and trips to Panama and the Rio summit were public relations fiascos.

And his unfavorable rating led his favorable, 51% to 44%.

- Political gender gaps, 9A



WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

VIPs' kitchen aid



By Gary Hershorn, Reuters

CHEFS: Russian first lady Naina Yeltsin, right, Barbara Bush and volunteer Kate Berenson make bologna and cheese sandwiches for the homeless Tuesday in Washington. (Helping, 4A)

The Tug of War Over Rates

Bush Administration, Federal Reserve Remain at Odds

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration, fighting for its political life, remains at loggerheads with the Federal Reserve over whether the central bank should continue to reduce interest rates to make the economy grow faster.

Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady says he is convinced the economy is rebounding but insists the Fed still should lower rates, because that would raise business and consumer optimism and spark faster growth.

"Lowering interest rates—a more optimistic view by everybody, investors, consumers and industrial people—is the way to work our way out of this," Brady said last week in an interview.

"If you are worried about the banking system . . . the single thing that would help most is more optimism, and that would come with lower interest rates. It has been a mystery to me why that has been so hard to understand."

While he did not say who has

failed to get the point, Brady clearly had the Fed in mind.

It's not that Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan doesn't agree with President Bush, Brady and several senior Fed officials that a little faster economic growth would be better. But unlike the president, the central bank policy makers face no day of electoral reckoning five months from now and generally believe it would be risky to try to do more to spur the slow recovery from recession.

Greenspan and many of his colleagues also do not want to jeopardize progress against inflation, and perhaps damage prospects for future economic growth, by lowering rates and pumping too much money into the economy between now and Election Day. If the economy is indeed rebounding in a healthy way, then more rate cuts are not needed, they believe. Moreover, unless the economy demonstrates new weakness, rate cuts actually could harm prospects for growth, they argue.

To Greenspan, the most worrisome hazard for the Fed is the risk of spooking the investors who buy

bonds and other long-term securities that mature in 10 to 30 years. These investors already doubt that future inflation will be as low as it is now, a skepticism they demonstrate by demanding exceptionally high returns on long-term bonds.

If investors become even more skeptical and bond prices rise, the Fed chairman warned last week, rates on home mortgages and long-term borrowing by business and governments would go up and likely choke off the economic recovery.

Long-term interest rates are so important because they affect major decisions by individuals and companies. For a family, the level of mortgage interest rates may be a key element in whether it can afford to buy a house. Similarly, for a business, the interest rate it has to pay an investor buying its bonds may be a critical part of its decision on making a large investment, such as building a new plant.

Greenspan underscored the point yesterday in testimony before a House Government Operations sub-

See RATES, F2, Col. 3

Fed, Administration at Odds Over Interest Rates

RATES, From F1

committee. The Fed suspects that rates are as high as they are on long-term bonds, he said, because of investors' "expectation of a reignition of inflationary pressures five years out, seven years, 10, 12 years out, as distinct from the next year or two."

"If we can bring the rate of inflation down to negligible levels, and create an environment in which the markets perceive that that is a permanent state, then one will see a decline in . . . long-term interest rates," Greenspan predicted.

"I'd go on to say that if we concurrently could resolve the budget deficit problem . . . the combination of the two could" push bond rates even lower.

Aside from the inflation question, many Fed policy makers simply don't believe that further reductions in short-term rates—the only ones they control—would do much to spur economic growth in coming months.

The basic problems weighing on the economy—such as the large overhang of empty office buildings, cutbacks in defense industries, spending cuts and tax increases by many state and local governments, and efforts by many businesses and households to reduce their debt loads—would not be alleviated by

lower short-term interest rates, the officials believe.

It is not just Bush and Brady who have been pressing Greenspan and the Fed to keep cutting rates.

During a Senate Banking Committee hearing last week, Chairman Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.) and other members pressed Federal Reserve Board member John LaWare for an explanation on why the central bank was not cutting rates even though the unemployment rate, now up to 7.5 percent, is at the highest level in eight years.

Sen. Bob Graham (D-Fla.), who is up for reelection, told LaWare: "I think that there are relatively few things that can have the immediate, pervasive, positive impact that lowering interest rates would have on the psychology and reality of our economy. And I would hope that you would not only passively consider it, but would give it very urgent attention."

Why not cut rates? "What are the risks?" Graham wanted to know.

"Obviously, one of the risks that we have to balance is the risk of reigniting inflation," LaWare said. "The basic trend of inflation is down. And it is our firm belief that a stable price environment is the healthiest environment for the economy."

If the Fed sticks to its current policy course, he predicted, "we will eventually convince the markets," and investors will be willing to buy

bonds for lower returns. "And that is really part of the answer to stimulation of the housing market, as well as business expansion and equipment replacement."

Greenspan, LaWare and other Fed officials also point out that the Fed has trimmed rates repeatedly over the past three years, though not nearly as fast or as far as some economists and government officials have urged. At every step, Brady has urged the Fed to keep the rate cuts coming.

The current round of cuts began in June 1989 after the Fed decided that its effort over the previous year and a half to control inflation by slowing economic growth was beginning to bear fruit. Since then, the Fed's target for the key federal funds rate—the interest rate financial institutions charge one another on overnight loans—has been cut 22 times, from just under 10 percent to 3.75 percent.

Meanwhile, the Treasury still must pay about 7.4 percent on its 10-year bonds, down only just over 1 percentage point. Over the same period, 30-year Treasury bonds have moved even less.

But are the worries of Greenspan and his colleagues justified? What would happen if the Fed were to cut the federal funds rate, say, to 3 percent? No one knows for sure, but a number of financial analysts said the Fed is right to be cautious.

"An aggressive round of easing at this juncture would be misinterpreted on several grounds," said one of the analysts, Sam Kahan, chief economist for Fuji Securities Inc. in Chicago. "It would be seen as a blatant political move and a sign of the Fed's willingness to tolerate more inflation down the road."

Furthermore, Kahan said, since the Fed usually changes rates in small increments, to do more than that in the current context "might set off a panic. Everyone would ask, what does the Fed know about bank 'x' or economic situation 'y' that we don't know."

Allen Sinai, chief economist for the Boston Co., an investment advisory and forecasting firm, disputed the notion that the economic recovery is as strong as Brady and the Fed seem to believe it is.

"A solid spring upturn is not unfolding," Sinai said, adding that the Fed should reduce rates. "Lower rates have always worked magic" in the U.S. economy, and under current circumstances there is no other way to achieve faster growth, he said.

Sinai acknowledged the Fed's worries about what might happen to bond rates but said those concerns were not valid right now. "If the economy is subpar in so many ways, then long-term rates ought not to go up," he said. "You need lower rates."

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Weinberger Indicted on 5 Counts

Ex-Defense Secretary Charged With Lying in Iran-Contra Affair

By George Lardner Jr. and Walter Pincus
Washington Post Staff Writers

Former defense secretary Caspar W. Weinberger was indicted yesterday on charges that he lied repeatedly about his knowledge of the Iran-contra affair and obstructed investigators by concealing existence of extensive notes he had taken at crucial points in the scandal.

A federal grand jury returned five felony counts against Weinberger, making him the highest-ranking Reagan administration official to be indicted in the 5½-year investigation conducted by independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh.

The indictment ends months of backstage negotiations between Weinberger's lawyers and Walsh's prosecutors who had been trying to get the former defense secretary to provide evidence that former president Ronald Reagan took part in the coverup of his administration's worst scandal.

In a bitter statement to reporters, Weinberger, 74, who was defense secretary

from 1981 to 1987, said, "I am deeply troubled and angry at this unfair and unjust indictment. . . . I vigorously opposed the transfer and sale of arms to Iran and fought it at every turn inside the administration."

He went on to say he had refused to accept an offer from Iran-contra prosecutors to "plead to a misdemeanor of which I was not guilty. Nor was I willing to give them statements which were not true about myself or others. I would not give false testimony nor would I enter a false plea."

Walsh's top prosecutor, deputy independent counsel Craig Gillen, said at an earlier news conference that the indictment was not about what side Weinberger took in the administration on the 1985-86 shipments of arms to Iran in return for the release of American hostages held by pro-Iranian militants in Lebanon. Rather, he said, it dealt with Weinberger's alleged concealment of a huge amount of information, including more than 1,700 pages of personal diary notes, when investigators most needed them.

"This case is a graphic illustration of the

necessity for the length of our investigation," Gillen said. "This case has to do with a senior government official, the former secretary of defense, withholding relevant, important information."

Reagan, in a brief statement issued by his Los Angeles office, described Weinberger as "a man of the highest integrity" and expressed confidence that the former defense secretary would be "fully vindicated."

The Iran-contra scandal involved the Reagan administration's covert arms-for-hostages sales to Iran, its secret military supply line to the contra rebels in Nicaragua and its diversion of profits from the Iranian arms sales to the contra cause.

Yesterday's indictment represented a significant advance for Walsh's long-running probe, which has been dogged recently by adverse court rulings. While the independent counsel's investigation has led to nine guilty pleas by former Reagan administration officials and others, convictions against the two highest-profile defendants—former

See WEINBERGER, A6, Col. 1

Weinberger Indicted in Iran-Contra Affair

WEINBERGER, From A1

national security adviser John M. Poindexter and his aide, Oliver L. North—were overturned on appeal.

According to the indictment, Weinberger's notes, discovered in the Library of Congress by prosecutors last fall, depict Reagan as repeatedly being warned in December 1985 that an arms shipment to Iran he had approved the previous month was illegal. Reagan has always maintained in official testimony that he was not aware of the shipment until early the next year when Tehran returned the munitions as unacceptable.

The Weinberger papers, as described in the indictment, provide new details about high-level Iran-contra meetings that included not only Reagan but Secretary of State George P. Shultz and, sometimes, then-Vice President Bush.

The most important session, one Bush did not attend, appears to be a White House meeting on Dec. 7, 1985, at which all the arms shipments that year from Israel to Iran were discussed. The Israelis had shipped 508 U.S. TOW antitank missiles to Tehran, bringing about the release of one of the Americans held hostage, Rev. Benjamin Weir. A shipment of 18 Hawk anti-aircraft missiles had also been delivered on Nov. 24, 1985, part of a planned sale of 120 Hawks intended to bring about release of all remaining U.S. hostages.

The alleged coverup that took place a year later was

designed in part to conceal these 1985 shipments because Reagan had not legally authorized them or disclosed them to Congress.

The Weinberger notes show for the first time that these shipments were fully discussed in the presence of the president by Weinberger and Shultz and that Weinberger strenuously argued they were illegal.

Called to testify before Congress in a June 1987 deposition, Weinberger denied knowing about the November 1985 shipment. Asked by a House counsel if he had advance knowledge of the transfer, the then-defense secretary said, "No, I did not."

In fact, the indictment charged, Weinberger had been told by then-national security adviser Robert C. McFarlane on Nov. 10, 1985, of the planned Hawk shipment; had been asked by McFarlane on Nov. 19 about obtaining as many as 500 Hawks for transfer to Iran; had been told on Nov. 20 by McFarlane that Reagan had decided to sell the Hawks through Israel; and had been told by McFarlane on Nov. 20 that Israel would sell 120 Hawks to Iran and that all Americans held hostage in Lebanon would be released two days later.

Weinberger's papers, according to the indictment, contain other new insights. One Weinberger note indicates that First Lady Nancy Reagan became angry with Shultz as the scandal was beginning to unfold publicly in late 1986 and wanted him replaced because she thought he was "disloyal to the president."

The Washington Post

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This note describes a meeting Weinberger had with Saudi Arabia's ambassador to the United States, Prince Bandar bin Sultan, on Nov. 23, 1986. During the conversation, Bandar disclosed he had met recently with Nancy Reagan and said she agreed with Bandar that Weinberger should be Shultz's replacement.

Shultz had incurred White House ire because he had distanced himself publicly from the administration's arms-for-hostages policy and challenged Reagan's public statements that there had not been any arms-for-hostages shipments through any third country in 1985.

Each of the five counts against Weinberger carries a maximum penalty of five years in prison and a \$250,000 fine.

The first count accuses him of obstructing the congressional Iran-contra investigation in 1987 by unlawfully concealing the daily notes he jotted down at his Pentagon desk as well as hundreds of additional pages of notes he took at White House meetings.

Weinberger gave the Iran-contra committees only the notes for one White House meeting, which took place on Nov. 10, 1986. The grand jury said he falsely denied having other relevant notes.

The second count accuses Weinberger of lying in a June 1987 deposition about his knowledge of secret Saudi contributions of millions of dollars to the contras at a time when Congress had barred U.S. assistance to the rebels. The indictment said that Weinberger had been explicitly informed of the Saudi contributions on March 13, 1985, and that Weinberger, in turn, mentioned them to top CIA officials two days later.

The third and fourth counts accuse Weinberger of

perjury during testimony before the Iran-contra investigating committees on July 31, 1987—once about his knowledge of the November 1985 shipment and once about his knowledge of the need to resupply Israel with the TOW missiles delivered to Tehran in August and September 1985.

The fifth count alleges that Weinberger lied to Gillen and FBI agents during an Oct. 10, 1990, interview about the existence of his notes.

Gillen declined to tell reporters yesterday when he first located Weinberger's notes in the Library of Congress. Weinberger had placed them there after he resigned to facilitate the writing of his memoirs. Under an "agreement of deposit" with the library, he was to have control over access to the records.

In his statement yesterday, Weinberger said he "fully cooperated with every aspect of the investigations conducted by Congress and the Office of Independent Counsel." He also noted he gave Walsh access to his papers and "at no time did I ever knowingly misrepresent the facts or deceive Congress or anyone else."

The five-year statute of limitations for the perjury charges had been due to expire today. Weinberger's lawyer, Robert S. Bennett, according to sources, had spoken to Walsh on Sunday about extending it. Walsh, these sources said, seemed to agree and suggested Bennett provide a draft of such an agreement to Gillen Monday.

Bennett sent a draft to Gillen, but was not able to talk to him, these sources said. Instead, with Walsh in Oklahoma, Gillen brusquely informed Bennett yesterday morning that there would be no extension and that Walsh had approved going ahead with the indictment.

Ex-Rep. Garcia Sentenced to 3 Years

Judge Orders Parole Eligibility for Wedtech Scandal Defendant

Reuter

NEW YORK, June 16—Former Representative Robert Garcia (D-N.Y.) was sentenced today to three years in prison for his role in the Wedtech scandal, but it is unlikely he will serve any more time behind bars.

U.S. District Judge David Edelstein ordered that Garcia, a Bronx Democrat who has already served about three months in prison, should be eligible for parole immediately.

Edelstein also sentenced Garcia's wife, Jane, to three months in prison. Both are free pending the outcome of their appeal.

"You stand before the court as an example of corruption of the American dream, having compromised the integrity of your office for personal gain," Edelstein said before sentencing Garcia.

The collapse of Wedtech, a Bronx military contractor, became a scandal that reached Congress and the White House during the Reagan administration.

Wedtech won large government contracts under a program that made minority-owned businesses eligible for such contracts without competitive bidding.

Garcia, 58, was convicted in October 1991 of one count of extortion

and his wife, 52, was convicted of two counts of extortion and conspiracy.

Garcia was found to have taken a \$20,000 interest-free loan from Wedtech in return for help in obtaining government contracts. His wife was convicted of taking a \$76,000 payoff.

This was their second conviction in the Wedtech case.

They were first found guilty of related charges in October 1989 and sentenced to three years in prison. But the 2nd U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals reversed their convictions on a technicality and sent the case back for a new trial.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

By Maralee Schwartz
and Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writers

The presidential campaign reached the MTV generation yesterday.

In a televised forum staged by the all-music network, Bill Clinton, wearing a red flowered tie, fielded questions from 18- to 24-year-olds on subjects ranging from rap singer Sister Souljah to condoms in schools to his wife, Hillary.

In rapid-fire fashion, the Democratic candidate was asked about his early rock influences ("Going nuts over Elvis Presley"), his favorite band (Kenny G), his sign (Leo), warning labels on record albums (okay if they're voluntary) and whether, if he could replay his youthful experiment with marijuana, he would inhale ("Sure, if I could").

Clinton also said for the first time that if elected he would name New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo to the Supreme Court.

MTV plans to air the 90-minute program a half-dozen times in the next three days. In a year when some of the most important campaign moments have unfolded with talk show hosts Larry King and Arsenio Hall, not anchors Dan Rather or Ted Koppel, the network offered Clinton access to 15 million younger viewers, many of them uninterested in politics. MTV has also invited President Bush and Ross Perot, who have not yet responded.

"People under 25 get the feeling they're not really being talked to about their own concerns," said Tom Freston, chairman of MTV Networks. "A lot of it is directed to someone else, someone older. Clinton makes a statement just by talking overtly to their age group."

The session, taped in Hollywood, was co-anchored by MTV reporter Tabitha Soren, 24, whose campaign reports are marked by quick cuts, jazzy music and bright graphics. "If we presented the news the way the other networks do, they would flip the remote," Soren said on NBC's "Today" show.

The average viewer watches MTV's melange of rap, rock and reggae for 12 minutes, and that was evident in the quick pace of yesterday's program. Clinton offered his standard responses to issue questions, but many of the queries were more personal.

Asked about growing up with an alcoholic stepfather, Clinton said, "I learned to be a peacemaker in my home, both forcibly and in non-forcible ways. . . . The good news is that I'm always trying to make things better. But the bad news is sometimes I think I try too hard to make peace when you just have to cut it and recognize that conflict is inevitable."

Dominique Sillett, 19, an art student, asked why she should support Clinton, saying, "My friends don't



Democratic presidential candidate Clinton at MTV taping in Hollywood.

vote. . . . A lot of our concerns are overlooked or are just not in my space." The Arkansas governor said he was the only candidate who had addressed the issues and that "if you vote for me, you're not just buying a pig in a poke."

Sillett later gave Clinton high marks. "A lot of us distrust anyone who is a politician, but he came across to me as pretty straightforward," she said.

Denise Munro, 25, said Clinton had "a lot of good answers and programs" but also seemed like he "didn't want to offend too many Republicans." She did not like Clinton's support for an Arkansas law requiring minors to notify their parents before obtaining an abortion.

Most of the presidential candidates this year have been interviewed on MTV. Former California governor Edmund G. "Jerry" Brown Jr. told the network earlier this year that "If just the kids who watch MTV all went out and voted, they could change this country."

Frank Greer, Clinton's media adviser, called the MTV appearance "a brilliant idea" that "adds a dimension to Bill Clinton as someone who cares deeply about getting young people involved in the political process."

Greer said he has told Clinton, who is in the midst of a two-week blitz of call-in shows and televised town meetings, that "you've got all the facts and figures. All you have to do is show passion. If someone says to you 'what about crime,' talk as if you really feel it."

Clinton showed the most emotion in defending his wife. "I don't see why my wife should check her lifetime of work, her experience, her intelligence, her passion and compassion, at the front door if I get elected president," he said.

Schwartz reported from Hollywood,
Kurtz from Washington.

Clinton Gets His MTV,
Wants Its Viewers' Votes
Network Invites Bush and Perot to Appear Too

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

ON CAPITOL HILL

Senate Debate Kills Limits on Replacing Striking Workers

Union-backed legislation to limit the right of employers to hire permanent replacements for striking workers died in the Senate yesterday as supporters of the bill failed by three votes to limit debate and move the measure toward passage.

The bill, a top legislative priority of organized labor, was scuttled despite a last-minute agreement by the AFL-CIO to limit its ability to strike in exchange for some job protection for strikers.

The measure, which was approved by the House last July, was pulled from the Senate docket after senators were blocked for a second time in less than a week from mustering the 60 votes necessary to impose cloture and head off a threatened Republican filibuster against the bill.

The vote was 57 to 42 in favor of cloture. The only votes that sponsors of the legislation picked up on the second try were those of Sens. Albert Gore Jr. (D-Tenn.) and Timothy E. Wirth (D-Colo.), who were attending the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro when cloture failed on a 55 to 41 vote last Thursday.

"I accept the fact that we've lost this round of the fight ... but the battle is not over yet," said Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio), chief sponsor of the bill. "We will continue to fight to change this law."

AFL-CIO Secretary-Treasurer Thomas R. Donahue said the vote showed that a majority of the Senate, as well as the House, supported the legislation and charged that "defeat of [the measure] by a pro-business, anti-union minority of the Senate can only sharpen labor-management antagonism."

Panel Passes Tax Breaks

The Senate Finance Committee yesterday approved \$8.3 billion in business tax incentives, including \$1.2 billion in tax re-

lief for independent oil and gas producers and an 18-month extension of nearly a dozen popular tax breaks that are due to expire this month.

The legislation, introduced by Chairman Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), also would repeal the 10 percent luxury tax on boats, jewelry, furs and airplanes, while indexing the tax on expensive automobiles.

A number of the bill's provisions were part of the middle-income tax relief bill that President Bush vetoed earlier this year. Other sections relate to energy conservation and production provisions of the House-passed energy bill.

Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) favors extending some of the expiring provisions, particularly a tax credit for those investing in low-income housing. However, he has not said whether he will introduce a bill comparable to Bentsen's.

Other expiring tax breaks that would be extended under the bill are those for businesses that hire the disadvantaged and offer legal or educational assistance; employer-provided group legal services; health insurance costs of the self-employed; mortgage revenue bonds; research, experimentation and manufacture of drugs to treat rare diseases.

Bentsen's bill contains a more limited approach to allowing businesses a uniform tax write-off for purchases of "intangible assets" than was included in vetoed tax bill. By encouraging settlement of court cases, the measure is expected to raise an estimated \$2.4 billion.

The bill also includes a measure that would significantly change the way independent oil and gas producers compute their alternative minimum tax, resulting in savings to those companies of \$1.2 billion through 1997.

Proponents said the measure is essential to save the independents, who are going out of business in record numbers. A motion by Sen. Bill Bradley (D-N.J.) to strike the provision was defeated 14 to 6.

—Helen Dewar and Eric Pianin

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9 a.m.

Committees:

Appropriations—10 a.m. District of Columbia subc. FY93 approps. for the public schools. 138 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Armed Services—2 p.m. Bomber "roadmap" & related bomber programs, & Tri-Service Standoff Attack Missile (TSSAM). 222 Russell Office Bldg.

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs—10:30 a.m. Condition of the thrift industry. 538 DOB.

Commerce, Science & Transportation—2 p.m. Merchant marine subc. Bush admin. proposals to reform U.S. maritime industry. Transportation Sec. Andrew Card. 253 ROB.

Energy & Natural Resources—2 p.m. Nominations of Jerry Langdon & William Liedtke to be members of Federal Energy Regulatory Commission. 366 DOB.

Finance—9:30 a.m. Proposals for universal health care coverage through public health insurance programs. HHS Sec. Louis Sullivan. 215 DOB.

Foreign Relations—2:15 p.m. North Pacific Salmon Treaty. 419 DOB.

Labor & Human Resources—9 a.m. Mark up Orphan Drug Amendments; National Community Economic Partnership Act; Nominations of Emerson Elliott to be commissioner of education statistics at the Education Dept.; William Dean Hansen to be chief financial officer at the department; Bruno Victor Mann to be assistant sec. of education; Shirley Gray Adamovich to National Commission on Libraries & Information Science; F. Albert Cotton, Charles Hess & James Powell to National Science Foundation. 430 DOB.

Rules & Administration—9:30 a.m. Mark up pending legislation. 301 ROB.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—9:30 a.m. Hearing on environment improvement projects under the Enterprise for the Americas Initiative. 1300 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Appropriations—10 a.m./1:30 p.m. District of Columbia subc. FY93 approps. for human support services & public works & public safety & justice. H-301 Capitol.

Armed Services—2 p.m. Military personnel & compensation subc. Impact of the defense drawdown on the Dept. of Defense dependents' schools. 2212 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Education & Labor—10 a.m. Employment opportunities subc. State school-to-work transition. 2175 RHOB.

Energy & Commerce—10 a.m. Markup Cable Television Consumer Protection & Competition Act of '92; National Waste Reduction, Recycling & Management Act; Child Safety Protection & Consumer Product Safety Commission Improvement Act. 2123 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—1 p.m. Western Hemisphere affairs subc. Peace & reconstruction in El Salvador, focusing on compliance with the peace accords. 2172 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—1 p.m. International operations subc. Mark up International Refugee Protection Act of '92. 2255 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—2 p.m. Asian & Pacific affairs subc. Prisoners of war & service personnel missing in action. 2200 RHOB.

Government Operations—10 a.m. Government information, justice & agriculture subc. Declining Agriculture Department charitable food donations. 2203 RHOB.

Interior & Insular Affairs—9:45 a.m. Mark up protection of the Bodie Bowl area in California; resolve certain problems regarding subsurface estates; establish an Old-Growth Forest Reserve; Indian Tribal Justice Act. 1324 LHOB.

Post Office & Civil Service—1 p.m. Census & population subc. Establish a national commission to commemorate Thomas Jefferson's 250th birthday. 311 Cannon House Office Bldg.

Small Business—9 a.m. Business franchise reform. 2359 RHOB.

Joint Economic—11 a.m. Investment, jobs & prices subc. Future of the hospital industry. 2237 RHOB.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

House Passes 'Motor-Voter' Measure

'Motor-Voter' Bill Passes House Vote

White House Vows To Veto Legislation

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House yesterday brushed aside a White House veto threat and gave final congressional approval to a Democratic-sponsored bill aimed at expanding voter participation in elections by requiring states to allow people to register when they apply for driver's licenses.

The "motor-voter" bill was approved by a largely party-line vote of 268 to 153, or 22 short of the two-thirds vote needed to enact legislation over a presidential veto. The Senate fell six votes short of two-thirds last month when it approved identical legislation by a vote of 61 to 38.

While the Bush administration had opposed the legislation in the Senate, it was not until yesterday—hours before the House vote—that administration officials issued a statement saying the president's senior advisers would recommend a veto if the bill was passed without major modification.

A Republican proposal incorporating those modifications, which would provide \$25 million through 1994 as an incentive to states to adopt voluntary changes in registration laws, was defeated, 133 to 290, also along party lines. Democrats contended that states already can adopt such changes.

According to Senate sponsors of the legislation, 25 states and the District have some form of motor-voter and mail registration.

In addition to providing for registration of voters when they apply for driver's, hunting, marriage and other licenses unless the applicant declines, the bill would require states to allow registration by mail and by application at designated federal or state facilities, including welfare, employment and disability benefit offices.

The law would make it a crime to coerce someone into registering or

See MOTOR VOTER, A9, Col.1

MOTOR VOTER, From A8

to falsify registrations. States would be required to keep up-to-date, non-discriminatory voting lists and make reasonable efforts to remove ineligible voters, although no voter could be purged simply for failing to vote.

A White House statement yesterday said there was insufficient justification for "imposing extensive procedural requirements and significant related costs on the states" and warned that such a law would "increase substantially the risk of voter fraud." It also said the 1965 Voting Rights Act protects against

Senate sponsors say 25 states and the District have some form of motor-voter and mail registration.

discriminatory registration procedures.

At a news conference after the vote, House Government Operations Committee Chairman John Conyers Jr. (D-Mich.) urged President Bush to sign the bill despite the veto threats and accused Republicans of flip-flopping after many of them supported an earlier motor-voter bill two years ago.

Republicans said the legislation has since been skewed in several ways, including providing for registration at welfare offices, to ensure registration of more Democrats.

On the final vote, all but 18 Democrats supported the bill, while all but 28 Republicans opposed it. Among Washington area members, Reps. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.), Tom McMillen (D-Md.), Constance A. Morella (R-Md.) and James P. Moran (D-Va.) voted for the bill, while Reps. George F. Allen (R-Va.), Beverly B. Byron (D-Md.) and Frank R. Wolf (R-Va.) voted against it.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Children of the Tuned-In Find Politics a Turnoff

Offspring of '60s Generation Bored by Process

By Richard Morin and Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writers

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—Doug Dollar doesn't vote. The 23-year-old cabinetmaker doubts he ever will. Ask him about politics and he dismisses it. "I think it's a game," he said.

Christy Berger, 23, is too busy to vote. She admits that's "very wrong," but with a new husband, a new son, a full-time job and college classes, there's little time left for politics. Besides, voting is complicated and she doesn't want to make a mistake.

Gustavo Ferrer, 24, thought about voting once. Just once. The California ballot initiative he favored actually passed—and nothing changed. "Forget it," Ferrer said

about voting. "It's not worth my time."

Dollar, Berger and Ferrer are part of a generation clearly on the sidelines of electoral politics. In the 20 years since the national voting age was lowered to 18, there has been a steady decline in young voters' interest and participation in the political process, and in 1990, just one in five bothered to vote in congressional elections.

Unlike the ubiquitous baby boomers, today's young adults have no catchy name, few shared experiences that bind them together and little sense of self-identification. Last night, they stepped briefly to center stage in the 1992 presidential campaign when Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton answered questions for 90 minutes on MTV—a clear ac-

See YOUNG VOTERS, A16, Col. 1

■ Clinton, in MTV appearance, reaches out for youth vote. Page A16



PHOTOS BY RICH PEDRONCELLI FOR THE WASHINGTON POST

Christy Berger, left, says school taught "nothing about how I should look at politics"; Bennie Lee says he must decide to vote before picking a candidate; KOLEEN

CLARY says Bush "has power, but I don't really see him doing anything with it"; David Davis says it is "easier to accept the fact that nothing is going to cha

The Washington Post

YOUNG VOTERS, From A1

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

knowledge that those between 18 and 25 represent a generation up for grabs politically, if they can be engaged at all.

During the 1980s, those who did vote moved dramatically toward the Republican Party; now there is evidence the pendulum has begun to swing back to the Democrats. But what defines members of the age group even more is that in a year of political alienation, they are more pessimistic about the future and disengaged from politics than any other group.

"They're tuned out," said Ruy Teixeira, a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution who is completing a book called "The Disappearing American Voter." "They aren't interested in government and don't think government and politics have much to do with their lives."

When a dozen men and women aged 18 to 24 assembled by The Washington Post gathered here in the capital of the state that has traditionally defined youth culture, that conclusion was borne out.

In two hours of discussion about their generation and the political process, they spoke passionately about problems and the fear of facing a future of diminished opportunities. But when the subject turned to politics, the conversation faltered, their mood turned cynical. They hold politicians in contempt; have little or no connection to the political parties; are not excited by Clinton or President Bush; and unlike many older Americans, they are not swept up in the Ross Perot phenomenon.

Given the uncertainties of the political process, both the voters and nonvoters in this group said it is often easier not to vote than invest time in a system that too often promises far more than it delivers.

"I think it's so much easier to accept the fact that nothing is going to change rather than to think, try to think optimistically that by voting something is going to change," said David Davis, 22, a recent graduate of Morehouse College and a voter.

For Sheri Bounds, politics has nothing to do with her life. Bounds described herself, somewhat apologetically, as "self-centered"—"I've been thinking about me, my schooling, my friends, my work."

Karle Bjerke, 20, a student at the University of California at Davis, argued that perhaps it is good that many young people do not vote. "This is a time of change, you are finding a career, you are doing a lot of other things," he said. "I think once you get older, yes, it's your duty to vote, but once you get 18, we're not all ready to vote."

Members of the group said they get almost all their political information from television and complain it is hard to find. Some said schools do little to encourage them to participate actively in politics. "I had a government class," said Berger. "I learned a little about the political system but nothing about how I should look at politics or that I could make a difference if I voted."

A handful of issues directly touch the members of this generation: the cost and quality of education; the global environment; abortion; and, of course, the economy. And the young adults in the Sacramento group echo the anxiety of a generation that sees a diminished future for itself and the country. A recent Washington Post-ABC News survey found that seven in 10 young adults believed the country's best years were behind it.

Part of the pessimism comes from the lack of jobs awaiting new college graduates. "I have some friends who have graduated with wonderful degrees in computer science and law, and there are no jobs out there," said Eleanor Alvarez, 24, a state employee and part-time student. "They're graduating, they put years in school, they got the education. Where are the jobs?"

In California, once known for the finest public education system in the country, the members of the group have seen aid to education slashed radically in recent years and have concluded that politicians talk about education one way and act another.

It is no wonder then that when the group was asked for impressions of government or politics or Congress, their reactions were sharply negative. They associate politicians with words such as "crooks," "corruption," "liars" and "brainwashers." They associate Congress with "confusion" and "overpaid."

While the political ferment of the 1960s produced political activism and then cynicism among baby boomers, the social upheaval of the last two decades, combined with the growing anti-government attitudes of their parents and older adults, directed many twenty-somethings inward, away from politics, and in a sense, each other.

"I don't identify myself with part of a generation," said Christy Berger. "The people in my age group are so diverse, there are so many different categories in which you can place yourself. I really don't feel that sense of belonging to a generation."

"This generation went through the latch-key syndrome, we went through parents divorcing constantly, and now single women raising the home," said Alvarez. "We went through a lot. That's why our concerns are more social than politically oriented."

Yet they do share common history and experiences, and they are the first generation to bear the clear imprint of the Reagan years.

Most members of this generation were not even teenagers when Ronald Reagan was elected. But during the 1980s, the young people who came of voting age were attracted in increasing numbers to the Republicans. In 1978, just 24 percent of young people identified themselves as Republicans; 10 years later it was 44 percent.

But there are clear signs now of a shift toward the Democrats, according to pollsters Edward Goeas III and Celinda Lake—he a Republican and she a Democrat. Last week they reported that six months ago the Republicans held an 8-point edge when young adults were asked which party they were likely to pick a presidential candidate from; today the Democrats hold an 11-point lead.

Among the Sacramento group, impressions of Bush were largely negative. "He has power, but I don't really see him doing anything with it," said Kileen Clary, 18, and a mother of a baby girl.

Davis said he "lost a lot of respect" for Bush over the verdict in the Rodney G. King beating case in Los Angeles. "When I heard [Bush] come on TV and say that justice was served, that really hit me hard," he said.

Clinton drew more mixed comments. He was seen by the group as both the most political of the three candidates and the one best equipped to attack the problems that concern them. Only a few had seen his appearance on the "Arsenio Hall Show" and were not impressed.

One person called Clinton "more down to earth" than Bush, while another accused him of "double-talk."

The reactions to Perot were strikingly ambivalent, a sign that the Texas businessman has plenty of convincing to do among these younger potential voters.

"All I've heard is that he's a billionaire," Ferrer said. "I don't know anything."

Like many in the group, Bennie Lee said he was not certain what he would do come November. "I'm undecided," the 19-year-old supermarket checker said. "It's a good discussion for me to see what everyone's views are." But Lee acknowledged that before he decides who to support for president, he first must decide whether to vote.

"There's other things on my mind," he said. "Right now, that's not my main concern."

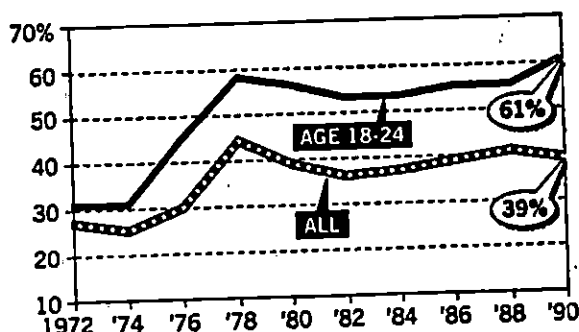
WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

GENERATION ON THE SIDELINES

GROWING DISINTEREST

Interest in politics and public affairs is declining among all age groups, but it is particularly steep among young adults. In less than 20 years, the percentage of all 18- to 24-year-olds who said they only occasionally followed politics and civic affairs has nearly doubled, with six out of 10 young adults now saying they pay scant attention to what's going on in government.

Q Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then or hardly at all? (Shown: Percentage who said "only now and then" or "hardly at all.")



SOURCE: National Election Studies, University of Michigan

Younger voters, too, are increasingly indifferent to political campaigns. About half of all 18- to 24-year-olds say they have little interest in political campaigns.

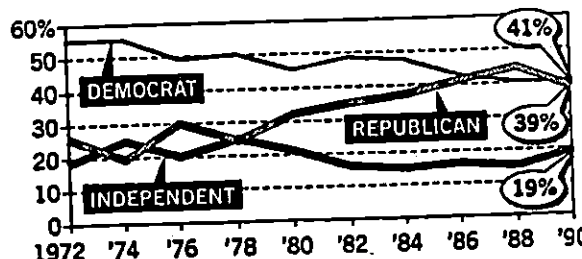
Q Would you say that you have been very much interested, somewhat interested or not much interested in following the political campaigns so far this year?

	1982	1990
Very interested	10%	7%
Somewhat interested	51	46
Not much interested	39	47

SOURCE: National Election Studies, University of Michigan

PARTY IDENTIFICATION

In the 1970s, more than half of all young adults identified with the Democratic Party. But in the following decade, increasing numbers of young adults joined the Republican Party. And recent data suggest that increasing numbers of younger voters are identifying with neither party.



SOURCE: National Election Studies, University of Michigan

THE PESSIMISM OF YOUTH

A majority of Americans believes the nation's best years are behind us, but young adults are the most pessimistic about the future. Nearly seven in 10 respondents under the age of 30 in a recent Washington Post-ABC News poll said the country's best years were in the past.

Q When you think about the future of the United States, do you feel confident and optimistic that the country's best years are still ahead of us, or do you feel more concerned and worried that America's best years might already be behind us?

BEST YEARS BEHIND US

Percentage who agree

AGE	Percentage who agree
18-30	69%
31-44	64%
45-60	58%
61 and older	52%

DECLINING PARTICIPATION

Lack of interest in politics translates directly to non-participation. In the 1990 congressional elections, just one out of five 18- to 24-year-olds went to the polls. And participation rates among young adults in presidential elections is equally poor—just 36.2 percent of all younger voters cast ballots in 1988, compared with 49.6 percent in 1972, the first year 18-year-olds could vote in every state.

PRESIDENT	1972	1976	1980	1984	1988	CONGRESS	1974	1978	1982	1986	1990
% of 18-24 who voted	49.6%	42.2%	39.9%	40.8%	36.2%	% of 18-24 who voted	23.8%	23.5%	24.8%	21.9%	20.4%
% of all adults who voted	63.0	59.2	59.2	59.9	57.4	% of all adults who voted	44.7	45.9	48.5	46.0	45.0

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

THE WASHINGTON POST

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

U.S. Oil Output at Lowest Level in 30 Years

By Thomas W. Lippman
Washington Post Staff Writer

Crude oil production in the United States declined in May to its lowest level in more than 30 years, the American Petroleum Institute will report today.

The output from U.S. wells averaged 7.06 million barrels a day, while imports averaged 7.9 million barrels a day, putting the nation well beyond the 50 percent mark in its growing dependence on foreign oil.

The domestic production figure was the lowest since 1961, and reflected a steady downward trend that oil industry officials say is irreversible under existing laws.

U.S. production peaked at 9.6 mil-

lion barrels a day in 1970 and was 9.2 million barrels a day as recently as 1986, according to Energy Department and API figures. As output declines from the major domestic fields, including Alaska's Prudhoe Bay, the percentage of imports will increase as economic recovery adds to demand, industry analysts believe.

The drop in domestic output comes as no surprise to the beleaguered industry. With most domestic fields already well explored and promising areas offshore and in Alaska placed off limits because of environmental concerns, the U.S. industry has been shrinking for some time.

Employment in U.S. oil and exploration and production, for example,

has fallen by more than half in the past 10 years, from a peak of 754,000 jobs in February 1982 to 356,700 at the end of April, according to Labor Department figures. The "rig count," a standard measure of the industry's health that measures the number of working exploration rigs, is down to about 610 from an all-time of more than 4,000.

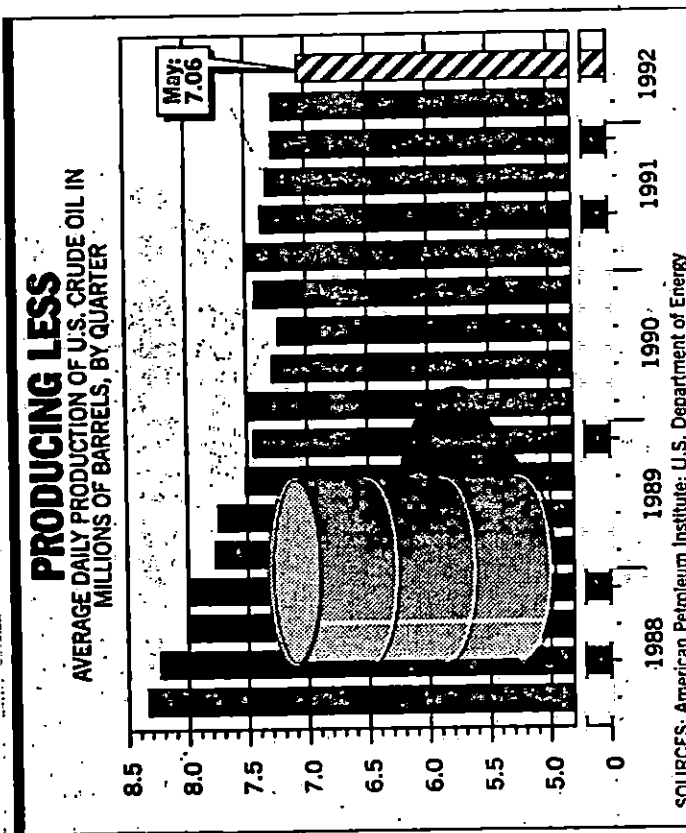
The worldwide industry, however, has virtually shrugged off the U.S. decline and a similar drop in output in the former Soviet Union, once the world's biggest producer. The price of a barrel of oil, which has jumped to more than \$40 a barrel in the past when traders feared a shortage, has remained in a band from about \$18 to about \$22 for most of the year

since U.S.-led forces drove Iraqi troops out of Kuwait.

In futures market trading on the New York Mercantile Exchange, the closing price for a benchmark blend of crude oil yesterday was \$22.30, down six cents from Monday.

The Bush administration sought in vain earlier this year to persuade Congress to permit oil exploration in the North Slope of Alaska's Arctic National Wildlife Refuge, perhaps the biggest remaining potential field in the United States.

Yesterday, however, the Senate Finance Committee agreed to provide domestic producers with \$1.1 billion in relief from the alternative minimum tax over the next five years, in an attempt to stimulate domestic drilling.



The Washington Post

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WHICH 4-OZ. CAN OF BEAN SOUP WOULD YOU EAT?

PERCENT OF DAILY VALUE (DV)		AMOUNT		DAILY VALUE (DV) †
Fat (3g)	4	LOW	3 g	75 g or less
Saturated fat (2g)	8	MEDIUM	2 g	25 g or less
Cholesterol (5mg)	2	LOW	5 mg	300 mg or less
Sodium (910mg)	38	HIGH	910 mg	2,400 mg or less
Carbohydrates (27g)	8	MEDIUM	27 g	325 g or more
Fiber (5g)	20	HIGH	5 g	25 g
Protein (9g)	20	HIGH	9 g	
PERCENT OF DAILY VALUE				
Vitamin A	‡	LOW	‡	
Vitamin C	2	LOW	2	
Calcium	4	MEDIUM	4	
Iron	15	MEDIUM	15	

† As part of a 2,350 calorie diet

‡ Contains less than 2 percent of the DV of this nutrient

† As part of a 2,350 calorie diet

‡ Contains less than 2 percent of the DV of this nutrient

It doesn't matter. The contents in each can are the same but one label teaches consumers more about the nutritional content of bean soup than the other. According to a soon-to-be-released Food and Drug Administration study, the FDA tested consumer preferences and ability to answer nutrition questions when presented with seven label formats. Participants were asked to identify differences between similar products, plan a daily diet, rate the healthfulness of a product and estimate the number of servings needed to satisfy daily requirements.

The FDA found that people answered more nutrition questions correctly when presented with the label at left. But when asked, "Which would be most helpful to you for selecting nutritious foods and planning meals?" they liked it the least.

Respondents preferred the label format at right as one of the two best, but were not able to answer as many of the nutrition questions correctly.

—Carole Sugarman

SOURCE: Food and Drug Administration

BY JOHN ANDERSON—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Politics of a Quarter-Million Labels

Delay Sought in Stamping Nutrition Statements on Packaged Food

By Carole Sugarman
Washington Post Staff Writer

When new nutrition labels finally appear on food packages, most people will probably never taste the politics in their Cocoa Puffs.

A full plate of Bush administration officials, including those from the Office of Management and Budget; Vice President Quayle's Council on Competitiveness, and Clayton Yeutter, President Bush's domestic policy adviser, are all seeking to steer the decision about how long the food industry will have to comply with the new labeling law.

Not surprisingly, the involvement of the different parties has angered Democrats on Capitol Hill, who are charging that the delay is a political maneuver to garner food industry support for the president in the November election.

The Nutrition Labeling and Education Act, which will require that the labels of all packaged foods list complete nutrition information, was signed into law in November 1990. The law gives the Food and Drug Administration until November 1992 to issue final regulations and the industry six months—until May 1993—to comply with the new labeling requirements.

But food companies want a 12-month extension—until May 1994—because they contend that the printing industry cannot physically change 257,000 labels by the

original deadline. They also are citing FDA calculations that a 12-month extension would save the industry \$900 million.

In March, the Agriculture Department announced that it would delay until May 1994 the deadline for mandatory nutrition labeling for meat and poultry products. The measure was part of the Bush administration's 90-day regulatory relief initiative announced Jan. 28 to reduce the costs of regulations.

At the time the announcement was made, White House counsel C. Boyden Gray said he believed it set a "pretty good precedent" for extending the FDA's compliance deadline as well.

Others disagree. "Given the USDA decision and Boyden Gray's remark, I have no doubt that Mr. Gray, Dick Darman, Vice President Quayle and his Competitiveness Council are pressuring the decent people who work at the FDA to delay nutrition labeling as a campaign gift to the food industry," Sen. Howard M. Metzenbaum (D-Ohio) said at a hearing last week.

"It's not a gift to the food industry," an administration official said. "These costs are passed on to you and me."

According to industry and congressional sources, Food and Drug Commissioner David A. Kessler originally wanted to grant a six-month extension, while Department of Health and Human Services Secretary Louis W. Sullivan favored a

nine-month extension. The agency and the department struck a deal at nine months, and on May 15 HHS staff workers began to spread the word on Capitol Hill.

When the White House got wind of the date, it shut down the process to review the decision. According to an administration official, the White House favors a 12-month extension, but considers nine months acceptable. The official said the Competitiveness Council is studying the comparative cost savings to industry of nine versus 12 months. It is also holding up the FDA's proposal on the nutrition label format.

At last week's hearing, FDA deputy commissioner Michael Taylor said that the agency now is recommending a nine-month extension.

The legislation did provide for up to a 12-month extension if compliance with the original deadline would impose an "undue economic hardship" on industry. But Metzenbaum said that the FDA did not substantiate industry contentions that the printing and lab analyses cannot be completed by the deadline.

In the meantime, Manly Molpus, the president of the Grocery Manufacturers of America, and William Smithburg, chief executive officer and chairman of the board of the Quaker Oats Co., met with Quayle a week ago, not to talk about how to get George Bush to eat more broccoli, but to press the administration to make a decision.

The Washington Post

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FINANCIAL DISCLOSURES: A SAMPLING

WHITE HOUSE STAFF



Samuel K. Skinner,
White House chief of staff.

Gifts:

- \$3,200 Christmas party at Morton's of Chicago restaurant in Georgetown.
- \$2,732 exercise

machine from Life Fitness Inc. of Franklin Park, Ill.

■ \$250 "Big Bertha" golf driver from Ely Callaway, Carlsbad, Calif.

■ \$150 Comiskey Park chair, from Jerry Reinsdorf, president of Chicago White Sox baseball team.

SOURCE: Financial disclosure statements



Brent Scowcroft,
national security adviser.

Gifts:

- \$135 gold-and-silver letter opener from Queen Elizabeth II of England.

■ \$150 six lead crystal wine glasses, from Vaclav Havel of Czechoslovakia.

■ \$180 brown leather briefcase from President Turgut Ozal of Turkey.



C. Boyden Gray,
White House Counsel.

Holdings:

- Three trusts worth more than \$1 million each.
- Two rental houses in Maine; one in

North Carolina.

■ Undeveloped land in Warrenton, Va., and commercial rental properties in Washington.



Clayton Yeutter,
domestic policy adviser.

Salary and fees:

- \$150,000 as chairman of the Republican National Committee.
- \$50,000 consul-

tant to the National Bank for Cooperatives.

■ \$18,966 in director fees from FMC Corp.

■ \$16,700 in director fees from Caterpillar Inc.

■ \$3,775 in director fees from Oppenheimer Funds.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Skinner Pays for \$6,000 in Gifts, Quits Club Board

By Charles R. Babcock
Washington Post Staff Writer

White House Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner accepted nearly \$11,000 in gifts last year and recently paid for two others worth almost \$6,000 "to eliminate any questions that might arise based upon his new, broader duties," according to a note on his financial disclosure statement.

Skinner recently resigned his position on the board of directors of the Robert Trent Jones Golf Club in Manassas, which he joined last year without having to pay a \$50,000 initiation fee or the \$3,600 annual dues. He will now pay the dues, the statement added.

Skinner said in a brief interview yesterday that he decided this year, after leaving his post as secretary of transportation for White House chief of staff in December, to accept no gifts and to resign from all his outside positions. "I just feel I have so much to do here that if I take the extra mile I avoid any possible questions. It's the smart thing to do. The job is so broad I don't know where a question can come from."

Skinner's lifestyle as a Cabinet member has been under scrutiny for several months. CBS's "60 Minutes" reported May 1 on his extensive use of expensive government aircraft for travel while secretary of transportation. The Washington Post reported May 14 that Skinner reimbursed the government \$3,275 just before a television report aired, after White House lawyers told him some of the travel could be viewed as more personal than official.

An aide said yesterday that Skinner wrote one check May 13 for \$3,200 to Morton's of Chicago to pay for a Christmas reception, and another the same day for

\$2,732.02 to pay for an exercise machine he received a year earlier from its maker, Life Fitness Inc. of Franklin Park, Ill. He made the payments two days before he had to file his annual financial disclosure statement.

Skinner accepted Morton's receptions as gifts in 1989 and 1990, listing their value at \$5,000. He received gifts from the fitness company, a former client, when he was a private lawyer, the aide said.

The aide, who asked not to be identified, said part of the reason for Skinner's actions was Washington's increased sensitivity to such issues.

Skinner's predecessor, John H. Sununu, resigned last December, in part, because of the controversy caused by press accounts of his mixing personal, political and official travel on expensive military jets.

Skinner reported accepting reimbursements and gifts from 29 individuals and organizations worth more than \$27,000 last year, much of it in travel and lodging on political trips. He also listed \$1,988 worth of transportation, food and expenses for himself and his wife paid by Secretary of Treasury Nicholas F. Brady during a trip to the Kentucky Derby, memberships in the Georgetown and Capitol Hill clubs, the \$3,600 in membership dues from the Robert Trent Jones Golf Club, and presents from friends such as golf equipment.

The financial disclosure statement noted that Skinner was one of about 30 individuals invited to become charter members of the Manassas golf club. Charter members were not required to pay the \$50,000 initiation fee established for regular members and didn't have to pay monthly dues for three years, the statement said.

The Department of Transportation's general counsel approved Skinner's acceptance of the membership. The aide said Skinner listed the \$3,600 in waived dues as a

gift, but was uncertain how to value the membership because charter members have no equity in the club or rights to transfer the membership.

Skinner resigned as a member of the board of governors in March and changed his status to that of "playing member," which means he pays dues, but doesn't have to pay the \$50,000 fee. The "gift" was in effect "returned" when he changed his status, the statement said.

The disclosure statements of other senior White House officials were also released late Tuesday. Sununu's termination report showed that he received several gifts and reimbursements of travel expenses, including some he made after inquiries about his use of government jets.

He also reported accepting \$896 in airfare from Mary Kay Cosmetics in February for a trip to Dallas "incident to employment discussions." Sununu's gifts included \$253 of Baltimore Orioles baseball tickets from owner Eli Jacobs and \$210 worth of golf clubs from professional golfer Ray Floyd.

National security adviser Brent Scowcroft reported receiving 15 gifts from foreign officials, ranging from German wine and Czech wine glasses to two dozen red roses from the ambassador of Bahrain and his wife.

Scowcroft also reported receiving \$41,331 in military retirement pay. His largest holding was an investment valued between \$500,000 and \$1 million he made in a mutual fund called Investment Co. of America early last year. He bought between \$250,000 and \$500,000 of New Perspective Fund, and smaller amounts of two other funds the same day.

Clayton Yeutter, the president's domestic policy adviser, reported earning \$150,000 as chairman of the Republican National Committee, \$50,000 for consulting with the National Bank for Cooperatives in Denver and board of director fees in 1991 from FMC Corp., Caterpillar Inc. and Oppenheimer Funds. He reported no gifts.

White House counsel C. Boyden Gray listed no gifts. He did report having three trust funds worth at least \$1 million each, as well as several pieces of rental and investment property in Maine, Virginia and North Carolina.

Staff researcher Lucy Shackelford contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

Senate to Reconsider Market Shelter for

'Orphan' Drugs

By David Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

In the world of "orphan" drugs, human growth hormone is the founding that everyone wants to adopt.

A near miracle cure for about 15,000 children with a disorder called hypopituitary dwarfism, sales of human growth hormone (HGH) last year totaled \$250 million, placing it among the top 50 earners out of more than 10,000 drugs sold in the United States.

Soon, the drug also will be approved for use on 14,000 children whose growth is stunted by other diseases, and some scientists theorize that HGH eventually may prove useful in the treatment of severe burns and even as a "tonic" for the frail elderly.

Curiously, though, HGH is manufactured and sold under the protection of the Orphan Drug Act, a law designed to encourage development of drugs with "limited commercial value."

The case of HGH symbolizes the unexpected use—and, some people believe, perversion—of the nine-year-old statute, which is designed to help persons with rare diseases by giving incentives to companies willing to develop drugs for them. The major incentive is a seven-year period of "market exclusivity"—essentially a monopoly—intended to make up for the inherently small and unprofitable market for such medications.

Since its creation, however, the Orphan Drug Act has become a vehicle for introducing the most expensive drugs in medical history.

Today, the Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee is scheduled to vote on an amendment to the law that would eliminate monopoly protection once a company's orphan drug reached lifetime sales of \$200 million. Thereafter, the maker of the drug could continue to sell it, but other companies would be permitted to enter the market, presumably driving down prices.

"We want to say, 'You are an orphan drug . . . until you get a certain profitability, and then you graduate,'" Abbey Meyers, executive director of the National Organization for Rare Disorders, told a Senate hearing in January.

The proposed change is designed to cull out only a handful of drugs. Among them are HGH; erythropoietin, a drug for anemia that has annual sales of \$400 million, mostly to kidney dialysis patients whose bills are paid by the federal government; and aerosol pentamidine, a 45-year-old antibiotic used by many AIDS patients, which sells for four times as much here as in Europe.

Amendment Provokes Disagreement

Though it would affect relatively few companies and drugs, the proposed amendment has split the biotechnology industry, raised the specter of drug price controls in mainstream pharmaceutical houses, plunged government and business into a wrangle over patent law, and thrown the emotionally vulnerable community of parents of children with rare diseases into acrimonious disagreement.

"There are things worse than death, senator—the degradation of human dignity and the robbing of hope," said Herb Jacobsen, of Denver, as he chokingly told the Senate hearing that his daughter requires \$300,000 worth of a drug called alglucerase to treat a disorder called Gaucher disease. "These patients have been transformed into victims."

People with Gaucher disease accumulate a fat-like substance because they lack the enzyme necessary to recycle it. They become anemic; their livers and spleens swell; their bones erode and often break.

Alglucerase acts like the missing enzyme, and in that sense it is a "magic bullet." However, it must be laboriously purified from human placentas—10 tons of placentas are required annually to treat one adult. A patient's first year of therapy generally costs more than \$200,000 for the drug alone, with costs of up to \$60,000 a year thereafter.

Though it is unclear whether other companies want to enter the alglucerase market, the drug's maker, Genzyme Corp., of Cambridge, Mass., sells \$38 million worth each year, to an essentially captive market of 453 patients. Sales in one year nearly recoup Genzyme's total research and development costs for alglucerase, estimated to be nearly \$50 million.

"I ask you: Why is it that insurance companies are free to place caps on health policies, but drug companies are given a field day for seven years?" Jacobson asked the Senate panel. "Profit is, and should be, due them. But you have given them a monopoly with no accountability."

A few minutes later, a man speaking for a different group of patients, those with cystic fibrosis, offered a different point of view on drug companies.

"I think they are saints and saviors," said Robert K. Dresing, president of the Cystic Fibrosis Foundation, whose 25-year-old son has the disease.

The Orphan Drug Act was passed largely through the efforts of a coalition of parents who feared that the American pharmaceutical industry's vast power to create wonder drugs would never be brought to bear against the diseases of their children. Those ailments ranged from well-known but infrequent disorders such as cystic fibrosis to seldom-seen cancers and obscure enzyme-deficiency conditions. The act was designed to provide just enough incentive to bring these ailments into the mainstream of medical therapy.

It hoped to do this by providing the seven-year monopoly, as well as certain tax credits for research and testing. An orphan disease was defined as one afflicting no more than 200,000 people in the United States—an

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Today, Genentech splits the HGH market profitably with Eli Lilly (which sells a slightly different form of growth hormone). The other two firms, Serono Laboratories and Novo Nordisk Pharmaceuticals, are prohibited from selling their HGH. In the current debate, Genentech defends growth hormone as a pedigreed orphan.

The biotechnology industry sorely wants patent law to cover substances the body produces naturally, which in many cases now are protected only by patents on the laboratory processes used to make them. Until that change comes, the Orphan Drug Act is a convenient shelter, many in the industry argue.

This point of view, however, is far from universal.

"If there is insufficient intellectual property protection, let's fix that. Let's not bastardize the act," said Thomas Wiggins, the head of CytoTherapeutics, of Providence, R.I., and president of the Association of Biotechnology Companies, a 300-member trade and lobbying group. "The act was made solely to promote unprofitable drug development, and to hide multimillion-dollar drugs in it is crazy."

But a second trade organization, the 137-member Industrial Biotechnology Association, opposes the amendment, in part because "it is a backdoor way of imposing government price controls. We would not like to see that get started with orphan drugs and spread to any place else," said Richard D. Godown, president of the group.

Marketing Practices Defended

While acknowledging the high prices of their products, Genzyme and other sellers of blockbuster orphan drugs tout their programs for providing doses free to families without insurance or otherwise unable to afford them. (Some insurance policies explicitly exclude coverage for growth hormone treatment because it is so expensive). Genentech says it provides HGH to 1,473 patients for free and offers some kind of assistance to another 4,821.

At the Senate hearings, however, several witnesses recounted stories of families being pushed to near penury by the high cost of the drugs. Pam Hire, of Paola, Kan., told how she and her husband had sold their house and now hold a total of four jobs to raise money for the co-payment portion of their bills for HGH, which their 14-year-old son requires.

"Trying to obtain the hormone has wreaked financial havoc on our lives," she told the senators.

As an example of a prospective blockbuster orphan drug, supporters of the amendment point to DNase, a naturally occurring enzyme under development by Genentech that works by thinning the mucus that forms in chronically inflamed lungs.

DNase's potential orphan market is the 30,000 cystic fibrosis patients in the United States, although the drug also may be used by some of the millions of people with chronic bronchitis, an illness similar to emphysema. Clinical trials in both groups of patients are underway.

G. Kirk Raab, Genentech's president, said he gave the go-ahead for DNase based solely on its proposed usefulness in cystic fibrosis. The idea that it might be a treatment for chronic bronchitis didn't come up until a year later, he said.

Would the company have developed DNase without the Orphan Drug Act?

"I knew I wouldn't have patent protection," Raab said, "but I also knew I had seven years [of] protection through the Orphan Drug Act. I won't say I wouldn't have done it. I'd like to believe I would have done it anyway. But with the Orphan Drug Act, it was an easy decision for me."

arbitrary cutoff chosen to include the 190,000 Americans with multiple sclerosis, in the hope that some day they might benefit. There are some exceptions in which diseases occurring in greater numbers also may qualify.

The law was aimed primarily at drugs with expired patents and chemicals in the public domain that could never hope to win the 17 years of protection offered under conventional patent law. The seven-year term offered an incentive, although the act stipulated that manufacturers must "reasonably expect to generate relatively small sales in comparison to the cost of developing the drug."

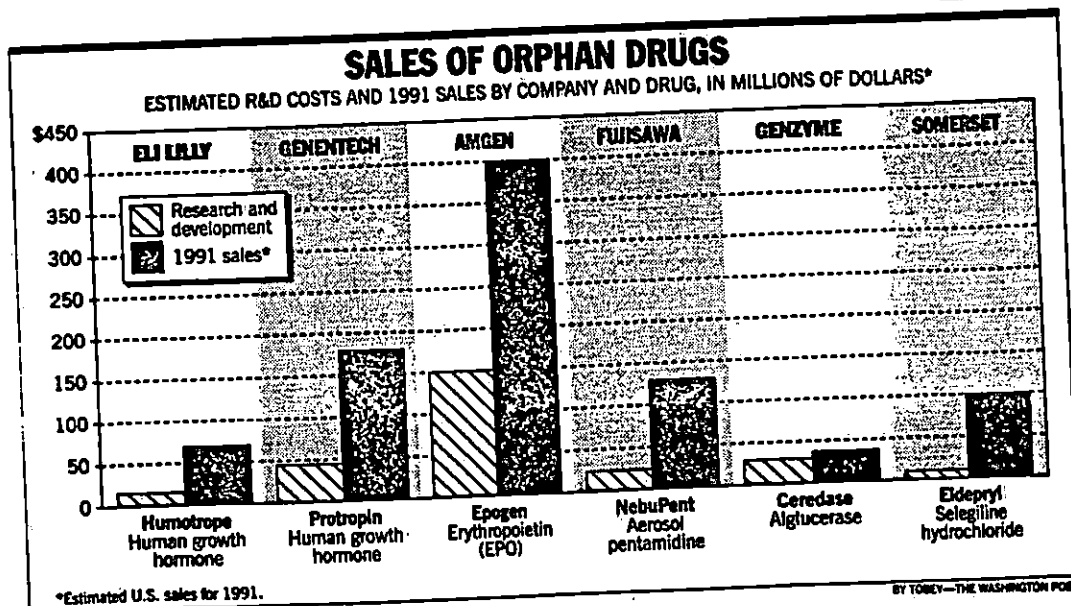
The law's drafters in 1983 assumed that most orphans would be old drugs suspected of being useful in treating rare disorders but untested by the rigorous clinical trials necessary for FDA approval. In general, this has been the case. Almost none of the 62 orphan drugs on the market were developed originally for their "orphan" status.

A New Kind of 'Wonder' Drugs Emerged

But within a few years a new kind of drug appeared—genetically engineered "natural" products that were difficult to patent but had the potential of being wonder drugs. The orphan drug pipeline is now full of enzymes, interferons, interleukins, colony stimulating factors and other products of the brave new world of biotechnology.

As the first to arrive, human growth hormone provoked a complicated legal battle among four companies seeking to market it as a treatment for dwarfism. One of the aspirants, Genentech of South San Francisco, made an argument that is virtually identical to the one made now by supporters of the amendment:

"Drugs that had already been developed and approved prior to the enactment of the Orphan Drug Act (particularly where, as here, more than one company sought and obtained approval) are unquestionably not the unprofitable drugs that Congress had in mind in enacting this statute. To apply this statute to such drugs amounts to a cruel joke on the sufferers of orphan diseases and their families who worked so hard to win passage of this legislation," the company said in a lawsuit.



BY TOBEY—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Landmarks Tell Lore of Watergate

Scandal Unfolded At Many Addresses

By Karlyn Barker
and Vivien Lou Chen
Washington Post Staff Writers

When Gary Lawrence pulled into Scenic Overlook No. 2 off the George Washington Parkway the other day, the Burke resident had no idea he was parked on a piece of Watergate history. It was the spot where burglar James W. McCord Jr. was promised executive clemency if he'd shut up and help take the fall for the break-in.

But Scott Greenhill, an unrepentant Watergate buff from San Francisco, knew all about Room 723 at the Howard Johnson Motor Lodge and called a dozen times before landing a reservation this



BY FRANK JOHNSTON—THE WASHINGTON POST

Scott Greenhill looks at the Watergate from Room 723 at Howard Johnson's.

week in what was the listening post for the "bugged" conversations of Democrats across the street.

From the offices where the break-in occurred 20 years ago today to the country clubs that had supporting roles to the apartment house where reporter Bob Woodward moved a potted plant to signal "Deep Throat," Washing-

ton and its suburbs are awash in notorious and little-known landmarks that tell the story of Watergate.

"We're aware that history was made in this suite," said Barbara Lentz, whose company occupies the portion of the Watergate complex where McCord and four other mysterious intruders were discov-

See LANDMARKS, A22, Col. 1

A WATERGATE TOUR

Although few tourists ever see them, landmarks of the Watergate scandal are spread throughout the Washington area. Here's a look at a few well-known and virtually unknown spots that played roles in the scandal that toppled a presidency.

1 Burning Tree Club, Burdette and River roads, Bethesda
This is where G. Gordon Liddy, finance counsel of the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, who had conceived the break-in, went on the afternoon of June 17, 1972, to find Attorney General Richard Kleinfelt to pass along former attorney general and Nixon campaign manager John Mitchell's orders to release the five Watergate burglars before McCord's connection to the CRP became known. Kleinfelt met Liddy in a locker room. The attorney general refused the request.

2 Judy Hoback's House, 9702 Montauk Ave., Bethesda
Hoback was the CRP bookkeeper who exposed a small piece of the puzzle — money disbursed to Liddy and destruction of committee ledgers — to the FBI and The Washington Post. She was portrayed by Jane Alexander — but not named — in "All the President's Men."

3 Bob Woodward's old apartment, 1718 P St NW
Post reporter Woodward signaled his secret source, known as "Deep Throat," using a flower pot on the balcony of his efficiency apartment. No one at the building, now a condominium, can remember which apartment was Woodward's, and Woodward says he can't recall either. Apartment 519 was used during the filming of "All the President's Men."

4 Frank Wills's old rooming house, 1315 22nd St. NW
Wills was the security guard who first saw the tape-covered door latches on the Watergate stairwell and called police. In 1972, he was making \$80 a week and living in a one-room apartment on 22nd Street NW.

5 Scenic overlook on the George Washington Memorial Parkway
This is where one of the burglars, James W. McCord Jr., who worked for the CRP, met three times with friend John J. Caulfield, who passed along a promise that McCord would be granted executive clemency if he took the fall along with the four other burglars.

6 Key Bridge Marriott parking lot, Rosslyn
In April 1972, before the break-in, White House aide Alexander Butterfield used this parking lot to give \$350,000 in cash (\$50 and \$100 bills) from a Nixon campaign "reserve fund" to Leonard Lilly, who was to make deliveries when directed.

7 Watergate complex, 2600 Virginia Ave. NW
Site of the June 17, 1972, break-in at the offices of the Democratic National Committee. Today, those offices have been subdivided and are occupied by a law firm, a nuclear energy marketing firm and three doctors.

Howard Johnson Motor Lodge, across from Watergate
In room 723, Alfred C. Baldwin was the lookout and ran a listening post during the break-in. Today, the hotel still gets many reservation requests for the "Watergate Room."

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LANDMARKS, From A1

ered under a secretary's desk inside the Democratic National Committee's sixth-floor headquarters.

Curious individuals and entire tour groups still show up and want to take pictures of the secretary's cubicle where the burglars were found and arrested. Lentz, treasurer and administrative manager for Urenco Inc., a nuclear energy marketing company, wants people to know that the offices were remodeled years ago and that the secretary's cubicle is now an open work space.

She wants people to know something else too: You can't just drop by for a look-see. "We do try to run a business here," she said.

For the people who work or reside at these landmark addresses, Watergate is living history. And some day, the buildings themselves may receive official recognition—and a plaque or two.

"Normally that doesn't happen for 50 years," said Barry Mackintosh, a historian for the National Park Service. "We're still a little early, but I suspect . . . the office building and the Howard Johnson would get the obvious first consideration."

Clifton E. McCann, whose law firm, Lane, Aitken & McCann, is in another part of the old DNC headquarters, said there used to be a plaque near the sixth-floor stairwell commemorating the event. But it was stolen years ago.

Scandal Tours already includes the Watergate complex and the Howard Johnson's motel on its bus tour of notorious landmarks in the nation's capital, right along with the spot where stripper Fanne Foxe jumped into the Tidal Basin and the Capitol Hill town house where presidential hopeful Gary Hart entertained Donna Rice.

Media attention surrounding the 20th anniversary of the break-in has put the spotlight on some lesser-known Watergate landmarks. At 9702 Montauk Ave. in Bethesda, for example, Cathy Woody was surprised when CBS producers asked her about using her tiny two-bedroom home to shoot a scene involving a previous owner: Judy Hoback.

It was Hoback, bookkeeper for the Committee for the Re-Election of the President, who first told investigators—and later Washington Post reporters Carl Bernstein and Woodward—about the campaign money disbursed to G. Gordon Liddy, the ex-FBI agent who planned the botched burglary.

"I was kind of thrilled when CBS called," said Woody, an oceanographer for the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration. "I said, 'Ooh, I have a star for a house.'"

Woody said she met Hoback when CBS flew the bookkeeper

from her home in Florida to Washington and used her former house as a backdrop for telling how a reluctant Hoback finally agreed to talk to the persistent Bernstein. As depicted in the "Woodstein" book, "All the President's Men," and later in a movie of the same name, she nervously answered his questions in her living room while Bernstein prolonged his stay by asking for more and more cups of coffee.

"When you live an ordinary life, it's exciting to have something like that walk through . . . to be a little part of history, even if it's a scandalous history," Woody said. She said she voted for Nixon, but then became "disgusted" with the lies he told to cover up the break-in and other illegal activities.

"If he had come out and said what he had done, I think the public would have accepted that more," Woody said.

Few remember that Frank Wills, the security guard who called police after finding tape on the stairwell doors at the Watergate, lived at 1315 22nd St. NW. It was a rooming house then, and Wills lived upstairs. Today it's a fashionable town house, rented by three friends who were children when the Watergate scandal unfolded and who had no idea of the house's link to Watergate history.

"I remember my parents and grandparents just glued to the TV," said Ed Ryan, 24, who was reared in Philadelphia and works for a painting franchise here.

Ryan, who studied Watergate in college, said he doesn't think what Nixon did was all that bad, especially compared with Ronald Reagan and the Iran-contra scandal. Nixon "just tried to cover up a few things," he said. "Look at Reagan. Everybody liked him so much they overlooked it."

Perhaps the most obscure Watergate landmark is the parking lot at the Key Bridge Marriott, where White House aide Alexander Butterfield innocently turned over \$350,000 in excess campaign cash for safekeeping to one of his neighbors. The cash, all in \$50 and \$100 bills, was later retrieved on orders from the White House, and some of it was used to buy the silence of the burglars.

Butterfield later told Senate investigators about the White House taping system, an explosive disclosure that ultimately led to Nixon's resignation.

Better-known landmarks in Watergate lore: Room 214 at the Watergate Hotel, where police recovered address books linking the burglars to Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, a former White House consultant who helped plan the burglary.

Also, the Burning Tree Club in Bethesda, where Liddy rushed to find Attorney General Richard Kleindienst and tried to get him to

order the release of the burglars before McCord's connection to the reelection committee became known. Kleindienst refused.

At the Webster House, 1718 P St. NW, Interior Department employee Renee Schwager and many other residents know that Woodward used to rent an efficiency there in the days before the building went condo. Except nobody—not even Woodward—remembers the exact apartment where he would put his potted plant, the one with the red flag stuck in it, out on the balcony whenever he needed to contact his famous source.

"606 or 608 or 612, something like that," Woodward said recently.

"I always felt that 'Deep Throat' may have lived in one of those buildings," said Schwager, pointing to the Boston House and Brunswick House Apartments that can be seen from the back of Woodward's former building.

Schwager always thought that Woodward lived in apartment 519 because, she said, that was the one used in filming the Watergate movie.

For the record, Bernstein lived on the top floor of the Biltmore apartments in Adams-Morgan.

But for Greenhill, in town on business, nothing matches the history of Room 723 at the Howard Johnson's, where Alfred C. Baldwin monitored the "bugged" phone of a DNC official and watched the burglars' arrests that night. Booking the \$72-to-\$80-a-night room wasn't easy, but Greenhill, 34, who watched every day of the Watergate hearings for his high school government class, is glad he got it when he did.

"I wanted the room on the anniversary," he said gleefully.

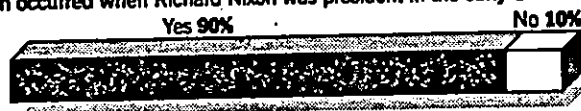
Staff writer Charles W. Hall contributed to this report.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

WATERGATE: 20 YEARS LATER

Twenty years after the burglary at the Watergate Hotel, a growing number of Americans believe that a Watergate-style scandal could easily occur again, according to a new Washington Post-ABC News poll. The survey found that most adults recalled the Watergate affair, though a somewhat smaller majority of those younger than 25 had heard of it. Most still believe former president Richard Nixon was guilty of wrongdoing, though a growing majority also say what Nixon did in Watergate was no worse than what other presidents have done. Despite post-Watergate political reforms, few Americans believe government is more honest now than it was two decades ago. That cynicism toward politics remains one of Watergate's most enduring legacies, finding new voice this year in the outsider presidential campaign of Ross Perot and the growing call for an end to politics-as-usual.

Q Have you ever read or heard anything about the Watergate affair, which occurred when Richard Nixon was president in the early 1970s?



The following questions were asked only of those who had read or heard about Watergate.

Q I want to ask a few questions about Richard Nixon and the Watergate affair that started 20 years ago this June. First, do you think that Richard Nixon was guilty or innocent of wrongdoing in the Watergate affair?

	1992	1982
Guilty	78%	79%
Innocent	11	10
Don't know	11	15

Q Which of these two statements do you tend to agree with more: a) Other presidents engaged in the same kind of activities that forced Nixon out of office, or b) What Nixon did in the Watergate affair and related matters was worse than what other presidents have done.

	1992	1982
Other presidents did the same	64%	50%
What Nixon did was worse	27	37
Don't know	9	13

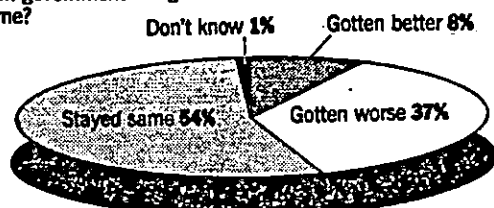
Q How likely do you think it is that another Watergate-type scandal could happen in U.S. politics: very likely, somewhat likely or not likely at all?

	1992	1982
Very likely	50%	36%
Somewhat likely	38	39
Not likely at all	11	20
Don't know	1	5

Q How important a role does Watergate play in government and public life today—very important, somewhat important, not important at all?

	1992	1979
Very important	29%	39%
Somewhat important	45	36
Not important	24	18
Don't know	2	7

Q Since the Watergate affair, do you think the level of honesty and ethics in government has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?



Figures based on telephone interviews with 1,005 randomly selected adults, 916 of whom had heard or read of the Watergate affair. Margin of sampling error is plus or minus three percentage points. Sampling error is, however, only one of many potential sources of error in this or any other public opinion poll. Interviewing was conducted June 3-7 by ICR Survey Research, Media, Pa.



Quayle Family Values Include Summer Jobs

Sons Find Work on Capitol Hill

Vice President Quayle's two sons have been spending some of their summers in a place their father has been condemning as yet another bloated federal bureaucracy: Capitol Hill.

Roll Call reported yesterday that Tucker Quayle, 17, worked as a summer mail carrier in 1990 and 1991 for the Senate Post Office, earning nearly \$4,000. The vice president's younger son, Benjamin, 14, earned \$842 during one month as a Senate page last year and now is completing another two-week tour as a page.

Quayle, who has served in the House and Senate, frequently has criticized the size of congressional staffs. He declared Friday in a speech to the Federalist Society that "reducing congressional staff is about as likely as my taking a guest spot on 'Murphy Brown.'" The vice president was referring to the television comedy series featuring Candice Bergen as an unwed mother whom Quayle described as a poor role model.

David Beckwith, a Quayle spokesman, could not be reached for comment yesterday. He was quoted by Roll Call as saying that the Quayle boys got their jobs through the office of Howard O. Greene Jr., secretary for the Senate minority. "They grew up in a Senate family and they knew all about these jobs," Beckwith told Roll Call.

The newspaper reported that Quayle is not the only Republican who has been critical of the congressional bureaucracy but whose children had secured summer jobs on Capitol Hill. Amelia Thomas, the daughter of Rep. William M. Thomas (R-Calif.), earned \$3,598 as a temporary worker in the House Post Office in 1989 and 1990, Roll Call reported.

DJ Berinstein, a spokeswoman for Thomas, acknowledged yesterday Amelia Thomas had worked on the Hill but defended the postal job. "It was not a patronage position. She went down and applied for it. Those are really hard, physical jobs," Berinstein said.

—Bill McAllister



Vice President and Marilyn Quayle in 1991, with sons, Benjamin and Tucker, and daughter, Corinne.

E. Europeans Say West Fails In Aid Pledges *Economic, Political Woes Linked to Lax Funding*

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Foreign Service

PARIS, June 16—Despite pledges of financial support from the world's richest industrial powers, the fledgling democracies of Eastern Europe are facing new economic and political turmoil in large part because the Western aid effort has fallen far short of its goals, according to politicians and economists in the region.

These analysts complain that aid from Western donors has amounted to only a fraction of what was originally promised, and of the assistance already provided, most has been in the form of highly restrictive credits rather than desperately needed cash.

The actual transfer of financial resources from the Group of 24 industrialized nations—which three years ago made lofty pledges of aid to support Eastern Europe's transition from communism to capitalism—so far remains very small. Citing 1990 figures, the New York-based Institute for EastWest Studies said that Czechoslovakia received only 4 percent of the aid it was promised, Hungary 16 percent, and Poland 27 percent.

Eastern officials say that although Western-style democratic systems are gaining support in the region, the public has become disillusioned with what many perceive as the niggardliness of wealthy neighbors. This discontent is seen as contributing to the daunting tasks facing governments already burdened by economic depression and ethnic tensions.

"How can we ever persuade people in the West that making some sacrifices will serve their own interests by helping democracy and free-market economies in the East?" Poland's former prime minister, Jan Krzysztof Bielecki, said in an interview. "As differences between East and West grow larger, they will become more destabilizing."

Falling living standards in the East and a growing economic gap between East and West have raised fears of fresh political crises in the region, as war rages in the Balkans, Czechoslovakia threatens to split

See EUROPE, A33, Col. 4

Russia's President Faces an Uneasy U.S. Congress

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

Instead of a big package of aid for his country, Congress is giving Russian President Boris Yeltsin a lesson in the mixed blessings of legislative democracy, American style.

When Yeltsin mounts the podium in the House chamber today as the first Russian leader to address a joint meeting of Congress, he will be greeted with applause, for himself and for the historic moment he represents.

So why, Yeltsin might ask, are these friendly people balking at passing legislation sought by President Bush more than two months ago to authorize a \$12 billion in-

crease in the U.S. commitment to the International Monetary Fund and other steps to aid republics of the former Soviet Union?

The answer can be found in a rule made famous by former House speaker Thomas P. "Tip" O'Neill Jr. (D-Mass.): All politics is local, even global politics—especially when it deals with the politically touchy issue of foreign aid.

Yeltsin's bid for help as Russia makes the difficult transition from a state-controlled to market economy came at an awkward time here, coinciding with election campaigns, a lingering recession, severe budget constraints and mounting pressures for spending to ease unemployment and urban tensions.

Yeltsin did not make his task any easier by acknowledging, as he arrived here, that archives show some U.S. prisoners of war from Vietnam were transferred to Soviet labor camps and may still be alive. This prompted demands from some lawmakers, including Sen. John McCain (R-Ariz.), a Vietnam War POW, that aid be held up until any American POWs are found and released.

Even though the \$12 billion does not amount to a cash outlay and the president has authority to do much of what is provided in the bill, challengers in this election year are not likely to be bothered with details when trying to tar incumbents as foreign aid sympathizers.

As a result, Democratic lawmakers, many of whom support aid to

the former Soviet republics, are insisting that Bush agree first on an extension of unemployment benefits and jobs programs as part of urban aid legislation prompted by the recent Los Angeles riots.

"We call on you to join us in a commitment to economic recovery in the United States" by supporting the unemployment and urban aid bills, said House Democratic Whip David E. Bonior (D-Mich.) in a May 5 letter to Bush that was signed by 103 House Democrats. "Once we have approved these important bills—and put our own economy on the road to recovery—then we can consider your plan to help the former Soviet republics," Bonior wrote.

Bonior's position was not formally endorsed by other House and

Senate leaders but became the unwritten law for many rank-and-file Democrats in both houses. "It became fact," said a senior aide to another House Democratic leader. "If there is no administration support for domestic needs, there will not be the votes for a Russian aid package. It's that simple," the aide said.

Many Democrats are also insisting that Bush take the lead in pushing for approval of the foreign aid, including rounding up support among GOP lawmakers, so Democrats do not become exposed this fall to charges that they were putting the needs of Russians ahead of Americans.

In addition, some senators are said to be wary of voting for the aid bill if it is going to sink without a trace in the House. The House is regarded as more skittish than the Senate over the idea of voting for foreign aid, especially so soon after rejecting a

proposed constitutional amendment to balance the federal budget.

Bush and Secretary of State James A. Baker III took steps Monday to make it clear that they are pushing for prompt action on the Russian aid bill. Bush said in a CNN interview that he would "do whatever it takes" to persuade lawmakers to cast what he conceded will be a "tough vote" on the issue. At a news briefing, Baker urged the Senate to take action this week as a signal of U.S. support for democratic and market reforms in Russia.

Republican and Democratic senators have indicated a majority in favor of the legislation, but Majority Leader George J. Mitchell (D-Maine) said yesterday that "some questions about precise provisions" have been raised and declined to say when the bill will go to the floor. Other Democrats said it would not be this week.

East Europeans Say West Falls Short On Pledges of Financial Assistance

EUROPE, From A27

apart and Poland balks at undertaking more painful reforms.

The latest figures offer a basis for such concerns: Most East European economies shrank 10 percent last year, with inflation ranging from 40 percent in Hungary to 400 percent in Bulgaria. Joblessness has soared, and the private sector's evolution has been so shaky that Eastern Europe probably will take decades to catch up with the West, according to a recent study by the Paris-based Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

"Our politics are now filled with fear and uncertainty," said Czechoslovakia's deputy foreign minister, Martin Palous. "People are looking for strong leaders, so they are being tempted to vote for the extremes."

Palous, Bielecki and other politicians in the East say the West is being lulled into complacency by an absence of popular unrest and mass migration, which once had been feared as possible consequences of communism's collapse.

But just when the East may require more generous support to prop up its fragile transition, the West appears to be turning inward. Within the European Community, attention has focused on rescuing the Maastricht treaty on political and economic union.

The embattled treaty, already rejected by Danish voters and facing growing opposition in other countries, is designed to endow the Community with a single currency and a common foreign and security policy before it tackles the challenge of enlarging its membership to include rich neutral nations such as Austria, Sweden, Finland and Switzerland. Only toward the end of the decade, at the earliest, is the Community expected to consider full membership for East European countries.

Moreover, Western Europe's willingness to offer more substantial aid to the East is being eroded by economic troubles at home. Germany, once considered the paymaster of the Community and the pri-

mary donor for the East, has given notice that it cannot afford to provide any further infusions because its budget is strained to the limit.

Since 1989, according to the Institute for EastWest Studies, Western governments and institutions such as the World Bank have pledged \$33.8 billion to Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, but less than \$4 billion has been provided in outright grants.

The bulk of Western aid is being offered as credits or loans, which the Eastern countries are reluctant to utilize because they cannot afford to add to their enormous debt burdens, according to Krzysztof Ners, the Polish economist who conducted the study.

"The transition to market economies has been made all the more painful because of the vast discrepancy in money pledged and money given," said Ners. He noted that nearly 90 percent of the aid provided under the Marshall Plan to rebuild Europe after World War II came in the form of gifts, while the current Western aid program for the East offers little more than 10 percent in grants.

Despite pacts concluded last year providing associate membership in the European Community as an interim step toward full membership, Eastern countries are still struggling for greater access to Western markets—which all sides agree is their best hope for early economic success.

The associate membership agreements, said Polish economist Andrejz Rudka, "are simply not enough. We need to move faster toward becoming full members in order to anchor ourselves in a zone of stability, regardless of the costs. It's in the interest of Poland as well as the rest of Europe."

The dire situation facing Eastern governments—and the threat that a worsening depression may ultimately undermine their new democracies—has prompted political leaders to escalate their demands for early membership in the Community despite

the economic risks involved in joining a single continental market.

"We know that early membership in the Community would mean bankruptcy for some of our industries, but politically we believe it is absolutely necessary," said Zdenek Matejka, a senior Foreign Ministry official in Prague.

Czechoslovakia faces a possible breakup as a result of a split between Czechs and Slovaks in elections early this month. Czechs voted for the free-market reforms of Vaclav Klaus while most Slovaks chose the socialist nationalism advocated by Vladimir Meciar.

"The big factories and the munitions firms in our region are all facing extinction," said Slovakia's outgoing prime minister, Jan Carnogursky, whose Christian Democratic Movement garnered less than 9 percent of the vote. "The market reforms have not worked with these heavy industries, so people are turning to anything that will save jobs."

Political conflict looms elsewhere as well, Eastern politicians warn. Even Hungary, which has achieved relative stability and prosperity and has avoided being ensnared in ethnic unrest, may find itself sucked inexorably into regional conflict.

More than 600,000 Hungarians, or 11 percent of the population, have lived for centuries in southern Slovakia. Another 400,000 Hungarians live in Vojvodina, the northern Serbian enclave that may become the next casualty of Yugoslavia's civil war.

The possibility that ethnic warfare might spread elsewhere in Eastern Europe may appear remote, but the political tensions caused by economic depression, restive minorities and border disputes seem likely to grow.

"Whether you like it or not," said Milan Kucan, president of the year-old independent government of the former Yugoslav republic of Slovenia, "the future of Europe's stability will be determined by what happens in the East."

Haitians Look for U.S. Hand in Whatever Befalls Their Nation

By Lee Hockstader
Washington Post Foreign Service

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti—When President Bush made a brief stopover in Miami last fall, most Americans outside of south Florida did not even notice. But to many Haitians the visit was fraught with secret meaning and hidden motives.

The president's trip coincided with a bloody military coup in Haiti that ousted president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a popular leftist leader in power just seven months. That was enough for many Haitians both in Port-au-Prince and Miami: Without any evidence, they concluded that Bush had come to Miami to supervise the Haitian coup.

Even today, after months of a punitive U.S. embargo and repeated statements by Bush and other officials insisting on Aristide's return, many Haitians, including high officials, contend that the United States was the invisible hand behind the coup.

The perception of Washington as a grand puppeteer, born of nearly two centuries of strained relations, two decades of Marine occupation and a gaping cultural divide, has exasperated American diplomats and vastly

complicated U.S. efforts to encourage democracy in the hemisphere's second oldest republic.

"The U.S. could not have been a stranger in the coup," said Gerard Bissainthe, the Haitian government's information minister, who spent many years in the United States teaching French, Latin and Greek at the City University of New York. "Somehow it must have been involved."

In much of Latin America, Washington's machinations are the subject of speculations and accusations. The hand of the CIA, real or imagined, is seen everywhere. And the long history of 20th-century U.S. intervention in the affairs of Caribbean countries is cited as evidence of present-day intrigue.

But when it comes to divining obscure meanings in Washington's words and actions, no country can match Haiti. "Because of the burdens of the past, Haitians cannot imagine the U.S. not being an all-powerful player," said an economist here.

Haitians from the slums to the national palace say that if the United States truly wanted Aristide to return, he would have done so long ago. Last week, when conservative economist Marc Bazin, who is an arch-rival of Aristide's, was ratified by Par-

liament as prime minister, Haitians of practically every political persuasion agreed that he was Washington's pick. This was despite the fact that U.S. diplomats were making little secret of their dislike for Bazin and State Department spokesmen were on record opposing his selection.

Likewise, when Vice President Quayle traveled to Haiti before Aristide's overthrow last year to say the United States was opposed to any coups against the democratically elected government, many Haitians smiled knowingly. The United States, they said, never meant what it said.

After the coup, when the United States slapped Haiti with a trade embargo, many Haitians professed bewilderment. "The United States is acting for some obscure or strange reason which I cannot understand," said Bissainthe. "Fifty percent of the American attitude is a mystery to me."

Frustrated U.S. officials say they have had trouble convincing Haitians that Washington means business. "It's absolutely maddening," said one official. "You can talk and scream yourself blue in the face making point 'X' and then the next day it comes back to you that what you really meant was 'Y.'"

Throughout the world, it is common practice to ascribe dark motives to U.S. foreign policy, but in Haiti the practice often borders on the bizarre. For decades, many Haitians have believed that the United States was angling to establish a naval base at Mole St. Nicolas, a port town on Haiti's northwestern tip. They said the U.S. Navy was planning to shut down its base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba to make the move to Haiti.

That widespread belief can be traced to the U.S. Marine occupation that began during World War I, when American military strategists did worry about the Germans using the port. But that the conviction has endured to this day underscores the depth of Haitian mistrust of the United States.

The ill feelings toward the United States were born in the 19th century, in the decades after Haiti won its independence in 1804 from France in a bloody slave uprising that defeated Napoleon's armies. The United States, fearing the example set by a black slave revolt for its own slaves in the South, refused to recognize the fledgling state—the first independent black republic in the world. That policy lasted six decades until Abraham Lincoln's presidency.

The Marines who moved into Haiti in 1915 stayed until 1934, leaving behind improved public health and transportation systems but also wounded national dignity and an aftertaste of overt racism.

The Marines' most obvious legacy was the Haitian army, which during the occupation was called the Haitian Guard and was run by American officers. In a society with few functioning civil institutions, the army rapidly became the pivotal power broker, installing and toppling presidents regularly after the Marines departed. Since the army was a creation of the Marines, most Haitians assumed that it was doing the bidding of the United States.

When the Duvalier family held Haiti in its grip for three decades, many Haitians saw the sustaining influence of Washington in the dictatorship's longevity, despite the reality of on-again, off-again support.

More recently, few Haitians have forgotten that in 1990, a military ruler under popular pressure to quit was persuaded to do so in a predawn talk with U.S. Ambassador Alvin P. Adams. The ruler, Gen. Prosper Avril, was hustled to the airport and flew off in a U.S. military aircraft.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

By John M. Goshko and Trevor Rowe
Washington Post Staff Writers

The Bush administration has decided to take part in a large-scale airlift of food and humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo, the beleaguered capital of Bosnia-Herzegovina, if a cease-fire permits the reopening of the city's airport, U.S. officials said yesterday.

However, the officials stressed, before the airlift can be mounted, there must be a durable cease-fire among all feuding factions in strife-torn Bosnia, the airport must be able to function in a manner that will allow planes to take off and land safely, and the United States must have a formal request for help from the United Nations.

According to the officials, the United States is discussing how to solve the logistical and operational problems of such an airlift with its European allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. At this point, they said, the focus is on determining what

aircraft and supplies different countries can contribute. They added that no decisions have been made about how many planes and how much aid will be involved.

The officials said the U.S. decision was in line with statements by administration officials last week that the United States was prepared to join multilateral efforts to implement a U.N. Security Council vote to try to reopen the airport and permit supplies to reach the city's starving residents, who have been under siege for weeks by Serb irregulars fighting against Bosnian independence.

Last Thursday, Ralph Johnson, a deputy assistant secretary of state who has acted as a special envoy to the factions in Yugoslavia's civil war, told a Senate subcommittee, "While we have ruled out unilateral U.S. military action, we are prepared to cooperate with future multilateral efforts to

See AIRLIFT, A33, Col. 1

U.S. Agrees Conditionally to Participate in Sarajevo Airlift

U.S. Agrees to Take Part in Sarajevo Airlift

AIRLIFT, From A27

Keep the peace and preserve cease-fire agreements when they are reached."

However, prior to yesterday, U.S. officials were unwilling to specify what form U.S. efforts would take, and senior Pentagon officials, in particular, were known to be very reluctant to get involved in any activities that might lead to a direct combat role for U.S. forces.

U.S. officials and other diplomatic sources said that if the tenuous cease-fire now in effect in Sarajevo holds and other conditions are met, the airlift could begin next week, possibly as early as Monday. But they cautioned that a number of factors could upset this timetable.

First, they said, the cease-fire must remain firm before the U.N. dispatches 850 Canadian peacekeepers—the main element of approximately 1,100 troops that it

wants to send to the Sarajevo area—to secure the airport. That would include inducing the Serb irregulars besieging Sarajevo's largely Slavic Muslim population to reposition the antiaircraft guns and heavy artillery they have massed at the airport and on the surrounding hills so the U.N. forces could guard against their being used in a new outbreak of fighting.

Sixty U.N. military observers arrived in Sarajevo yesterday to bolster a contingent that arrived last week to begin these tasks, Post correspondent Blaine Harden reported from the Bosnian capital. He said the U.N. observers hope that today the Serb forces will begin moving their antiaircraft guns four miles back from the airport perimeter and collect other artillery pieces in areas where they can be monitored. But there was some shelling late last night in the city, Harden reported.

If these problems are resolved,

U.N. technicians accompanying the peace-keeping forces then would have to make the airport serviceable, and corridors for carrying supplies from the airport into the city would have to be negotiated through the lines controlled by the Serb irregulars. One Western diplomat said these tasks are so delicate that "any crazy with a hand grenade could disrupt it."

In a related development, President Sali Berisha of Albania, one of Yugoslavia's neighbors, said here that if Serbia attacks Albanian residents of Kosovo, an enclave in Serbia—one of two republics left in the now fractured Yugoslav federation—NATO should intervene militarily to protect the Albanians.

In an interview with editors and reporters of The Washington Post, Berisha said he had stressed that view during a White House meeting with President Bush on Monday. He said Bush had made no commitment but had "listened carefully."



A 50-truck convoy of U.N. peace-keeping troops carrying aid leaves Belgrade for Sarajevo.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992



BY MARGARET THOMAS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Presidents Bush and Yeltsin applaud each other after announcing the most drastic arms reductions of the nuclear age.

Bush, Yeltsin Agree on Massive Nuclear Cuts

All Multiple-Warhead ICBMs to Be Eliminated

By Don Oberdorfer
and R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin agreed yesterday to the most drastic arms cuts of the nuclear age, which will reduce U.S. and Russian long-range nuclear weapons over the next 11 years to about one-third of current levels and eliminate all the silo-based Russian missiles that had most concerned the United States.

The reductions, negotiated over several months, go well beyond those reached in nine years of bargaining over the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) signed last year.

Standing side-by-side in the White House Rose Garden, the two presidents attributed their ability to negotiate such an epochal new accord so quickly to a fundamentally new relationship between the former Cold War adversaries, which

have now proclaimed themselves friends.

Bush also announced that he is sending former U.S. ambassador Malcolm Toon to Moscow to pursue a statement by Yeltsin that some missing Americans from the Vietnam War and other conflicts may have been taken to the Soviet Union.

Bush said the Russian leader had told him there may be information in Soviet archives about some U.S. servicemen missing from Vietnam. But asked if any of the Americans may still be alive, Bush said he had been given "no evidence" of this. [Details on Page A30.]

The arms accord was based on five months of negotiations by Secretary of State James A. Baker III and Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev and their experts, but it was only yesterday morning at the White House that Yeltsin made an important suggestion that was essential to the deal, according to

U.S. officials. It was there, they said, that Yeltsin proposed the two sides agree to inexact totals for their nuclear arsenals, so that by the year 2003, for example, they would have a range of 3,000 to 3,500 nuclear warheads rather than a more precise limit.

U.S. negotiators had made it clear they intended to retain 3,500 warheads for deterrence against foreign threats, while Russian negotiators wanted to cut more deeply. As a result of Yeltsin's suggestion, the two nations agreed in advance to accept different limitations on the same weapons, marking a first in the decades-long history of arms control.

"We are departing from the ominous parity where each country was exerting every effort to stay in line," Yeltsin declared in announcing the accord. With half its population living below the poverty line,

See SUMMIT, A30, Col. 1



U.S., Russia Agree to Reduce Nuclear Arsenals by Two-Thirds in Next Decade

SUMMIT, From A1

Russia "cannot afford" the previous policy and is now embarked on a drive for a "minimum security level" to deal with any possible eventuality, the Russian leader said.

Bush also announced that he and Yeltsin had agreed to let their experts try to work out a mutually acceptable "concept" for a global system capable of protecting against limited missile attack. The United States has been pursuing such a system since 1983 under the Pentagon's Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars," program, but Moscow has repeatedly opposed U.S. plans to station anti-missile weapons in space.

Yeltsin did not mention the anti-missile accord in his appearance with Bush, and a senior U.S. official acknowledged that the Russians had not agreed in the meetings to amend the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty, which sharply limits space weapon deployments. The official, speaking on condition that he not be identified, said "we clearly have in mind, and made very clear to them" that the United States still desires such changes.

Bush said that as an interim step, the experts would develop a plan for sharing warning data on missile launches. Since last December when the Soviet Union was dissolved and broken into multiple states, military leaders in Moscow have been denied reliable warning of potentially threatening missile

launches once provided by giant radars deployed in outlying former republics.

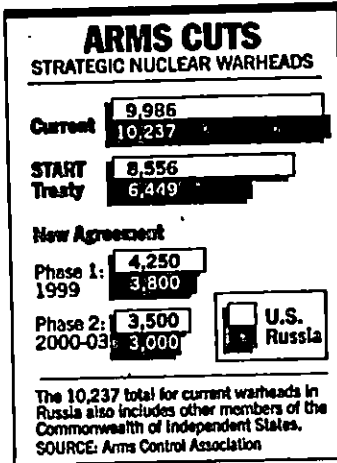
At a full-scale ceremonial welcome for Yeltsin yesterday morning on the South Lawn of the White House, the two leaders proclaimed this to be a pivotal moment for both the United States and Russia, whose rivalry has held the world in thrall and in fear since the end of World War II.

With the accession of a democratically elected leader of a democratic Russia, declared Bush, "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."

He went on to compare Yeltsin with Peter the Great, the most famous of Russia's reformist czars, and said the future of democracy in Russia and the other new nations of the former Soviet Union is "the most important foreign policy issue of our time."

Yeltsin, in turn, asserted that "the time when our two nations viewed each other with suspicion and even animosity is behind us . . . It is our goal today to bring Russia back to normalcy, restore it to the values and the fundamentals which have evolved in the course of human history."

Neither leader mentioned Yeltsin's predecessor, Mikhail Gorbachev, whose negotiations with U.S. presidents relieved much of the ten-



sion from the Cold War and who proclaimed at the Malta summit with Bush in December 1989 that the two nations were no longer enemies.

In the final decade of the communist era in Moscow, the United States and Soviet Union painstakingly negotiated the first substantial cuts in long-range nuclear arsenals. As a result of nine years of bargaining, Bush and Gorbachev agreed last July in the still-unratified START Treaty to reduce the two nuclear arsenals from about 10,000 warheads each to about 8,500 warheads for the United States and 6,500 warheads for the Soviet Union over the next seven years.

Yesterday's accord for far deeper cuts arose from proposals by Bush in

his State of the Union address Jan. 28 to cut the two arsenals to 4,700 warheads over seven years, and Yeltsin's proposal the following day for cuts to between 2,000 and 2,500 warheads with no time period given.

The compromise announced yesterday involves a pledge by both sides to make a steeper overall cut in warheads, including those deployed on submarines, than Washington initially wanted. Russia, in turn, agreed to trim more warheads on land-based missiles than it had wanted.

The result is that the United States would by 1999 have 4,250 strategic warheads, while Russia would have 3,800 warheads, according to a senior U.S. official, with each side being able to determine its own mix of weapons within specified sublimits on land-based and sea-based weapons.

By 2003, under the accord, the United States would have 3,500 warheads while Russia would have 3,000. By then, all silo-based multiple-warhead weapons, the heart of the existing Russian arsenal, would have to be eliminated. The United States would have to reduce its submarine-based weapons to 1,750 warheads, a cut of more than half from current levels.

U.S. officials said Baker and Kozyrev made little progress in negotiations in Moscow and Brussels earlier this year, but began to move toward compromise late last month in Lisbon. After a disappointing round of talks early last week in Washington, important progress was made in

London last Saturday, officials said. But it was only Monday night, in a State Department meeting after the Russian party arrived for the summit, that Baker and Kozyrev were able to agree on such technical questions as rules for counting bomber-based weapons and reductions in the number of warheads carried by existing missiles.

The mutual pledge to eliminate all multiple-warhead intercontinental ballistic missiles (ICBMs)—including the 10-warhead Russian SS-18 and SS-24, the U.S. MX (Peacekeeper) and the current version of the U.S. Minuteman III—effectively repairs what conservative experts have maintained was the central defect of every U.S.-Soviet strategic arms control deal of the past 20 years.

Neither the 1972 SALT I Treaty, the 1979 SALT II Treaty nor the 1991 START Treaty substantially limited the ability of each side to use just one of these highly accurate missiles to destroy multiple targets on the other's territory after being launched from a silo that is itself highly vulnerable to attack.

To strategists who pondered the possible steps of nuclear conflict, the missiles' twin features of effectiveness and vulnerability made them ideal weapons for early use in a crisis. They said deployment of such arms gave each side a "hair trigger" or "first strike" posture.

In negotiating deeper cuts, the Bush administration received some criticism from liberal or moderate U.S. arms experts for refusing to

budge on its demand that the SS-18 and the SS-24, a less capable 10-warhead Russian missile, be wiped out. But after the accord was announced yesterday, Dunbar Lockwood of the Arms Control Association called it "a major breakthrough, a dramatic step in the right direction."

"Nuclear theologians who have long imagined the unimaginable—that any country would see a military advantage in starting a global thermonuclear war—can finally sleep soundly," said a Senate arms control expert.

Yeltsin had indicated at a public meeting with military leaders in Moscow last week that he would not accept U.S. demands that Russia eliminate its land-based multiple-warhead missiles and accused Bush of seeking "a more advantageous position" in the talks. Asked yesterday why Yeltsin had shifted his stand so quickly, Russian spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov said: "The audience changed. Last week, the president was speaking with military people. Today, he was speaking with politicians."

Kostakov said Yeltsin told Bush that "as a gesture of goodwill to the United States, Russia is already taking off military duty" its SS-18s. But he did not specify a timetable or make clear whether all such missiles would be affected.

Staff writers Michael Dobbs and Bill McAllister contributed to this report.

Baker Offers Reassurances After Court Kidnap Ruling

Foreign Governments Condemn U.S. Abduction Decision

By Sharon LaFraniere
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State James A. Baker III yesterday offered reassurances that the United States respects the sovereignty of foreign governments, despite a Supreme Court ruling Monday allowing U.S. kidnappings of criminal suspects in foreign countries, even those with whom it has an extradition treaty.

Baker's promises that the United States would carefully weigh foreign policy considerations before abducting anyone from foreign soil came as foreign governments around the world harshly denounced the court's ruling.

The Associated Press quoted a spokesman for the Canadian government as saying: "Any attempt by a foreign official to abduct someone from Canadian territory is a criminal act." Juerg Kistler, the Swiss Justice Ministry spokesman, told the news service: "Imagine where it would lead if every country would do that. You would have anarchy."

The Supreme Court's decision came in the case of Humberto Alvarez-Machain, a Mexican doctor accused of participating in the 1985 kidnapping and murder of a U.S. drug enforcement agent. After failing to gain custody of the suspect through informal negotiations with Mexico, the U.S. Drug Enforcement Agency paid intermediaries \$20,000 to kidnap Alvarez-Machain and transport him to Texas.

In a 6 to 3 decision, the court upheld the legality of such kidnappings, despite the objection of a foreign government, as long as kidnappings are not specifically banned in an extradition treaty. U.S. officials have said that none of the 103 extradition treaties, many of which were recently renegotiated, appear to ban kidnapping.

Within hours of the opinion's release, Mexico announced that it was essentially severing all cooperation between the two

countries on drug investigations. But yesterday, after receiving assurances from the Bush administration, Mexico temporarily agreed to continue cooperation in the war on drugs, Associated Press reported.

During a photo session yesterday, Baker said he believes that despite Mexico's protests it will continue its "excellent" cooperation in drug cases. Attorney General William P. Barr referred reporters to an earlier statement in which he said the United States would use its "snatch" authority "only in the most compelling circumstances."

Robert S. Ross Jr., former head of the Justice Department's Office of International Affairs, said he expects such occasions will be very rare. "This sort of thing has got to be a tool of official law enforcement when you have officially sanctioned terrorism or drug trafficking," he said, but added: "It's not in the foreign policy interest of the U.S. to go willy-nilly around the world grabbing people."

But numerous international law experts in the United States said the decision opens the door to "snatch-and-grab" operations certain to infuriate foreign governments. Barry E. Carter, an international law professor at Georgetown University, said: "The principle that the court accepted in this decision essentially lets the law of the jungle apply. Is the Supreme Court saying it's okay for the Iranians to come into the U.S. and seize citizens off the streets?"

Ruth G. Wedgwood, an associate professor of international law at Yale University, said: "It's hard to have your cake and eat it too. If you are going to ask people to cooperate with you in enforcing criminal law, and at the same time stick your finger in their eye by intruding on their territory, that's not going to last."

"The question the attorney general needs to answer is, 'What's he going to do to keep this from getting out of hand?'"

Staff writer John Wagner contributed to this report.

North May Run for Senate In Va., Goldman Says

Iran-Contra Figure Enlarges Political Role

By Donald P. Baker
Washington Post Staff Writer

RICHMOND, June 16—With former Marine Lt. Col. Oliver L. North taking an increasingly active role in Virginia Republican politics, Democratic state party chairman Paul Goldman said today he believes North is preparing to run for statewide office.

The most likely goal of a North candidacy would be the U.S. Senate seat now occupied by Democrat Charles S. Robb, who is the target of a federal grand jury investigation.

A poll conducted June 6-8 by Mason Dixon Political-Media Research, of Columbia, placed Robb's approval rating at 19 percent, an all-time low for a Virginia politician and the lowest among 32 senators in 16 Southern and border states.

In matchups for the 1994 Senate race, the poll showed Robb losing to Gov. L. Douglas Wilder in a Democratic primary, and in the general election to Republicans North, former U.S. senator Paul S. Trible and two-time gubernatorial nominee J. Marshall Coleman.

North insists that he has no plans to seek public office. But the latest speculation about his political aspirations was triggered by a "Dear Friend of Freedom" letter North sent to 25,000 Republicans, seeking contributions for this fall's congressional races.

North, now a resident of Clarke County, compared the state's Democrats—they hold all three statewide offices, control both houses of the legislature and have six of the state's 10 House seats and one of its two Senate seats—to Third World dictators.

"I have been involved in America's struggle against dictators and the tyranny of one-party rule," North wrote. "When I retired from ... the Marines, I thought these battles were behind me. I was wrong. Sadly, I know of a place [Virginia] where more than six million people live in virtual bondage to tyrannical government."

Goldman accused North of using tactics similar to those in his days as a White House aide, when he "rose to prominence by circumventing the Constitution and by intentionally misleading the president ... the Congress ... and the people of the United States."

As with his role in the Iran-Contra guns-for-hostages deal, North "continues his tradition of misleading the public about the truth on important matters," Goldman said.

Goldman predicted that North "will find that his misleading politics will not work in Virginia because he will not fool the broad body of Virginia voters."

North, in the fund-raising appeal, pointed out that his convictions were overturned last year when he was "finally exonerated in my five and one-half year struggle against Congress, the congressional special prosecutor and the liberal media elites."

In the three-page letter, North repeated rhetoric he used at the state Republican convention in Salem last month, where he received louder cheers than any party leader by denouncing the governor as "King Douglas, the Wilder."

In the letter, he said: "It made my blood boil when Governor Wilder betrayed Virginia's families by refusing to support parental noti-



OLIVER L. NORTH
... says he has no plans to seek office



PAUL GOLDMAN
... says North "misleading the public"

fication [Wilder vetoed that anti-abortion legislation] and then pushed the distribution of condoms to Virginia's schoolchildren."

A spokeswoman for Wilder, who is on a trade mission to Africa, said the governor has not taken a position on distributing condoms in schools.

Electricity of Gorbachev's Visits Absent

U.S. Ho-Hum Attitude Complicates Yeltsin's Task of Proving Relevance

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Staff Writer

The president of the United States called the president of Russia "my friend." Mellifluous phrases like "the end of the nuclear nightmare" and "the bastions of communism exist no more" rolled across the South Lawn of the White House. Children waved Russian and American flags.

But something still seemed to be missing.

For a capital that virtually ground to a halt whenever Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was in town, Washington seemed strangely somnolent yesterday as it played host to the man who personifies the second Russian revolution: Boris Yeltsin.

There was no mass outpouring of public affection for the visitor from Moscow, no shouts of "Yeltsin for World Leader," no lunch-time pandemonium as the Russian president jumped out of his motorcade. In short, there was little of the political electricity that characterized Gorbachev's visits here in 1987 and 1990.

Yeltsin may be infinitely more popular in Russia than Gorbachev, enjoying a charismatic relationship with his people that the last president of the Soviet Union never achieved. But the relatively muted popular response here to Yeltsin's first formal summit meeting with President Bush suggests that he has been much less successful than his now retired rival in capturing the imagination of the American public.

The ho-hum attitude to Russia's new leader is partly a reflection of the fact that his country is now viewed by many Americans as a potential friend rather than a mortal enemy. When Gorbachev arrived in Washington for the first time in December 1987, he came as the leader of a superpower with thousands of nuclear warheads aimed at American cities.

"If you have been living with a nuclear gun pointed at your head for decades, then the guy who removes that gun is going to look like a hero to you," said

Dmitri Simes, a Russian expert with the Carnegie Endowment, who has met both Yeltsin and Gorbachev in recent months. "Gorbachev presided over the end of the Soviet empire, the collapse of totalitarianism. It was very easy to explain to Americans why all this affected their lives.

"Yeltsin has a much more difficult task. He has to persuade Americans that a country that no longer threatens them is still relevant to them," Simes said.

"The infatuation with Gorbachev had very little to do with Gorbachev himself," added Melor Sturua, a former commentator for the Soviet government newspaper Izvestia now on leave to teach at Harvard University. "Americans invested a lot of their own hopes in him. He became a symbol of the new world order that they desperately wanted to achieve."

Yeltsin has moved much more vigorously than Gorbachev in slashing Russia's offensive military potential. An elected leader, he has gone much further than Gorbachev in embracing Western-style democratic values. Paradoxically, however, he seems to have a more threatening public image than Gorbachev.

"People here thought they could understand Gorbachev, he was more their type," said Yuri Olkhovsky, a Sovietologist at George Washington University, as he waited to watch Yeltsin arrive for yesterday's welcoming ceremony at the White House. "He is the kind of person you could invite to tea and have a civilized conversation with. Yeltsin is a rougher kind of fellow. He comes from Siberia. People fear him."

"Gorbachev comes across as sincere, friendly, almost cuddly," said Sturua. "You felt he wouldn't bite you. He was the antithesis to the traditional kind of fearsome Russian leader. People abroad liked him because he represented a defeated and humiliated Soviet Union."

"Yeltsin, on the other hand, looks like a typical Russian bear. He is a strong leader who represents the new Russia, a Russia that could one day once again compete with the United States," Sturua added.

Until now, Yeltsin has also been noticeably less suc-



Russian President Yeltsin is accompanied by Defense Secretary Cheney as he places wreath at Tomb of the Unknowns.

cessful than Gorbachev in using the U.S. news media to get his message across to the American people. When the former Soviet president visited a foreign capital, he was preceded by a small army of foreign policy aides and Communist Party officials with an intimate knowledge of the country he was visiting. In the Yeltsin camp, one sometimes gets the impression that confusion reigns.

"Compare the Yeltsin operation with the Gorbachev operation. Gorbachev spoke too long and often did clumsy things. But he was surrounded by some very professional and effective people. When Gorbachev came to a meeting, they had thought about all the main themes in advance. Where are Yeltsin's spin doctors? With a few exceptions, he does not have highly trained people," said Simes.

The lack of attention paid by Yeltsin to his public

image in the West was reflected in his lack of a press secretary for three months this year after the former spokesman walked out in disgust. A new press spokesman, Vyacheslav Kostikov, was finally appointed in time for the summit and is struggling to keep his head above water.

Asked in Moscow whether Yeltsin would be meeting Ross Perot during the summit, Kostikov responded with a blank look. "Who's he?" he said.

Told that Perot was now considered to be a leading contender in this year's presidential election, he asked, "Does that mean he is in opposition to President Bush?"

It is difficult to imagine Gennady Gerasimov—the first of a long string of smooth-talking, English-speaking spokesmen for Gorbachev—making the same mistake.

U.S. Baffled by Yeltsin's POW Disclosure; Bush Orders Follow-Up

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

U.S. officials yesterday reacted with bafflement and curiosity to Russian President Boris Yeltsin's disclosure that U.S. servicemen captured in the Vietnam War may have been secretly held in the Soviet Union.

The possibility that U.S. soldiers were taken to the Soviet Union—and may even still be alive—“does not square with what we thought we knew,” said retired Army Gen. John W. Vessey Jr., special presidential envoy to Vietnam for POW/MIAs. “It's absolutely new information.”

Yeltsin made the disclosure in an interview with NBC News Monday and apparently reiterated it yesterday in a meeting with President Bush at the White House. Yeltsin has yet to offer any evidence for the claim, and following Monday's news report, the senior Russian member of a joint U.S.-Soviet commission on POW-MIA issues expressed some surprise at the Russian president's remarks.

Nevertheless, while administration officials were skeptical, Bush yesterday promised to dispatch “immediately” to Moscow members of the U.S.-Russian commission to follow up Yeltsin's tip.

Yeltsin's comments to Bush followed a remarkable series of disclosures from the Russian president, not just about possible Soviet complicity in the disappearance of U.S. servicemen in Vietnam, but throughout the Cold War. Last week, Yeltsin said in a letter to the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs that the Soviets had kept 12 Americans shot down on spy missions over Soviet territory in the 1950s in prisons and psychiatric hospitals.

Pete Williams, the Pentagon's



POW/MIA panel Chairman John F. Kerry is flanked by Sens. Harry Reid, left, and Charles R. Grassley after hearing.

chief spokesman, yesterday acknowledged that some aircraft were lost over Soviet territory during that period in previously undisclosed incidents. He said, however, that the U.S. government is still not clear about which downings the Russian president was referring to in his letter and does not have the names of any of those held.

“We are asking now for more information from the Russian side, so that we can try to correlate whatever information they may have with information that we have,” Williams said.

Of particular interest to the Pentagon, Williams said, was another

report reaching the U.S. government several days ago through undisclosed channels that an American serviceman from the Korean War may still be alive in Russia. Williams said the report was being investigated but declined to name the soldier or provide any details about his purported whereabouts.

Administration officials have for the most part discounted persistent rumors that U.S. soldiers may have been held in Vietnam or the Soviet Union for years after the end of the war. But the issue has been kept alive by some POW-MIA advocates, several of whom have already seized on Yeltsin's disclosure as a

vindication of their long-held belief that the U.S. government ignored or suppressed evidence that American prisoners may still be alive.

“This is what we've been fighting for,” said Dolores Apodaca-Alfondo, chairman of the National Alliance of Families and sister of an Air Force major who disappeared along with his F-4 fighter June 8, 1967. “Now we want to see the whites of their eyes. We want to see American POWs on American soil.”

A more cautious note was sounded by Ann Mills Griffiths, executive director of the National League of Families of American Prisoners and Missing in Southeast

MISSING IN ACTION

U.S. GOVERNMENT ESTIMATES

War	Number MIAs
Vietnam	2,266
Korea	8,000
World War II	78,000

SOURCE: News reports

Asia. “My concern is this could easily mislead people,” she said. “We all are waiting anxiously to hear clarification and determine what this information really pertains to.”

Yeltsin first acknowledged the possibility of a Soviet role in the POW-MIA mystery in an interview with NBC News on his flight here Monday. But because the information had not been included in his letter last week to the Senate committee, many U.S. officials were inclined to dismiss his comments as the result of a misunderstood question or translation problem.

But Yeltsin apparently reiterated his statement on the Vietnam POWs during his meeting with Bush at the White House yesterday. “President Yeltsin informed me for the first time that Russia may have information about the fate of some of our servicemen from Vietnam,” Bush said at a news conference.

Bush declined to offer any details of his conversation with Yeltsin on the missing soldiers, saying only, “He has told me he will go the last mile to find whatever it is that exists about our possible . . . American POWs and MIAs.”

Bush said he had asked the U.S. co-chairman of the Russian-U.S. commission on POW-MIAs, Malcolm Toon, to “return immediately to Moscow to work on this issue.”

The confusion over the fate of the American POWs in Russia reflected the protracted and tortuous process of declassifying hundreds of millions of formerly top-secret documents in archives belonging to the Soviet Communist Party and KGB security police. While Yeltsin administration officials have made a number of startling allegations, including a claim that the former Soviet regime had widespread contacts with terrorists, release of documents has been partial and very selective.

Establishing what happened to every person who passed through the system of Stalinist prison camps, known as the gulag, is virtually impossible, given the huge numbers involved and the lack of computer records. Russian presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov told reporters yesterday that a start had been made on identifying individual graves of U.S. servicemen.

Perot Changes His Mind, Will Not Testify on MIAs

Associated Press

Ross Perot, citing fears of a “political circus,” changed his mind and will not testify before a Senate committee later this month on the plight of missing U.S. servicemen from the Vietnam War.

“Under normal circumstances, my public appearance before your committee restating this information would be simply a formality,” Perot wrote the committee yesterday. “In the current political climate it could become a rerun Judge Thomas-Anita Hill hearings.”

The Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs met in closed session after learning of Perot's decision and decided not to subpoena the undeclared presidential candidate.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Sister Souljah Raps Clinton

Rapper Sister Souljah came back at Bill Clinton with both barrels yesterday, charging the presidential candidate with hypocrisy.



Bill Clinton:
Found lacking.

"Bill Clinton lacks integrity, and paints himself as a staunch patriot, a people's servant, a compassionate liberal, a family man, a pro-woman candidate," the singer said at an intense 45-minute press conference in New York. "He lacks integrity in all of those areas."

The flap started during the weekend when Clinton surprised a Rainbow Coalition conference by criticizing the performer for speaking words of racial "hatred" and repeated her comment to The Washington Post that "if black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?"

Since the Los Angeles riots, Souljah has appointed herself a spokesman for young angry blacks and has managed to grab more than just a rap musician's share of the national limelight. Yesterday, she was at full throttle, warning: "Clinton made a critical error when he attacked me. I am not Murphy Brown. I am ready to defend myself."

She even compared herself to Willie Horton.

"Sister Souljah was used as a vehicle, like Willie Horton and various other black victims of racism. A poor excuse for an



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

Sister Souljah: And another thing...

agenda-less candidate," said Souljah, suggesting the statements were made to keep Jesse Jackson at bay.

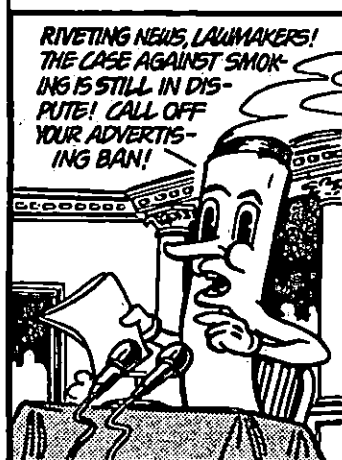
Clinton, responding in L.A., dismissed the notion that his remarks were racially motivated: "I grew up in a segregated society and I have devoted my public life to trying to overcome feelings of prejudice."

"My contention, however, is that it is never right... to say that there are no good people of another race, that blacks should go kill whites.... That is wrong."

But Souljah held firm: "It is shocking to me that with the recession, the inner-city decay, that Bill Clinton would attack... an African American woman who is alcohol-free, drug-free and self-employed."

By G.B. Trudeau

DOONESBURY



WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

■ House honchos are already wringing their hands over the possibility of having to decide the presidential election in the event of a three-way draw. Speaker Tom Foley has urged Rep. Don Edwards, chairman of the subcommittee on civil and constitutional rights, and Rep. Martin Frost, who prepared a memo on this subject 10 years ago, to stay very current on the constitutional issues and rules involved.

■ Tongues just wag, wag, wag at "PrimeTime Live" every time aggressive Executive Producer Rick Kaplan brags about his close relationship with candidate Bill Clinton. And they haven't forgotten that when push came to shove, Mr.



Barbara Cartland:
Why, I ought to...

Rick couldn't produce Clinton for the show way back in the days of Ms. Flowers. ■ British pop novelist Barbara Cartland is ticked off at first novelist Robert Harris, who she says defamed her in his hot "Fatherland" when he wrote that she penned a novel called "The Kaiser's Ball." "I never wrote anything called that," she told the Independent.

"I lost both my brothers at Dunkirk, and I don't think it's funny. . . . If they're inferring I'd have anything to do with the Nazis, I'll sue."



If "doing lunch" involves opening a can, you're probably a Plugger.

■ Pulitzer-winning cartoonist Jeff MacNelly, Pulitzer-winning photog David Kennerly and former Time Warner bigwig Nick Nicholas have teamed up to launch "Pluggers," a cartoon feature, to debut in January. Best we can tell, a "plugger" is someone who just keeps pushing along against life's forces.

■ Onetime Navy Lt. Ben Bradlee and his wife, writer Sally Quinn, have been cast in Hollywood Pictures' "Born Yesterday" as the secretary of the

Navy and his wife, whose shining celluloid moment comes when she hosts quite the Washington soiree. The studio is donating \$10,000 to Children's Hospital in return for the duo's time on the set, and is considering premiering the flick here as a benefit for the hospital.

■ Natalie Cole has filed for divorce from her husband, music producer and arranger Andre Fisher.

■ Naina Yeltsin will make a rare speaking appearance in the West today when she addresses guests at a fund-raiser for disabled Russian orphans at the National Press Club.



Naina Yeltsin:
Speaking up...

■ Entertainer Ben Vereen's condition was upgraded from critical to serious yesterday, a week after he was hit by a truck as he walked down a Malibu, Calif., highway very early in the morning. A UCLA Medical Center spokesman said Vereen, who suffered severe internal and head injuries and a fractured leg, is still unable to talk but is communicative—mouthing words and gesturing to nurses.

Actress-Photographer Wounded in Sarajevo

■ A onetime highly regarded Broadway actress turned freelance photographer has reportedly been seriously wounded by gunfire while covering the civil war in what was Yugoslavia. Jana Schneider, who has appeared in "Othello," "The Robber Bridegroom" and "The Mystery of Edwin Drood," was hit in the stomach and leg by mortar fire while taking pictures in the Sarajevo suburb of Dobrinja, a sealed-off locale where thousands are reported to be starving.

Schneider apparently sneaked into the area at great risk Monday night—an approach that has become her trademark—despite the heavy shelling in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Schneider, who grew up on a farm in Wisconsin, studied drama, education and journalism. She also has sung professionally, recording for Elektra and Atlantic records. She left the comforts of Broadway for danger, also covering wars in Afghanistan and Sri Lanka. There was no word on her condition last night.



Jana Schneider:
War wounded.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

The TV Column

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

Gov. Bill Clinton will guest on tomorrow night's "Larry King Live" (CNN at 9). During the hour, CNN assures us, "Clinton will answer calls from viewers around the world"....

It'll be via satellite from the governor's mansion in Little Rock, Ark....

The Democratic presidential nominee-to-be appeared for two hours on "CBS This Morning" Monday, during which the program averaged a 2.4 rating and a 12 percent audience share in the Nielsen big-city overnight ratings. That's not much but CBS points out that it's 10 percent better than the 2.2 "CBS This Morning" did the previous Monday....

In Washington, the 7 to 9 a.m. appearance of the Democratic leader attracted a 3.1/15 on CBS affiliate Channel 9....

The CBS ratings weren't so hot, compared with the 5.9/24 overnight rating that undeclared independent candidate Ross Perot compiled for his two hours on the "Today" show last Thursday. But then the CBS morning audience has been undernourished for years compared with its NBC and ABC counterparts....

Each overnight point represents about 431,000 TV homes in the Nielsen 25-market survey so Gov. Clinton was seen in slightly more than 1 million big-city homes; Perot in about 2.5 million....

And it was sure a lot better than President Bush did on CNN's "International Hour" between 3 and 3:30 Monday afternoon....

During his half-hour chat with Frank Sesno, the program averaged a 0.56 rating and a 2 share, representing some 336,000 cable homes in the CNN universe....

Slim as the audience was, it was up from the usual 0.37 rating average for CNN weekday programming between 10 a.m. and 4 p.m....

Canadian John Roberts has been named to replace Charles Osgood as anchor, with Meredith Vieira, of "CBS Morning News"....

No date has been set for Roberts's start, although Osgood stepped down as anchor as of last Friday (the latter, thank goodness, will continue to do his twice-a-week commentaries on the program)....

Roberts has been a correspondent with CTV Canada and anchor of "Canada AM," Canada's highest-rated morning program, since 1990. He worked in 1989 and 1990 at WCIX, the CBS-owned station in Miami before rejoining CTV....

Correspondent John Stehr has been anchoring with Vieira since Osgood's departure....

"Street Stories" anchor Ed Bradley, who interviews prison inmate Mike Tyson on tomorrow night's edition of the CBS News show (WUSA at 9), said yesterday that the former heavyweight champion's "mood changed often" during the late-May interview at a prison outside Indianapolis....

"Sometimes he was very low-key and withdrawn, other times almost ebullient—he almost bubbled over," Bradley said. Often Tyson would give "direct responses" to questions; other times "it was like a pool shot—it would hit three rails before it got to me"....

Bradley said the rare interview was due to the groundwork of correspondent Harold Dow (who did the first network piece on a young Tyson some years ago for CBS) and producer John Hamlin, who covered boxing for CBS Sports....

Bradley said talking Tyson into the interview was not easy, but "once we got his okay, we sort of waltzed by the prison people. The superintendent was very cooperative. He wanted to talk about it first, find out what we intended to do, and he gave permission over the phone"....

Tyson faces at least three years in prison on his six-year sentence for rape, but Bradley said, "He feels his appeal will be heard. My bet is he's still adjusting to prison"....

CBS News, meanwhile, leaving no publicity pebble unturned, disclosed in a handout yesterday that Tyson "reads a lot in prison, studying for his high school equivalency degree. Among the books he's planning to peruse is CBS News Chief Middle East Correspondent Bob Simon's recently published 'Forty Days,' an account of the newsman's captivity by the Iraqis during the Persian Gulf war, which was given to him by his appeal lawyer, Alan Dershowitz." The book is reviewed today on Page B2....

Tower Troubles (Cont'd)

Repairs on the 800-foot-plus transmission tower out at Channel 20 continue....

WDCA and the two public TV stations with which it shares the tower were all off the air both Monday and yesterday between noon and 4 p.m. There's a chance the three stations will get a break this afternoon and remain on the air, but repairs are expected to resume tomorrow, black-

ing out the stations for four hours once again, starting at noon. Still nothing definite on when the repairs will end....

Have You Got Your Pearles On?

CBS's summer series "Grapevine" debuted Monday night with an 11.8 national Nielsen rating and a 20 share....

The network, always on the lookout for a new surprise summertime hit, à la "Northern Exposure," said that's better than "Exposure's" debut 9.2/17 (on 7/12/90) and "Top Cops" 8.8/17 (on 7/18/90)....

Needless to say, CBS won the night but then it always wins Monday night these days....

NBC was second as a repeat of "Darkman" averaged a 10.6/19; ABC was third as Part II of "Scrupes" did a 9.1/16....

In Washington, "Grapevine," which Captain Airwaves rather liked once he caught on to it, did an 11.5/19 on WUSA....

Also in Washington Monday, "Scrupes" did an 11.3/19 on WJLA; "Darkman" did a 10.3/17 on WRC; while the Orioles and Indians did a 3.5/6 on WDCA....

Each local ratingzzz point is worth 18,199 TV homes....

Public TV had a couple of interesting entries. Part I of the three-part "The Glory and the Power: Fundamentalisms Observed" averaged a 2.5/4 in Nielsen's 25 big-city markets. Denver was the most interested, averaging a 4.3/8; Charlotte, N.C., as usual, seemed barely awake, averaging a 1.0/2. WETA did a 2.6/4....

"Color Adjustment," the "P.O.V." entry looking off a fifth season, dealt with the changing image of African Americans on TV. It debuted in 14 major markets in primetime Monday night, averaging a 2.0/4. Portland, Ore., was tops with a 3.9/8; Charlotte did an 0.5/1. WETA audiences produced only a 1.8/3....

A spokesman for PBS said yesterday the network expects "good carriage" of the 90-minute "Color Adjustment," as many stations saved it for the weekend or were unable to air it in primetime on Monday....

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network primetime shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 17.2	30	ABC
2 16.6	28	NBC
3 16.0	29	NBC
4 15.2	27	CBS
5 15.1	26	ABC
6 15.0	28	ABC
7 14.7	29	NBC
8 13.9	28	NBC
9 13.5	29	CBS
10 13.4	24	NBC
11 12.5	26	ABC
12 12.5	22	NBC
13 12.4	24	ABC
14 12.2	22	ABC
15 12.1	21	CBS
16 12.0	22	CBS
17 11.8	22	ABC
18 11.8	21	CBS
19 11.6	23	NBC
20 11.4	19	CBS

NBC, unfortunately, couldn't resist: In announcing its primetime win last week the network confessed to being "bullish on the NBA." As well it might be, since four NBA programs finished in the Top 10, and the six games of the series—despite some gloomy forecasts because of the presence of small-market Portland—averaged a 14.2/27 overall, fifth among all previous NBA Final series....

For the week, NBC averaged a 10.8/21, compared with a 9.6/18 for CBS and an 8.8/17 for ABC. FOX, in 10 hours of primetime, averaged a 5.9/12....

Researchers at CBS said ratings are up 10 percent, the shares up four points, over the same week a year ago for the three big networks....

The paid Clinton for President half-hour on NBC Friday night finished 80th....

In other highlights for the week ending June 14, newsmagazines continued to show some strength, in part because they're mostly original material amid all the reruns....

CBS's "48 Hours" was 21st and NBC News's "Dateline NBC" was 22nd. Continuing with original episodes, "The Torkelsons" on NBC tied for 55th, FOX's "Sightings" was 64th, "America's Most Wanted" tied for 65th....

An original "Young Riders" on ABC tied for 67th. Three Friday night specials on CBS—"Busch Gardens-Sea World Summer Safari," "Guiding Light: The Primetime Special" and "The Secret Lives of Husbands & Wives"—finished 76th, 69th and tied for 70th, respectively....

The "Genesis: Opening Night" special on ABC was 82nd....

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

By David Streitfeld
Washington Post Staff Writer

Pale, blinking and hesitant, Joyce Carol Oates looks as if she had just emerged from a cocoon. Her replies are earnest but otherworldly, often not quite to the point. She falters, apologizes, would rather be talking about something else than her new novel but tries gamely anyway.

She was only writing a story, she keeps saying, just putting words on paper in the same dreamy, haphazard way she always does. She had no real-world agenda, no scores to settle, never thought anyone would

even notice it. She especially says this: The Senator in "Black Water" shouldn't be mistaken for Ted Kennedy. Kelly Kelleher isn't a pseudonym for Mary Jo Kopechne, and this brief tale isn't about Chappaquiddick at all.

This, like a number of things about Joyce Carol Oates, is hard to believe. Even the dust jacket copywriter didn't buy it, paring this American myth down to the barest essentials: "The Senator. The girl. The Fourth of July party on the island. The ride through the night. The accident. The death by water."

That, give or take a detail, was Chappaquiddick, and that is "Black Water."

She was fighting to escape the water, she was clutching at a man's muscular forearm even as he shoved her away, she was clutching at his trousered leg, his foot, his foot in its crepe-soled canvas shoe heavy and crushing upon her striking the side of her head, her left temple so now she did cry out in pain and hurt grabbing at his leg frantically, her fingernails tearing, then at his ankle, his foot, his shoe, the crepe-soled

See OATES, B8, Col. 1

But Not That Senator, Says Author Joyce Carol Oates

Ballad for The Senator's Victim

Oates & The Senator

OATES, From B1

canvas shoe that came off in her hand so she was left behind crying, begging, "Don't leave me!—help me! Wait!"

Oates has been haunted for years—well, since Chappaquiddick 23 years ago—by this image, of a young woman drowning in a submerged car, waiting for a savior who never shows. She wrote notes and notes about the scene, but couldn't go any further. Just the trapped maiden and the car, hurtling through the night to a watery grave. "Very romantic," the writer says during a stopover here on a publicity tour, "and yet somewhat sinister."

Last year, certain events sent her back to the material. There was the William Kennedy Smith rape trial; that got her thinking about the Kennedy family again, and the way the night mystically inclined think of him as cursed. And there was the designation of Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, which signaled the end of an era in civil rights. Finally, there were the Clarence Thomas hearings. These also seemed to confirm an inhospitable climate today for women and women's rights, an era when the men are so firmly in command as ever and often dangerous to boot. That's prime Oates territory: male violence vs. female powerlessness.

The Senator was sobbing now, furious and incredulous and aggrieved, "The girl was drunk, and he got emotional, she grabbed at the wheel and the car swerved off the road and they'll say manslaughter, they'll get me for—"

The Senator is more than dangerous: He's a sleaze. He's driving while drunk, literally swilling even more booze while speeding with elly to the ferry and, once on the mainland, their planned romantic rendezvous. He misses the turnoff, nuds the car into a pond, steps on elly in his panic to keep from owning, refuses to dive back in for it—no power on earth could induce him to return—and then conducts a story that is completely at odds with the truth.

You could even argue that he's a murderer, in the poetic if not legal sense. Not according to Oates, though. "Well, murder! It's just an extreme thing to say. I would never, ever say anything like this. . . . We know what murder is. Murder is premeditated and deliberate. At the very, very most this would be involuntary manslaughter, if you had a prosecutor who would prosecute."

She goes back and forth on this point, however, slipping easily between fiction and reality. "Certainly," she says, "The Senator did behave very badly. I think in real life any people, or even most people

thought that Senator Ted Kennedy himself had behaved very badly following the accident at Chappaquiddick. If I remember correctly he said that he had been in shock for 10 hours and could not therefore report the accident. It seems to be stretching a point. If you believe that, you can believe a lot of things."

Joyce Carol Oates forces one to believe a lot of things. Start with the central mystery: How can one person bring forth so much? Since last fall, she's published "Heat" (a sizable collection of stories), an omnibus collection of 12 plays, and "Snake Eyes" (a psychological thriller written under a nom de plume). Then came "Black Water," admittedly at 154 pages of large type no more than a trifle compared with blockbusters like "Bellefleur" or "A Bloodmoor Romance." In September will appear "Where Is Here?," another short story collection, followed in October by "The Oxford Book of American Short Stories," a massive project edited by Oates.

This probably leaves out a few projects and tasks—Oates teaches at Princeton, for one thing, and has developed with her husband, Raymond, a whole small publishing firm, the Ontario Review Press—but you get the idea: Oates writes novels the way others write short stories, and short stories the way people write notes to their child's school, excusing his absence yesterday. In the last 25 years there have been 20 novels, an equal number of short story collections, and at least a dozen books of other types. No wonder there has been a rumor in the publishing business that there are really two Oateses: Joyce and Carol.

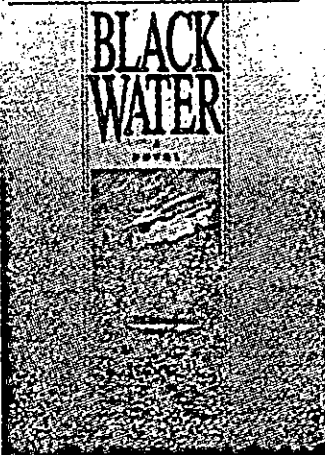
Her output is so voluminous that it's damaged her reputation. Critics grow weary of seeing so much from one person, and perhaps the public does too. Consequently, Oates's major work can be undervalued.

Two years ago she published "Because It Is Bitter, and Because It Is My Heart," the story of a black family and a white family in the 1950s linked by, yes, a murder. It got a National Book Award nomination but only a glancing amount of respect. Sales were unimpressive. It was just another novel from Joyce Carol Oates.

Unsurprisingly, she has often felt herself an isolated figure, misunderstood and misinterpreted. "I've often been writing about women and children, particularly young girls who've been victimized by violence, and yet much of the critical response I received, especially from men, has been quite negative. They seem to think that I shouldn't write about the victims of violence, or I shouldn't write about violence."

Men—who seemed to have been

JOYCE CAROL OATES



Oates: Her prime territory is male violence vs. female powerlessness.

the principal reviewers of "Black Water"—have no such complaints this time. The novel has received prominent and largely positive reviews, even some glowing ones. Richard Eder wrote in the Los Angeles Times that Oates "has written the ballad of Chappaquiddick. She has done it with startling success, without a lapse; giving the particular story we partly know, and partly guess at, a twanging universality."

A ballad is certainly what she was aiming at, one of those English or Scottish tunes of centuries past where a young girl is seduced and abandoned, sometimes even murdered, and her ghost comes back and laments.

The black water was splashing into her mouth, into her nostrils, there was no avoiding it, filling her lungs, and her heart was beating in quick erratic lurches laboring to supply oxygen to her fainting brain where she saw so vividly jagged needles rising like stalagmites—what did it mean? Laughing ruefully to think how many kisses she'd had tasting of beer? wine? whisky? cigarettes? marijuana?

You love the life you've lived, there is no other.

"Black Water," which atypically for Oates has been selling well enough to flirt with the edge of the bestseller list, is thematically of a piece with the rest of her work: It's the song of the victim. The book is even dedicated to them, "for the Kellys," all these young women who are perhaps too idealistic and naive for their own good. They were plentiful in 1969 and no doubt now as well. And the Kellys lead inevitably to the selection of The Senator: handsome, famous, noble in his ideas if perhaps ignoble in his character. A Democrat, for sure.

"I can't quite imagine an intelligent woman looking up to and being romantically involved with a Republican," Oates says. "That sounds very disingenuous, but it would have to be somebody with real liberal ideas

about reforming society. He'd be the kind of man who, after the Los Angeles riots, would be talking very idealistically about bringing the races together and putting money into the ghettos and finding jobs and so forth. So I was really led to somebody very much like Ted Kennedy because Kennedy himself had been a quintessential figure in his own way."

There we are: back at Kennedy again. Oates maintains she never thought people would ask about him or connect this book with Chappaquiddick. She thought the real-life incident had been relegated to the history books. "I'm a person who doesn't watch television and I don't read popular magazines," she explains. "I tend to be very literary, perhaps naive."

So literary, in fact, that on at least one occasion she's been transmuted into fiction herself. A man wrote a story called "How I Killed Joyce Carol Oates," and sent it to her. She thinks it may have even been published somewhere. The plot followed fairly closely from the title: There was a character named Joyce Carol Oates who gets horribly killed.

"Obviously, it was a man who didn't like me," Oates remarks with her customary evenness.

For once, Joyce Carol Oates was the victim. How did it feel?

"It wasn't very well written. I was sad that, if I had to be in a work of fiction, it couldn't be a better one."

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

TV Preview

'Watergate': The Worst and Best of Times

By Tom Shales
Washington Post Staff Writer

What a shameful and exciting episode it was. And it comes back tonight as still one helluva tale in "Watergate: The Secret Story," a two-hour special from CBS News at 9 on Channel 9 that kicks off, more or less officially, the 20th anniversary of the Watergate ordeal.

We should note up top that the program is a CBS News/Post-Newsweek production, and that it in-

cludes some mutual back-patting by CBS and The Washington Post. But fair-minded folk would have to admit the plaudits were earned; for a time there in 1972 and '73, The Post and CBS News were virtually alone in their pursuit of one of the most important news stories of the century.

Nobody seems to be clucking with glee either, or dancing on Richard Nixon's political grave. There are laughs in the show, and, once a dull opening act is over, it zips along

briskly. But there is also an unmistakable melancholy that so terrible a thing could have happened, something that engendered waves of cynicism about government that ripple to this day.

For Nixon himself, who showed such contempt for the trust placed in him and the high office he coveted, one hears less hatred than sympathy and fascination. "If I could have my wish of who I would like to talk to for 10 days, each of us full of

See TV PREVIEW, B9, Col. 1

Watergate Revisited

TV PREVIEW, From B1

truth serum, I would pick Richard Nixon," says Ben Bradlee, executive editor of The Post in the Watergate era.

The gathering of Watergate alumni includes many who worked for Nixon—old Romans convening to mull a Caesar's fall. While CBS recruited an admirable list of participants, the omissions are conspicuous: H.R. Haldeman, G. Gordon Liddy and John Dean among them.

That supermarket-tabloid title—"The Secret Story"—is something of a ruse. You don't really get much information that's both new and pertinent. Anchor Mike Wallace says, for instance, that the presidential cover-up really began one day after the burglary and not three as was thought. That's nice, but so what?

He makes quite a fuss about the fact that Judy Hoback, a bookkeeper for the Nixon re-election campaign, is being interviewed on camera here for the first time, but all Hoback really recalls is a visit from reporter Carl Bernstein, who, with Bob Woodward, was half of what became the most famous reporting team in history.

CBS has promised that late in the program, an "educated guess" will be made about the identity of Deep Throat, the shadowy source who led Woodward through much of the merry Watergate maze. This portion of the program was withheld from the preview copy supplied by CBS. Wallace says three names often cited as possible D.T.'s can be eliminated based on Woodward and Bernstein's writings and remarks: Alexander Haig, Henry Kissinger and Melvin Laird.

It is kinda wonderful, as Bernstein says at one point, that any secret could have been kept for 20 years, especially a Washington secret.

Young viewers who can be induced to watch will get from "The Secret Story" a sobering insight on the enormity of the crime, a splendid case study on the abuse and arrogance of power, a still-shocking profile of what was arguably the rottenest administration ever. The lessons are bitter and obvious: "It could happen again just as surely as it did 20 years ago," says Wallace.

Sam Dash, chief counsel to the Watergate subcommittee, compares political corruption to cockroaches in the kitchen. "You know, you can spray once and they'll be gone for a while, but the damn roaches keep coming back again," he says.

Many memory-stirring names, faces and phrases return: the Oval Office tapes and their 18½-minute gap; dirty tricks; the "Saturday night massacre"; folksy Sam Ervin, who ran the Senate subcommittee; "Well, I'm not a crook" and "unindicted co-conspirator." We see again Dan Rather's exchange with Nixon at a press conference staged at a broadcasters convention—Rather getting applause, Nixon asking him if he's running for anything. Rather replying, "No, Mr. President, are you?"

It's a nostalgia show, in a way; you may find yourself getting perversely sentimental. The fact that so many of the wrongdoers now appear repentant, chastened and humbled is reassuring. Just seeing how time has changed once-familiar faces somehow is too.

Walter Cronkite confirms to Wallace that the late William S. Paley, founder of CBS, assailed his own news division over Cronkite's first big, brave Watergate report, Paley having been pressured by Nixon hatchet man Chuck Colson. "All good work is done in defiance of management," Woodward says, though we

certainly hear no talk of Post management wavering as Paley did.

The program, impeccably executive-produced by Andrew Lack, covers all the bases, or virtually all, but lacks any taint of perfunctory anniversaryness. Some of the punctuating shots of Washington landmarks are quite beautiful, and make their own grim commentary on the sordid spectacle that unfolded around them. And you sure couldn't ask for a better, abler man in the interviewer's chair than Wallace, easily as good as he was 20 years ago when he questioned Colson for "60 Minutes."

During that interview, Colson recalls, Wallace asked him how he could square his misdeeds with his avowed Christianity. Colson says it was that question that inspired him to change his plea to

guilty, against his lawyer's wishes.

The presidential election ahead is going to bring, and already has brought, new attacks against the media—"The press is out to get me," "My remarks were taken out of context" and all that. Journalists can be as arrogant as politicians, but rewalling in Watergate puts some of that constant whining in proper perspective.

Naturally the old cliché about the system working comes up. One is inclined to say rather that this was a case in which the system by some miracle managed to squeak by. But then, where do miracles come from? If divine providence had as much to do with revealing and unraveling the scandal as Woodward, Bernstein and Deep Throat did, and cared enough to intervene, that is reassuring too. We remember Watergate to our glory, not only to our sorrow.

Night of the Dancing Bear

With 'My Friend George,' Boris Yeltsin Celebrates a Historic Visit

By Donnie Radcliffe
and Dana Thomas
Washington Post Staff Writers

He said it was "the best day of my life." And indeed, he could have danced all night. In fact Russian President Boris Yeltsin waltzed with the lady next to him smack in the middle of a state dinner at the White House last night.

It was a break from tradition that sent President Bush's black-tie guests into a tizzy of delight.

According to Chief of Staff Sam Skinner, Yeltsin thought the whole room should be dancing and asked Barbara Bush to join him. She declined, suggesting he ask the woman seated next to him. He did and they waltzed around a couple of tables. As guests moved to the East Room later, Yeltsin caught Barbara Bush and gave her a twirl or two.

Talking about it afterward to a reporter, Yeltsin said: "I think we've opened a new chapter in relationships and we are taking down the stereotypes, including at the formal dinners—a more human element. Nothing human is alien tonight."

And so it wasn't. Certainly deep in the heart of the White House a "maverick" named Yeltsin possessed what part-time Texan George Bush called "a certain spirit you find on the plains of West Texas."

"When back in August of 1991 the old guard threatened to take Russia backward, Boris Yeltsin led the defense of democracy from the building Russians called the White House. The coup plotters set out to destroy democracy," Bush said in his toast to Yeltsin. "Thanks to the courage of this man, they made it stronger."

Responding to "my friend George," Yeltsin said, "We have resolved something for which I have been striving for a long time. We have decided today to cut nuclear arsenals in these two countries by one-third."

The arms reduction was one of two big announcements that Yeltsin and Bush made earlier in the day. And last night on the second, Yeltsin pledged "to investigate the fate of each and every citizen of America victimized by the Communist regime," referring to his comment Monday that there might be U.S.

See RUSSIANS, B4, Col. 1

Boris Yeltsin's Waltz

RUSSIANS, From B1

POWs and MIAs alive in the former Soviet Union.

"I have given my word of honor to President George Bush and to the United States of America that in this subject no stone will remain unturned," said Yeltsin through an interpreter.

Over coffee later, Bush was also euphoric.

"It's very clear. What happened today was significant on two fronts," he said. "One is his willingness to open the archives and go the extra mile on this. Secondly, what happened to the missile business is historic."

During toasts, though, the impact of Yeltsin's announcement seemed almost lost on an audience distracted by the speedy monotone of his interpreter. Still, nobody could miss Yeltsin's commanding presence.

"He's very large in spirit," said former "Cosby Show" star Phylicia Rashad. "So much charisma," chimed in her husband, NBC sports announcer Ahmad Rashad.

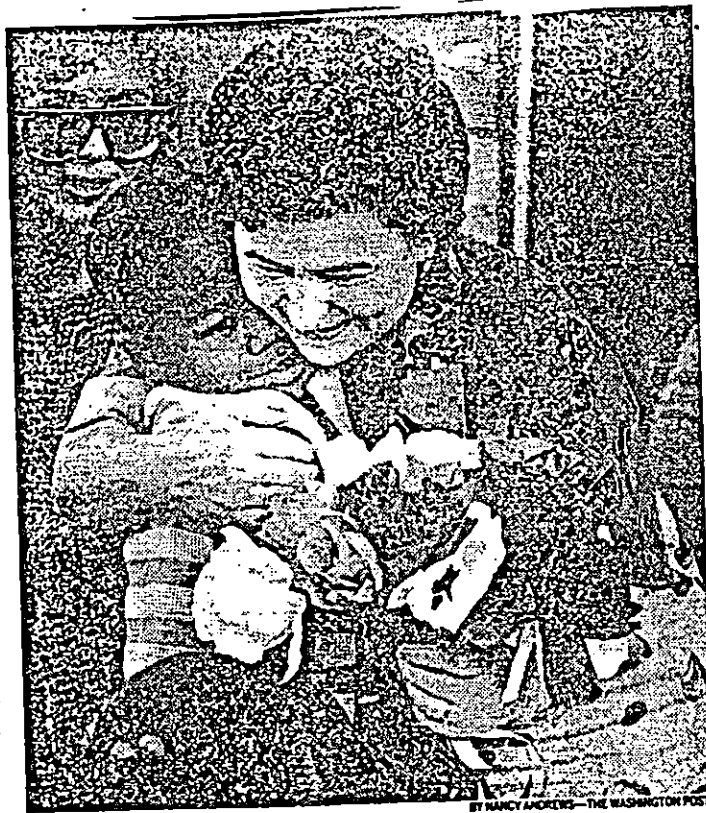
Tall, sturdy, tanned and nattily attired in a black double-breasted suit with a burgundy print tie, Yeltsin nonetheless blended in nicely with his black-tie host and almost a score of captains of American industry.

One of them, Dwayne O. Andreas, chairman and CEO of Archer-Daniels-Midland, said that when he and former president Richard Nixon met with Yeltsin in Moscow last week, Yeltsin "told us he'd have some secrets for us, but didn't tell us about the MIAs."

Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) said, "We have to assume that there are people alive and pursue getting them back as vigorously as we can."

Senate Minority Leader Robert Dole (R-Kan.) said he'd been very busy yesterday and hadn't heard much about it but did "hope we can get some resolution on this soon."

For veteran White House correspondent Helen Thomas, who's witnessed more history-making moments than either Bush or Yeltsin,



At Martha's Table, Russian First Lady Naina Yeltsin thanks 9-year-old Lorenzo Bell for his bouquet of paper flowers.

the day's double-barreled announcements were a mind-popper.

"They really blew it all today with that fantastic arms agreement and the MIAs," said Thomas, sparkling in a black and silver cocktail dress at what could be her "last hurrah" as White House bureau chief for the nearly extinct UPI wire service. "I'm trying to play this one up for all it's worth."

Election year politics wasn't a hot topic, at least early in the evening. Asked what he thought Lone Star voters would do if faced with the choice between Bush and Texas purebred Ross Perot come November, fellow Texan Robert Strauss, U.S. envoy to Moscow and former Democratic National Committee chairman, said, "I'm not an expert on Texas. I'm an expert on Moscow."

"There are a lot of bumper stickers in Moscow," he offered.

For Perot? "No. For Yeltsin."

Dole ducked down a hall when asked if he had any words of advice for presidential challengers.

Actor Gerald McRaney of the sitcom "Major Dad" (who brought his mom, Edna), had some sharp words for Democratic candidate Bill Clinton.

"I was amazed to find out that

when he was asked what he would do if the Iraqis didn't comply with the U.N. resolution, he determined that ground defense would never be necessary again," McRaney said. "It's amazing what somebody can get from one backward glance at ROTC at the University of Arkansas."

But it wasn't all power and politics. Olympic gold medalist ice skater Kristi Yamaguchi was "very excited" to make her second visit to the White House. She had come with the entire Olympic team a few months back, and presented Bush with a team jacket. The unescorted Yamaguchi was hoping to practice her beginner's Russian on Yeltsin—words and phrases she's picked up touring with Russian skaters. And she expressed her desire to skate in Russia someday.

Among the other guests was First Designer Arnold Scaasi, who created Mrs. Bush's purple floor-length lace gown. Naina Yeltsin, like her husband, took the conservative route, wearing a two-piece black and brown silk ensemble.

Mrs. Yeltsin had had quite a good day herself. With Barbara Bush as escort, the 60-year-old former construction engineer donned plastic gloves and a red apron to join the

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sandwich brigade at Martha's Table on 14th Street NW, turning out 35 of the 2,500 sandwiches distributed daily at five city parks and four overflow shelters.

"Not really," she responded yesterday through an interpreter when asked whether she was surprised to be taken to a place where food is prepared for distribution to some of Washington's poor and homeless. "It can happen in any system, even when the state is rich. Under any system there will be poor people because people work differently and have different attitudes toward work. We also understand your problems, but thank God you have fewer problems than we do."

Mrs. Yeltsin said no facility such as Martha's Table exists in Russia. "We have a problem because we don't have the availability of products you have. Eventually we will have more products and we'll create kitchens like this. This is all private volunteer donations, and we do not have a system of volunteers. But eventually."

"Right now," she added, "that is a wish, of course."

Last night, after a dinner of California caviar, roast veal and caramel mousse, guests gathered in the East Room to listen to soprano Carol Theresa Vaness, who saluted Yeltsin with Rachmaninoff's "How Fair This Spot!" in Russian.

The evening closed with more dancing. Basking in the glow of her new celebrity was Yeltsin's first dance partner, Robin Gerstner, wife of RJR Nabisco's chairman and CEO, Louis Gerstner.

"He's a wonderful dancer," she declared. "It was a great thrill."

Guests at The Dinner

The guest list for last night's White House dinner:

Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Naina Yeltsin
Y.T. Gaidar, prime minister of the Russian Federation
A.V. Kozirev, minister of foreign affairs of the Russian Federation
P.S. Grachev, minister of defense of the Russian Federation
M.E. Nikolayev, president of the Republic of Sakha
Vladimir P. Lukin, ambassador from Russia, and Larisa Lukin
V.V. Ryushin, first assistant to the president
Y.V. Petrov, chief of presidential administration
Y.V. Shokov, secretary, Security Council of the Russian Federation
P.O. Aven, minister of foreign economic relations of the Russian Federation
V.N. Khlystun, minister of agriculture of the Russian Federation
D.B. Ryurkov, assistant to the president
S.A. Kovalev, chairman, Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights
M.M. Meloshov, member, Russian Supreme Soviet Committee on Human Rights
Robert E. Allen, chairman and CEO, AT&T, and Betty Allen
Terry Anderson, chief Middle East correspondent, Associated Press (on leave), and Madeleine Bessil
Dwayne D. Andreas, chairman and CEO, Archer-Daniels-Midland Co., and Dorothy Andreas
Dexter F. Baker, chairman, president and CEO, Air Products & Chemicals, and Dorothy Baker
James Baker, secretary of state, and Susan Baker
Ronald H. Denson, president, Fibro Energy Production, and Kristy Kay
James H. Billington, librarian of Congress, and Marjorie Billington
Nicholas Brady, secretary of the treasury, and Katherine Brady
Rep. William S. Broomfield (R-Mich.), and Jane Broomfield
Patricia Burch
R. Nicholas Burns, director of European affairs, National Security Council
Richard Cheney, secretary of defense, and Lynne Cheney, chairman, National Endowment for the Humanities
Pamela Cohen, Union of Councils for Soviet Jews, and Leonard Cohen
E. Gerald Corrigan, president, Federal Reserve Bank of New York, and Linda Corrigan
Mitchell E. Daniels Jr., vice president, EB Lilly Co., and Cheri Daniels
Kathleen Delaski, White House correspondent, ABC, and Edward Grubb
Kenneth T. Derr, chairman and CEO, Chevron Corp.
Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.), and Elizabeth H. Dole, chairman, American Red Cross
Robert F. Elsworth, chairman, International Institute for Strategic Studies, and Vivian Elsworth
Barbara Franklin, secretary of commerce, and Wallace Barnes
Robert W. Galvin, chairman, Executive Committee, Motorola, and Mary Galvin
Louis V. Gerstner Jr., chairman and CEO, RJR Nabisco, and Robin Gerstner

Daniel S. Goldin, administrator, NASA, and Judy Goldin
Robert F. Greenhill, president, Morgan Stanley Group, and Gayle Greenhill
Alan Greenspan, chairman, Federal Reserve System, and Andrea Mitchell, NBC
Judd Gregg, governor of New Hampshire, and Kathleen Gregg
Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (D-Ind.), and Nancy Hamilton
Sen. Mark O. Hatfield (R-Ore.), and Antoinette Hatfield
Ed A. Hewett, special assistant to the president for national security affairs, and Nancy Hewett
Henry L. Hillman, Hillman Co., and Elsie Hillman
Rep. Henry J. Hyde, (R-Ill.)
Jack Kemp, secretary of housing and urban development, and Joanne Kemp
Donald M. Kendall, chairman of the executive committee, PepsiCo, and Sigrid Kendall
Morton Kondracke, senior editor, Roll Call, and Alexandra Kondracke, his daughter
Parker B. Ladd
Edward Madigan, secretary of agriculture, and Evelyn Madigan
Howard P. Margules, CEO, Sunworld, and Ardith Margules
J. Willard Marriott Jr., chairman of the board and president, Marriott Corp., and Donna Marriott
Arch McGill, president, Chardonay, and Jeanne McGill
Gerald McRaney, actor, and Edna Lenore McRaney, his mother
John J. Murphy, chairman, president and CEO, Dresser Industries, and Louise Murphy
Thomas M.T. Niles, assistant secretary of state for European affairs
Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.) and Colleen Nunn
William F. O'Connor, Chicago Board of Trade, and Mary Jane O'Connor
James C. Oberweiser, vice president, governmental and public affairs, Hunt Oil Co., and Eleanor Oberweiser
Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff, and Alma Powell
Ahmad Rashad, sports announcer, and Phyllis Rashad, actress
William H. Rehnquist, chief justice of the United States
Condoleezza Rice, associate professor of political science, Stanford University
Dennis Ross, director, policy planning, State Department, and Deborah Ross
Arnold Scaasi, Arnold Scaasi Inc.
Brent Scowcroft, assistant to the president for national security affairs
Samuel Skinner, chief of staff to the president, and Henry Skinner
Richard A. Snyder, In-N-Out Burger, and Christina Snyder
Robert S. Strauss, ambassador to Russia, and Susan Green, his daughter
Helen Thomas, White House correspondent, UPI
R. Emmett Tyrrell Jr., editor in chief, the American Spectator
Carol Theresa Vaness, singer (performing), and Lottolish Mancourt, general director, San Francisco Opera
Paul A. Volcker, chairman, James D. Wolfensohn Inc., and Janice Zima, his daughter
William B. Walsh Sr., president, Project HOPE, and Helen Walsh
John G. Weinmann, chief of protocol, and Virginia Lee Weinmann
Betty White, actress, and Wayne Ferguson
Krisi Yamaguchi, Olympic gold medalist
Zach Zachariah and Rachel Zachariah
Gordon Zacks, chairman and CEO, R.G. Barry Corp., and Carol Sue Zacks
Fred M. Zader II, president, Overseas Private Investment Corp. (OPIC), and Martha Zader

JUDY MANN

A Vote for 'Someone a Little Different'

Rep. Patricia Schroeder's political career began with a suicide race. It was 1972, the year President Nixon was expected to win reelection by a landslide. She was a Democrat, running against a popular incumbent in a Denver district that had just been reapportioned, bolstering the Republicans' traditional advantage. She ran because no one else would.

In her political biography, "Champion of the Great American Family," Schroeder tells the story of a group of young liberal Democrats, including her husband, Jim, who caucused throughout the spring, trying to find a candidate. At one point, someone turned to Jim and said, "How about your wife, Jim?" He replied, "How about *your* wife?" In the end, they decided to run "someone a little different."

Schroeder favored ending U.S. involvement in Vietnam, but she also ran on issues that she has retained an abiding interest in: children, the family, the environment, housing, the well-being of the elderly. She got no help from the Democratic National Committee. She wrote of the campaign: "Because they thought victory was a sure thing, the local Republican Party kept my opponent in Washington for all but the last month of the campaign. That gave me a great head start."

Throughout the summer and fall, the stench of Watergate grew stronger, but it was not enough to prevent Nixon from winning in a landslide. Schroeder was one of the few challengers to beat a Republican incumbent that year, walking away with 52 percent of the vote and launching a 20-year career of being "someone a little different."

Today, she has served longer than any other woman in Congress, and with the possible exception of Texas Gov. Ann Richards, she is the best-known woman politician in America. When Schroeder formed an exploratory presidential campaign committee in 1988, a month after fellow Coloradoan Gary Hart self-destructed, the positive response stunned her. She raised money quickly and drew huge crowds. As the Los Angeles Times described it, "The independent spirit in Schroeder is what makes voters take a second look."

Schroeder was the only Democrat who ever came up with a derogatory label that stuck to President Reagan: "the Teflon-coated president." On the campaign trail, the Times profile noted, she

kept saying that the nation needed "a rendezvous with reality—I'm not going to be the Tinker Bell of this campaign, bring out the magic poofle dust and say everything's going to be okay."

Sound familiar? Burden sharing, a term that is surfacing in the current presidential campaign, is not new to Schroeder. She co-chairs the House Armed Services Task Force on Defense Burden Sharing. She also heads the Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families, and the House civil service subcommittee. This is a person of breadth, depth and 20 years of Washington experience that neither Gov. Bill Clinton, the likely Democratic nominee, nor independent Ross Perot come close to having.

Four years ago, Schroeder was saying a lot of things that presidential aspirants are saying this year. What kept her from making the presidential race, in the end, was that she had started too late to get enough delegates and enough money. She did not want to gamble her congressional seniority on a suicide mission.

Colorado state law forbids politicians from running for two offices simultaneously, so anyone trying to persuade Schroeder to become his running mate will have to convince her that together they can win.

Gov. Mario Cuomo of New York put Schroeder on the short list of suggested running mates he gave to Clinton. The Arkansas governor had a half-hour phone conversation with Schroeder on Friday—the day after she stopped in the Perot headquarters here to buy a Perot T-shirt.

Clinton and Bush do about as well among women voters as they do among men. But Perot's support among women is eight percentage points less than his support among men. In a close election, the votes of women will be critical. So Perot probably would benefit most from having Schroeder on his ticket.

Schroeder is admired among women and men of both parties because of who she is, what she has accomplished and probably above everything else, because of the enormous integrity with which she has conducted her public and private lives. She connects with the realities of American families better than most politicians. She has always been "someone a little different."

And just think what she would do in a vice presidential debate against someone who showed up with Little Orphan Annie eyes.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

BOB LEVEY'S WASHINGTON

Reclaiming Computers for Nonprofits

'Nonprofit" is a nine-letter word that translates loosely as "broke." And whenever a nonprofit organization goes shopping for a computer, it usually gets brokered.

Until now, Mike Holland, a reader from Bethesda who's a programmer-analyst for the Internal Revenue Service, has just organized The Computer Reclamation Project.

TCRP will collect computers and computer parts that their owners no longer want. With the help of several computer-tinkering buddies, Mike will rehabilitate dead and ailing computers and donate them to nonprofit organizations in the D.C. area.

The program will operate under the umbrella of the Washington Area Wheelchair Society, whose president is Mike's brother, Paul. The Wheelchair Society's Silver Spring office will serve as an intake point for computers and components. The society also will provide workshop space and storage. Donors can claim a tax deduction, since the Wheelchair Society is a community service foundation as defined by the IRS.

I'm delighted to endorse Mike's efforts, not only because nonprofit organizations need the help, but also because it galls me to think that companies and individuals routinely chuck computers that they no longer need, even when the machines still work.

Sometimes, of course, the machines have quit working. Even so, components might be restorable and reusable. If we don't give Mike and his diagnosticians a chance to find out, our landfills will inherit the results rather than the agencies that need free computers the most.

For TCRP to work, two things must happen:

1) Organizations and individuals must contribute computers and components in large numbers. As soon as they see this column, every nonprofit in creation will apply for a newly rehabbed computer. They'll be frustrated if readers and offices don't do their part.

2) Individuals and for-profit companies must not try to crash the party. Yes, I sympathize with starving graduate students, and I know that free computers also would help businesses trying to make a buck. But let's scale those mountains another day. This program is for nonprofits only.

To offer materials, or to sign up for a rehabbed computer, call Mike Holland at 301-986-1272 or the Wheelchair Society at 301-495-0277. To qualify for a rehabbed computer, a nonprofit will have to provide its 501-(c)-3 tax-exempt identification number, as provided by the IRS.

SEND A KID TO CAMP

Doug Wilner, of Laurel, sounded chipper when I spoke to him, so I guess the rehabilitation of his finger is on course. His heart doesn't need any rehabilitating whatsoever.

Doug is a chemistry teacher at St. Paul's School for Girls in Brooklandville, Md. Two weeks ago, he was cleaning up the school's chem lab, "preparing it for a dormant summer," when he accidentally shattered a piece of glass tubing.

"Unfortunately," Doug writes, "the tubing took it personally and shattered me back." Doug's finger was bleeding like crazy. That pained him somewhat. What pained him worse was the expensive prospect of having the cut repaired. If you think that's a petty concern, you must have missed what high school teachers earn these days. It ain't princely.

Anyway, Doug was bleeding and worrying when Grover Carico, a fellow chemistry teacher, saw what had happened. Grover drove Doug to a nearby walk-in clinic, where he received four stitches. As Doug was hopping out of the car, Grover wished him good luck and "coolly handed me \$50."

Doug refused the offer, and the school eventually covered the cost of the stitches. But what a lovely offer by one chemistry teacher to another.

And what a lovely response from Doug. He donated \$20 to our annual Send a Kid to Camp campaign.

"If someone has done you a good turn," Doug said, "then do a child a good turn and donate some money." At Doug's request, his \$20 goes into the books as a gift in Grover Carico's honor.

How about all the rest of you favor-receivers out there? Each summer, we help 1,200 underprivileged kids go to camp. In many cases, they have never had favors done for them. Most live in stressful, chaotic family situations and grinding poverty. But at camp, they learn that there's a more wholesome way.

I don't wish four stitches on anybody. But Doug Wilner has shown us how bad news can be converted to good. Many thanks!

Our goal: \$275,000.

In hand as of June 13: \$74,510.68.

TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE CAMPAIGN:

Make a check or money order payable to Send a Kid to Camp, and mail it to Bob-Levey, The Washington Post, Washington, D.C. 20071.

TO CONTRIBUTE BY VISA OR MASTERCARD:

Call 202-334-9000 on a touch-tone phone. Then punch in K-I-D-S, or 5437, and follow instructions.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

DOROTHY GILLIAM

Clinton's Low Blow to Black Aspirations

Your guest is coming for dinner; you've cleaned the house, cooked your specialty, put out the heirloom lace tablecloth and best china. Then, the guest calls your children lousy.

Bill Clinton came to the Rainbow Coalition convention here last weekend, held hands with Jesse L. Jackson, occupied an honored place at the table, and then coldly used the forum to show that he could "contain" Jackson and appeal to "forgotten" Democrats who left the party to become Reaganites.

What made this exploitation so insulting, maddening even, is the belief of many blacks that Clinton would not have treated a white constituency in so cavalier a manner. He seemed like yet another white man slapping down an "uppity" black man—a practice that, in this century

alone, has zapped African Americans including Jack Johnson and Adam Clayton Powell.

The likely Democratic presidential nominee tortuously compared rap singer Sister Souljah to former Klansman David Duke and said it was wrong for the Rainbow Coalition to give her a public platform.

But what is wrong is Clinton's calculating, well-orchestrated, unstatesmanlike attack on Jackson—the man who in the last two Democratic primaries got a huge majority of black votes.

Not wanting to totally alienate the African American vote, Clinton searched until he found something on which he could attack Jackson, who allowed Souljah to speak at a youth summit the day before.

See GILLIAM, C3, Col. 1

'Containment' Message May Be Costly

GILLIAM, From C1

Souljah, in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, told The Washington Post: "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?"

I would never defend an incendiary call to kill anybody, and surely Jesse Jackson, the Christian minister, feels the same. So Clinton was wily in choosing an issue to which Jackson could not have an ethical defense.

The conference theme, according to Jackson, was "rebuilding America." Souljah was invited, along with other voices, in an effort to reach out to youth, he said.

To discuss rap music, which is about syllogisms and images and not to be taken *literally*, is another column. But in this day when "hate radio" sprouts like weeds across America and right-wing college students demand the freedom to call people every pejorative name imaginable, rappers deserve at least the same freedom to express themselves.

I admit to having great disagreements with inflammatory language and images in some rap music and videos, but I do understand—as Clinton apparently does not—that it is a way young people vent their frustrations.

Our leaders must reach across the great divide and build bridges, not exploit for selfish political gain, the real disaffection and alienation of the young.

Unfortunately, Clinton was concerned neither about freedom of expression nor some young

people feeling they do not have a stake in this society.

The Democratic standard bearer cannot win the presidency without a strong black vote, and he must do more to get it than play the saxophone on the Arsenio Hall Show.

Clinton's advisers appear to have adopted this strategy because they think they can take blacks, white women and progressives for granted, while reassuring those who are threatened by African American aspirations and see Jackson as the communicator of those aspirations.

Joining that chorus are a number of pundits who, without investigating their own hearts and minds, are calling for the "containment" of Jackson. All of them apparently believe that killing the messenger will kill the message. It will not.

Containment of what? Of African American hopes? Of Jackson voicing those hopes? All we are getting are visceral reactions that "somebody stood up to him." But what were they standing up to?

Perhaps Clinton advisers should take a moment from their glee to evaluate the consequences of this brouhaha. It just may turn out that he loses more votes than he gains.

For all of the players in this drama will be surprised to find out that African Americans are not a guaranteed constituency for any person; that sophisticated white voters will also condemn Clinton's manipulative tactics; and, indeed, this will hurt more than help the Democratic Party at large.

The Democrats have identified George Bush as the enemy. How sad it is for African Americans to find that those we considered our friends may actually be our enemies.

The School Reform Game

CONGRESS COMES to school reform so late in the game—long after the states—that it's now struggling to catch up. It hasn't quite figured out how to run up the field. Just what is the game plan? How should the federal government leverage change in school districts accustomed to running things themselves?

The Senate passed a competitive grant program in January; money would go to schools whose innovations boost academic performance. The House strategy has been harder to read; the first bill to emerge from the Education and Labor Committee cracked open the door for school choice while seeming to slam it shut on locally elected school boards. The teachers unions and the lobbyists persuaded the committee chairman, Rep. William Ford (D-Mich.), to mix it.

The bill that emerged last month isn't entirely satisfactory either. It authorizes \$700 million in the first year for such things as state curriculum frameworks and teacher training—pretty bland stuff. This is your basic block grant program, and there's little support for it—a fact that became obvious when partisans from opposite sides of the political aisle characterized the legislation in pretty similar tones: "This bill is worse than awful," said Secretary of Education Lamar Alexander. "It's all cliches and show business," Rep. Ford

told the Congressional Quarterly. "It's not going to revolutionize anything."

What it is likely to do, though, is spark a fiery debate over educational standards and testing. The Senate without much ado committed itself to the development of national curriculum standards (what students should know and be able to do) and tests to measure how well students meet those standards. The House committee, however, backed away from national tests. The urban superintendents quake at the idea, and House members listened to their fears. Instead, the committee calls for the development of "school delivery standards"—what schools need to perform their mission adequately. The bill doesn't propose to help schools deficient in resources; it merely seeks a national checklist: Are the teachers trained, are there enough textbooks, is there a school library etc.?

Prescriptions and checklists aren't what's wanted. Schools must be adequately staffed and funded, but it's up to districts and states to determine the best way to teach their students. If achieving academic excellence were a simple matter of student-teacher ratios, per-pupil funding and the number of books in the school library, the reformers' job would be simple. Unfortunately, there are no formulas. Congress, in attempting to play the reform game, must resist the urge to become a national school board.

No More Jets at National

THOUGH MANY who live under the flight paths of Washington National Airport would be happy if the terminal were closed for good, that's not in the cards and shouldn't be. That said, we nevertheless believe that they and anybody else with a stake in the air safety and traffic flow at National have every reason to be concerned about a measure now before a Senate subcommittee on aviation. The proposal—one in a series from Sen. John McCain of Arizona, home of America West Airlines—would allow an increase in the number of commercial jet flights at National. It's a bad idea on all counts, and with Dulles nearby and planned to accommodate growth, there's no need to swell the commercial traffic at National.

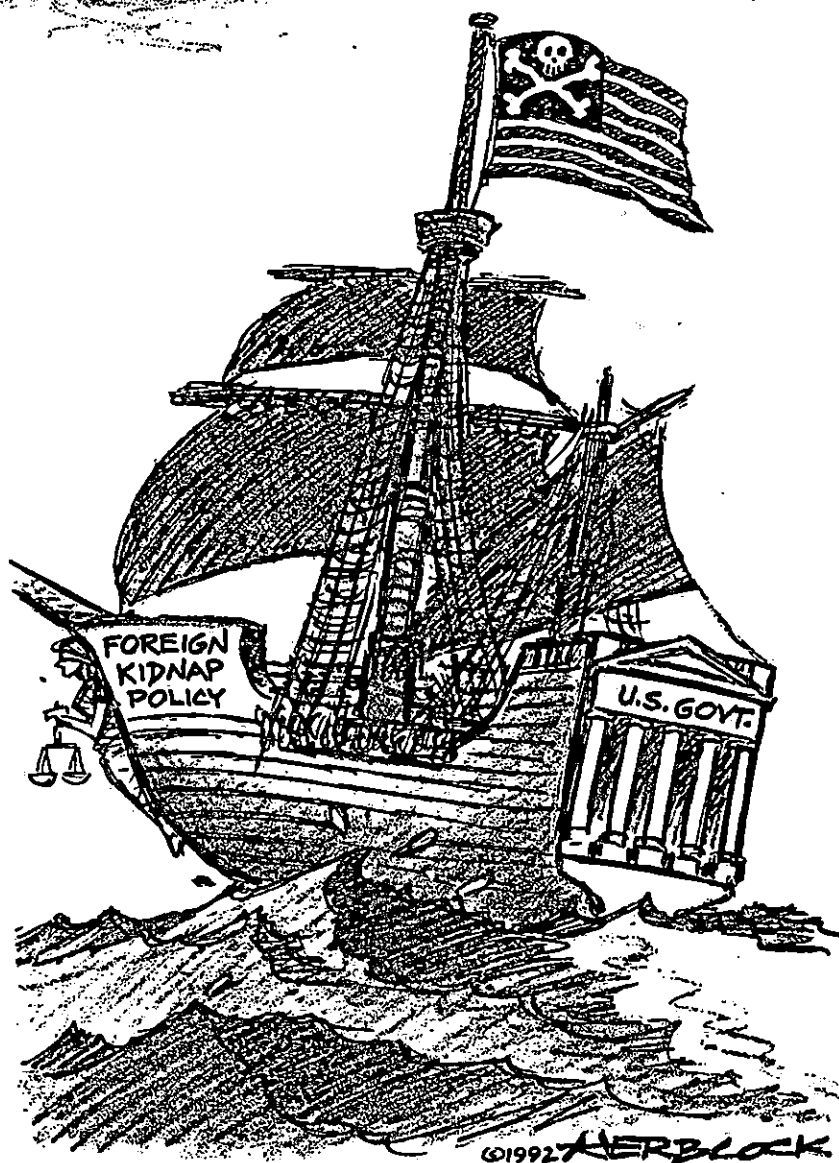
Sen. McCain casts this proposal, as he has with the others he has pushed, as another way to allow smaller air carriers a piece of the action at National. Competition is fine, but there are special limits on the capacities at four of the country's busiest airports: National, O'Hare in Chicago and JFK and LAGuardia in New York. Under

the "slot rule" in effect at these terminals, airlines may buy a certain number of slots: At National, it's 37 jet flights an hour. The new measure would increase the total at National by 12 commercial jet flights an hour. Under the McCain provision, smaller airlines would be allowed to purchase commuter aircraft slots at National and use them for the larger jets.

The Federal Aviation Administration has no current position on airport capacity at National. But as area members of Congress point out, the commuter slots were never intended for the larger jets and all the traffic, noise and possible safety problems this change would create. In fact, the intention for National was to maintain the flight limitations now in effect, as Reps. Frank Wolf, James P. Moran and Connie Morella and Del. Eleanor Holmes Norton noted earlier this year to Transportation Secretary Andrew H. Card Jr. They expressed their "adamant opposition" to any increase in air carrier operations at National. The Senate subcommittee should reinforce this view by rejecting any proposal to allow more big jet flights at National.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL



For the Record

From remarks by Education Secretary Lamar Alexander to the American Association of State Colleges and Universities June 15 in Washington:

[T]he teaching profession needs to make special efforts to attract more minorities. What it most needs are the best possible teachers who include minorities, and the fastest way to do that of course is just to go out in the local school district and raise the salary until you get them.

See, we go through all these laborious meetings, and baloney is what a lot of it is, thinking of ways within the existing system to think now about attracting people who are 10 years old to be teachers 30 years from now, when we have talented Hispanics, talented African Americans, who are somewhere, who could go teach physics in the classroom if we'd just go pay them to do it. . . .

But we can't get through our existing way of doing things to do that. Alternative certification programs are the fastest way to move people into teaching who are high quality or special needs or willing to go teach in a particular place, or bring something to the table that others don't. . . .

The minority scholarship issue . . . could be summarized this way. Congress says, if you're a recipient of federal funds, you can't discriminate based on race. . . .

[I]f the law means anything, it means that some race-exclusive scholarships aren't permitted. . . . [But] it's perfectly possible for any college . . . to create a scholarship program to diversify the student body in the college of education. I mean if you have all white or mostly white students in the college of education, and you want to have a program that would increase the diversity of that student body, you can clearly do that under the law the way it is today without running into any sort of problem with the federal anti-discrimination law. . . .

Mr. Yeltsin's Revelations

A biological warfare works in Smolensk in 1979, when hundreds were killed in an anthrax epidemic that Moscow falsely attributed to naturally tainted meat. The suggestion—proven only now—that the Soviets were prepared to cheat and lie to hide a secret program, a terrible tragedy and a violation of a formal arms control treaty, had cast a heavy pall over Soviet-American deliberations as a whole into the '80s. The latest disclosure is encouraging as a concrete sign of a new day.

Even more gratifying is Mr. Yeltsin's acknowledgment that American POWs from World War II, the Korean War, the Cold War period and even from Vietnam were secretly stashed away in the Soviet Union and that some from Vietnam, and perhaps others, may still be alive. These disclosures reach into a matter of great sadness, bitterness and fellow feeling on the part of many Americans. The electrifying possibility that some of those who were left behind in America's wars may yet be restored to their country and kin can now be pursued with full vigor.

BORIS YELTSIN'S trip to Washington comes decked in a series of stunning revelations that are bound to have a lasting effect on the tone of Russian-American relations, even as the heavy-duty political exchanges, including yesterday's arms control announcements, are absorbed into regular state practice.

Russia's first elected democratic president in a millennium of history chose as a kind of special gift to the American democracy a selection of documents culled from the Kremlin's awesomely capacious secret files. On display at the Library of Congress, these papers tell of tales of misconduct and treachery not previously heard in the 70-odd communist and Soviet years. Their presentation now suggests a commitment to openness and honest inquiry on the international as well as the national level. This is exactly the basis on which a deepening Russian-American connection must be built.

With Mr. Yeltsin arrived word of a recent Russian account of a truly appalling incident—the Soviet Union's concealment of an accident at

Six Weeks and Counting

main proposal is to establish low-tax inner-city enterprise zones, the theory being that the tax concessions will generate on-the-spot employment. The Democrats seem disposed to give him this, though there could be a fight ahead on the form of the tax inducements. A new Congressional Research Service study warns that tax cuts that favor capital over labor could actually reduce employment in the target areas, and that even those that favor labor—tax cuts based on hiring rather than investment—aren't likely to increase employment much.

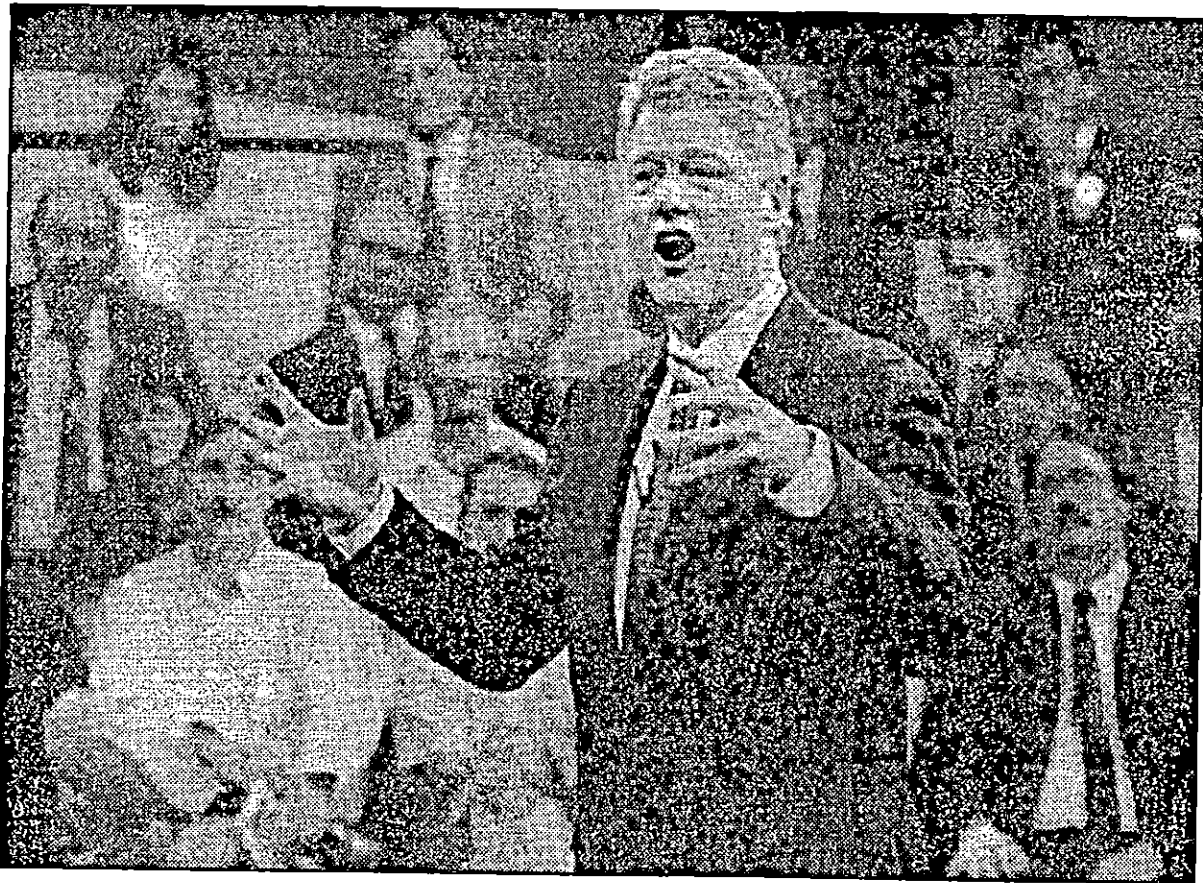
The Democrats meanwhile have their own magic formula, which is to increase spending on public works, but whether all of that would redound to the benefit of the inner cities, and how to finance it, aren't clear, either.

The dispute between the president and Congress over unemployment insurance also continues. The government has been providing extended benefits on an emergency basis to tens of thousands of workers who wouldn't otherwise qualify but have exhausted their basic 26 weeks. The provision expires next month; both parties want to extend it through the election. But the Democrats also want to strengthen the underlying system to make such emergency provisions unnecessary in the future. The president objects to both the restructuring and the tax increases with which they would finance the bill; here again he has threatened a veto. They are playing a game of chicken with the unemployed; that's about what they're doing with the cities as well.

IT'S BEEN six weeks since the Los Angeles riots, and Congress has yet to pass even the "dire emergency" supplemental appropriations bill a month ago; the measure was limited to cleanup money. A grandstanding Senate insisted on adding about \$1.5 billion in mostly summer aid to cities generally, but without financing it. Instead it gave the president the moral equivalent of the line-item veto he is always calling for—the right to spend the extra money or not in whatever increments he chose simply by suspending the budget rules, declaring an emergency and adding the cost to the deficit.

Mr. Bush, however, turned out to like neither the cost nor the responsibility the bill conferred. The conferees obliged him in part by *reducing* his discretion over the money, but they kept the Senate amounts and still did not finance them. He is now threatening a veto, but the House may spare him the trouble. For lack of funds as well as lack of enthusiasm for urban causes, it is said to be likely to cut back the conference report to about \$500 million in extra money for summer jobs to which the administration would apparently agree. If that's how it turns out, the summer jobs money should become available—by about midsummer.

As to a longer-range bill, the White House and Democrats are still negotiating. The president's



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Hobart Rowen

'Revisiting' His Economic Policy

NEW YORK—Gov. Bill Clinton is giving up on a middle-income tax cut, his number one economic proposal during the Democratic primaries, and instead has adopted the need for greater public and private investment as the central theme of his new economic strategy.

"We need to grow this economy... there's never going to be a balanced budget at present growth rates," he said. In turn, he argues, boosted economic growth should enhance America's ability to compete with Europe and Japan.

The Democratic presidential candidate revealed his plans to stress investment over consumption as he relaxed in the back seat of his limousine for a one-on-one interview that dealt exclusively with economic and trade issues.

"I'm going to have to at least modify but not abandon my position [on the middle income tax cut], and I'm still working on it," Clinton said. Since the final primary in California, he has been "revisiting" all of his earlier policy proposals, "based on what I have learned, or on changed circumstances."

His new economic strategy would also include a closer government partnership with industry to maintain what he calls a "competitive, high-wage" manufacturing base.

Yet, he flatly rejects the baldest of protectionist proposals—House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt's current legislation that would put a cap on the number of cars Japan can sell in the United States, whether produced in Japan or in its transplant factories here. "I don't think we ought to go that far now. Before I get to that I want us to do some basic things to develop a manufacturing strategy in our own economy."

In America, "before I start closing

markets arbitrarily, I would like to see us control health care costs in the manufacturing sector... and [create] a tax system that has an investment tax credit and doesn't have incentives for moving jobs overseas."

He implied, without saying it in so many words, that he had floated the middle-income tax cut idea during the New Hampshire primary at the low point of the recession, and that with the economy moving up, however slowly, tax relief for middle-income taxpayers, while still desirable, no longer is a top priority.

This is a mature judgment and shows Clinton to be increasingly sure-footed on economic issues—and pragmatic as well, because he needs the support of Paul Tsongas, who knew from the start that a tax break for middle-income families was a bad idea. Tsongas still hasn't endorsed Clinton but is more likely to do so now.

Clinton said in the interview he would address the longer-term difficulties of the economy by turning to tax breaks to stimulate greater investment in the nation's manufacturing industries, and by spending more on "infrastructure"—roads, bridges and the like.

Moreover, Clinton is now committed to economic growth as the nation's top economic priority, relegating the budget deficit to secondary status, as it should be, behind getting the economy out of the stagnation of the Bush years.

On the other hand, the Arkansas governor is straddling the free trade vs. protectionism issue. On these questions, he doesn't come off as convincing, to me at least, although his proposals for a form of interventionist meddling are highly respectable among some liberal Democrats.

Clinton says he is a "pragmatist" and "iconoclast" who believes in free trade, in principle, and at the same time sees the practical need for the government to help key industries compete with Germany and Japan. "There is a time to get tough and be tough, but we cannot use that as an excuse not to do what we need to do," Clinton said.

I asked Clinton if he were not "trying to carry water on both shoulders." I reminded him, for example, that he said in a recent speech at the Wharton School in Philadelphia that "protectionism is just a fancy word for giving up." Yet, in the same speech, he proposed a civilian R&D agency financed by the government to pay for research in a "few dozen strategic technologies," a tactic some challenge as a fruitless government effort to pick and determine "winners and losers."

Clinton did not answer my question definitively. Here is what he said:

"I will always have a preference for free trade. I'm always going to be working for expanded trade, but I'm going to be doing it with a view toward maintaining a competitive, high-wage economy in America and integrating other countries in a pattern of growth...."

"The world needs to know that America is serious about us being an exporting power and about opening markets, and before we adopt protectionist strategies, we must do everything we can do to meet the competition on our own terms."

He thinks that in the past, America has not adequately fought back against unfair foreign competition, "and we've also too often given protection for nothing in return, and that's not contributed to the competitiveness of our economy."

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

David S. Broder

Clinton's Gamble With Jesse Jackson

Bill Clinton, running third in a three-man presidential race less than a month before he formally claims the Democratic presidential nomination, has done what politicians do when they find themselves in a losing situation. He has taken a big gamble.

Last Saturday, he publicly and deliberately picked a fight with Jesse L. Jackson, the two-time contender for the party nomination, de facto leader of the Democratic Party's left-wing and most prominent national figure in the African American community that has been the Democrats' most loyal voting base.

The specific target of Clinton's criticism, when he appeared Saturday before Jackson's Rainbow Coalition in Washington, was the rap singer Sister

*The meeting was
used to show the
candidate's
independence.*

Souljah, who had been invited by Jackson to participate in a panel discussion at the convention despite the controversy about her comments after the Los Angeles riots.

The entertainer had told The Post in an interview then that if "black people kill black people every day, why not have a week and kill white people?"

Clinton said that comment and others in the same vein she made in TV interviews showed the rap singer was "filled with hate" and questioned Jackson's wisdom in including her in the panel discussion with other young people.

Jackson was thoroughly indignant, and two days later, in a phone interview, he was still steaming. "He was invited to our house as a guest, and he used the platform to . . . embarrass us," Jackson complained. As Jackson plainly recognized, Clinton had seized the opportunity to talk past the predominantly black audience in the room and deliver a message to white America about his relationship with Jackson. "I invited him to promote unity," Jackson said, "but he came to establish distance."

On the latter point, Jackson is clearly correct. The intent was obvious and had been signaled in advance by top Clinton aides who told reporters that the meeting with the Rainbow Coalition would be used to show Clinton's "independence."

As a tactic, it can easily be defended. Sister Souljah's words were provocative and demagogic. As he has in the past, with Louis Farrakhan, Jackson finds himself in a morally weak position. He will not defend her sentiments, but neither will he condemn them.

Some would say, too, that Clinton was giving Jackson a taste of his own medicine. In 1984 and 1988, after he

had lost the nomination fights to Walter Mondale and Michael Dukakis, Jackson did his best to hijack attention at the Democratic National Convention.

In both years, Jackson forced the nominees into protracted and highly publicized negotiations that left the impression that he was calling the tune. Although he was denied the vice presidential nomination, Jackson squeezed the nominees for other concessions—to say nothing of prime-time television appearances that almost overshadowed the later acceptance speeches.

This year, Clinton sent a clear signal that not only will he not allow Jackson to steal the Democratic convention spotlight, but he, Clinton, is prepared to play hardball on Jackson's home turf. The Sister Souljah interview appeared in The Post on May 13, and, according to aides, Clinton was upset by her words when he first read them. But he held off commenting until he was before Jackson's group.

For his part, Jackson sees it as a part of a pattern of provocations by Clinton—including the refusal of the Democratic Leadership Council to invite Jackson to speak to its convention last year when Clinton was its chairman and Clinton's emotional denunciation of Jackson four months ago at what turned out to be a false report that Jackson had endorsed Sen. Tom Harkin of Iowa for the nomination.

The gamble Clinton is taking is that more white Americans will be impressed by his "standing up" to Jackson than black Americans are repelled by his "disrespect" to the Rainbow Coalition leader. Yesterday, while Jackson himself was trying to damp down the controversy, Sister Souljah held a news conference to denounce Clinton.

Democrats cannot win without a big and solid black vote, but black votes alone are obviously not enough. Among former Mondale and Dukakis aides, it is an article of faith that these candidates were badly damaged by the perception white voters got that Jackson was jerking their chains. But no one can prove how many votes that actually cost them.

Meantime, the black vote is at the heart of the Democratic electoral strategy—particularly in a three-way race where southern states with large black populations may become real battlegrounds. During the primaries, Clinton carried most black precincts, but the turnout was pitifully small in most places.

Privately, many black elected officials have encouraged Clinton to rely on them and their organizations—rather than on Jackson—to rally black voters in November. How well they can deliver remains to be seen. And if black voters turn against Clinton because of his stance toward Jackson, the gamble could look even bigger.

But when you're running where Clinton is today, you almost have to take real risks.

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

Tempest in the Ranks

The question of where Bill Clinton is heading remains unanswered five months before the election, accounting for the turmoil at his Little Rock campaign headquarters when a poll that had been ordered was canceled.

Senior staffers opposing this action threatened resignation, which would seem an overblown response to a routine campaign decision. The greater issue is what kind of campaign will be conducted. Should Clinton take advantage of the three-way race for president to target core Democrats and ensure 40 percent of the vote? Or should he cast the broadest net and seek 51 percent?

No decision comes yet from the candidate himself. Clinton began his campaign by approximating the centrist politics of Scoop Jackson, clinched the nomination by imitating Fritz Mondale in his embrace of liberal pressure groups and now denies any internal conflict. The complication is that his

wife and his shrewdest political strategist appear to be on opposite sides.

These crosscurrents were exposed when a national survey to be conducted by Clinton's resident pollster Stan Greenberg was peremptorily canceled by a woman named Susan Thomases, a Washington-based member of a New York City law firm who plays a preeminent backstage role in the Clinton campaign. Greenberg then submitted his resignation, and campaign manager David Wilhelm said he would quit too. According to campaign sources, Eli Segal (who runs the campaign day to day in Little Rock) and communications director George Stephanopoulos also threatened to leave.

The campaign officially denies everything, though one senior figure told us Greenberg's resignation "was just a way of dramatizing his displeasure." At any rate, all are still on board.

The reason this is more than just a

tempest in the teapot is the place where Thomases stands on the ideological spectrum. Her parents are well-known in New Jersey Democratic politics as generous contributors, and she is regarded by the state's old-line Democrats as "extreme left."

She has not hesitated to use her new authority in the Clinton campaign to pursue old struggles. Rep. Robert Torricelli was recommended by the House Democratic leadership to be chairman of the national convention's rules committee. But he is an enemy of the Thomases family, and Susan's mother was among the liberal activists who picketed Torricelli's home last year because of his support for Operation Desert Storm. The daughter, acting in Clinton's behalf, went to National Chairman Ron Brown to nix the congressman for the rules job.

Thomases is detested not only by the

quartet who threatened resignation but also, according to staffers, by chief campaign strategist James Carville. They regard Thomases and her political ally, New York leftist Democrat Harold Ickes Jr. (named as Clinton's convention manager), as pursuing a 40 percent strategy that clouds any chance for victory. One staffer told us Thomases is fronting for "the crowd that wants to put every liberal package in our shopping cart" now that Perot is in the race.

Thomases would be considered a poor match for Carville and indeed unlikely to influence Clinton had she not secured a firm ally inside the campaign in Hillary Clinton. The candidate's wife, a militant feminist and advocate of children's rights, is no centrist.

And nobody doubts her authority. It had been assumed that in the interest of convenience and efficiency, campaign headquarters would move to Washington from Little Rock after the

convention. But Hillary vetoed it, and the governor agreed. Anybody who wants day-to-day influence over this campaign will have to take up residence in the capital of Arkansas.

That worries Democrats who pray that their presidential candidate will follow his strategist and not his wife. They were cheered when, speaking to Jesse Jackson's Rainbow Coalition, Clinton audaciously attacked Sister Souljah's black racism. But they groaned when he expressed interest in calling her to discuss the issue.

He embarked on a strategy to run against Congress that Speaker Thomas Foley attributes to Carville but then took New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's advice to try to make a deal with the lawmakers. Fighting over which way the candidate will go makes for tempests inside his campaign.

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Robert H. Williams

Two Scoops Shy

The day was Monday, June 19, 1972, and I was at police headquarters in the District of Columbia. The officer I had come to interview had put me on ice in an office he'd borrowed for a few minutes while he went to answer increasingly frequent calls from his boss. My eyes fell on the material scattered randomly, it appeared, across the desk. There were maps, road maps, one of West Virginia with a route marked in red through the middle of it, and dozens of other pieces of paper, some of them in plastic bags.

Don G. Cherry had been the acting sergeant at the scene of a break-in at the Watergate over Saturday night, and the stuff he had collected at the scene was there in front of me. I sorted through it, without a lot of interest. There weren't any pictures. I remember yawning.

I'd been asked by the editor of The Washington Post Magazine to do a story on Cherry, an 11-year veteran of the police force who was also an artist and who had an uncanny way of drawing suspects whom he'd never seen just by interviewing witnesses and victims. He was almost psychic.

Between calls from his increasingly anxious chief, he returned to me, and eventually we went in to interview a rape victim whose assailant he was going to sketch from details she would provide. She had agreed to let me sit in on the interview. As we talked, walking down the hall, Officer Cherry babbled constantly about what had happened the previous Saturday night, June 17, but I was interested in this magazine story, which would go a lot farther

toward helping me make my rent that month than a story about a third-rate burglary caper that hadn't gone anywhere. I hadn't paid much attention to the story anyway, and the names he was mentioning didn't mean anything to me.

I asked the rape victim what her name was, and she said it was Ann Arbor, which, in my midlife naivete, I wrote in my notebook and later in the story I turned in for the magazine. The editor took it out and looked at me oddly. I was running real hot that day in the journalism game.

This wasn't my first brush with the shenanigans of the White House that Richard M. Nixon ran, and it wasn't my first miss, either.

My earliest encounter with the Watergate story preceded the event by almost two years, and nobody knew it then nor has it been mentioned since, until now. Having a wonderfully marred journalistic hindsight (I knew Jones-town was a great story several days after it broke), it took me two decades to realize what a hot property I had here in this wig story, and I will withhold it from you no longer.

It was an earlier time. President Nixon had been in the White House a year and a half, and I had been in the Style section of The Post for a year when Elsie Carper, or maybe it was Henry Mitchell, asked me if I'd like to go over to Woodie's and do a story about a new line of men's Dynel wigs just in from Hong Kong (one size fits all). Being an editor and not a reporter, I did not have the option of declining the assignment, so I picked up Ken Feil, a photogra-

pher, and asked a friend if he'd like to go along—with the idea of stopping for a sudsy aperitif somewhere along one boulevard or another on a hot August afternoon in 1970.

Now you will recall that one of the Watergate players, E. Howard Hunt, was to show up in 1972 as having worn what was described as "an ill-fitting red wig" as part of a disguise furnished by the CIA. It was the sort of episode one came to expect as the whole business of the White House Plumbers came to light during that time. Nobody ever asked where this red wig (it was really brown, according to some testimony) and its companions came from, except that Richard Helms, who had been director of the CIA, testified one afternoon with a smile that it would not be like the CIA to supply anything that could be called "ill-fitting."

At Woodie's, though, in the summer of 1970, we took before-and-after pictures and tried on the wigs, one of which was called the "Pan," and the friend I'd asked along hit on the sales clerk, an attractive woman, and somehow got her telephone number.

Having some journalistic skills, I interviewed that clerk and another, making two sources for the story, and got enough of an interesting angle to write these two paragraphs as my lead:

"On a recent warm summer day a United States government official rode the escalator to a downtown store, bought 16 men's wigs for \$720, swore the staff to secrecy, and returned to wherever it was he had started.

"You may like to speculate that the CIA is

going to send 16 men out into the cold with little rugs of Dynel to keep them warm, or that 16 Secret Service men are going to look even more alike than usual; but the staff remains sworn to secrecy, and all you know for sure is that the government man joined the growing numbers of Washingtonians who are buying up stretch wigs faster than craftsmen in Hong Kong and Canal Street can make them."

I guess Howard Hunt's suppliers had to get their wigs someplace. But it turned out it wasn't going to be at Woodie's, at least not at the downtown store.

My story appeared on a weekend, as I recall, on a Saturday or maybe Sunday, and a day or two later my friend, who'd gone along in the spirit of adventure, called the wig saleswoman with the idea of asking her out.

"You've got a lot of nerve calling me, you [expletive deleted]!" she snarled at him.

He of course protested, and she got specific, and grim:

"I told you not to put that in about the government men, and first thing Monday morning the guy brought back all 16 of the wigs, he was [expletive deleted] as [expletive deleted], and there went my commission!"

And there went my career. But I didn't know it until yesterday.

The writer is an assistant news editor of The Post.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Robert P. Charrow
And Joseph Onek

The Most Expensive Election Of All

Unnoticed among all the crystal ball gazing about Ross Perot and the electoral college is one deceptively simple issue that may have as much impact on the possible House action as all the arcane intricacies of the 12th Amendment: Is the House's selection of a president an "election" for purposes of the statutory and regulatory restrictions that normally govern campaigns for federal office?

To put the issue in context, there would be a two-month hiatus between the general election in November and the House action in early January. During this period the candidates and their supporters would not be sitting by idly. They would undoubtedly unleash a massive campaign unprecedented in our nation's history. Some of these efforts might involve behind-the-scenes wheeling and dealing of an intensity that would make traditional pork-barreling seem saintly. Other efforts might involve media blitzes of the type that normally dog the airwaves during major campaigns. Whatever the ultimate tenor of these efforts, one thing is certain—vast sums of money would be needed. Perot already has his war chest, but what about George Bush and Bill Clinton?

The ease with which either candidate can raise and spend money will turn on whether the November-December race to the White House is an "election." The Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, bans contributions by corporations, labor unions and foreign nationals, limits individual contributions to \$1,000 per election per candidate, requires candidates to publicly disclose contributions from a single source in excess of \$200 and mandates that campaign advertisements indicate the organization that paid for the ad. That law, however, only applies to payments made for the purpose of influencing a federal election. The possibility that a presidential contest would be thrown to the House was never considered when Congress enacted the law.

Instead, the law defines "election" somewhat circularly to mean "a general, special, primary, or runoff election." Would House action, under the 12th Amendment, qualify as either a "special or runoff election?" Probably not, according to the Federal Election Commission, the agency charged with enforcing our campaign finance laws. The FEC's regulations provide that a special election is one held to fill a vacancy in a federal office. Since the House would select the next president about two weeks before Bush's current term ends, there would be no vacancy. Thus the House action is not a "special election." A runoff election is defined as one that is governed by state law, which is not the case here. In short, our fundamental campaign finance laws would probably not apply.

As a result, both Bush and Clinton would be free to accept large donations from corporations, labor unions, wealthy individuals and possibly even foreign nationals. Furthermore, wealthy institutions and individuals would be free to underwrite media campaigns on their own. Without the limitations of our campaign finance laws, the process of selecting the next president could easily degenerate to pre-Watergate standards, giving the rich and powerful the untrammelled opportunity to purchase political favors.

The ramifications of treating the House action as a non-election transcend campaign finance laws. The rules governing access to television and radio are also keyed to the existence of an "election." Under the Communications Act of 1934, broadcasters cannot charge candidates more than they charge their best customers. This statutory discount, though, ends with the general election on Nov. 3. Thereafter, the broadcaster is free to charge whatever the market will bear, thereby placing an even greater premium on raising large sums of cash.

If the 12th Amendment's process for selecting a president is not an "election" for many regulatory purposes, then what is it, and what restrictions, if any, apply? At best, it would appear that the campaign leading up to the final House action is, as a matter of law, little more than good old-fashioned lobbying. And lobbying is subject to relatively few restrictions. A paid lobbyist must register with the clerk of the House and divulge on whose behalf he is operating and how much he or she is spending. These requirements fall far short of the type of protections and openness afforded by campaign finance laws.

The mere possibility that the real campaign for president will be surreptitiously funded by unlimited donations from corporations, labor unions and high-rollers should be disquieting to most Americans. Congress and the White House could seek legislation that would extend the normal election laws to cover the process of selecting a president and vice president under the 12th Amendment. But it is unlikely that they will, because those laws would place greater restrictions on Bush and Clinton than on Perot.

The FEC may be asked to redefine the term "election" to fill the legal void, but it is unlikely that that commission, consisting of three Democrats and three Republicans, would take any action that would handicap the standard bearers of the two major parties. In short, if the 12th Amendment comes into play, get ready for the most expensive "selection" that money can buy.

The writers are Washington attorneys.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

BUSH AND YELTSIN AGREE TO CUT LONG-RANGE ATOMIC WARHEADS; SCRAP KEY LAND-BASED MISSILES



Boris N. Yeltsin yesterday with President Bush, Barbara Bush and Mr. Bush's dog, Ranger.

ACCORD AT SUMMIT

Moscow Agrees to Yield Most Potent Weapons in Nuclear Arsenal

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — President Bush and President Boris N. Yeltsin announced an agreement today that not only sharply reduces their stocks of long-range-missile warheads, but also eliminates all multiple-warhead missiles based on land, the core of the old Soviet Union's nuclear arsenal.

The accord was announced by the leaders in the White House Rose Garden just hours after Mr. Yeltsin began the first state visit to Washington by a Russian President. It must still be translated into a formal treaty, which United States officials said could be done within three months, then approved by the United States Senate and the Russian Parliament.

"With this agreement," Mr. Bush told reporters, "the nuclear nightmare recedes more and more for ourselves, for our children and for our grandchildren." [Excerpts from Mr. Bush's and Mr. Yeltsin's remarks, page A10.]

The Target Date is 2003

The accord requires each nation to reduce its nuclear force to between 3,000 and 3,500 warheads in two phases by no later than 2003, and by 2000 if the United States helps Russia to destroy its arms system.

The two nations together currently control about 22,500 warheads. Under a treaty that Mr. Bush and the former Soviet leader, Mikhail S. Gorbachev, negotiated in 1991 but which is only now being implemented, the United States arsenal was to be reduced to 6,500 warheads and Russia's to about 6,900.

Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin also agreed today to pursue indications in newly examined Soviet records that some American prisoners from the Vietnam War may have been transferred to the Soviet Union, and could still be held captive in Russia. But Mr. Yeltsin stressed that the prospect was merely "possible," and Mr. Bush said the United States had no independent proof that Mr. Yeltsin's assessment is valid or that any Americans were still alive.

Following Up P.O.W. Report

The President said that he would immediately dispatch Malcolm Toon, a former United States Ambassador to Moscow, to Russia to pursue the reports. Mr. Toon and an adviser to Mr. Yeltsin, Dmitri Volkogonov, head a joint committee seeking to locate both Russian and American service personnel missing in conflicts that involved the two superpowers.

While the cuts in nuclear warheads are dramatic, arms-control analysts said that the mix of weapons created under the agreement is equally significant.

The accord would effectively wipe out the centerpiece of the Russian arsenal, its land-based missile force, while preserving much of the sea-based force that United States military

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U.S. and Russia to Halve Arsenals of Nuclear Arms

Continued From Page A1

strategists consider this nation's great strength.

The United States would cut the number of its submarine-launched missile warheads to 1,750, from 3,840; while this is a 50 percent reduction, it still allows the United States a potentially devastating force at sea.

The Russian concessions on land-based missiles, which Mr. Yeltsin said last week would give the United States an unacceptable advantage, appeared to be driven by his urgent need to secure economic aid to help prop up the faltering Russian economy and to cut his own military expenditures.

Mr. Yeltsin called the accord "an unparalleled and probably unexpected thing for you and the whole world," and indeed, as early as this morning, officials in Washington said they were not sure when an accord would be reached. Mr. Bush has spoken out more forcefully in recent days in favor of a multibillion dollar aid package for Russia.

**As arms
numbers fall, aid
numbers, Yeltsin
hopes, will rise.**

and the International Monetary Fund that has been stalled in Congress by election-year concerns about supporting foreign aid, but the President has not linked his comments to Russian cooperation on arms control.

Some Pessimism Recently

United States officials had been hinting for days that arms talks with the Russians were going slowly. That raised the question of whether an agreement had suddenly fallen into place or Administration officials had been deliberately minimizing their progress. If progress was played down, it might have been to set the stage for a public-relations coup at a two-day meeting that had promised to generate less news and electricity than the meetings between Mr. Gorbachev and Mr. Bush, and before him President Ronald Reagan.

The announcement gave Mr. Bush a

foreign-policy achievement at a time when his global stature and his political popularity have been ebbing ever lower.

Mr. Yeltsin described the accord as tangible evidence of the "partnership and friendship" between Washington and Moscow.

"We know one thing," he said. "We shall not fight against each other."

Asked how the two leaders had achieved an accord that seemed unlikely only hours before, a United States official replied: "Hard work. Would you believe it? And a strong sense on both sides that it was a real chance, an historic opportunity, and that a maximum effort should be made on both sides."

Today's announcement triggered speculation that Mr. Bush had lured Mr. Yeltsin into a nuclear accord with promises of further or quicker economic aid. "I honestly don't believe that that was any part of his calculation," a senior official said today of Mr. Bush.

Bush Optimistic on Aid

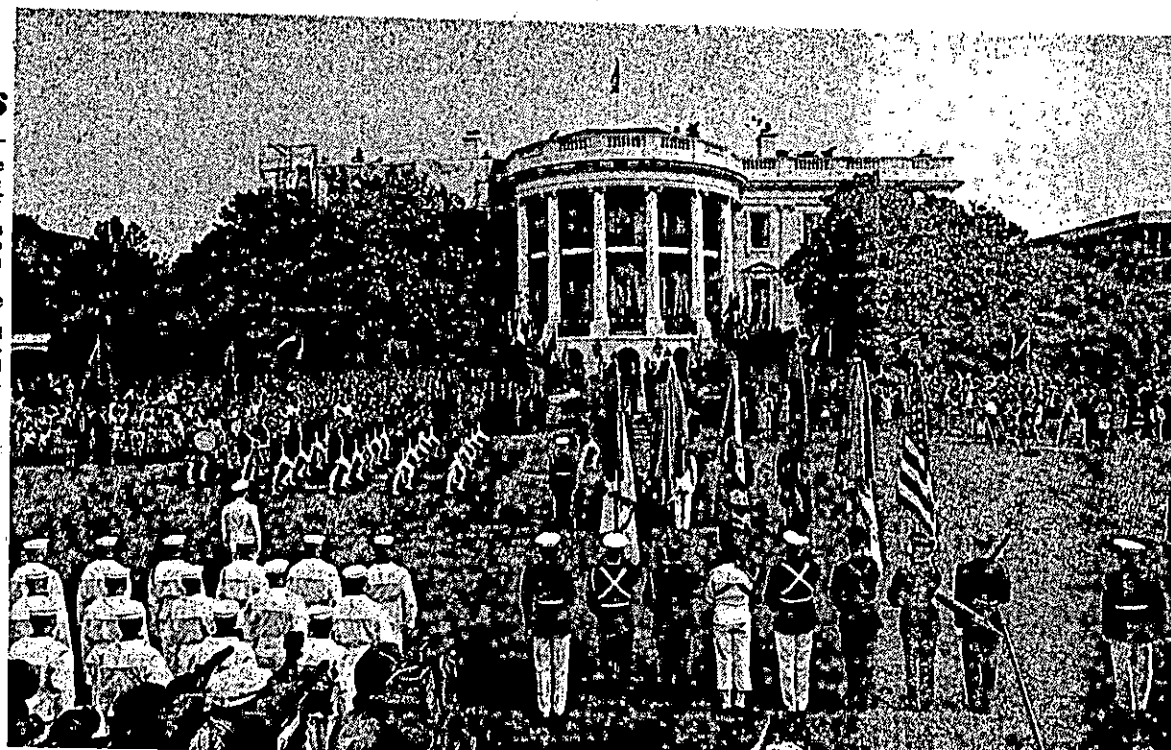
At briefings for reporters, Administration officials said that Mr. Bush expressed optimism that the assistance would move quickly through the Senate, perhaps this week, but that he also told Mr. Yeltsin that election-year realities made the final prospects for passage less certain.

Mr. Yeltsin was said to have responded that he understood political realities, and that back home in Moscow, his own were "brutal."

Today, however, all that was swept into the background by an arms agreement that appeared, at least on paper, to dwarf its ancestors.

The two-stage accord would cut the number of nuclear weapons possessed by each nation first to a range of 3,800 to 4,250, then, by 2003, to 3,000 to 3,500. The final level may be reached as soon as 2000 if Washington can offer Mr. Yeltsin additional assistance in destroying missiles and warheads, officials said.

The target level for warheads effectively splits the difference between the most recent public proposals that Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin made, on Feb. 1 during a brief meeting at the Presidential retreat in Camp David, Md. At that time, Mr. Yeltsin called for reductions to as few as 2,500 weapons, and Mr. Bush, heeding the pleas of Pentagon



The South Lawn was the scene yesterday for the official welcoming ceremony for President Boris N. Yeltsin, who began a two-day state visit.

strategists, held to a level of about 5,000.

A compromise became possible in part because the two sides agreed to abandon a commanding tenet of arms control — the idea that both parties should have parity in the numbers and accuracy of their weapons.

As a practical matter, Russia will probably maintain a smaller nuclear force of 3,000 to 3,200 warheads, officials and arms-control experts said today, while the United States will keep the maximum of 3,500.

The explanation lies in the structure of the agreement, which requires the abolition of most of Russia's largest and most powerful nuclear force, its land-based missiles. With that force gone, Moscow would have to build new missiles merely to reach parity with the United States. Mr. Yeltsin apparently has concluded that that is both too expensive and unnecessary to pursue.

Quality of what is to be cut counts the most.

Today's agreement was ironed out in horse-trading this afternoon between President Bush and President Yeltsin, when the Russian leader finally agreed to destroy his multiple-warhead missiles by 2003, as Washington had proposed, after President Bush assured him that the United States will help pay for the destruction.

The Path to an Accord

The chronology of the negotiations, as outlined today by a senior Administration official, went something like this:

Last September President Bush proposed deep cuts in nuclear missiles, to 4,700 warheads each, provided that Moscow agreed to give up all of its land-based, multiple-warhead ballistic missiles. The Kremlin countered with a proposal that the two sides cut to 2,500 warheads each, and that both nations give up their land-based and sea-launched multiple-warhead missiles.

When Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d and Foreign Minister Andrei V. Kozyrev met in Brussels on March 11, the Mr. Baker tried to persuade Mr. Kozyrev that given their new friendship, it was not necessary to maintain parity, with both sides giving up their multiple-warhead missiles. The Russians were not persuaded.

When Mr. Baker and Mr. Kozyrev met again in Lisbon in the middle of May, the Russians for the first time signaled a general willingness to accept Washington's number of 4,700

warheads and to allow the United States to keep some submarine-based multiple-warhead missiles; this would be done in two stages by 2003. But Moscow wanted to retain almost all of its ICBM's until the second stage.

From then on, talks between Mr. Baker and Mr. Kozyrev focused on how to implement this understanding. The Americans wanted an earlier target date, and eventually they compromised on 2003. The Russians wanted lower total warhead numbers, and the two sides eventually agreed on a range of 3,000 to 3,500.

The last minute wrangling was over how to pay for such rapid destruction of nuclear weapons, how to count the number of weapons that bombers would be allowed to carry and how to actually go about taking warheads off missiles — all of which were resolved in talks last night and this morning.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

A Bill to Ease Voter Registration Clears House and Pressures Bush

By CLIFFORD KRAUSS

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — Seeking higher voter turnout among the poor, elderly and disabled, the Democratic-controlled House today overwhelmingly approved a measure that would enable all citizens to register to vote as they renew their driver's licenses and apply for social services at government agencies.

White House officials said they would advise President Bush to veto the measure, which was approved by the Senate in May. But it could be politically risky for the President to reject a measure that has the goal of encouraging more people to vote.

Democrats have threatened to make an election issue out of what they call Republican attempts to restrict voting.

Speaker Thomas S. Foley of Washington said today that for the President to veto the legislation while "we're selling democracy around the world" would make voters more cynical and ultimately hurt the Republican Party.

"The President will have a heavy burden of blame and explanation if he vetoes this legislation," Mr. Foley added.

Vulnerable to a Veto

The bill passed by 268 to 153, short of the two-thirds needed to override a veto, with 239 Democrats joined by 28 Republicans and 1 Independent in favor of the bill. Only 18 Democrats voted with 135 Republicans in opposition.

The Senate approval of the measure on May 20 was six votes short of being veto-proof.

The measure, known on Capitol Hill as the "motor voter bill," would replace the potpourri of registration procedures that exists among the states. Thirty states, including New York and New Jersey, as well as the District of Columbia, already have enacted registration rules that include some or all of the bill's provisions. The Connecticut legislature passed a "motor-voter" law last month. It was signed by Gov. Lowell P. Weicker Jr. last week.

The bill passed today would require all states to allow eligible citizens to register at the same time they obtain or renew their driver's, marriage, hunting or fishing licenses. States would also have to offer voter registration by mail and at the offices of state agencies like welfare and unemployment.

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The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Error by Quayle Studiously Avoided

By EVELYN NIEVES
Special to The New York Times

TRENTON, June 16 — So Jay Leno has a week's worth of new Dan Quayle jokes. At a school here, everyone was quite hush-hush the day after the visiting Vice President spelled potato wrong while directing a spelling bee.

Students in the after-school program were lined up in the schoolyard and told not to talk to milling reporters. Counselors directed all questions to the Mayor's office. And the Mayor was out.

But that was beside the point. The school where the after-school program is held, the Luis Munoz Rivera Elementary School, was inundated with telephone calls today from reporters trying to follow up on Mr. Quayle's gaffe.

The principal, Nate Jones, said he spoke to reporters from England and Colombia, participated in a live morning interview with a Chicago radio station and took a call from a representative of the Potato Museum in Great Falls, Va.

"Who knows what generates news nowadays?" Mr. Jones said.

Standing Outside House

Reporters stood around today for hours outside of the house where 12-year-old William Figueroa lives. He has become a national celebrity for having spelled the word correctly on the blackboard, only to have Mr. Quayle, holding a flash card with the

word spelled incorrectly, encourage him to add an E at the end.

William's mother, who had scheduled an interview with a television news team at 3 P.M., did not make the appointment. A note on the family's door said nobody was there because of a family emergency in New York.

But the word locally was that she was upset about quotation attributed to William, a sixth grader at the Mott School, in a local tabloid newspaper, *The Trentonian*. The incident "showed the rumors about the Vice President are true — that he's an idiot," the newspaper quoted him as saying on Monday.

People here speculated that city officials were nervous that the quotation, and any further comment, might endanger the very program that brought the Vice President to the city late Monday afternoon.

Program for Inner City

The program, called "Weed and Seed," is an effort that provides tutoring and recreation from 3 P.M. to 9 P.M. for inner-city students at three schools in drug-plagued areas whose parents work.

After watching a drill team perform, Mr. Quayle entered a classroom with about 25 excited students, and began conducting a spelling bee. The students had been drilled in advance on the words. Mr. Quayle, apparently, had not.

Given a stack of yellow cards, Mr. Quayle and a student both spelled the

first word, president. Mr. Quayle even made a joke, using it in this sentence: "The President always tells the Vice President what to do."

Then "potato" came up. Mr. Quayle instructed William to go to the board. The bespectacled lad quickly printed P-O-T-A-T-O.

"That's fine phonetically," the Vice President said, "but you're missing just a little bit."

With Mr. Quayle's coaxing, William warily added an E.

Rumbling From Reporters

That set off rumbling from the dozens of reporters crammed into the classroom. Several of them near the back of the room sought the nearest reference, "The Rainbow Dictionary," to confirm that the standard spelling of potato is without an E.

Questioned about it later at a news conference, Mr. Quayle said he was unaware of his error.

Mr. Jones today tried to defend the mistake. "I'm not an English person," he said, "but I've been told that the word used to carry that spelling."

Caught during a break in classes this afternoon, William sounded a more conciliatory note. He told an Associated Press reporter that the Vice President "is an O.K. guy, but he needs to study."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

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And Now, the Political Plowshares

Boost for Bush Campaign, but Will It Last?

By R. W. APPLE Jr.
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — On the face of it, the sweeping arms agreement announced today by President Bush and President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia seems precisely the kind of political medicine Mr. Bush needs.

News Analysis It displays Mr. Bush in his preferred role of accomplished international negotiator and peacemaker, which since the Persian Gulf war has been gradually eclipsed, in terms of public opinion, by concerns about health care, jobs, education, the environment and the credibility of politicians. Nuclear disarmament is obviously an easier sell than sluggish economic growth.

The historical record shows, furthermore, that Presidents who make major strides toward peace or who confront major world crises get political credit for doing so. A study last year by the Gallup Organization identified 42 "rally events," in which Presidents played such roles, in administrations stretching back to that of Franklin D. Roose-

velt, and found an average jump of 8 percentage points, lasting an average of 10 weeks, in Presidential approval.

Sometime the increase has been bigger. When the American hostages were seized in Iran in November 1979, Jimmy Carter's ratings jumped 19 points; when the Vietnam peace agreements were reached in January 1973, Richard M. Nixon gained 16 points. Mr. Bush's approval figure reached 89 percent, a record, after jumping 18 percent at the onset of the air war in the gulf.

Stressing the Negative

But the Democrats will do all they can to re-emphasize George Bush's weak suit, domestic affairs. The Speaker of the House, Representative Thomas S. Foley, Democrat of Washington, said this evening that he doubted the House would approve further aid for Russia because of political instability there; he did not say, but other Democrats did, that their political interest clearly lies in spending money at home,

Continued on Page A11, Column 1

Russians Greet Accord With Joy and Remorse

By SERGE SCHMEMANN
Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, June 16 — Like so many of the drastic changes taking place in Russia, the agreement to sharply reduce the strategic arsenals of Russia and the United States is likely to be welcomed for the new era it heralds and resented for the collapse of empire it confirms.

News Analysis The agreement announced by Presidents Bush and Boris N. Yeltsin on the first full day of the Russian leader's visit to Washington seemed to come as a major surprise. None of the newspapers here had predicted it, and none of the evening news programs had any advance notice.

Mr. Yeltsin seemed to relish the surprise in his comments in the Rose Garden, and it was evident that he hoped to find political benefits in nuclear reductions that went far beyond anything the old Soviet Union had ever achieved, and far more quickly.

Mr. Yeltsin has made much in interviews and speeches of the claim that he is leading Russia into the fold of civilized nations, and that he is capable of matching and exceeding the rapport that Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the last Soviet leader, developed with the West.

Welcome News

For those Russians reared on the fear of a nuclear clash of the superpowers, and for those who have understood that Russia can no longer afford the sort of military expenditures that ultimately bankrupted the Soviet Union, the news was bound to be welcome.

But the treaty was equally certain to

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The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Russians Greet Accord With Joy and Grumbling

Continued From Page A1

meet with grumbling and disaffection from that sizable portion of the populace, especially in the older generations, who chafe at the collapse of Soviet and Russian power and influence.

At the tip of the iceberg were several hundred Russian ultra-nationalists and Communist die-hards who gathered around the television tower at Ostankino tonight denouncing Mr. Yeltsin as a Judas for "selling out" Russia.

The decision was also likely to go down badly with the military. The agreement reached in Washington appeared to give the United States exactly the advantage that Mr. Yeltsin had told the military last week he opposed.

As described by the two Presidents, the agreement called for the elimination of multiple-warhead land-based in-

**Even supporters
of the arms deal
may feel a tinge
of remorse.**

tercontinental missiles, which are the backbone of the old Soviet nuclear arsenal, but allowed the survival of multiple-warhead sea-launched intercontinental missiles, which are the United States' major nuclear strength.

Assailed Similar Proposal

But precisely such a deal was assailed by Mr. Yeltsin only last Wednesday in remarks at the Russian Defense Ministry, where he supported continued nuclear parity and accused the United States of seeking "a more advantageous position."

His remarks were not reported in detail in the press here. But unless Mr. Yeltsin could convince military officers that he had found other means of securing parity, he was likely to come under criticism for unilaterally surrendering one of Moscow's major strengths.

The obvious counter to such arguments — that the survivors of a disintegrated and bankrupt Soviet Union have no logical claim to demand parity with the major Western power — is not heard in a nation that has not yet become accustomed to the loss of might.

A great many Russians, even those who normally regard themselves as liberal, democratic and enlightened, have had difficulties shedding the iden-

tification with power and empire. Many residents of the former Soviet Union, and especially those living in Russia, derived their sense of identity from the scope and significance of their nation, not their nationality.

No ICBM's and Butter

Even today many Russians take for granted that Russia has a say in the Middle East or in Yugoslavia. Mr. Yeltsin himself argued in an interview last week that Russia was a great power if only by virtue of its history.

Thus even those Russians who recognize the wisdom and advantage of the arms deal are likely to feel a tinge of remorse if they perceive that Russia is surrendering its power. Such feelings were likely to be exacerbated by Mr. Yeltsin's comment that with half of Russia living below the poverty line it could simply not afford a large arsenal.

Men like Georgy Arbatov, the head of the Moscow Government's U.S.A. Institute, have become increasingly bitter in public over the perception that Russia is destroying itself by aping Western ways. Mr. Arbatov and like-minded Russians have focused much of their irritation at the International Monetary Fund, which is perceived by many Russians to be making demands that would plunge Russia even further into poverty.

Mr. Yeltsin is obviously aware of such criticism, and he has declared that he would not allow the I.M.F. to "dictate" to Russia, just as he declared last week that he would not allow the United States an "advantage" in arms talks.

No Measure of Greatness

Thus the trip to Washington and the arms agreement carry considerable political risks for Mr. Yeltsin. He is likely to parry, as he already has, by noting that his warm reception in Washington is in itself a recognition of Russia's status, and that missiles are no longer the true measure of a nation's greatness.

Ultimately, the success or failure of Mr. Yeltsin's first major presidential foray to the United States will be determined by the success or failure of his reforms.

If the perception forms that the reforms are bearing fruit, and especially if the West does come through with the mooted multi-billion assistance package, the summit and the arms agreements will come to be seen as major milestones in the forging of normal East-West relations.

If things go badly, Mr. Yeltsin's political opponents from the "national-patriotic" camp are likely to focus on the summit as an example of the President's kowtowing to the West at the expense of his people.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Campaign Boost for Bush

Continued From Page A1

not abroad.

The political fallout of the Yeltsin visit is also complicated by the possibility that Americans taken prisoner in Vietnam might have been shipped to Russia and imprisoned, and that some might still be in labor camps.

A whole series of other caveats must be applied to any suggestion that today's agreement could represent a turning point in what has been a dismal campaign for the President.

First and most obviously, the election is in November, not June, and other events at home and abroad will arise to capture the electorate's attention. Only rarely is a foreign-policy event so riveting that it swings large numbers of votes months later, as the war for the Falkland Islands in 1982 apparently did in the British general election of 1983, when Margaret Thatcher won a decisive victory.

A Short-Term Gain

"The President has had very little good news to talk about for the last three months," said Peter Hart, a Democratic poll-taker, strategist and analyst, "and this will certainly help him in the short term by pulling the spotlight back onto foreign affairs, the one subject voters think he is best qualified to deal with."

"But this is not like a war in the intensity of its impact, and people are going to come back to the domestic issues by the fall. It will still be an election about whether the government works and solves our problems."

In addition, a potential paradox lurks in the agreement to cut the two countries' nuclear warheads by two-thirds: If it takes effect, the possibility of nuclear confrontation between the two would be further reduced and, it could be argued, so would the importance of having an experienced hand on the nuclear trigger. Ross Perot and Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas lack foreign-policy experience, but would that matter so much to voters when the risk of major conflagration appears slight?

More to Spend at Home

Mr. Clinton, in particular, might also be able to argue that the further reductions in weaponry should make available more money for the domestic programs that he has advocated without always being able to describe precisely how he would pay for them.

Whether the arms agreement will help the President persuade a hitherto reluctant Congress to approve his aid package for Russia is also open to question, especially given the sensitivities on Capitol Hill to the prisoner-of-war issue. Until Mr. Yeltsin's disclosure that some Americans may still be held in Russian camps has been investigated, said Senator John McCain, a Republican from Arizona, there will be no approval for aid to Russia.

Asked about the arms-control agreement, Senator Patrick J. Leahy of Ver-

mont, chairman of the Subcommittee on Foreign Operations, commented, "I think it should help. I think the majority in the Senate are predisposed to help. It would be a shame if because of the prisoner-of-war aspect defeat was snatched from the jaws of victory."

Foreign-Affairs Appeal

Mr. Bush has been trying to play the foreign-policy card, without conspicuous success, since he began his re-election campaign in January.

He used television commercials in New Hampshire that extolled his role in the gulf victory and attacked his Republican rival, Patrick J. Buchanan, as a reluctant warrior. Only Monday, in an appearance on CNN before the arms-control agreement was reached, the President all but begged voters to reward him for his foreign policy.

"I hope they know I stand for world peace," he said. "I hope every mother and dad out there says, 'Hey, we ought to give this President a little credit for the fact that our little kids don't worry quite as much about nuclear war.' Isn't that important? Isn't it important that because of Ronald Reagan and me, to a large extent — and a lot of support in Congress — we've seen a crumbling of our monolithic opponents, the Communists?"

Voters do credit Mr. Bush with foreign-policy expertise; in the most recent New York Times/CBS News poll, taken in early May, he had a 47 percent favorable, 42 percent unfavorable rating in that field. But his rating in handling the economy was so dreadful — 18 percent favorable, 73 percent unfavorable — that it dragged his overall standing into negative ground.

Yeltsin Reaches Out

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — President Boris N. Yeltsin had more on his mind here than arms control and economics: He also had a phone call to make — to Cavendish, Vt., and the exiled writer Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn.

A spokesman for Mr. Solzhenitsyn said Mr. Yeltsin, whose call had been expected, telephoned on Monday evening and spoke to the writer for about 30 minutes.

"They discussed serious matters," the spokesman said, without elaborating.

Mr. Solzhenitsyn was exiled in 1974 after being charged with treason. Moscow dropped the charge in September, meeting the condition the writer had set for his return, but he later indicated he wanted to finish his current writings before going back.

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

Reducing the Russian Arms Threat

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — The latest Russian-American arms control agreement not only reduces their total nuclear arsenals from about 22,500 warheads to 7,000, but also does so in a way that eliminates the most threatening Russian nuclear weapons while allowing the United States to maintain its most advanced missiles, American officials and arms control experts said today.

"We are talking about a very good deal," said Jack Mendelsohn, deputy director of the Arms Control Association. "On paper, it looks like the two forces will be reduced equally, but in fact the Russians will be giving up the backbone of their arsenal — land-based multiple warheaded missiles — while we will be retaining the area of our greatest strength, sea-based ballistic missiles."

American officials and experts said that the agreement reached by President Bush and President Boris N. Yeltsin will fundamentally reshape the nuclear standoff that has existed between the United States and the former Soviet Union since the beginning of the cold war.

Reducing Chances of War

They said that the proposed treaty would eliminate those nuclear weapons that both sides would most likely have used in a pre-emptive first strike and to leave them each with those nuclear weapons that they would only likely use in a retaliatory strike. In other words, the proposed treaty should radically reduce the possibility of a nuclear war — no matter who is in power in the Kremlin or Washington.

Beyond that, the sheer number of warheads both sides will possess is going to be cut drastically, far below the levels just agreed to in the recently signed strategic arms reduction treaty. At a time of great instability inside Russia, the sooner the number of warheads there is reduced the better, the analysts agreed.

Russia and the United States now have about 22,500 warheads altogether. After the Start treaty, they would have gone down to about 15,000 warheads altogether. Under the new accord, they would be reducing to about 7,000 warheads, or roughly 3,500 each.

But the mix of warheads is as important as the total. Russia's most potent and sophisticated missiles — the 10-warheaded SS-18's and SS-24's — are based in fixed silos on land. Many traditional arms control experts considered these the most dangerous and destabilizing weapons. Because these missiles could carry so many powerful warheads, the United States would always be tempted to strike first in order to knock them out before they could be launched, and the Russians would always be tempted to launch them first in any crisis, to avoid having them destroyed.

Reductions by 2003

Under the new agreement, Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Bush have decided to give up all of their land-based multiple-warhead missiles in two phases by no later than the year 2003. For Mr. Yeltsin that means his SS-18's and SS-24's, the pride of his arsenal, while for Mr. Bush it means giving up 50 10-warheaded MX missiles and stripping America's 500 Minuteman III missiles from three warheads each down to one warhead each.

But the United States' most advanced multiple-warhead nuclear

In other words, while the Russians will be relinquishing their most powerful missiles, the United States will merely be thinning out their most sophisticated missiles.

As a result of this proposed treaty the American nuclear triad of land-based missiles, sea-launched missiles and bombers will be radically restructured. Instead of having American nuclear weapons based equally on the three legs of that triad, the United States would have a lot of nuclear weapons on its submarines, a lot on its bombers, and relatively few on land-based missiles.

Submarine-Based Missiles

"What this treaty does is remove the weapons that are most dangerous, the ones most likely to lead to a pre-emptive strike — their SS-18's and our MX's," said James T. Bush, associate

U.S. to keep its top missiles; both sides lose first-strike power.

director of the Center for Defense Information, an arms control monitoring group.

"Both sides will be left primarily with submarine-based missiles, which are not accurate enough to provide a first-strike capability, and bombers, which are so slow and easy to detect that you don't have a first-strike capability with them either," Mr. Bush said. "What you are left with essentially are retaliatory forces on both sides, and this greatly reduces the hair-trigger environment that we lived in for so long."

While the proposed deal would seem to favor the United States, President Bush also agreed to cut much deeper than he was originally willing — both the total number of warheads and sea-based warheads in particular. The

instead of one-third. In return, though, he got the long-standing goal of a total ban on Russia's most dangerous multiple-warhead land-based missiles.

Praised by Biden

"I commend the President for his decision to trade cuts in U.S. strategic arms at sea for a ban on Russia's most dangerous weapons on land," said Senator Joseph R. Biden, the Delaware Democrat whose subcommittee oversees many arms control issues. "By focusing on eliminating as many nuclear weapons as possible in the former Soviet Union, and as fast as possible, the President has struck what may be the best deal in the history of arms control. The next step is to call on the British, the French and the Chinese to freeze their arsenals at a few hundred weapons each in exchange for a further cut by Washington and Moscow down to a ceiling not higher than 1,000 warheads each."

In his remarks today, Mr. Yeltsin alluded to two principal attractions of the deal from the Russian perspective. One was his desire to give, as he put it, tangible "expression of the fundamental change in the political and economic relations between the United States of America and Russia." Without such an expression he seemed unlikely to get the economic aid he wants from the United States Congress.

But equally important was the fact that Russia simply could no longer afford an arms race with the United States, which hardly could afford one either.

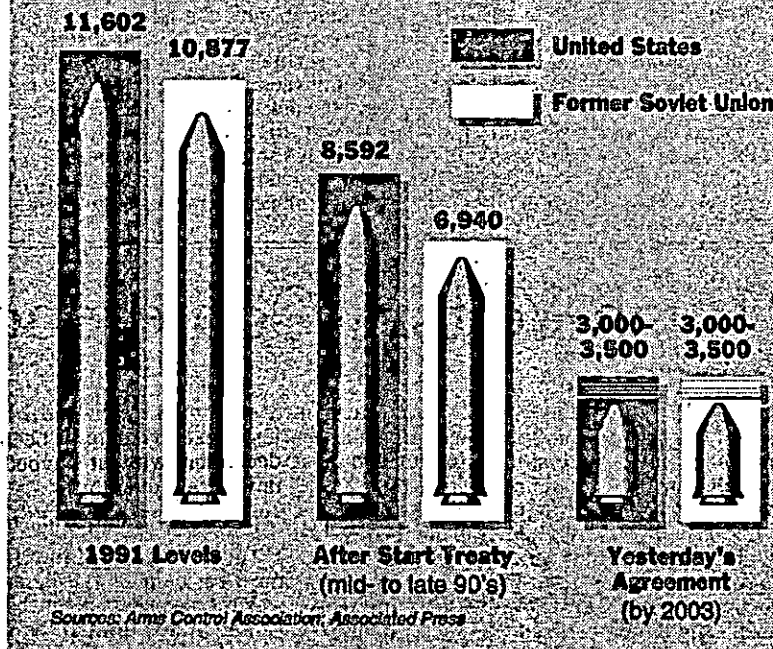
Mr. Yeltsin said: "We are departing from the ominous parity where each country was exerting every effort to stay in line, which has led Russia, for instance, having half of its population living below the poverty line. We cannot afford it, and therefore we must have minimum security level to deal with any possible eventuality which might arise anywhere in the world and threaten our security."

Armenia Reports Advances

By Azerbaijan in Karabakh

The Arsenals: How They Shrink

Estimated number of warheads on long-range nuclear weapons:



The New York Times

White House Tries to Quiet Storm Over Court's Ruling on Right to Kidnap

Suspects Abroad

By NEIL A. LEWIS

WASHINGTON, June 16 — The Bush Administration moved today to assure Mexico and other countries that it would respect their sovereignty in spite of a Supreme Court ruling Monday upholding the United States's right to kidnap a criminal suspect without following procedures set out in extradition treaties.

Following protests over the ruling by Mexico and several countries, the United States opened talks in Mexico City over the Mexican Government's demand for an immediate renegotiation of the extradition treaty to bar the sort of kidnappings that have now won sanction by the Supreme Court.

"We have the utmost respect for Mexican sovereignty," said a statement from the State Department. "We intend to work carefully with the Government of Mexico to allay any concerns or perceptions to the contrary."

In its 6-to-3 decision on Monday, the Supreme Court reinstated a Federal case against a Mexican gynecologist accused of taking part in the torture and murder of an American narcotics agent outside Guadalajara in Mexico in 1985. Lower courts had barred the case against the Mexican on grounds that he had been improperly kidnapped and brought to the United States.

'Invalid and Unacceptable'

Mexico has continuously criticized the abduction, and it denounced the Supreme Court decision as "invalid and unacceptable." This afternoon Mexican officials were meeting with the United States Ambassador, John D. Negroponte, and other American diplomats to discuss the treaty and American antinarcotics activities in Mexico.

The Bush Administration, which had sought the court's ruling, was today scrambling to cope with the effects of the decision among some of its allies.

In Canada, the spokesman for the Ministry of External Affairs, Denys Laliberte, said that "any attempt to abduct someone from Canadian territory is a criminal act."

The Foreign Minister of Argentina, Guido Di Tella, said in a reaction that echoed others from Latin America that if any kidnapping was carried out on Argentine soil, "it will be a shocking and extremely serious step."

But the Supreme Court decision set off a strong reaction among many legal scholars as well.

Troubling Impact Seen

Several scholars said the case would have a troubling impact, particularly with relations with Latin America, and could possibly even open the door for other countries to claim the right to kidnap criminal suspects on American soil.

"We are going to be less successful in persuading other countries to go along with our view of international law if our Government does not go along with a generally shared view of international law," said Lori Fisler Damrosch, a professor of international law at Columbia University.

Other scholars and experts went further, saying that the decision undermined a spirit of respect for international law that had been carefully nurtured by the United States during the war against Iraq, when Washington sought to reach a consensus with its allies before acting.

William D. Rogers, a former Assistant Secretary of State and a prominent international legal scholar, said Washington's behavior in the Mexico kidnapping was the opposite of its behavior in the effort to oust Iraq after its invasion of Kuwait.

In that case, he said, the United States built a consensus based on the



Associated Press

The United States and Mexico began negotiations yesterday for new rules for drug war cooperation and extraditions. Ambassador John Negroponte arrived for talks in Mexico City.

United Nations Charter and its underlying principle of respect for sovereignty.

"Whatever the new world order means, it's certainly supposed to include a reinvigorated respect for international law," he said.

Colossus of the North

Mr. Rogers, who served as the State Department's top diplomat for Latin America in the Ford Administration, also said that the court's ruling may reinforce the American image in Latin

America as "the Colossus of the North that does what it wants, that works its own will unilaterally."

Another specialist, Andreas I. Lowenfeld, a law professor at New York University who is a leading scholar on international kidnapping, said the ruling meant that the United States might itself be vulnerable to kidnappings as long as extradition treaties with other countries do not specifically rule it out.

He said, for example, that Britain could have kidnapped Joseph Doherty, sought by London for his alleged role in terrorism by the Irish Republican Army, and Israel could have kidnapped John Demjanjuk, sought as a guard in a concentration camp in Nazi-occupied Eastern Europe. Both were deported to those countries after lengthy extradition hearings in United States courts. A Federal appeals court recently reopened the case against Mr. Demjanjuk to examine evidence that he may have been a victim of a mistaken identity.

"I have no doubt that we would be very upset if some foreign state snatched somebody from the United States," Professor Lowenfeld said. "But the Government has now really opened that possibility."

But the decision and the Bush Administration had support from others. Edwin Meese 3d, who was Attorney General during much of the Reagan Administration, applauded both the court ruling and the kidnapping of Dr. Humberto Alvarez Machain, which had prompted the case.

"This shows this court is not going to extend loopholes or technicalities to allow wrongdoers, particularly those charged with serious crimes related to drug trafficking, to escape prosecution," he said.

Mr. Meese said that despite the court ruling, he doubted that the Justice De-

partment would resort frequently to kidnapping criminal suspects.

"As a matter of policy we prefer not to offend other countries," he said. "The circumstances in this case were very unusual."

The Supreme Court ruled 6 to 3 that Humberto Alvarez Machain could be brought to trial in the United States, even though he was kidnapped from Mexico in an operation authorized by the Justice Department. Dr. Alvarez was accused of assisting in the torture death of an agent of the Drug Enforcement Agency in 1985.

The Court's majority said that even though the United States has an extradition treaty with Mexico, it did not preclude the kidnapping.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992

U.S. to Press Yeltsin to Reduce Budget Deficit

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — Administration officials said today that they would press President Boris N. Yeltsin to bring Russia's budget deficit under control to help enable it to sign an economic reform agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

If Russia controls its deficit, reins in its money supply and moves to make the ruble convertible, then the Admin-

istration will press the I.M.F. not to delay an agreement because of concerns about details, the officials added.

"If those three key issues can be resolved, then we're willing to work with Russia to see that superfluous issues don't get in the way," said a senior Administration official.

With their battered economy deteriorating day by day, Russian officials are eager to sign an agreement with the fund as soon as possible because an

accord will unblock most of the \$24 billion aid the Group of Seven industrial nations promised last April.

Campaign by Russians

During Mr. Yeltsin's visit to Washington, Russian officials have waged a public campaign to urge more flexibility from the fund, arguing that if the I.M.F. is too stern it could push Russia's economy to the breaking point.

Fund officials are pushing Russia to

reduce its budget deficit to zero, while Russian officials are talking of a deficit target of around 4 percent of the gross national product as compared with more than 20 percent last year.

The fund also wants Russia to explain how it will coordinate monetary policy with other former Soviet republics that plan to continue to use the ruble, because such coordination is deemed essential for reducing inflation and stabilizing the currency.

"We couldn't support a program that would be regarded as less than adequate," said Michel Camdessus, the I.M.F.'s managing director.

The I.M.F. is also pushing Russia to

remove price controls on oil, but Mr. Yeltsin said this would make it hard for farmers to harvest.

"Russia needs to concentrate on the key elements fundamental to reform," said Treasury Under Secretary David C. Mulford.

In meetings today with President Bush, Mr. Yeltsin explained the sweeping reforms he announced Monday about privatization, bankruptcy, ownership of land and foreign exchange.

"They clearly gave us the impression that they're fully committed to continuing with their reform effort, that they're going to stay the course," said an Administration official who sat

in on the meetings.

Members of Congress said an American aid package for Russia could be further delayed by Mr. Yeltsin's statement that Russia might be holding some American prisoners of war who have survived since the Vietnam War.

"If it's determined definitively there are Americans being held as prisoners of war in Russia, there's no way that the Congress is going to pass aid while they're being held," said Senator Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont.

The House and Senate foreign relations committees have both approved the package, but no floor vote has been scheduled.

Reporter's Notebook

In World-Weary Washington, a Sudden 'Hooray!'

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — It took a crowd of tourists to do it, but the Russian-American summit meeting finally generated some public excitement in Washington this evening.

For much of the day, Washington residents had gone about their business seeming more or less oblivious to the presence of President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia. A few people ran up to the back gate of the White House when he and President Bush appeared there briefly, but they were mostly from Hong Kong and Germany.

The Yeltsin trip did not seem to be generating anything like the enthusiasm that the last Soviet leader, President Mikhail S. Gorbachev, used to produce in the capital. Mr. Gorbachev, after all, was able to wow Washington simply by stepping out of his limousine.

So for a time it seemed as if they were going to give a summit and nobody would care. Until, that is, Mr. Yeltsin turned up at the Air and Space Museum.

After posing under the model commemorating the 1975 Apollo-Soyuz mission and giving a little talk about the importance of cooperation in space, Mr. Yeltsin climbed the stairs and headed along a balcony to an official reception.

As he did so, he passed over a room in which hundreds of people were gathered. Always sensitive to a crowd, Mr. Yeltsin paused a moment and his audience exploded into applause, snapped pictures and shouted, "Hip, hip, hooray!"

Washington Unimpressed

If Mr. Yeltsin seemed taken aback, nobody could blame him, given the rather ho-hum response he had been getting earlier in the day.

In the morning, as the two Presidents discussed the future of the world inside the White House, a crowd of spectators gathered across the street outside Mr. Yeltsin's guest quarters at Blair House. It was a crowd that said everything about how Washington was viewing this Russian-American summit meeting. It was a crowd of eight people.

While two young women rode their bicycles past the sidewalk barricade outside Blair House, one asked the other, "What are all these police for?"

"That guy Yeltsin is here," the other said.

"Oh yeh, yeh," said the first woman with a mixture of boredom and recognition.

Like dozens of others, George E. Hieho, a metallurgical engineer, just happened to be passing by when the police froze traffic as the Russian leader emerged from his morning White House talks. He had seen REAL Russians before, scary ones. "I got a glimpse of Khrushchev when he came to the University of



Barbara Bush and Naina Yeltsin, wife of President Boris N. Yeltsin, preparing sandwiches with Kate Berenson left, a volunteer at Martha's Table, a soup kitchen for Washington's homeless.

"Boy, I remember the crowd was 10 rows deep on both sides of the street." "Khrushchev scared us," he said. "He was the leader of a country and could just wipe us out. He said, 'I'm here to fight you.' Now on the other hand this guy Yeltsin, he's begging. He just wants our help to pull his country out of the ditches."

A White House Feast...

While the Yeltsin summit meeting may be lacking the sweep and drama of the old-style Soviet-American summit, the White House was sparing none of the diplomatic trappings, including a state dinner laid on at the White House tonight, with the soprano Carol Vaness booked to entertain.

The dinner, served on the Johnson china on pink tablecloths, was the usual nouvelle institutional, with a heavy emphasis on American dishes and American wines (Cakebread Sauvignon Blanc 1990 and Sanford Barrel Select Pinot Noir 1989).

The overlays on the tables were hot pink.

While the United States Marine Orchestra played from the Grand Foyer, the guests had surcouf, roast loin of veal, potatoes, asparagus, baby carrots, summer salad, herbed Capri cheese, caramel mousse with roasted dried pears and orange sauce and

those machines that fire tennis balls relentlessly across the net and Mr. Yeltsin responded with a large brass vase decorated with silver filigree and "a sample of Russian handiwork."

Barbara Bush and Naina Yeltsin exchanged porcelain pieces. Mrs. Bush's present was a Boehm egg with mock orange blossoms and hearts and a gold rabbit inside. No pink.

... and a Soup Kitchen Visit

With both Russia and the United States focused more on their own internal problems than one another, it was somehow appropriate that Mrs. Yeltsin and Mrs. Bush spent their first morning together visiting a soup kitchen for the homeless and making cheese and bologna sandwiches on whole wheat bread to be distributed later at parks around the capital.

The two first ladies wrapped red aprons around their waists and slipped on disposable gloves to join with the volunteers at the private charity, Martha's Table.

"It is a great privilege to serve you," Mrs. Yeltsin said through a translator. She got so caught up in making sandwiches that she had to be summoned twice to move on.

This was Mrs. Bush's third visit to the kitchen, but several volunteers had missed her previous trips.

and I was looking to see those pearls she had on," said a volunteer, Betty Stewart. "But I was so excited by everything, I think she had them on, but I couldn't wear."

Mrs. Bush, who wore a lavender suit, did indeed have on her signature pearls. Mrs. Yeltsin wore a calf-length beige and taupe dress printed with rubies and other jewels.

Mrs. Yeltsin initially appeared a bit nervous, more accustomed to staying in the background than her predecessor, Raisa Gorbachev, even though she has had a career of her own. For 20 years she worked for the Institute of Waterways in Sverdlovsk, the industrial city in the Ural Mountains where her husband first rose to prominence as a Communist Party leader.

"Mrs. Yeltsin was very nice," Ms. Stewart said. "She smiled, but she didn't speak English."

Asked if she was surprised to find such a place only two miles from the White House, Mrs. Yeltsin remarked, "No, I'm not really surprised because I do expect that under any system there will be poor because people work differently and they have different attitudes toward work."

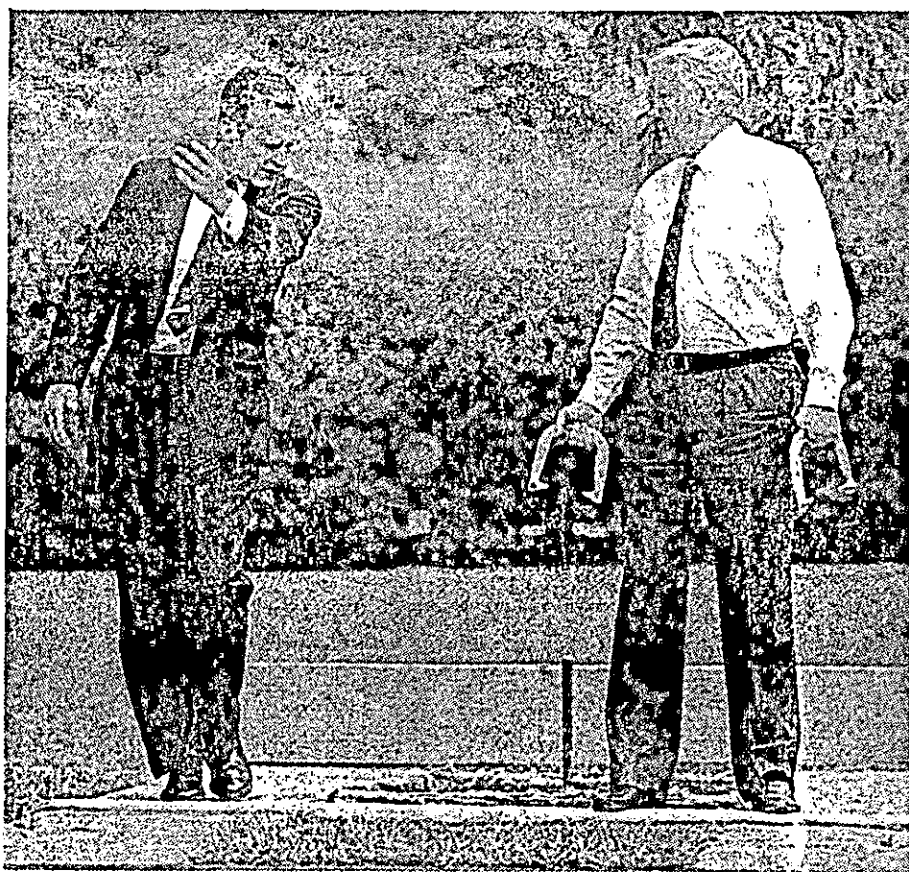
Given the food problems in Moscow today, Mrs. Yeltsin was not exactly shocked by the soup kitchen.

"We also understand your problems," she said. "But thank God you

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992



President Bush and President Boris N. Yeltsin engaged in some of the more subtle aspects of diplomacy yesterday as Mr. Bush demonstrated proper horseshoe-throwing technique to the attentive Russian leader.

PRESIDENT PRAISES YELTSIN ON M.I.A.'S

Says the Russian Admission on War Prisoners Will Be Fully Investigated

By BARBARA CROSSETTE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, June 16 — President Bush praised Boris N. Yeltsin today for acknowledging, after years of denials from Moscow, that American prisoners from several wars may have been taken to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Bush said the Russian President told him for the first time in meetings this morning that the Russians were investigating new information that servicemen from the Vietnam War might have been among those prisoners.

On Monday, in an interview with NBC News, Mr. Yeltsin said that "our archives" showed that some American prisoners from the Vietnam War "were transferred" to the Soviet Union "and were kept in labor camps." He said some "may still be alive."

Vietnam's Foreign Ministry denied today that any American prisoners of war had been sent to the Soviet Union.

Mr. Bush said he had been given no evidence that American prisoners were still alive in the former Soviet Union. But he said he was persuaded that Mr. Yeltsin was prepared "to go the last mile" to find any that were.

American to Examine Papers

"For him to go back and dig into these records, without fear or embarrassment, is of enormous consequence to the people of the United States of America," Mr. Bush said at a joint meeting with Mr. Yeltsin at the White House. "I salute him for this."

Mr. Bush said Malcolm Toon, a former Ambassador to the Soviet Union who leads the United States contingent on a joint commission investigating four decades of missing Americans, would go to Moscow immediately to work with his Russian counterpart, Col. Gen. Dmitri A. Volkogonov, in examining recently opened archives. No new information was made available today.

As the issue of missing servicemen intruded unexpectedly into the Russian-American summit, Ross Perot, who has long insisted that Americans may have been left behind in Indo-

Perot refuses to testify to a Senate 'political circus.'

china, suddenly pulled back from a promise to testify publicly on the issue at a Senate committee hearing on June 30. In doing so, he came closer than he has in the past to confirming his expected candidacy for President.

In a letter faxed today to Senator John F. Kerry, the Massachusetts Democrat who is chairman of the Select Committee on P.O.W.-M.I.A. Affairs, Mr. Perot said, "The politically charged atmosphere that exists at the present time makes it impossible for the subject to be treated with the thoroughness and seriousness it requires."

Mr. Perot said the hearings, coming shortly before national party conventions, "with a witness who is being placed on the ballot as an independent," would quickly turn into "a political circus."

Kerry Chides Perot

In a three-page reply, Mr. Kerry chided Mr. Perot for breaking his promise. Senator Kerry said that Mr. Perot, who made trip to Vietnam in 1987 to discuss the issue with Hanoi, had information to offer and that "the public is entitled to hear it."

The committee, which has subpoena powers, met today to begin discussions on its next course of action.

As Mr. Bush and Mr. Yeltsin were congratulating each other on having reached an arms accord and agreed to pursue vigorously the issue of missing Americans, some members of Congress and Administration officials were saying they thought that the Russian President might have jumped the gun in some of his recent statements on American prisoners. They suggested that Mr. Yeltsin might have wanted to discredit his critics, including Mikhail S. Gorbachev, at home and please members of Congress, which he is scheduled to address on Wednesday.

Some members of Congress doubt that Mr. Yeltsin's statements will help free aid for Moscow.

"We cannot move forward on an aid package to Russia, nor advance steps to normalization with Vietnam without obtaining a complete report on President Yeltsin's statement," Senator John McCain, Republican of Arizona, said today.

There are 2,266 Americans still unaccounted for from Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia, in many cases because bodies have not been recovered. The Pentagon says there are more than 8,100 unaccounted for from the Korean War and 78,750 whose fates have not been confirmed — though most are assumed to have died — in World War II.

Interments in World War

In a letter to the Senate Committee on Friday, Mr. Yeltsin said 716 American servicemen, mostly bomber crews making forced landings on Soviet territory, had been interned during World War II. About 23,000 United States troops wound up in Soviet custody after being freed from German camps; most were sent home in 1945-46.

Mr. Yeltsin also said in his letter that 262 pilots shot down over North Korea during the Korean War had been taken prisoner and that at least 59 of them had been interrogated by Soviet agents. Other Americans fell into Chinese hands.

Excerpts From Bush-Yeltsin Conference: Working Toward a Safer World

WASHINGTON, June 16 (Reuters) — Following are excerpts from statements and a brief news conference by President Bush and President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, who spoke through an interpreter:

BUSH STATEMENT

Mr. President, let me just say that I'm pleased to announce that President Yeltsin and I have just reached an extraordinary agreement on two areas of vital importance to our countries and to the world. First, we have agreed on far-reaching new strategic arms reductions. Building on the agreement reached with Russia, Ukraine, Kazakhstan and Belarus, our two countries are now agreeing to even further dramatic strategic arms reductions substantially below the levels determined by Start.

We have agreed to eliminate the world's most dangerous weapons, heavy ICBM's, and all other multiple warhead ICBM's, and dramatically reduce our total strategic nuclear weapons.

Those dramatic reductions will take place in two phases. They will be completed no later than the year 2003 and may be completed as early as the year 2000, if the United States can assist Russia in the required destruction of ballistic missile systems.

With this agreement the nuclear nightmare recedes more and more for ourselves, for our children and for our grandchildren.

Just a few years ago, the United States was planning a strategic nuclear stockpile of about 13,000 warheads. Now President Yeltsin and I have agreed that both sides will go down to 3,000 to 3,500 warheads with each nation determining its own force structure within that range.

'The New Relationship'

And I'd like to point out that this fundamental agreement which in earlier years could not have been completed even in a decade has been completed in only five months. Our ability to reach this agreement so quickly is a tribute to the new relationship between the United States and Russia and to the personal leadership of our guest, Boris Yeltsin.

In the near future, the United States and Russia will record our agreement in a brief treaty document that President Yeltsin and I

will sign and submit for ratification in our country. President Yeltsin and I have also agreed to work together, along with the allies and other interested states, to develop a concept for a global protection system against limited ballistic missile attack.

And we will explore a senior group — or we will establish a senior group to explore practical steps toward that end, including the sharing of early warning and cooperation in developing ballistic missile defense capabilities and technologies.

This group will also explore the development of a legal basis for cooperation, including new treaties and agreements, and possible changes to existing treaties and agreements necessary to implement the global protection system.

That group is headed by Dennis Ross for the United States, and will first meet in Moscow within the next 30 days.

In conclusion, these are remarkable steps for our two countries, a departure from the tensions and the suspicions of the past, and a tangible important expression of our new relationship. They also hold major promise for a future world protected against the danger of limited ballistic missile attack.

YELTSIN STATEMENT

Mr. President, ladies and gentlemen, I'd like to add a few words to what President Bush has just announced here.

What we have achieved is an unparalleled and probably an unexpected thing for you, and for the whole world. You are the first to hear about this historic decision which has been reached today after just five months of negotiations. We are in fact meeting a sharp dramatic reduction in the total number for the two sides of the number of the amount of nuclear warheads. ...

Indeed, we have been able to cut over those five months of negotiations the total number of nuclear warheads to one-third, while it took 15 years under the Start treaty to make some reductions.

This is an expression of the fundamental change in the political and economic relations between the United States of America and Russia.

It is also an expression and a proof of the personal trust and confidence that has been established between the Presidents of these

countries. President Bush of the United States of America and President of Russia, and these things have been achieved without deception, without anybody wishing to gain unilateral advantages.

'Balance of Security'

This is a result of the trust entertained by the President of the democratic Russia toward America and by the President of the United States toward the new Russia.

This is the result of a carefully measured balance of security. We were not going in for numbers, for just one, two, three thousands of pieces. Rather we have established a record for each country to elect the number, the figure that it will consider appropriate for its own defense and security.

The total number will go down from 21,000 to 6,000 for two sides. Under the first phase, the reductions for the two sides will be down to 3,800 to 4,250, including ICBM's, 1,250, and heavy missiles, 650; SLBM's, 2,250. Under the second phase we shall go down to, respectively, 3,000 and 3,500, including total reduction and destruction of heavy missiles. Land-based MIRV's will be reduced as well. SLBM's will go down to 1,750. Each country will elect the figure that it will consider appropriate to ensure its defense and security.

Thus we are departing from the ominous parity where each country was exerting every effort to stay in line, which has led Russia, for instance, having half of its population living below the poverty line. We cannot afford it, and therefore we must have minimum security level to deal with any possible eventuality which might arise anywhere in the world and threaten our security.

But we know one thing: we shall not fight against each other. This is a solemn undertaking that we are taking today, and it will be reflected as a matter of partnership and friendship in the charter that we are going to sign.

Our proposal is to cut the process of destruction from the proposed 13 years down to 9 years. So the things that I have been mentioning before will be materialized by the year 2000.

I want to add that these figures have been agreed with and ratified by the secretary for

defense, Mr. Cheney, and the Defense Minister, Pavel Grachev, of the Russian Federation.

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Why Nuclear Warheads?

Q: Would you explain for people who might not understand why friends who trust each other and who do not plan to attack would still need 7,000 nuclear warheads?

PRESIDENT BUSH: What I'm saying is, we've moved dramatically down from 13,000. It's going to be a — this will be seen as an enormous move forward toward the relaxation of tension and toward the friendship that we feel for each other. The elimination of these, the most destabilizing of weapons, is extraordinarily positive. And the fact that each country at this juncture in history retains some nuclear weapons speaks for itself.

Who knows what lies out there ahead? But certainly I agree with what President Yeltsin said, that there is no animosity. The cold war days are over and he came here in a spirit of forward movement on these arms control agreements and that speaks for itself.

PRESIDENT YELTSIN: I would like to amplify on that. I would say that in response to your question that the technical and financial resources that are required in order to destroy, dismantle and reduce the total number of warheads and missiles from 21,000 to six or seven thousand is enormous and this is the only thing that conditions this figure.

The Missing G.I.'s

PRESIDENT BUSH: With your permission, Mr. President, I would like to take the last question, which relates to the P.O.W.-M.I.A. discussions that we have had. President Yeltsin and I discussed this morning the issue that is of the highest priority for our Administration, and I know for every American, the fate of American P.O.W.'s and M.I.A.'s from World War II, Korea, the cold-war period and Vietnam.

President Yeltsin informed me for the first time that Russia may have information about the fate of some of our servicemen

from Vietnam. And he said the Russian Government is pursuing this information vigorously, just as we speak. And with us today are President Yeltsin's adviser, Dmitri Volkogonov over here and our able former Ambassador to the U.S.S.R., Ambassador Malcolm Toon. ...

President Yeltsin and I have instructed both of these gentlemen to begin immediately a joint U.S.-Russian pursuit of the latest information; it was given to me today. I have asked Ambassador Toon to return immediately to Moscow to work on this issue, and I want to assure all Americans, and particularly those families of the American P.O.W.'s and M.I.A.'s that we will spare no effort in working with our Russian colleagues to investigate all information in the Russia archives concerning our servicemen.

And while we do not have any specific information to make public today, I pledge to keep the American people informed of developments on this issue as we find out more about these latest leads.

And let me just point out that the forthcoming comments by President Yeltsin is just one more sign of this improved new relationship between Russia and the United States of America. For him to go back and dig into these records, without fear of embarrassment, is of enormous consequence to the people of the United States of America.

Q: Do you agree it's possible that some of those Americans may still be alive?

PRESIDENT BUSH: I would simply say that this — I have no evidence of that, but the cooperation that is, has been extended, and again is being extended by the President of Russia will guarantee to the American people that if anyone's alive, that person, those people would be found. And equally as important to the loved ones is the accounting for any possible M.I.A.

And so we have no evidence of anyone being alive, but I would simply say again that this, this is the best way to get to the bottom of it, and this new approach by the President of Russia to go into these archives and to try to find missing records will be the best assurance that I can give the American people that the truth will, will be revealed, finally.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992 *

Summit ignores years of ill will

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

This was the "Duck Pond Summit" where Presidents Yeltsin and Bush keep using intercontinental ballistic hyperbole as if to convince themselves, and their skeptical old soldiers, they really are friends if not yet military allies.

"We shall not fight against each other," Mr. Yeltsin said at one emotional moment.

Even as they posed for pictures with five ducklings who made a home in the White House fountain, they kept telling each other what friends they are and why the United States must protect the \$4 trillion investment it made to win the Cold War.

"From this summit we see a new horizon, a new world of peace and hope," Mr. Bush said amid repeated declarations of greater trust and good chemistry.

The leaders were joined by Barbara Bush as they reflected after an impromptu tour of the presidential putting green and tennis court and a surprise lesson in pitching horseshoes — on which Mr. Yeltsin scored poorly compared to Mikhail Gorbachev's beginner's luck ringer.

The two darted out of the Oval Office through French doors, without informing aides waiting in an inner hall. They watched a horseshoe tournament among White House electricians for a few moments until Mr. Yeltsin shed his coat and both men took the horseshoes personally.

Then they went to the black fence facing the Ellipse and Mr. Yeltsin waved to hundreds of tourists blocked across the street by security guards.

"Come on over," Mr. Bush said and the two shook hands and compared hometowns with people from Hong Kong and Germany and Middle America.

Earlier, as a 21-gun salute echoed across the Mall, Mr. Bush compared his guest with Peter the Great who seemed to come off a poor second in the telling.

"Like Peter the Great, you are redefining Russia's understanding of itself, redefining Russia's role in the world," Mr. Bush said of the 16th- and 17th-century czar who cemented Russia's relationship with Europe and won access to the Baltic and Black seas in wars at the expense of Sweden and the Ottomans in Turkey.

Nothing seemed too exaggerated or too far-fetched for host or guest to say about each other.

"The time when our two nations viewed each other with suspicion and even animosity is behind us," Mr. Yeltsin said at one ceremony.

Mr. Bush saved the ultimate compliment for his toast at last night's White House state dinner where he called Mr. Yeltsin "a maverick" in the finest sense.

White House press secretary Marlin Fitzwater, who has been at many summits and struck sparks at two of them, recalled one of those flaps when he said, "The big difference is that we're now old friends and not old enemies. In 1987 Gorbachev got upset when I said we were old enemies, not old friends."

Even the oldest warrior of all and hardest of hard-liners at the White House, National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft, reportedly shared the feelings. "He feels very comfortable with it. I think everybody's on board," Mr. Fitzwater said.

Mr. Scowcroft was an Army lieutenant in the days of the Berlin Airlift and soldiered throughout the coldest days of the Cold War to become a lieutenant general and national security adviser to two presidents.

He smiled a bit as he stood with Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell near the two presidents during military welcoming ceremonies and heard Mr. Yeltsin make a special point of it.

"I thank you, Mr. President. I thank Mrs. Bush and all of you who are present here, especially the military people," Mr. Yeltsin said of the welcome.

Pact severely limits most-destabilizing arms

By Rowan Scarborough
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Yesterday's historic announcement on strategic weapons nearly eliminates what many military experts long considered the most dangerous arms race with the old Soviet Union.

In the 1960s and '70s, both superpowers invested billions of dollars in engineering, testing and then deploying the most devastating type of nuclear weapon: a missile that could carry multiple high-yield warheads, each with guidance systems that independently targeted multiple re-entry vehicles (MIRVs). At the same time, it funded a new generation of ballistic missiles at sea — the highly accurate eight-warhead Trident D-5 missile.

Now President Bush and Russian President Boris Yeltsin have put an official stop to each country's era of MIRV.

"This is the biggest leap forward in arms control of any kind for as long as that has existed," a senior White House official told reporters. "But what's amazing ... START reductions," said Leo Felinstein, assistant director for research at the Arms Control Association, a private group that advocates reductions in nuclear arms. "They deserve a lot of credit for it."

Military experts said Mr. Bush chose to retain some MIRVed capabilities on submarines for several reasons, including the fact the systems are the most survivable and thus the best deterrent against a first strike. "There's certainly a lot of money invested in the subs," added Mr. Felinstein. "I think the administration's thinking is that, given the cost, they're going to be very reluctant to let that multibillion-dollar investment carry a very small number of nuclear weapons."

The U.S. Navy continues to field a new generation of ballistic-missile boats, the Ohio-class submarine. Thirteen have been completed, with five more in different stages of construction. Although the announcement reflects major reductions of weapons stockpiles — with a new ceiling of about 3,500 long-range nuclear weapons each — Russia and the United States still will have arsenals comparable to those at the height of the Cold War.

The United States reached the 3,500 level during the Kennedy administration, according to the Arms Control Association, which wants reductions to continue beyond the 3,500 level. "What it does is set the stage for what's next," Mr. Felinstein said. "With these reductions, both the U.S. and Russia still retain three to four times the combined arsenals of the other nuclear powers" — China, France and Great Britain.

Such systems were destabilizing because they could wipe out the advertisement of ballistic missiles at sea — the highly accurate eight-warhead Trident D-5 missile.

Yeltsin stakes all on nuke summit

By Martin Sieff
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Russian President Boris Yeltsin may risk the wrath of his hard-line critics by accepting nuclear missile cuts, but it's price he's willing to pay to win Western aid and firmly plant Russia in the community of nations.

Mr. Yeltsin proved flexible and realistic in agreeing to give up huge,

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land-based weapons that his country no longer had the resources to maintain.

But the concession could prove a Pyrrhic victory, costing more than it was worth, if it undermines his political standing at home, said Dimitri Simes of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

"Militarily speaking, those missiles are now irrelevant anyway. Nobody, including the Russian military, seriously perceives the United States as an enemy," Mr. Simes said.

However, by pressing the Yeltsin government to make such sweeping arms-control concessions, the Bush administration runs the risk of strengthening the hand of Mr. Yeltsin's xenophobic, anti-Western critics at home who complain that he's giving away the family store, Mr. Simes said.

Russian military leaders had strongly opposed the elimination of their huge, 10- to 14-warhead SS-18 supermissiles, code-named "Satan" by NATO analysts, without major U.S. concessions.

Mr. Yeltsin and his advisers "have obviously calculated the costs of not signing an agreement of this kind would far outweigh any negative consequences from their military," said Dov S. Zakheim, former deputy undersecretary of defense.

"Yeltsin realizes he has an opportunity to totally recast Russia's relations with the rest of the world," said Douglas Seay of the Heritage Foundation. "This agreement is typical of his style. His trademark is taking bold, decisive moves to achieve his goals, and that's what he's done."

The SS-18s "were built to threaten the West, especially the United States, but the new democratic Russia has no interest in threatening the West, and Yeltsin wants to make this clear," Mr. Seay said.

The Russian president "realizes there is nothing to be gained from maintaining such expensive and threatening weapons," Mr. Seay added.

Russian diplomats and Yeltsin advisers in Washington for the summit have repeatedly emphasized that their primary aim is to integrate Russia into the world community and to break down the wall of suspicion raised by 74 years of communism.

But yesterday's agreement to scrap land-based intercontinental missiles could force Mr. Yeltsin into the same devastating political trap that former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev faced after his arms-control summits, Mr. Simes said.

Mr. Gorbachev went home from Washington in 1987 with the Intermediate-range Nuclear Forces (INF) treaty and again in 1991 with the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). But he failed to bring along any agreements that would significantly improve the lot of the ordinary Soviet citizen, Mr. Simes said.

Now, the Bush administration "is pushing Yeltsin to the wall too," Mr. Simes said.

"The agenda for this summit has been formulated by the Department of State, which has concentrated on arms control and very little else," said Richard Perle, a former assistant secretary of defense.

By contrast, Mr. Yeltsin's advisers have made clear that they see the arms-control agreement as part of a broader package, including the economic support they so desperately need.

Congress is now considering a proposed multibillion-dollar U.S. contribution to a \$24 billion international aid package for Russia.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1992 *

Weinberger indicted on cover-up charges Slams Iran-Contra case prosecutor

By Michael Hedges
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Caspar W. Weinberger, indicted yesterday on Iran-Contra cover-up charges, accused special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh of trying to pressure him into giving false testimony against others.

Mr. Weinberger, 74, secretary of defense from 1981 to 1987, was charged with one count of obstructing congressional investigators, two counts of perjury and two counts of making false statements.

He is the highest-ranking Reagan administration official indicted as a result of the Iran-Contra investigation.

A visibly upset and angry Mr. Weinberger said: "I would not give false testimony, nor would I enter a false plea. Because of this refusal, which to me is a matter of conscience, I have now been charged with multiple felonies."

The indictment, brought by prosecutors working as part of the five-

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year, \$32 million probe headed by Mr. Walsh, said Mr. Weinberger was lying on June 17, 1987, when he told congressional aides that he did not remember being told about the White House-approved shipment of 18 Hawk anti-aircraft missiles from Israel to Iran in November 1985.

But in a letter to Mr. Weinberger's attorney, Robert S. Bennett, in late April, Sens. Daniel K. Inouye, Hawaii Democrat, and Warren B. Rudman, New Hampshire Republican, who headed the Senate Iran-Contra probe, wrote: "It is inconceivable to us that [Mr. Weinberger] would intentionally mislead or lie to Congress."

The two senators said they were convinced the main part of his testimony, which outlined his "staunch opposition" to the arms-for-hostages deal, was accurate and the fact that his recall of the 1985 arms shipment "might have been imperfect" was unimportant.

Under the law, prosecutors must prove that misleading testimony was "material" to the committee's investigation, legal experts said.

Mr. Weinberger also passed a recent polygraph test in which he was asked if he lied to Congress, engaged in a cover-up of Iran-Contra or withheld notes from investigators.

Asked if Mr. Walsh's staff had considered the statements of the senators or the results of the polygraph before returning the indictment against Mr. Weinberger, spokeswoman Mary Belcher said: "I'm not going to comment on that. The indictment speaks for itself."

The charges against Mr. Weinberger came one day before the five-year statute of limitations for his June 17, 1987, deposition would have expired.

Even before yesterday's indictment Mr. Bennett was marshaling support for what he promised would be a vigorous defense of Mr. Weinberger.

The lawyer had supplied Mr. Walsh's staff with a sworn statement by Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, describing Mr. Weinberger as "one of the true heroes of the Iran-Contra matter."

There has been intense speculation in recent weeks that prosecutors were trying to use the threat of indictment against Mr. Weinberger to force him to give evidence the special prosecutor believes he has against President Reagan.

Mr. Weinberger has denied he has such evidence. "In order to avoid this indictment I was not willing to accept an offer by the office of independent counsel to plead to a misdemeanor offense of which I was not guilty, nor was I willing to give them statements which were not true about myself or others," he said.

Yeltsin hits nerve on POWs

By Frank J. Murray and Joyce Price
The Washington Times

The possibility that U.S. servicemen captured during Vietnam and the Cold War have survived in the Soviet Union became what President Bush called "highest priority" at summit talks yesterday despite concern about false hopes.

A joint commission, headed by former U.S. Ambassador to Moscow Malcolm Toon and Russian Gen. Dmitri Volkogonov, will meet in Moscow within 30 days to explore secret Soviet archives that Russian President Boris Yeltsin promised to open for the investigators.

But members of Congress predicted that Mr. Yeltsin's revelations will only make it harder for him to get U.S. aid. He is expected to make a strong pitch for the aid today when he addresses a joint meeting of the House and Senate.

"We cannot move forward on aid or recognition without resolving President Yeltsin's statement," Sen. John McCain, Arizona Republican and a former Vietnam prisoner of war, said on the floor yesterday.

Rep. Dick Durbin, Illinois Democrat, said Russia must release any American POWs it may be holding before Mr. Yeltsin will get any U.S. aid.

"He's suggesting that American servicemen have been separated from their families and held prisoner for decades," Mr. Durbin said. "If any of them are alive today, there is absolutely no excuse to hold them another moment."

In an extraordinary appearance with Mr. Yeltsin in the White House, Rose Garden, Mr. Bush expressed the same thought a bit more diplomatically.

"If anyone's alive, that person, those people, will be found. And equally as important to the loved ones is the accounting for any MIAs," Mr. Bush said, acting on assurances from Mr. Yeltsin.

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POWS

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"It's very possible that there are a few of them still left alive, even on our own territory perhaps," Mr. Yeltsin said. "We are going to carry this all the way to the very ground to find out the fate of every single last American who might be on our territory."

He promised he will open archives of the KGB and the former Communist Party Central Committee to the joint commission on POWs and MIAs from the Cold War, Vietnam, Afghanistan, Korea and World War II.

"If any single American is unaccounted for, they will go the extra mile to see that that person is accounted for," Mr. Bush said. But he cautioned against false hope and said he had seen no evidence any POWs or MIAs are alive.

"President Yeltsin informed me for the first time that Russia may," he said, pausing to emphasize the word and point for effect, "have information about the fate of some of our servicemen from Vietnam."

Mr. Bush said he was moved to confidence by Mr. Yeltsin's confirmation of rumors that began soon after World War II.

"For him to go back and dig into these records without fear of embarrassment is of enormous consequence to the people of the United States of America," Mr. Bush said. "I have every confidence that what he says here is true, that they will get to the bottom of it."

The Pentagon said yesterday it is taking Mr. Yeltsin's assertions "at face value" and "will obviously pursue them very actively."

Spokesman Pete Williams said the Pentagon already is investigating "an unconfirmed report that a U.S. serviceman, probably from the Korean War, is still alive in the former Soviet Union."

On Monday, Gen. Volkogonov discussed an alleged sighting of an American being held in a jail in the Ural Mountains. He said the commission was working as fast as it could to find this man and learn if he was a captured serviceman. Mr. Williams said the Pentagon assumes its investigation involves the same alleged prisoner as the one the general mentioned.

As for U.S. soldiers from the Vietnam War who Mr. Yeltsin says were transferred to the former Soviet Union, Mr. Williams said the Pentagon has requested "more information about what cases he was referring to."

Last week, Mr. Yeltsin submitted a letter to Congress that said the Soviet Union captured 12 previously unacknowledged U.S. fliers during the 1950s.

Mr. Williams said the Pentagon does not yet know the names of the fliers. "Of course we've requested them, but I can't tell you when the Russians are going to give them to us," he said.

On the Hill, some members of the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs praised Mr. Yeltsin for his candor in admitting that American soldiers from several wars had been held prisoner in the former So-

viet Union. Chairman John Kerr, Massachusetts Democrat, and Robert C. Smith, New Hampshire Republican, have requested a private meeting with Mr. Yeltsin.

"We have specific intelligence on locations where people (captured U.S. citizens) were seen," Mr. Smith said. "We've found unbelievable information. It's outrageous that this stuff continues to be held in a classified mode (by the U.S. government)."

"I give Boris Yeltsin all the credit in the world, and I wish our government would be as forthcoming in getting information out in the public domain."

Sen. Hank Brown, Colorado Republican and a member of the committee, said the panel heard evidence that captured U.S. servicemen serving in Southeast Asia might have been transferred to the Soviet Union because of special knowledge the Soviets wanted.

Last January, two former National Security Agency analysts, Jerry Mooney and Terrell Minarcin, told the committee that hundreds of American POWs were abandoned in Southeast Asia and many were shipped to Moscow.

Dolores Opodaca Alford, national chairman of the Seattle-based National Alliance of Families, said yesterday there was testimony before the committee that her brother, U.S. Air Force Maj. Victor J. Opadaca, who was shot down in Vietnam in June 1967, was one of "many" U.S. servicemen captured by the Vietnamese who were "listed as Moscow-bound."

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

Bush, Yeltsin reach surprise agreement

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The United States and Russia agreed yesterday to slash nuclear warhead stockpiles below any level ever proposed, eliminating "the world's most dangerous weapons" and making cuts in U.S. submarine firepower.

"What we have achieved is an unparalleled and probably an unexpected thing for you and for the whole world," Russian President Boris Yeltsin said as he joined President Bush in the Rose Garden to announce the surprise agreement, which was finalized even before their scheduled arms-talks session yesterday afternoon.

"These are remarkable steps for our two countries," Mr. Bush agreed as the plan he proposed in his State of the Union message was accepted by Mr. Yeltsin after more cuts were made.

The question of verification was not raised during the announcement.

Mr. Bush broke a deadlock by offering a one-third cut on submarine-based multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles (MIRVs) and elimination of the MX Peacekeeper if the Russians would do away with their land-based SS-18 and SS-24 missiles.

Mr. Yeltsin exacted a higher price for that agreement, winning a 50 percent reduction in the MIRVs to be based on 18 Trident submarines. That would limit each of a submarine's 24 missiles to four independently targeted warheads instead of the eight for which they are designed.

At the end, each country would limit itself to 1,750 submarine-based warheads and could divide the other 1,750 among bombers, cruise missiles and land-based single-warhead intercontinental ballistic missiles.

"This will be seen as an enormous move forward toward the relaxation of tension and toward the friendship that we feel for each other — elimination of the most destabilizing of weapons," Mr. Bush said.

The remaining weapons still would be enough to guarantee mutu-

SCALING BACK

Yesterday's U.S.-Russian agreement will:

■ Eliminate 50 10-warhead MX missiles.

■ Accelerate the elimination of 450 two-warhead Minuteman II missiles.

■ Download 500 Minuteman III missiles from three warheads each to one each.

■ Cut in half the number of warheads on D-5 Trident submarine-launched missiles, from eight warheads to four.

Final U.S. arsenal: About 3,478 strategic nuclear weapons: 1,728 D-5 Trident missiles on 18 submarines; 1,250 cruise missiles and gravity bombs on bombers; and 500 single-warhead, land-based missiles.

Final Russian arsenal: About 3,500 warheads: 1,744 submarine-launched missiles, 1,256 cruise missiles and gravity bombs on bombers, and 500 warheads on land-based SS-25s.

Sources: Arms Control Association and U.S. Defense Department



The Washington Times

ally assured destruction, which has been the cornerstone of U.S. deterrence policy for decades during the Cold War.

Both presidents reacted sharply when asked why trusting friends who had pledged not to attack each other needed a total of 7,000 nuclear warheads.

"The fact that each country, at this juncture in history, retains some nuclear weapons speaks for itself. Who knows what lies ahead out there?" Mr. Bush said.

Mr. Yeltsin said his nation is abandoning an arms race that drove it to bankruptcy and half its people into poverty. Now, he said, Russia cannot destroy arms as fast as it likes with-

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NUCLEAR

From page A1

out help from the United States.

If the United States helps destroy Russian warheads, the lowest levels could be reached by the year 2000, Mr. Bush said.

Mr. Yeltsin emphasized that the deal was cut in five months and exceeds 15 years of START negotiations. As late as Monday night, negotiators resolved what Secretary of State James A. Baker III described as two major sticking points.

"Just a few years ago, the United States was planning a strategic nuclear stockpile of about 13,000 warheads," Mr. Bush said. "Now President Yeltsin and I have agreed that [each] side will go down to 3,000 to 3,500 warheads."

The United States now has 9,986 warheads and Russia accounts for 10,237, which actually are spread among four republics in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The two leaders also agreed to work toward sharing development of the Strategic Defense Initiative — commonly known as "star wars" — for joint defense against limited ballistic missile attacks, and to remove legal obstacles that prevent deployment of the SDI system now being developed by the United States.

The two-step deal would limit each side to a maximum of 4,250 warheads by the year 2000 and 3,500 three years later. It shortens overall destruction time from 13 years to as little as nine years.

That would limit the overall number of warheads to 35 percent of the combined U.S. and Russian stockpiles and drop the warhead count to half of what START would have achieved.

Mr. Bush called the agreement, which would be an addition to the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty, "a departure from the tensions and the suspicions of the past and a tangible, important expression of our new relationship."

Officials said it would be drawn into treaty form within three months for formal signing, but that memorandums of the understanding would be among papers signed today at the White House.

After a boat tour on the Chesapeake Bay, beginning at the Naval Academy in Annapolis, the two presidents will return to Washington to sign treaties on investment, space and tax matters. They also will hold a joint news conference in the East Room of the White House.

Mr. Yeltsin also may confirm a report from a senior U.S. official that he will give up his post of prime minister and give it to the interim occupant, economic adviser Yegor Gaidar.

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Reverend Claude E. Payne
Rector
St. Martin's Episcopal Church
717 Sage Road
Houston, Texas 77056



THE PRESIDENT

June 17, 1992

Dear Claude,

I just got back from Rio, and on my desk was the birthday card you sent. It brightened my day.

Thanks for your thoughtfulness and your continued friendship. Barbara joins me in sending best wishes.

Sincerely,

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

Jan Burmeister

Mr. Rob Walton
Wal-Mart Stores, Incorporated
702 Southwest 8th Street
Bentonville, Arkansas 72716



THE PRESIDENT

June 17 '92

Dear Rob,

Laman Alexander sent our
your generously inscribed book
on your Dad. I will never
forget that Day in Bentonville
with your father and the family.

It was so right that
he be honored.

My best wishes to
all Waltons in which Barbara
joins me.

Sincerely,

cc:
Charles Free, Gift
Unit (w/Book --
The President would
like the book sent
to his office at
Camp David)

JAN 1

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable and Mrs. James D. Watkins
3225 Grace Street
Washington, District of Columbia 20007



THE PRESIDENT

June 17, 1992

Dear Sheila and Jim,

I just got back from Rio, and on my desk was the birthday card you sent. It brightened my day.

Thanks for your thoughtfulness and your continued friendship. Barbara and I send best wishes to you both.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "Jan Burmeister", followed by a long horizontal stroke.

Jan Burmeister



BF

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

Wednesday, June 17, 1992

8:00 am (10 min)	<u>Meeting with George Pfau</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
8:15 am (15 min)	<u>Intelligence Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:30 am (20 min)	<u>National Security Briefing</u> (Scowcroft)	Oval Office
8:50 am	The President and President Yeltsin depart for Address at US/Russian Business Summit at <u>the J. W. Marriott Hotel</u> (Scowcroft) (TAB A)	South Lawn
9:45 am	<u>The President arrives White House</u>	South Lawn
9:45 am (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Chief of Staff</u>	Oval Office
10:15 am (30 min)	<u>Staff Time</u> (Zamaria)	Oval Office
10:45 am (75 min)	<u>Administrative Time</u>	Oval Office
12:00 pm (60 min)	<u>Lunch</u>	Oval Office
1:00 pm (30 min)	<u>Meeting with Secretary Baker</u>	Oval Office
1:30 pm (30 min)	<u>Personal Staff Time</u>	Oval Office
2:00 pm	The President and President Yeltsin depart for Annapolis, <u>Maryland</u> (Scowcroft) (TAB B)	South Lawn <i>Travel</i>
2:20 pm	<u>Arrive U. S. Naval Academy</u>	Annapolis, Maryland

UNP 06/16/92
6:00 pm

12:44 POTUS back to Oval

12:45 IN Mr. & Mrs. Jeff
Zamaria

Jeff Zamaria, Jr.
Michael Zamaria

12:48 OUT " "

1:04 IN Sec. Baker
Gen. Scowcroft

1:39 OUT " "

1:45 Gen. Scowcroft IN

1:46 Skinner IN

1:49 OUT

1:49 Yelkin +
2 interpreters

IN
w/ scowcroft & Skinner

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

155 All out
to 1410.

~~155 All out~~

~~155 All out~~

~~155 All out~~
~~Interpreters up~~

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Schedule	Schedule of the President; redactions. (1 pp.)	06/17/92	(b)(3)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, June 17, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 10/23/2024	OA/ID Number: 90689-006
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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



2:30 pm	Begin Cruise of Chesapeake Bay Area (Scowcroft)	
3:35 pm	<u>Cruise concludes</u>	
4:00 pm	Arrive White House (At this time President Yeltsin goes to Blair House to freshen up)	South Lawn
4:30 pm (15 min)	B <u>Signing Ceremony</u> (Scowcroft)	East Room (TAB C)
4:45 pm (45 min)	B <u>Joint News Conference</u> (Fitzwater)	East Room (TAB C)
7:35 pm	The President and Mrs. Bush depart for Dinner hosted by President and Mrs. Yeltsin at the Russian Embassy (Scowcroft)	South Lawn (TAB D)
10:05 pm	<u>Arrive White House</u>	South Lawn

7:21 POTUS In
7:32 Boyden Gray In/7:45 Out
8:03 George Pfauf In
8:17 " " Out
8:18 Scowcroft, Howe, (b)(3) In
8:34 (b)(3) Out
8:37 Scowcroft, Howe Out
"See Tab A"
9:57 POTUS In/Skinner In
9:58 VICEPRES In
10:22 Moore In
10:31 Fitzwater In
10:33 VPOTUS Out
10:42 Fitzwater Out
10:50 Skinner, Moore Out
"See Tab B"
4:05 POTUS up to Res.
4:14 Fitzwater, Hewitt, Scowcroft In
POTUS 2nd floor office.

"See Tab C"

UNP 06/16/92
6:00 pm