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Record Group/Collection: George H.W. Bush Presidential Records
Collection/Office of Origin: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
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OA/ID Number: 90695
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Folder Title:
Tuesday, July 7, 1992

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Handwritten Notes	Re: [Mitterrand]. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	
02. Handwritten Notes	Re: [President George Bush July 7th Session AM] [originally closed as 07]. (8 pp.)	7/7	(b)(1)	
03. Handwritten Notes	NFB (Nicholas F. Brady) to President Re: Heads Meeting [originally closed as 08]. (2 pp.)	7/7	(b)(1)	
04. Report	Pool Report #15, Re: Plenary Session at the Residenz (Munich, German); redaction. (1 pp.)	07/07/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

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11:15 P.M. MUNICH/5:15 P.M. EDT NEWS UPDATE

YELTSIN (Munich/AP) -- Seven world leaders set a place at dinner Tuesday night for Boris Yeltsin, and short of extending full partnership did everything possible to make him comfortable. The German hosts even waived the black-tie requirement for the gala affair. Setting the tone, Secretary Baker offered warm praise for Yeltsin before he even landed. "President Yeltsin is engaging in a courageous effort. Perhaps history will conclude that the advent of democracy in Russia is one of the greatest events of our era."

IRAQ/U.N. INSPECTORS (Baghdad/Reuter) -- Iraq kept U.N. inspectors out of its Agriculture Ministry for a third day, defying a Security Council demand to be allowed to search the building. "There is no change in our attitude. We will prevent them if they try to enter," Agriculture and Irrigation Undersecretary Abdulsattar Salman told reporters. Salman said the presence of U.N. inspectors was disrupting harvest and cultivation plans.

SOVIET REACTORS/E.C. (Munich/AP) -- A European official reported a shortage of funds for a Western plan to improve safety at Soviet-designed nuclear power plants. French presidential spokesman Jean Musitelli added a sense of urgency to the remarks by EC official Jean-Pierre Cadieux, telling reporters that experts say there is a 100 percent chance of an accident in a Soviet-designed reactor within 15 years. If safety upgrades are carried out quickly, the risk would be reduced by 1/3, he said.

NAVY SECRETARY (UPI) -- Secretary Cheney announced Pentagon comptroller Sean O'Keefe will take the helm as acting Navy secretary. Cheney called O'Keefe "one of my closest advisers" during the three years he has served as comptroller and "has done an outstanding job in an extraordinarily difficult assignment." Cheney said President Bush approved of Cheney's recommendation of O'Keefe.

LOCKERBIE/PRESIDENT LETTER (Munich/Reuter) -- A letter from President Bush to Congress suggested that U.S. officials may have visited Libya recently to discuss the possible extradition of two suspects of the bombing of Pan Am 103. The letter was a regular six-monthly report in which the President describes observance of U.S. sanctions against Libya. It was released by the White House to reporters accompanying Bush to the summit.

PRESIDENT/PIED PIPER (Munich/Reuter) -- President Bush played pied piper during a break in the summit when a dozen German children joined him on an afternoon jog. "He's great," said Nicholas Karpf, 12, after running several laps around the track with Bush at the Turnershaft Jahn Athletic Club. At first, the President asked 4-year-old Nicole Lechl to join him from the sidelines where she was standing with her father, who works at the club, and her mother. Nicole trotted about 10 feet before she burst into tears and returned to her parents. But a precedent had been set. Within a few minutes a dozen children emptied out of the clubhouse to join Bush, laughing and trying out their schoolbook English. The President also used the occasion to learn a little German. "Eine runde mehr (one more round)," he shouted to reporters just before running the last of eight laps.

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News Summary

OFFICE OF THE PRESS SECRETARY

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

12:00 P.M. MUNICH/6:00 A.M. EDT EDITION

TRIP

MAJOR POWERS TO STIFFEN STAND ON SERBIA -- The world's seven leading economic powers began Monday to plan stronger measures to end the bloody Bosnian civil war, including more vigorous enforcement of U.N. economic sanctions against neighboring Serbia and possible drives by U.N. troops to open land corridors for humanitarian aid to besieged Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities.

(Washington Post, Washington Times, Boston Globe,
Chicago Tribune)

INTERNATIONAL

U.S. CONSIDERING BAN ON IRAQI FLIGHTS IN SOUTHERN IRAQ -- As part of a larger effort to increase pressure on Saddam Hussein, the U.S. is considering a ban on Iraqi combat flights against the Shiite population in a vast marsh area between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in southern Iraq.

(Minneapolis-St. Paul Star Tribune)

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH PUTS WELD ON CLINTON ATTACK -- In a warmup for the bruising fall campaign, Republican Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts came to Little Rock Monday to slash at Bill Clinton's record on taxes and the environment.

(Washington Times)

NETWORK NEWS (Monday evening)

SUMMIT -- President Bush began an election-year summit in Germany with America's chief economic allies and competitors.

SARAJEVO -- More planes filled with food and medicine arrived at Sarajevo airport.

IRAQ/U.N. -- The U.N. Security Council has accused Iraq of an unacceptable breach in the cease-fire agreement.

TRIP NEWS.....A-1

INTERNATIONAL NEWS...A-5

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NETWORK NEWS.....B-1

MAJOR POWERS TO STIFFEN STAND ON SERBIA

MUNICH -- The world's seven leading economic powers began Monday to plan stronger measures to end the bloody Bosnian civil war, including more vigorous enforcement of U.N. economic sanctions against neighboring Serbia and possible drives by U.N. troops to open land corridors for humanitarian aid to besieged Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities.

A senior U.S. official said Monday night that "rigorous enforcement of the sanctions" against Serbia and the new Yugoslav state it controls "is a necessary element" of a renewed drive for a political solution in Bosnia. Among the new steps under discussion, sources said, are a naval blockade of Serbia and its small satellite, Montenegro, and efforts to close land supply routes from neighboring Romania.

Even if the current airlift bringing food and medicine to Sarajevo airport is unimpeded, Brent Scowcroft said Monday night, land relief convoys of food and other supplies are likely to be needed as well because of the great volume of supplies required to sustain Bosnia's beleaguered civilian population. He and other officials indicated the U.S. is prepared to provide air cover for the land convoys if needed, after authorization for such action by another resolution of the U.N. Security Council....

President Bush and Prime Minister Major pushed the Uruguay round of trade talks into the summit discussions over the objections of Chancellor Kohl.

Bush brought up the GATT talks at every meeting Monday, aides said. At the same time, chief U.S. negotiator Warren Lavorel and his European counterpart, Hugo Palmen, held a series of unannounced meetings to try to break an 18-month stalemate over how far Europe will drop its farm subsidies.

(Marc Fisher & Stuart Auerbach, Washington Post, A1)

Bush Readies Forces To Help Sarajevo

MUNICH -- President Bush is prepared to commit U.S. fighter jets and helicopter gunships to get food and medicine to Sarajevo and other sites in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

A senior Administration official said the U.S. is prepared to ask the U.N. for stronger action -- including the use of military force -- to clear the way for more humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia.

U.S. officials here said that the airlift to Sarajevo airport is working, but not enough aid is getting in. One official said the danger to aircraft is "unacceptably high."

Another Administration official said, "You can't supply Sarajevo indefinitely by air. We want to find ways in which we can get land convoys into Sarajevo from Split or Zagreb or some other point outside the zone of conflict."

(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A1)

Summit: Bush, Allies Approve Necessary Force To Get Supplies To Bosnia

MUNICH -- President Bush and key allies agreed Monday night to support the possible use of force to maintain a land corridor that they said may be necessary to transport humanitarian supplies to Sarajevo and other areas of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Brent Scowcroft said that if and when the land corridor is created, road convoys would be protected by forces that would include U.S. military helicopters. He also said the convoys would have to be protected by military land forces from other nations. But while Scowcroft said he did not foresee U.S. troops on the ground, he said Bush had not ruled this out.

In an implicit warning to the Serbian leadership, Scowcroft said the question of whether the nations open the land corridor, protected by military, "depends on the level of violence" in the war-torn area. A senior Bush Administration official said Monday night that the President would support a statement by the summit leaders approving force to establish the land corridor if the Serbs did anything to close the Sarajevo airport.

(Michael Kranish & Jonathan Kaufman, Boston Globe)

Summit Leaders Search For Yugoslavian Solution

MUNICH -- The U.S. and the world's richest nations agreed Monday to guarantee shipments of relief supplies to the starving people of Bosnia, with America offering air and naval power to burst through blockades set up by Serbian militiamen.

The pledge by the G-7 to use force if necessary in the humanitarian aid program had two distinct goals. President Bush and other leaders hope the threat alone will halt Serbian aggression against civilian targets in Bosnia for fear of an international military response. Failing that, the determination by the heads of state of Germany, France, Britain, Italy, Japan, Canada and the U.S. could stiffen and encourage a larger international organization, CSCE, to take similar action after its meeting in Helsinki later this week.

Recognizing that the Munich summit is of limited appeal to Americans, the Bush White House wanted to have something substantive to say about the U.S.'s -- and George Bush's -- involvement in solving the Yugoslavian civil war.

(Thom Shanker & Timothy McNulty, Chicago Tribune)

BUSH & CO. BEAM OVER BMW DEAL

MUNICH -- President Bush squeezed in an unscheduled photo opportunity, Secretary Brady turned into a gusher and the White House yielded its press room. The reason: Monday's ceremony trumpeting an agreement to build a BMW auto plant in South Carolina. The deal means 2,000 jobs in the Greenville-Spartanburg area, Gov. Carroll Campbell told reporters here.

After a photo with Bush and BMW officials, the normally staid Brady was effusive. "Things like the BMW plant going into South Carolina don't just happen," Brady said. "They could have built it in any number of places over the world. They picked the United States. That is going to provide a lot of jobs."

(Wire reports, USA Today, 4A)

**G-7 NATIONS WELCOME YELTSIN,
GET TOUGH ON YUGOSLAVIAN AID EFFORT**

MUNICH -- Taking a tougher stand on the crisis in Yugoslavia, Western leaders outlined a new blueprint for global partnership and put out the welcome mat for Russian President Yeltsin to plead for urgent economic help.

Midway through the summit, President Bush and his summit partners Monday were issuing a declaration assessing the new political landscape after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

Yet, the dramatic high point of the day was the arrival of Yeltsin to meet with Bush and the other leaders. Yeltsin, already assured of a \$1 billion downpayment in aid from the IMF, flew in a day earlier than scheduled to press for a two-year moratorium on payments on Russia's \$74 billion of foreign debt. Secretary Brady said the debt relief "is in the cards." (Terence Hunt, AP)

Yeltsin To Order Early And Often At Economic Summit

MUNICH -- Russian President Yeltsin, seeking handouts and even membership, arrives here Tuesday -- a day early -- to appeal to the annual economic summit of the world's seven richest nations.

"Clearly their goal is to get something from us by coming early," said a U.S. official. The official said Yeltsin was coming ahead of time to lobby for new aid and debt relief.

In addition, Yeltsin is expected to push a proposal to add Russia to the group. President Bush said he would bring the topic up in private meetings with the leaders of the G-7 nations, but officials from Japan and Germany shot the idea down.

Faced with that opposition, Secretary Brady late Monday joined those arguing against letting Yeltsin into the economic club. He said the current grouping "seems to have worked reasonably well."

(Paul Bedard, Washington Times, A9)

**INDUSTRIAL NATIONS EDGE TOWARD
PACT ON FARM SUBSIDIES**

MUNICH -- Leaders of the G-7 nations Monday made what they said was a last-ditch attempt to break a six-year-old deadlock and reach a world trade agreement that could reverse the global economic slowdown.

European officials said the leaders were nearer to resolving what has become an essentially French-American dispute over extensive European farm subsidies, which the U.S. wants to see cut back. But U.S. officials cautioned against expectations of a breakthrough.

Progress was reported to have been made on the trade issue at a dinner Sunday evening between President Bush and President Mitterrand. Jean Musitelli, the French presidential spokesman, said a "better understanding has now emerged."

After further talks Monday between officials of the EC and the U.S., a senior British official said, "The differences are narrowing and they should be bridgeable." But other officials expressed a less hopeful view.

Secretary Baker said the chances of an agreement remained "modest" and Secretary Brady said he did not foresee an accord "in the next three days."

(Roger Cohen, New York Times, A1)

**SUMMIT LEADERS TRY TO GIVE
TRADE TALKS A PUSH**

MUNICH -- U.S. and Canadian officials see little hope of breaking the impasse on global trade rules at this economic summit, despite British Prime Minister Major's effort to get the U.S. and Europe to bridge differences over farm subsidies.

U.S. and Canadian officials held out little hope of a breakthrough in the Uruguay Round negotiations. "I don't think anybody should be under illusions that a solution is going to be found here," Barbara McDougall, Canada's external affairs secretary, said late Monday.

At the start of the gathering, Major appealed to Bush and President Mitterrand to give ground in the farm dispute. Major outlined a proposal for reducing subsidies used to sell pricey farm commodities on the world market.

But there were no signs that the U.S., France or other European nations would embrace his proposal and back down from their tough stands. "Is it going to happen in the next three days? I don't think so," said Secretary Brady. "Is it going to happen by the end of this year? Maybe. Is it going to happen within the next year or so? Absolutely. It has to."

Bush may be reluctant to make any concessions that would anger U.S. farmers, businesses or other interest groups.

(Sally Jacobsen, AP)

**INVESTORS REACT TO G-7 SUMMIT
WITH A YAWN**

NEW YORK -- Sometimes the world's financial markets are riveted by economic summits like the one underway in Munich. Currencies, bonds and stocks fluctuate with every bulletin flashed on the business news wires, and the final communique begets global price surges. Not this time.

With the U.S., Germany and Japan preoccupied with domestic economic policies, and everybody satisfied with the current weakness in the dollar, investors have received the Munich gathering with a yawn.

"I don't think anybody thinks anything substantive, economic or policy-wise, can come out of that meeting," said Steven Einhorn, a partner and co-chair of the Investment Policy Committee at Goldman, Sachs & Co.

Dudley Eppel, senior vice president in charge of equity trading at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Securities Corp., said the markets would react negatively if the summit leaders "did something fancy with the currencies," such as a strong statement of concern over the dollar's low rate of exchange. Stocks would fall on "anything that could be interpreted as upsetting the apple cart, anything that would give an excuse to start selling," Eppel said.

(Robert McCartney, Washington Post, D2)

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

U.S. CONSIDERING BAN ON IRAQI COMBAT FLIGHTS IN SOUTHERN IRAQ

As part of a larger effort to increase pressure on Saddam Hussein, the U.S. is considering a ban on Iraqi combat flights against the Shiite population in a vast marsh area between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in southern Iraq.

Since April, well-placed sources disclosed, the Iraqi air force has been flying 50 to 60 missions a day, dropping bombs and firing rockets at villages and other targets in an area that has featured small-scale insurgency operations since just after the Persian Gulf War.

Officials said President Bush is consulting allied leaders about Iraq during the current summit in Munich. No decision has been made, they added.

"We would prefer to do this on a multilateral basis," one official said but noted that, practically speaking, a single U.S. aircraft carrier in the Persian Gulf would be able to enforce an order to cease all air operations in the area in question.

The White House recognizes that as the presidential campaign moves into high gear, supporters of Bill Clinton and Ross Perot may try to make political hay of the perception that the Bush Administration coddled Saddam for some time before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. By noticeably increasing pressure on Saddam, some advisers feel, Bush will be seen as taking the offensive, rather than allowing policy to drift.

(William Beecher, Minneapolis-St. Paul Star Tribune)

KING DENIES JORDAN PLOTTED AGAINST IRAQ

AMMAN -- King Hussein, reacting to reports that Saddam Hussein may have linked him to recent military disturbances or a possible coup attempt, Monday declared that his country played no role in any such event.

King Hussein's clear-cut denial, in an interview, marked his first response to reports surfacing in Washington and the Middle East that the Iraqi president told a group of his senior officers the Jordanian monarch was involved in U.S.-led intelligence efforts to encourage an unsuccessful coup June 29 by a mechanized brigade from Iraq's Republican Guards.

"There was certainly nothing in terms of our involvement or collusion. There was neither knowledge or participation in anything of that nature," he said.

A knowledgeable Washington source said that although King Hussein was not involved in plotting of a military coup, he has allowed U.S. intelligence agencies to use Jordan as a platform to gather intelligence about Iraq. Because the king has allowed these U.S. intelligence operations to take place secretly within Jordan, U.S. intelligence officials apparently have counted him as a silent ally.

(Nora Boustany, Washington Post, A13)

**BEFORE THE GULF WAR,
IRAQ WAS A 'SIXTH-FLOOR PROBLEM'**

Recent congressional investigations into how Bush Administration actions unwittingly bolstered Iraq's military ambitions prior to the Persian Gulf War have raised questions about which Administration officials were actually minding U.S. policies at the time.

U.S. policies toward Iraq in that period were guided by a 1989 directive from President Bush -- officially known as National Security Decision Directive 26 (NSDD 26) -- calling for pursuit of normal relations with Iraq, on grounds that this would promote stability in the volatile gulf region.

In recent weeks, that directive has become the source of great controversy with Bush's critics in Congress and elsewhere charging that it led the Administration to help Iraq accelerate its program of nuclear arms development and encouraged its invasion of Kuwait. Some critics now contend that the directive was the springboard for the greatest foreign policy failure of Bush's presidency.

But the record suggests that Bush, Secretary Baker and other senior foreign policy advisers were not paying much attention to Iraq and Saddam Hussein in the period between the conception of NSDD 26 and Iraq's August 1990 drive into Kuwait.

(John Goshko, Washington Post, A17)

**ADM. CROWE DENIES COVERUP IN 1988
DOWNING OF IRANIAN AIRLINER**

Retired Adm. William Crowe Monday labeled as "absolutely outrageous" news media reports that accuse him of covering up the truth behind the downing of an Iranian airliner by a U.S. warship four years ago.

Reports last week on ABC's "Nightline" and this week in Newsweek assert that the USS Vincennes had been operating illegally in Iranian waters when it fired two antiaircraft missiles at the unarmed civilian Airbus on July 3, 1988, killing 290 people. The reports said Crowe subsequently approved an elaborate "pastiche of omissions, half-truths and outright deceptions" to mask the true circumstances of the downing, Newsweek said.

In a telephone interview, Crowe heatedly denied that he had done any such thing. "I just reject and am offended by the idea that this was an orchestrated coverup," Crowe said. "Granted, we were feeling our way. Granted, we made some mistakes. But to leap from that to an orchestrated coverup to deceive the American people -- it simply isn't true."

Crowe said Monday that the Vincennes had, in fact, crossed Iran's 12-mile coastal limit -- but only after the helicopter had been attacked by the gunboats. At that point, he said, the location of the ship became "sort of immaterial, both operationally and legally. You have the right to be there if you're attacked."

(John Lancaster, Washington Post, A12)

**29 NATIONS LIMIT TROOPS
IN EUROPE**

VIENNA -- The U.S., Russia and 27 other countries made final Monday the first agreement to limit the number of troops they may station in Europe, calling the political commitment a further enhancement of security on the continent.

"Today's initialing of this agreement brings the curtain down on a whole era of arms control," said chief U.S. negotiator Lynn Hansen, noting that the accord would be the last hammered out among NATO member states and countries whose territory was under control of the now defunct Warsaw Pact.

Poland's chief negotiator, Jerzy Nowak, said Warsaw, Prague and Budapest were concerned that the agreement set no limits on paramilitary troops, although paramilitary force levels are covered in the information exchange.

Under the agreement, the U.S. will be allowed to station 250,000 troops in Europe, Russia 1,450,000, Ukraine 450,000, Germany 345,000, France 325,000 and Britain 260,000.

(Michael Wise, Washington Post, A14)

**U.S., CANADA, MEXICO AGREE ON TERMS
OF TRADE PACT TO BLOCK CERTAIN IMPORTS**

The U.S. has reached agreement with Canada and Mexico on provisions of a proposed free-trade pact that would allow any country to block imports that don't comply with stiff environmental regulations, Administration officials said.

Under the plan, for instance, the U.S., or any state in the U.S., could block imports of Mexican vegetables that contain a level of pesticides judged harmful in the U.S. -- even if that level is considered safe in Mexico. Under the pact, Mexico could challenge the restriction before a resolution panel. The U.S. would have to demonstrate that the federal or state rule is based on credible science and designed to protect against a genuine risk.

(Bob Davis & Rose Gutfeld, Wall Street Journal, A16)

NATIONAL NEWS

BUSH PUTS WELD ON CLINTON ATTACK

LITTLE ROCK -- In a warmup for the bruising fall campaign, Republican Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts came to Little Rock Monday to slash at Bill Clinton's record on taxes and the environment.

Weld, acting at the behest of President Bush's re-election campaign, held a news conference to fault Clinton for allegedly failing to go after polluters and for raising taxes and fees 128 times. Clinton's track record looks like "the 1992 version of Mike Dukakis' 'Massachusetts' Miracle," Weld said.

Clinton later called Weld "one of the attack dogs for George Bush" and noted that Weld had often praised his record before the campaign began. "Now he's pandering to the right wing of the Republican Party so he can run for president in 1996," Clinton told reporters.

Weld cited numerous statistics about how low Arkansas ranks on environmental quality. The state's streams and rivers are now among the nation's most polluted, he said. "This situation is a direct result of... his favoring of poultry interests to feather his own political nest, if you'll pardon the expression," Weld said.

On taxes, Weld said Clinton had raised fees on everything from soybeans to wine, coal, cigarettes and telephones. "'Did he ever meet a tax he didn't like' is a fair question to ask," Weld said.

Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said in response: "The Bush-Quayle campaign knows that if this is a debate about economic policy and about the future of this country, they're going to lose. So what they're going to do is try to discredit their opponents any way they can. If it means trying to tie Clinton to Mike Dukakis, they'll do that." (AP, Washington Times, A6)

EDUCATION CHIEF REBUKES BIGGEST TEACHERS UNION

Secretary Alexander sharply criticized the National Education Association Monday and said the union is endorsing Bill Clinton because Clinton bowed to its "agenda."

"In order (for Clinton) to get the nomination, he's had to make the NEA happy, and the NEA only likes people they can control," Alexander told reporters in a meeting laced with harsh remarks.

Alexander, apparently trying to minimize the endorsement and respond to the union's heightened criticism of the Administration, said the NEA only approves of politicians "who generally promise the most amount of money for the least amount of change."

NEA Executive Director Don Cameron said Alexander's comments were part of "a calculated decision by the presidential campaign to attack the NEA in order to have an enemy." The Bush Administration has not "been able to improve education, and rather than accepting responsibility, they are looking out for someone to blame," Cameron said. (Mary Jordan, Washington Post, A4)

Alexander Rips NEA's Effort To 'Control' Schools

With National Education Association members camped down the street, Secretary Alexander Monday unleashed his harshest criticism of the union, charging it is after "control."

The union, in its session at the Washington Convention Center on Sunday, gave President Bush an "F" on his performance as the self-proclaimed "education president."

"I've lived long enough to know that when the NEA gives you a good grade that means you don't stray very far from their agenda," Alexander said Monday in a meeting with education reporters. "You won't see any of their candidates coming out for giving all children choices of all schools -- public, private or religious -- because the NEA doesn't want that," he said.

"That's more change than they can stomach," he added. "They'll talk a good game, but when it gets down to it they won't act on it. But people know that."

Alexander said critics of President Bush's newest choice plan, the GI Bill for Children, have "missed the point that this money can go to public schools as well."

(Carol Innerst, Washington Times, A3)

**HHS SECRETARY PUSHES BUSH'S
HEALTH PLAN TO DOCTORS**

Secretary Sullivan told doctors on Monday that President Bush's health-care-reform plan is the cure for what ails them.

"We want to preserve the private sector of medicine, but you and other doctors are going to have to make decisions that save dollars," Sullivan told doctors in Broward County.

Sullivan said patients deserve much of the blame for not taking better care of themselves and said burgeoning health care costs, now \$666 billion, annually, will never be brought under control without better prevention.

Sullivan said competing health-care-reform plans pushed by Democrats in Congress would stifle competition, lead to long waiting lists and result in the rationing of medical services.

As expected, Sullivan's speech found support among the doctors who attended. "The less government interference there is in health care, the better," said Dr. Bob Cline, a cardiac surgeon at North Ridge Medical Center in Fort Lauderdale. "There has to be some changes. The President's plan offers the best change at the moment."

(Rick Pierce, Fort Lauderdale Sun-Sentinel)

**PENTAGON COMPTROLLER TAPPED
AS NAVY SECRETARY**

NEW YORK -- Sean O'Keefe, the Pentagon's comptroller and close associate of Secretary Cheney, is expected to be named secretary of the Navy as the service seeks to recover from a sexual-abuse scandal. Pentagon and congressional sources said late Monday the selection of O'Keefe to head the Navy would be announced Tuesday.

Sources said it was clear that Cheney in his recommendation of O'Keefe, who is regarded as a strong manager, wanted to assert stronger civilian authority in the Navy. (AP)

**NAVY'S GET-TOUGH POLICY
TOO LATE FOR TAILHOOK**

Officers found guilty of sexual harassment in the Navy's Tailhook scandal will not face automatic discharge, although current policy dictates such action, Navy officials said Monday.

The officials said the get-tough policy was instituted six months after the event, when 26 women were sexually abused by Navy and Marine Corps pilots, and the automatic penalty will not be applied retroactively.

"The mandatory separation is not applied in this case to every one of those guys," said Lt. Bob Ross, a Navy spokesman. "That does not mean it cannot be applied."

(Rowan Scarborough, Washington Times, A3)

**MINIVANS, TRUCKS LEAD
U.S. AUTO SALES SURGE**

Led by strong demand for light trucks, sales of vehicles in the U.S. posted decisive gains in the last 10 days of June, giving new evidence of what some analysts are calling a discernible but still shaky rebound in the auto industry.

Car sales in the January-through-June period rose 1.7% over the same period a year ago. However, sales of light trucks -- vans, minivans, pickups and sport-utility vehicles -- were up 16.7%.

For the last 10 days of June, General Motors and Ford reported increases in car sales of 18.4% and 30.7% respectively. Chrysler reported a slight decline in car sales.

(Warren Brown, Washington Post, D1)

**U.S. HOME OWNERSHIP RATE STABILIZES,
STUDY FINDS**

America's home ownership rate has stabilized after falling in the early 1980s, the government said. The earlier decline reflected, in part, the large number of younger people remaining single.

"After increasing in every decade from 1940 to 1980, the home ownership rate for all households dropped in the 1980s from 65.6% in 1980 to 63.9% in 1989," the Census Bureau said.

But the study, "Housing in America: 1989-90," said the drop occurred before 1985 and the ownership rate has since remained statistically unchanged.

(AP, Wall Street Journal, A2)

NETWORK NEWS

(Monday evening, July 6)

SUMMIT

CBS's Connie Chung: President Bush began an election-year summit in Germany today with America's chief economic allies and competitors. Mr. Bush is trying to portray this as a jobs-creating trip at a time when both his reelection campaign and the U.S. economy are in trouble.

CBS's Susan Spencer: The images are familiar: George Bush abroad on a first-name basis with heads of state, today playing again on that great international stage. **(TV coverage of President Bush and Chancellor Kohl walking together and coverage of both men standing at attention while Star Spangled Banner is being played.)** Unfortunately for him the presidential campaign is playing on the domestic stage right now. **(Kevin Phillips, political analyst:** "I just don't think the people believe that George Bush going over and meeting a bunch of other world leaders who also have 35% job-approval ratings is going to solve anything in the U.S.")

Wrong, insists the campaign, doggedly dispatching surrogates to convince voters that every minute abroad helps jobs, peace and security here at home. **(Secretary Sullivan:** "The President is committed to his continuing quest to open up world markets.") And although BMW already had announced plans for a new manufacturing plant in South Carolina, the Bush campaign encouraged Governor Carroll Campbell to go to Germany personally today -- make it official during the summit. **(Campbell:** "This investment will create, with the support investment that will come in and the ripple effect, about ten-thousand jobs total.")

If the President's camp seems slightly manic about all this, it may be because his recent trips abroad have been such PR disasters -- the messages remembered hardly the ones intended. **(TV coverage of President Bush boarding Air Force One.)** January in Japan: His jobs, jobs, jobs mission was forgotten over dinner. **(TV coverage of President fainting at dinner.)**

June in Panama: The speech extolling Panamanian democracy disappeared in a cloud of tear gas. **(TV coverage of President Bush leaving speakers platform because of tear gas.)** And later in Rio: The refusal to sign a key treaty on global warming put Mr. Bush in a sort of skunk-at-the-garden party role. **(TV coverage of President Bush speaking at Rio summit.)**

Marketing this summit for voters is especially hard because it's not expected to produce much either on trade or Yugoslavia. **(TV coverage of President Bush meeting with 6 other leaders and coverage of leaders posing on red carpet for cameras.)**

And talking about more aid for the Russians is a political non-started in a year of angry demands to solve problems here at home. (Phillips: "By not providing any positive momentum, it's just a waste of however many days it is -- to no great advantage and maybe to some minor detriment.")

There is no way a president can get out of summits. Bush supporters are just glad this is July and not October. Unless his campaign picks up quite a bit, it is probably the last time before the election that George Bush will need his passport.

CBS's Ray Brady reports the high flyer at the Berlin air show this year is the new Airbus A340. Made by four European countries, it has already knocked McDonnell Douglas out of second place in world aircraft sales. For the nations meeting at the economic summit here in Munich, the Airbus exemplifies the new spirit of a new Europe -- one determined to compete with the U.S. not only for business, but above all for jobs. This is quite a switch because for years Americans have worried about Japanese competition. But now many economists say a united Europe will be a fierce new competitor not just for now but through all the rest of the 1990s. (CBS-Lead)

ABC's Carole Simpson: President Bush and the leaders of the major industrial powers began their meetings in Munich, Germany, today. It is the 18th annual economic summit -- emphasis according to the White House on the word economic. Before it's over on Wednesday the seven leaders are expected to approve at least some economic aid to the former Soviet Union and continue humanitarian aid to the embattled city of Sarajevo. But as ABC's Brit Hume reports, Mr. Bush seems well aware that Americans are far less focused on international problems than on their own pocketbooks.

Hume: Despite the splendor and ceremony of the setting here, the President and his team didn't want anybody to think he was just off indulging his taste for foreign policy in the company of foreign leaders.

(TV coverage of President Bush and leaders on balcony listening to band.)

No, no, these leaders were set to agree to try, at least, to speed up all their economies. As Mr. Bush was meeting with German Chancellor Kohl today somebody asked if that would mean jobs for the U.S. Kohl said that it would, and just to make sure nobody missed it, the President repeated the answer.

(President Bush: "Absolutely, it's a yes.")

Earlier, an event the White House was eager to promote: The BMW auto company here signed a deal to build a plant in South Carolina. The President was there to witness the signing and when his turn came, to say how pleased he was:

(President Bush: "We're very proud to have BMW making this investment. Our whole policy is based on investment abroad and investment in our country. That means jobs.")

Carroll Campbell, the Republican governor of South Carolina and also the state Bush campaign chairman, then used the White House briefing room here for a news conference on the plan and on the importance of international trade, which is of course what this summit is about. Later in the same room when Secretary Brady was trying to explain how pro-growth policies in other countries could help the sluggish U.S. economy, he ended up citing that same BMW plan.

(Brady: "If I were investing, I'd be investing in the United States. I think that's what BMW has made its mind up to do, and it's what I expect a lot of other people to do as well. That means jobs.")

It is true that the U.S. economy, now heavily dependent on exports, would benefit from growth among its trading partners and thus from policies that would promote growth. The problem for Mr. Bush is that such things take time, and with four months until the election, time is one thing he hasn't got.

Simpson: Not only would they take time, they would take something that is perhaps beyond the reach of the summit leaders -- agreement on just which economic policies to follow and then the political muscle to make them stick.

ABC's Stephen Aug reports the leaders of the Western world agree that the most important thing they could do is to get the world economy to grow. But their ability to much about that is seriously limited by their own fragile economies. Some of the solutions would be painful and politically risky.

(Fred Bergsten, economist: "The domestic political weakness of all the summit leaders makes it much harder for them to take initiatives at home that would create effective international cooperation.")

The U.S. would like Chancellor Kohl to lower German interest rates. That would stimulate the German economy and encourage German consumers to buy more from other countries. But Kohl won't lower interest rates because he's worried about inflation.

(Heidi Sherman, German economist: "I don't think anything concrete will come out of the summit. Very few summits in the past have actually resulted in truly concrete proposals.")

The paradox in all this is if the summit leaders could cooperate, their own economies would improve and so would their standing with the voters.

(ABC-Lead)

NBC's Margaret Larson: George Bush tonight is where he often seems most comfortable: meeting with fellow leaders on the world stage -- a summit of industrial nations. But it's diplomatic theater with a political audience back home. The President is seeking a boost for the economy, and that could help his sagging campaign.

NBC's John Cochran: For a moment today President Bush seemed to think he was back on the campaign trail as he eagerly sought some hands to shake. But no votes here, just some German school kids. (TV coverage of President Bush shaking hands with children and coverage walking inside after shaking hands.)

In fact, it's hard to find a political plus in this summit for Bush because it looks long on talk and short on action. The problem is some leaders are so weak at home that they can't or won't take bold action here. The U.S. wants Germany to inflate its economy and thereby heat up Europe's economy so Europe can buy more American products. Bush said his meeting with Chancellor Kohl was all about creating American jobs.

(President Bush: "Absolutely, it's a yes.")

But German voters hate inflation, so Bush cannot count on German help. And then there's France's President Mitterrand, who U.S. officials say is the main obstacle to a worldwide trade agreement.

(TV coverage of Presidents Bush and Mitterrand walking together.) French farmers have loudly demanded that Mitterrand not make concessions that George Bush wants. Secretary Brady said it's tough to get agreement from everyone at the summit.

(Brady: "It is an inordinately difficult problem when you deal with a number of people. It's geometrically harder.")

Geometrically harder: try to sell that as an excuse to American voters. Actually, summit leaders will reach some agreements, such as expanding the U.N. relief effort to what used to be Yugoslavia.

(TV coverage of all leaders standing and posing for cameras.)

President Bush is willing to include American forces in a campaign to open up a land corridor to Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia -- big news to battered civilians, but it won't help the American economy.

(Allan Lichtman, presidential scholar: "Bush will probably get negative mileage out of this summit. Here's the reason: People think his eyes are too much on foreign shores.")

The Munich summit is less important to Bush's future than a fishing trip with Secretary Baker next week in Wyoming.

(TV coverage of President Bush and Secretary Baker in a meeting.) Will he ask Jim Baker to forget about foreign affairs and take charge of Bush's bumbling, mistake-prone campaign? Some of Bush's oldest political allies want Baker to move into the White House as Chief of Staff so he can coordinate policy and politics.

(NBC-Lead)

SUMMIT SECURITY

Chung reports 9,000 police from all over Germany were brought in to Munich for the summit. They had a busy first day; more than 450 left-wing demonstrators were arrested as they tried to disrupt the opening ceremonies. Protest leaders accused the police of brutality.

(CBS-2)

SARAJEVO

Simpson reports more planes filled with food and medicine arrived at Sarajevo airport today. At the economic summit in Munich, U.S. officials say they'll support a German proposal to secure a land corridor from neighboring Croatia so relief supplies can also be driven in.

(CBS-3, ABC-9)

IRAQ/U.N.

Simpson reports the U.N. Security Council has accused Iraq of an unacceptable breach in the cease-fire agreement. U.N. weapons inspectors want to go into Iraq's Department of Agriculture to search for military documents. Iraq will not let them in.

(CBS-6, ABC-11)

MRS. MITTERRAND IN IRAQ

Simpson reports Mrs. Mitterrand was being driven through Northern Iraq on a U.N.-sponsored mission to help Kurdish refugees when a car bomb exploded just after her car passed by. Mrs. Mitterrand was not hurt, but three of her Kurdish security guards and a 10-year-old boy were killed.

(NBC-6, ABC-10)

CIS PEACEKEEPING FORCE

Larson reports President Yeltsin met with fellow CIS leaders. They agreed to form a joint-peacekeeping force to police ethnic conflicts in the former Soviet Union. The first assignment is Moldova. (ABC-2, CBS-7, NBC-10)

DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION/CUOMO

Larson reports Mario Cuomo will speak at the Democratic convention. He'll nominate Bill Clinton. (CBS-11, NBC-2)

RECENT SOUTH AFRICAN MASSACRE/BLAME

Simpson reports a judicial commission in South Africa has concluded that President de Klerk and other top government leaders are not to blame for the massacre in the country's black township of Boypatonk [phonetic]. But the commission said the government is not doing enough to end the violence. (ABC-13)

-End of B-Section-

CONGRESSIONAL MONITOR



Tuesday, July 7, 1992

Volume 28, Number 110

Gridlock Serves Party Goals

It's seventh-inning stretch time for the 102nd Congress.

And while the game isn't over yet, a review of the legislative highlights from the early innings reveals a rather low-scoring ball game.

With the year now half over (and the congressional year perhaps two-thirds over) those who would defend the Second Session of the 102nd Congress from the "do-nothing" label that critics — including President Bush — would like to stick on it would be hard-pressed to win the argument.

Of the 75 measures signed into law this year, only about a half-dozen could be judged as having national significance.

After two bills to extend federal unemployment benefits, a measure to rescind \$8 billion in previously appropriated funds and an emergency urban aid package to respond to the spring riots in Los Angeles, the list of "major" legislative achievements falls off quickly.

Bush has vetoed bills that would have cut taxes for the middle class (and raised them on wealthy taxpayers); authorized a sweeping change in the nation's campaign finance and voter registration laws; permitted federally funded fetal tissue research; and placed conditions on continued normal trading relations with China.

And a Bush veto threat forced Congress to drastically scale back the scope of its urban aid package.

Veto threats, or just plain congressional logjams, have delayed action on such important issues as crime, national energy policy, a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution, health care, RTC funding, abortion counseling, parental leave, striker replacement. The list goes on.

Life Under Gridlock

Many lawmakers and congressional experts use one word to sum up the 102nd Congress: gridlock.

A gridlocked Congress — and every recent Congress has experienced gridlock

to some extent — is one in which many political wheels spin and sparks fly but few bills actually move anywhere, let alone become law.

Sen. Christopher S. Bond, R-Mo., puts it this way: "The Congress and the president have proven they can stop each others' initiatives. Now what?"

Some would blame the deadlock on divided government. For the last five years, since Democrats regained control of the Senate in 1987, the House and Senate have been controlled by Democrats while the White House has been occupied by a Republican.

But divided government does not automatically lead to a stymied Congress. For example, during the 100th and 101st Congresses, a divided government was able to overhaul the welfare system, expand Medicaid, give final approval to the first U.S.-Soviet arms pact since 1972, establish new clean water laws, restructure the farm credit system, develop a five-year deficit-reduction deal, pass clean air legislation, restructure federal housing programs and enact a major child-care measure, to name a few.

Some Like it Gridlocked

The best explanation for this year's gridlock may be that it suits the political strategy of both parties.

While some view the gridlock with exasperation, others say it actually brings out the best in politicians and helps parties in the long run.

Those who believe gridlock can be advantageous point to what they say are the benefits: Parties tend to congeal, debate becomes more clearly defined, constituent groups can more easily tell who their supporters are.

Election-year gridlock allows Democratic voters to see clearly their party's agenda and gives Democrats an opening to appeal to voters: "Just see what we

See **GRIDLOCK** on p. 3

Today

House Floor: Legislation to protect a tree that has shown promise in treating cancer heads the list of five relatively non-controversial bills on the floor agenda as the House returns from its Fourth of July holiday for three days of work before leaving again at the end of the day Thursday — this time for a full week.

All five bills will be considered under an expedited procedure that does not allow amendments, but which requires a two-thirds vote for passage.

The Pacific Yew tree, which contains the anti-cancer drug taxol, would be protected from needless destruction under a bill (HR 3836) on the House calendar today.

Found in the tree's bark, taxol has been successful in shrinking tumors in women with ovarian and breast cancer.

To ensure that the bark is not wasted, federal land agencies would have to allow drug companies to harvest the yew trees before an area could be made available to commercial loggers. Some lawmakers have complained that loggers have burned the yew tree, which is a slow-growing shrub, as worthless timber.

Also on the House schedule are:

- HR 5269, which would expand the authority and jurisdiction of the Capitol police force.

- HR 3562, which would earmark a portion of the proceeds from the sale of assets seized from drug traffickers. The funds would be directed to prison drug treatment and hospital trauma-care programs.

- HR 1435, which would transform the Rocky Mountain Arsenal in Colorado to a wildlife refuge. Portions of the arsenal not affected by a polluted chemical weapons plant would be turned over to the Interior Department. The Army would remain responsible for the cleanup of the plant, which is now closed.

Senate Floor: The Senate is in recess until July 20.

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Status of Major Legislation

102nd Congress

(as of July 6, 1992)

Bill and Background	House	Senate	Final
Abortion Counseling. (HR 3090, S 323) Both bills would overturn the administration's ban on abortion counseling and referrals by federally funded clinics. The House bill also would reauthorize the federal family planning program under Title X of the Public Health Service Act. President Bush has vowed to veto the bill.	HR 3090 passed as S 323 4/30/92	S 323 passed 7/17/91	
Cable Television Reregulation. (HR 4850, S 12) The bills would strengthen regulation of cable operators' basic rates and services. The Senate bill also would allow broadcasters to charge cable operators for use of their signals and bar cable programmers from refusing to sell shows to competitors such as satellite operators and wireless cable.	Energy & Commerce approved HR 4850 6/17/92	S 12 passed 1/31/92	
Fiscal 1993 Defense Authorization. (HR 5006) The bill would authorize \$270 billion in defense spending (\$11 billion less than President Bush requested), including \$1 billion to cushion the economic impact of defense cuts. The bill would authorize completion of 20 B-2 bombers, as Bush requested, but only if certain conditions are met. It would authorize \$4.3 billion of the \$5.4 billion that Bush sought for the Strategic Defense Initiative, stripping the program of space-based missile interceptors called Brilliant Pebbles.	HR 5006 passed 6/5/92		
Elementary and Secondary Education Grants. (HR 4323, S 2) The bills, designed to respond to President Bush's "America 2000" plan, would create a federal grant program for states to help fund education improvements in elementary and secondary schools. The House measure does not include a top Bush priority: a school choice plan providing subsidies to enable parents to choose whether to send their children to public or private school. The Senate bill would allow choice, but only among public schools.	Education and Labor approved HR 4323 5/20/92	S 2 passed 1/28/92	
Higher Education Reauthorization. (HR 3553, S 1150) The House-Senate compromise bill would reauthorize, through fiscal 1998, the 1965 Higher Education Act, which governs all federal grants and loans to post-secondary students. The bill would open the loan and grant programs to more students from middle class families and create a new "direct loan" demonstration program that would bypass banks.	HR 3553 passed as S 1150 3/26/92	S 1150 passed 2/21/92	Senate adopted conference report 6/30/92
National Energy Policy. (HR 776, S 2166) Both bills seek to promote increased domestic energy production, wider use of alternative fuels and adherence to national conservation goals. Both bills contain provisions to expedite the licensing of nuclear power plants and to expand coastal drilling bans. The Senate Finance Committee added provisions that would levy a fee on all bituminous coal operators to bail out a health-care fund for retired miners.	HR 776 passed 5/27/92	S 2166 passed 2/19/92 Finance Committee approved tax portions of HR 776 6/16/92	
Resource Conservation and Recovery Act Reauthorization. (HR 3865, S 976) Both bills would revise the law that governs the disposal of garbage and the storage of hazardous waste. The House bill stresses recycling, the regulation of interstate waste shipments and the disposal of ash from municipal solid waste incinerators. The Senate bill would allow states to block dumping of out-of-state garbage but would not force states to recycle bottles and cans.	Energy and Commerce approved HR 3865 7/2/92	Environment approved S 976 5/20/92	
Aid to Former Soviet Republics. (HR 4547, S 2532) The measures would provide broad authorization for President Bush's proposed aid to the former Soviet Union. The measures, which anticipate \$24 billion in multilateral aid to Russia this year, would also authorize a \$12.2 billion increase in the U.S. contribution to the International Monetary Fund.	Foreign Affairs approved HR 4547 6/10/92 Agriculture approved HR 4547 6/25/92	S 2532 passed 7/2/92	
Unemployment Benefits. (HR 5260). The bill provides \$5.5 billion to extend until approximately March 6, 1993, federal unemployment benefits (up to 20 or 26 weeks) for workers who exhaust their regular benefits. A previous extension expired July 4. The bill would allow states to decide in the future whether to make it easier to provide additional jobless benefits.	HR 5260 passed 6/9/92	HR 5260 passed 6/19/92	HR 5260 cleared 7/2/92 President signed 7/3/92 PL 102-318

GRIDLOCK from p. 1

could accomplish if only you'd elect a Democratic president."

Likewise, with gridlock, Republicans can credit the president for stopping what they believe is bad legislation and highlight presidential initiatives that might have a chance of enactment under a Republican-controlled legislature.

Sen. Thad Cochran, R-Miss., chairman of the Senate Republican Conference, said, "There's nothing wrong with this kind of gridlock. I hope the president will be even more aggressive in pushing the GOP slate" — which Cochran admits has little chance of becoming law.

In an election year, and also in the long run, parties and voters are better off knowing clearly what their party stands for, not how it compromises on "bad" legislation, Cochran said.

More Partisanship. Akron University political science professor Denise Baer, an author of several books about partisan politics, said there is a "definite cohesion and a great increase in partisanship... Bills are beginning to re-

flect not the middle ground, but the definitive policies of the liberal leadership or the conservative minority. Then of course there is little give."

And, according to David Bositis, political analyst with the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, "Members of parties more than ever are voting as a group. And on many of these bills being pushed, there is very little room for compromise." He added, "They're laying out legislation in terms of what the party is, and that in the long run is what the parties should be doing, making themselves clear to voters. Compromise can make things less clear."

A *Congressional Quarterly* study of party unity (how often a lawmaker votes with his or her party and against the other) from 1960 to present shows a sharp increase in the rate at which lawmakers have been voting with their party. (See chart)

Party unity scores (House and Senate combined) in 1960 were 64 percent for Democrats and 68 percent for Republicans. By 1990, scores had grown steadily to 81 percent for Democrats and 74 percent for the GOP. In 1992, through June 30, party unity scores are running even higher: 87.5 percent for Democrats and 85 percent for Republicans.

Rep. Vic Fazio, D-Calif., chairman of the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee and vice chairman of the Democratic Caucus, said the rise of party unity has led to the current gridlock.

"Members of both parties are fearful that nothing they care about will be enacted," Fazio said. "... All the president has to do is count to one-third," he said, referring to the inability of Congress to get a two-thirds majority needed to override a veto. But Fazio suggested it is better for Democrats to press forward with an agenda that will not become law under Bush than to seek compromise on one that will.

The polar opposite view is offered by Pennsylvania GOP Rep. Bob Walker: "With the loss of the conservative Democratic leaders that we had in the Reagan years, Congress has left the administration with no position to compromise at all. The Democratic leaders of today are convinced Congress is the last bastion of liberalism in the country. How do you compromise with that?"

But Russ Hemingway, director of the left-leaning National Committee for an Effective Congress, said it is the Republicans in Congress who have become more extreme and less willing to compromise. "With every election, the grip tightens. The number of moderate Republicans gets fewer each year. They're discouraged to even run."

Closed Rules, High Tempers

House Rules Committee member David Dreier, R-Calif., said the increase in

party voting parallels the "rising frustration" felt by members of the minority party who feel "shut off from having any input" and who vote in ways to reflect that.

Dreier said the House Rules Committee has increased its number of "restrictive" rules that limit the ability of Republicans to amend legislation.

According to the minority staff of the House Rules Committee, the number of restrictive rules has increased steadily from 15 percent in the 95th Congress (1977-78) to 66 percent so far in the current Congress.

"What's happened is a constant building of the incumbent majority against the minority. It's no surprise the level of frustration, of straight party-line voting and gridlock is high," Dreier said.

But Hemingway believes support for gridlock will wear thin as less and less gets accomplished by Congress and the White House. "People inside the Beltway may say there are benefits to gridlock. But voters don't go to the polls thinking to themselves, 'Well, I'd like a nice little deadlock here.'"

—Richard Sammon

Party Unity Scores On Upswing

The following table shows how members' party-unity scores are increasing in both parties.

The list shows composite party-unity scores for Democrats and Republicans in selected years, beginning with 1960. It shows the percentage of Democrats and Republicans voting with their party on the average party-unity vote.

Party-unity votes are when the majority of members of one party vote against the majority of the other party. The number of such votes, pitting the two parties on opposing sides of an issue, has increased as well over the years. For example, in 1970 fewer than one-third of all votes in Congress were party-vs.-party tallies. In 1991 that had increased to 53 percent and so far this year, it has increased to more than 60 percent.

Year	Democrats	Republicans
1992 †	88	85
1991	81	78
1990	81	74
1985	79	75
1980	68	70
1975	69	70
1970	57	59
1965	69	70
1960	64	68

† Votes through June 30

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Meetings & Events Scheduled Today

House Committees

■ EUROPEAN CHEESE IMPORTS

International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on cheese imports from Europe and international agricultural trade policy.

2pm 2220 Rayburn Bldg. July 7

Note: This hearing has been rescheduled for July 9.

Field Hearings

GRAND CANYON OVERFLIGHTS

Aviation Subcommittee (Acting Chairman McCain, R-Ariz.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a field hearing on Grand Canyon overflights.

9am Flagstaff, Ariz. July 7

News Events

ELECTION SURVEY DISCUSSION

The Center for National Policy releases a poll by the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press on America's generational divisions and role they will play in the November election. The poll will be examined at a "Square Table" discussion featuring Times Mirror Center Director Donald Kellermann; director of surveys Andrew Kohut; U.S. News & World Report senior writer Michael Barone; Committee for the Study of the American Electorate Director Curtis Gans; Clinton campaign adviser Mark Gearan; College Democrats President Jamie Harmon; League of Women Voters Executive Director Gracia Hillman; American Enterprise Institute fellow Karly Kenne; Bush/Quayle campaign counselor James Pinkerton; media consultant Gerald Rafshoon; Rep. Tom Sawyer, D-Ohio; lawyer Wendy Sherman; and National Women's Political Caucus President Harriett Woods.

9am, National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, Main Lounge July 7

Contact: Amy Weiss Tobe, 202-546-9300

Note: The report is embargoed for Wednesday morning

AUTOS/DUTY TAXES BRIEFING

The American International Automobile Dealers Association and the Association of International Automobile Manufacturers hold a breakfast briefing on trade legislation to be considered by Congress which would "impose a tenfold increase in the duty on imported minivans and sport utility vehicles by reclassifying them as trucks."

9:30am National Press Club, 14th and F streets NW, West Room July 7

Contact: Chris Montague, 202-434-8555, or Annie Howell, 202-434-8519

★ New listing

CONGRESS HERITAGE SPEECH

The Heritage Foundation hosts an address by Rep. Jim Nussle, R-Iowa, on "Why Congress Doesn't Work." The speech is the second in a series on promoting accountability and direction in Congress.

Noon, Heritage Foundation, 214 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Lehrman Auditorium July 7

Contact: Jeff Dickerson, 202-546-4400 ext. 513

ECONOMIC INDICATORS AND REPORTS

7am: The Agriculture Department releases the weekly milled rice world market price.

10am: The Commerce Department releases wholesale sales for May.

4:30pm, approx.: The American Petroleum Institute releases the weekly report on petroleum inventories.

Candidates

DEMOCRATS

Jerry Brown

Contact: California, 310-449-1909

July 7

Not immediately available.

Bill Clinton

Contact: Richard Mintz, Steven Cohen, or Julia Payne, 501-372-1992

REPUBLICANS

Pat Buchanan

Contact: Chris Tremblay 703-790-9292

July 7 (indefinitely)

In Washington, D.C.

No campaign-related events are scheduled.

Bush-Quayle

Contact: Torie Clarke or Devorah Goldberg, 202-336-7080

July 7-8

PRESIDENT BUSH

In Munich, Germany

Attends G-7 Economic Summit.

INDEPENDENTS

Ross Perot

Contact: 214-716-6500

July 7

10:30am: Perot Petition Committee Chairman Tom

Luce holds a news conference regarding a volunteers meeting. Loews Anatole Hotel, 2201 Stemmons Freeway, Dallas, Texas, Rosetta Room

Senate Committees Future Listings

Agriculture, Nutrition & Forestry

224-2035

PESTICIDES ON FRUITS, VEGETABLES

Senate Agriculture Committee (Acting Chairman Fowler, D-Ga.) will hold a hearing on pesticide use on fruits and vegetables. One issue the committee will address is the use of pesticides to make produce appear better.

9:30am SR-332 Russell Bldg July 30

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for July 2.

Appropriations

224-3471

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:

FY93 DEFENSE APPROP

Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Inouye,

D-Hawaii) of Senate Appropriations Committee will mark up fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

9am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. date TBA

FY93 LABOR APPROPS

Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education Subcommittee (Chairman Harkin, D-Iowa) of Senate Appropriations Committee will hold hearings on fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

9:30am SD-192 Dirksen Bldg. July 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

July 21, 22, 23, 28, 29, 30: Public witnesses

Armed Services

224-3871

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION

Defense Industry and Technology Subcommittee (Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) of

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

Senate Armed Services Committee will mark up legislation (S 2629), the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill.

2pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. closed July 20

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION**

Defense Industry and Technology Subcommittee (Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will mark up legislation (S 2629), the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill.

9:30am SR-222 Russell Bldg. closed July 21

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION**

Readiness, Sustainability and Support Subcommittee (Chairman Dixon, D-Ill.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will mark up legislation (S 2629), the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill.

2:30pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. closed July 21

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION**

Manpower and Personnel Subcommittee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) of Senate Armed Services Committee will mark up legislation (S 2629), the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill.

4pm SR-232A Russell Bldg. closed July 21

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION**

Projection Forces and Regional Defense Subcommittee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will mark up legislation (S 2629), the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill.

9am SR-232A Russell Bldg. closed July 22

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION**

Strategic Forces and Nuclear Deterrence Subcommittee (Chairman Exon, D-Neb.) of Senate Armed Services Committee will mark up legislation (S 2629), the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill.

10:30a SR-222 Russell Bldg. closed July 22

**FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:
DEFENSE AUTHORIZATION**

Senate Armed Services Committee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) will mark up legislation (S 2629), the fiscal 1993 defense authorization bill.

2pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. closed July 22

9am & 2pm SR-222 Russell Bldg. closed

July 23 & 24

**Commerce, Science &
Transportation**

224-5115

AUTOMOBILE REPAIR FRAUD

Consumer Subcommittee (Chairman

★ New listing

Bryan, D-Nev.) of Senate Commerce, Science and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on automobile repair fraud.

9:30am SR-253 Russell Bldg. July 21

**Energy & Natural
Resources**

224-4971

IDAHO LANDS**Field Hearing**

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) of Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee will hold a field hearing on pending Idaho legislation.

9am & 1:30pm Lewiston, Idaho July 14

Agenda:

9am: S 2101 - Designate the Lower Salmon River in Idaho as a component of the National Wild and Scenic Rivers System

1:30pm: S 2572 - Authorize an exchange of lands in the states of Arkansas and Idaho

OLD GROWTH FORESTS

Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee (Chairman Bumpers, D-Ark.) of Senate Energy and Natural Resources Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1156) to provide for the protection and management of certain areas on public domain lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management and lands withdrawn from the public domain managed by the Forest Service in the states of California, Oregon, and Washington.

2:30pm SD-366 Dirksen Bldg. tentative July 28

**Environment &
Public Works**

224-6176

PARTNERSHIPS FOR WILDLIFE

Environmental Protection Subcommittee (Chairman Baucus, D-Mont.) of Senate Environment and Public Works Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (S 1491) to establish a partnership among the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service, the states, and private organizations and individuals to conserve fish and wildlife species in the U.S. and to provide opportunities for the public to enjoy these fish and wildlife species while preserving and protecting them.

10am SD-406 Dirksen Bldg. July 24

Finance

224-4515

COMPETITIVENESS

Senate Finance Committee (Chairman Bentsen, D-Texas) will continue a series of hearings on ways to improve the competitiveness of U.S. industry.

Time TBA SD-215 Dirksen Bldg. addl dates TBA

**Governmental
Affairs**

224-4751

ARMY AUDIT

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will hold a hearing on an audit of the Department of the Army as required by the Chief Financial Officer (CFO) Act of 1990.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. July 23

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 30.

DECLASSIFYING DOCUMENTS

Government Information and Regulation Subcommittee (Chairman Bingaman, D-N.M.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on granting the public greater access to classified documents.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. July 28

**COMBATING FRAUD IN
THE INSURANCE INDUSTRY**

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold hearings on efforts to combat fraud in the insurance industry.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. July 29 & 30

ASIAN ORGANIZED CRIME

Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the growing problems with organized crime in the United States that is controlled or directed by Asian groups.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. August 4

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Governmental Affairs Committee (Chairman Glenn, D-Ohio) will mark up pending legislation.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. August 5

Agenda:

S 2553 - Amend the Civil Liberties Act of 1988 to increase authorization for the Trust Fund under the Act

S 20 - Provide for the establishment and evaluation of performance standards and goals for expenditures in the federal budget

S 1299 - Name the Post Office building located at 200 3rd Street, S.W., in Taylorsville, N.C., as the Clifford G. Watts Post Office

BOXING CORRUPTION

Permanent Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Nunn, D-Ga.) of Senate Governmental Affairs Committee will hold hearings on corruption in the professional boxing industry.

9:30am SD-342 Dirksen Bldg. August 11 & 12

Indian Affairs

224-2251

**NATIONAL INDIAN
POLICY CENTER**

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hear-

■ Revised listing

Senate continued...

ing on draft legislation on the National Indian Policy Center.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **July 21**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 24.

OPIC INDIAN ELIGIBILITY

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2746) to extend the purposes of the Overseas Private Investment Corporation to include American Indian tribes and Alaska natives.

2:30pm SR-485 Russell Bldg. **July 21**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for August 4.

WATER RIGHTS

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on draft legislation.

2:30pm SR-485 Russell Bldg. **July 22**

Agenda:

Yavapai-Prescott Water Rights Settlement Act
Ft. Mojave Water Use Authorization

CROW INDIAN COMPENSATION

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2833) to compensate the Crow Indian Tribe of Montana for a land dispute.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **July 23**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 19.

INDIAN DAMS

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold a hearing on a legislation (S 2617) that would provide for the maintenance of dams located on Indian lands in New Mexico by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or through contracts with Indian tribes.

9:30 SR-485 Russell Bldg. **August 4**

OVERSIGHT HEARING:

TRUST FUND MANAGEMENT

Senate Select Indian Affairs Committee (Chairman Inouye, D-Hawaii) will hold an oversight hearing on Indian Trust Fund Management.

9:30am SR-485 Russell Bldg. **August 12**

Judiciary

DIRECT ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT

224-5225

Constitution Subcommittee (Chairman Simon, D-Ill.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on altering the system used to elect the president by changing the current method of voting for electors — who then elect the president — to system of direct popular election of the president.

10am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. **July 22**

HATE CRIME STATISTICS

Constitution Subcommittee (Chairman Simon,

★ New listing

D-Ill.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold a hearing on hate crime statistics.

10am SD-226 Dirksen Bldg. **August 5**

PREVENTING JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Juvenile Justice Subcommittee (Chairman Kohl, D-Wis.) of Senate Judiciary Committee will hold hearings on preventing juvenile delinquency.

Time and Room TBA **date TBA**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 13.

Labor & Human Resources

224-5375

HARASSMENT ON CAMPUS

Senate Labor and Human Resources Committee (Chairman Kennedy, D-Mass.) will hold a hearing on the response by universities to racial and sexual harassment on campus.

10am SD-430 Dirksen Bldg. **date TBA**

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 16.

Rules & Administration

224-6352

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS

Senate Rules and Administration Committee (Chairman Ford, D-KY) will hold a hearing on legislation (S 2748) to establish a separate revolving fund for the Library of Congress. The bill would update the library's authority to

provide bibliographic products and services to the nation's libraries. It would clarify the authority to be compensated for such services and set up a mechanism to administer the services.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. **July 22**

ELECTRONIC INFORMATION

Joint Hearing

Senate Rules and Administration Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) and House Committee on House Administration (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) will hold a joint hearing on pending legislation.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. **July 23**

Agenda:

S 2813 - Establish in the Government Printing Office an electronic gateway to provide public access to a wide range of federal databases containing public information stored electronically.

HR 2772 - Establish in the Government Printing Office a single point online public access to a wide range of federal databases containing public information stored electronically.

Veterans' Affairs

224-9126

VETERANS APPEALS

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on pending issues.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. **July 22**

Agenda:

Draft legislation regarding the Court of Veterans

Appeals and general oversight

Draft housing legislation and general oversight

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

Senate Veterans' Affairs Committee (Chairman Cranston, D-Calif.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am SR-418 Russell Bldg. **August 5**

House Committees Future Listings

Aging

GERIATRICIANS AND THE SENIOR BOOM

Health and Long-Term Care Subcommittee (Chairman Roybal, D-Calif.) and House Select Aging Committee will hold a joint hearing on the national shortage of geriatricians. The hearing will include testimony from victims misdiagnosed by physicians without geriatric training.

9:30am B-352 Rayburn Bldg. **July 8**

Witnesses scheduled: Dr. Robert N. Butler - chairman, Department of Geriatrics and Adult Development, Mount Sinai Medical Center; other witnesses TBA.

CORPORATE ELDERCARE

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a hearing on state and local

aging agencies and corporate funding for care of the elderly.

9:30am 345 Cannon Bldg. **July 9**

Witnesses scheduled:

PANEL 1: Jane L. Ross - associate director, Income Security, Human Resources Division, General Accounting Office

PANEL 2: Jack McCarthy - deputy commissioner, U.S. Administration on Aging

PANEL 3: Suzanne Mercure - manager, Benefits, Bull HN Information Systems Inc.; Judy Phipps - supervisor, Eldercare Department, The Partnership Group; Betty Grandquist - board member, National Association of State Units on Aging; Cheryl Schramm - president-elect, National Association of Area Agencies on Aging

ALZHEIMER'S DISEASE

Field Hearing

Human Services Subcommittee (Chairman Downey, D-N.Y.) of House Select Aging Committee will hold a field hearing on living with the effects of Alzheimer's disease.

9:30am Babylon Town Hall Annex, North Babylon, N.Y. **July 25**

■ Revised listing

House continued...**Agriculture**

225-2171

ANIMAL RIGHTS

Department Operations, Research and Foreign Agriculture Subcommittee (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on the use of animals in exhibitions.

9:30am Longworth Bldg. **July 8**

ARKANSAS-IDAHO LAND EXCHANGE

Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee (Chairman Volkmer, D-Mo.) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 5336) to authorize an exchange of lands in the states of Arkansas and Idaho.

10am 1302 Longworth Bldg. **July 8**

U.S.-MEXICO ENVIRONMENTAL TALKS

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will hold a hearing on U.S.-Mexico environmental issues related to the North American Free Trade Agreement.

9:30am 1300 Longworth Bldg. **July 9**

SUGAR

Cotton, Rice and Sugar Subcommittee (Chairman Huckaby, D-La.) of the House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on the U.S. sugar program.

10am 1302 Longworth Bldg. **July 9**

MILK PRODUCERS

Livestock, Dairy and Poultry Subcommittee (Chairman Stenholm, D-Texas) of House Agriculture Committee will hold a hearing on a proposal to establish trusts for the protection of milk producers and handlers.

2pm 1300 Longworth Bldg. **July 9**

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP:**FIFRA**

House Agriculture Committee (Chairman de la Garza, D-Texas) will mark up legislation (HR 3742) to improve the safety of pesticides.

Time TBA 1300 Longworth Bldg. **date TBA**

Appropriations

225-2771

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Appropriations Committee (Chairman Whitten, D-Miss.) will mark up fiscal 1993 appropriations for programs under its jurisdiction.

Time and room TBA **week of July 20 & add dates TBA**

Agenda:

Week of July 20:

Labor, Health and Human Services
Commerce, Justice, State

Dates TBA:

Veterans' Affairs, Housing and Urban Development
Labor

★ *New listing*

Armed Services

225-4151

LTV SALE

Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Mavroules, D-Mass.) of House Armed Services Committee will continue hearings on the proposed sale of LTV's missile and aircraft divisions.

10am 2212 Rayburn Bldg. **open/may close July 8**

Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs

225-4247

POLITICS AND MONETARY POLICY

Domestic Monetary Policy Subcommittee (Chairman Neal, D-N.C.) of House Banking Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the politicization of monetary policy during election years.

10am 2128 Rayburn Bldg. **July 8**

Witnesses scheduled: Nathaniel Beck - prof., University of California at San Diego; Thomas Havrilesky - prof., Duke University; David Jones - chief economist, Aubrey G. Lanston & Co.; Mike Moran - chief economist, Daiwa Securities America

NON-TRADITIONAL LENDING

Policy Research and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Erdreich, D-Ala.) of House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on traditional and non-traditional lenders — including such entities as community development corporations — and their role in economic development.

10am 2222 Rayburn Bldg. **July 22**

DOMESTIC MONETARY POLICY

Domestic Monetary Policy Subcommittee (Chairman Neal, D-N.C.) of House Banking Finance and Urban Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on domestic monetary policy over the last six months.

Time TBA 2128 Rayburn Bldg. **July 22**

District of Columbia

225-4457

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House District of Columbia Committee (Chairman Dellums, D-Calif.) will mark up pending legislation.

10am 1310A Longworth Bldg. **date TBA**

Agenda:

HR 2694 - Amend title 11, District of Columbia Code, to remove gender-specific references.

HR 568 - Create a Supreme Court for the District of Columbia.

HR — - Authorize to be appropriated a federal payment to the District of Columbia of an additional \$30,798,600 for crime and youth initiatives in the District of Columbia.

HR — - Waive the Congressional layover period for certain council acts authorizing the issuance of revenue bonds for non-profit organizations.

Education & Labor

225-4527

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Education and Labor Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation.

3pm 2175 Rayburn Bldg. **July 8**

Agenda:

HR 5482 - Revise and extend the programs of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973

HR 5483 - Modify the provisions of the Education of the Deaf Act of 1986

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: DAVIS-BACON ACT

Labor Standards Subcommittee (Chairman Murphy, D-Pa.) of House Education and Labor Committee will mark up legislation (HR 1987) to amend the Davis-Bacon Act to revise the standard for coverage under that act.

10am 2257 Rayburn Bldg. **July 9**

SCHOOL-TO-WORK TRANSITION

Employment Opportunities Subcommittee (Chairman Perkins, D-Ky.) of House Education and Labor Committee will hold a hearing on state school-to-work transition.

Time and room TBA **date TBA**

Energy & Commerce

225-2927

NATURAL GAS

Energy and Power Subcommittee (Chairman Sharp, D-Ind.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on the impact of new state and federal natural gas regulations.

10am 2322 Rayburn Bldg. **July 8**

Witnesses scheduled: Marc Schildkraut - assistant director, Bureau of Competition, Federal Trade Commission; others TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for July 2.

EPA CONTRACT MANAGEMENT

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on the Environmental Protection Agency's contract management procedures.

10am 2123 Rayburn Bldg. **July 8**

Witnesses scheduled: William Reilly - administrator, Environmental Protection Agency; representative from EPA, GAO

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: FDA ENFORCEMENT POWERS

House Energy and Commerce Committee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) will mark up pending legislation.

Time TBA 2123 Rayburn Bldg. **tentative July 9**

■ *Revised listing*

House continued...

Agenda:

HR 3642 - to enhance the enforcement authority of the Food and Drug Administration

ELWHA RIVER

Joint Hearing

Energy and Power Subcommittee (Chairman Sharp, D-Ind.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee; Water, Power and Off-shore Energy Resources Subcommittee; and Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a joint hearing on legislation (HR 4844) bill to restore Olympic National Park and the Elwha River ecosystem and fisheries in the state of Washington.

10am room TBA July 9

LONG-TERM CARE INSURANCE

Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness Subcommittee (Chairman Collins, D-Ill.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on long-term care insurance issues and on legislation (HR 5376) to establish federal standards for long-term care insurance.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for June 18, but was postponed due to the full committee markup.

HOSPITAL OVERHEAD MEDICAID PROGRAM

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on hospital overhead charges to the Medicare program. The hearing will focus on a Department of Health and Human Services audit of Hospitals.

Time and room TBA date TBA

FAILURE OF FIRST EXECUTIVE CORP. INSURANCE COMPANY

Oversight and Investigations Subcommittee (Chairman Dingell, D-Mich.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on insurance company insolvencies, focusing on the First Executive Corp.

Time and room TBA date TBA

SAFE DRINKING WATER

Health and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Waxman, D-Calif.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a hearing on safe drinking water issues.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for April 9.

Foreign Affairs

225-5021

COMPLIANCE WITH U.S. LAWS RELATING TO ARAB BOYCOTT

International Economic Policy and Trade

★ New listing

Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) and Europe and the Middle East Subcommittee (Chairman Hamilton, D-Ind.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the federal government's compliance with U.S. laws relating to the Arab boycott of Israel.

10am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. July 8

Witnesses scheduled: Eleanor Spector - director of defense procurement, Department of Defense; Walter Stern - chairman, Capitol Group International, Inc.

EUROPEAN CHEESE IMPORTS

International Economic Policy and Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gejdenson, D-Conn.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on cheese imports from Europe and international agricultural trade policy.

2pm 2220 Rayburn Bldg. July 9

Witnesses scheduled: William Gahr - General Accounting Office; John Adams - National Milk Producers Association; Stewart Huber - Farmers Union Milk Marketing Cooperative; Rod Leonard - Community Nutrition Institute

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for July 7.

THE FUTURE OF INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS

International Operations Subcommittee (Chairman Berman, D-Calif.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on the future of international exchange programs in a changing world.

2pm 2200 Rayburn Bldg. July 9

Witnesses scheduled: Barry Fulton - deputy associate director, United States Information Agency; William Fulbright - former member, U.S. Senate

PEACE & RECONSTRUCTION IN EL SALVADOR

Western Hemisphere Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman Torricelli, D-N.J.) of House Foreign Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on peace and reconstruction in El Salvador following the recent agreement between the government and the FMLN rebels.

10:30am 2172 Rayburn Bldg. July 9

Witnesses scheduled: Bernard Aronson - assistant secretary of State; Aaron Williams - deputy assistant administrator, Agency for International Development

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Foreign Affairs Committee (Chairman Farnsworth, D-Fla.) will mark up pending legislation.

Time TBA 2172 Rayburn Bldg. Date TBA

Agenda:

HR 5360 - Reaffirm the obligation of the United States to refrain from the involuntary return of refugees outside the United States

Note: Markup began June 24.

Government Operations

225-5051

U.S. SUPERCOMPUTER INDUSTRY

Legislation and National Security Sub-

committee (Chairman Conyers, D-Mich.) of House Government Operations Committee will continue hearings on the effectiveness of the administration's policy toward the U.S. supercomputer industry.

10am 2154 Rayburn Bldg. July 8

House Administration

225-2061

ELECTRONIC INFORMATION

Joint Hearing

House Committee on House Administration (Chairman Rose, D-N.C.) and Senate Rules and Administration Committee (Chairman Ford, D-Ky.) will hold a joint hearing on pending legislation.

9:30am SR-301 Russell Bldg. July 23

Agenda:

S 2813 - Establish in the Government Printing Office an electronic gateway to provide public access to a wide range of federal databases containing public information stored electronically.

HR 2772 - Establish in the Government Printing Office a single point online public access to a wide range of federal databases containing public information stored electronically.

Interior & Insular Affairs

225-2761

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will mark up pending legislation.

9:45am 1324 Longworth Bldg. July 8 & 22

Agenda:

July 8:

HR 4437 - to authorize funds for the implementation of the settlement agreement reached between the Pueblo de Cochiti and the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers under the authority of public law 100-202.

HR 4026 - Zuni River Watershed Act of 1991

HR 5291 - to provide for the temporary use of certain lands in the city of South Gate, Calif., for elementary school purposes

S 1029 - to designate certain lands in the state of Colorado as wilderness

HR 3898 - to provide for the addition of the Truman farm house to the Harry S. Truman National Historic Site in the state of Missouri

HR 3157 - to provide for the settlement of certain claims under the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act

HR 1219 - to designate wilderness, acquire certain valuable inholdings within National Wildlife Refuges and National Park System Units

INDIAN TRIBES

House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) will hold a hearing on pending Indian affairs bills.

1:30pm 1324 Longworth Bldg. July 8

Agenda:

HR 1475 - Miami Nation of Indiana Restoration Act

HR 2349 - Provide federal recognition of the Mowa Band of Choctaw Indians of Alabama

HR 3607 - Restore and clarify the federal relationship with the Jena Band of Choctaws of Louisiana

■ Revised listing

House continued...

as a distinct federally recognized Indian tribe
 HR 3958 - Grant Federal recognition to the Little
 Traverse Bay Bands of Odawa Indians and the
 Little River Band of Ottawa Indians

★ **SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
 RIVER SYSTEMS ASSESSMENT**

Energy and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Kostmayer, D-Pa.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will mark up pending legislation to authorize the National Park Service and the U.S. Geological Survey to conduct a national river systems recreation assessment. 2pm 340 Cannon Bldg. July 8

**MARIANA ISLANDS
 LABOR PROBLEMS**

Insular and International Affairs Subcommittee (Chairman de Lugo, D-V.I.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on alien labor problems in the Northern Mariana Islands.

9:45am 1324 Longworth Bldg. July 9

PUBLIC LANDS

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on pending public lands bills.

10am room TBA July 9

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. July 21 & 23

Agenda:

July 9:

HR 5061 - Establish Dry Tortugas National Park in the state of Florida

HJ Res 460 - Call upon the secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the secretary of State, to enter into agreements with Canada to protect the Alsek and Tatshenshini Rivers, for the secretary of the Interior to ensure that Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve is not degraded by potential mine developments in Canada

July 21:

HR 5336 - Authorize an exchange of lands in the states of Arkansas and Idaho

HR 4087 - Authorize the adjustment of the boundaries of the South Dakota portion of the Sioux Ranger District of Custer National Forest

HR 3693 - Adjust the boundaries of the Targhee National Forest and to authorize a land exchange involving the Kaniksu National Forest

HR 4036 - Provide for the transfer of certain public lands located in Clear Creek County, Colo., to the U.S. Forest Service, the state of Colorado, and certain local governments in the state of Colorado

July 23:

HR 4690 - Provide for the establishment of the America the Beautiful Passport to facilitate access to certain federally administered lands and waters

ELWHA RIVER

Joint Hearing

Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee; Energy and Power Subcommittee (Chairman Sharp, D-Ind.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee; and Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold a joint hearing on legislation

★ *New listing*

(HR 4844) bill to restore Olympic National Park and the Elwha River ecosystem and fisheries in the state of Washington.

10am room TBA July 9

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
 PUBLIC LANDS**

National Parks and Public Lands Subcommittee (Chairman Vento, D-Minn.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will mark up pending legislation.

10am 1324 Longworth Bldg. July 23

Agenda:

HR 5021 - Determine the eligibility and suitability of designating a segment of the New River as a national wild and scenic river

HR 5061 - Establish Dry Tortugas National Park in the state of Florida

HJ Res 460 - Call upon the secretary of the Interior, in cooperation with the secretary of State, to enter into agreements with Canada to protect the Alsek and Tatshenshini Rivers, for the secretary of the Interior to ensure that Glacier Bay National Park and Preserve is not degraded by potential mine developments in Canada

HR 1808/S 807 - Permit Mount Olivet Cemetery Association of Salt Lake City, Utah, to lease a certain tract of land for a period of not more than 70 years

HR 3564 - Improve the management of public lands used for military purposes, to require assessments of future needs for withdrawals of public lands for such uses

CALIFORNIA RIVERS

Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee will hold a hearing on pending California River bills.

10am room TBA July 23

Agenda:

HR 5414 - a project for flood control and recreation on the Sacramento and American Rivers, Calif.

HR — - multi-purpose project on the American River, Calif.

Judiciary

225-3951

**SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP:
 SELLING GOVERNMENT DEBT**

Administrative Law and Governmental Relations Subcommittee (Chairman Frank, D-Mass.) of House Judiciary Committee will mark up legislation (HR 3218) that would authorize executive and legislative agencies to sell certain debts owed to the U.S. Time & Room TBA Date TBA

Note: This markup was originally scheduled for July 1.

**Merchant Marine
 & Fisheries**

225-4047

★ **OVERSIGHT HEARING:
 MARITIME POLICY**

House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) will hold an oversight hearing on the administration's recently announced comprehensive mar-

itime policy reform proposals.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. July 8

Witness scheduled: Andrew Card, Jr. - secretary of Transportation

**RE-DEFINING
 PASSENGER VESSEL**

Coast Guard and Navigation Subcommittee (Chairman Tauzin, D-La.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will meet to consider proposed legislation regarding changes in the definition of a passenger and passenger vessel.

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. July 9

ELWHA RIVER

Joint Hearing

Fisheries and Wildlife Conservation and the Environment Subcommittee (Chairman Studds, D-Mass.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee; Water, Power and Offshore Energy Resources Subcommittee (Chairman Miller, D-Calif.) of House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee; and Energy and Power Subcommittee (Chairman Sharp, D-Ind.) of House Energy and Commerce Committee will hold a joint hearing on legislation (HR 4844) bill to restore Olympic National Park and the Elwha River ecosystem and fisheries in the state of Washington.

10am room TBA July 9

★ **MARITIME POLICY
 OVERSIGHT**

Merchant Marine Subcommittee (Chairman Jones, D-N.C.) of House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee will hold an oversight hearing on the administration's recently announced comprehensive maritime policy reform proposals (Part II).

10am 1334 Longworth Bldg. July 23

**Narcotics Abuse
 & Control**

226-3040

**CONTROLLED SUBSTANCES &
 MEDICAID FRAUD**

House Select Narcotics Abuse and Control Committee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on fraud in the prescription of controlled substances through Medicaid.

10am Room TBA July 29

**Post Office &
 Civil Service**

225-4054

POST OFFICE SHOOTING

Postal Operations and Services Subcommittee (Chairman McCloskey, D-Ind.) and Postal Personnel and Modernization Subcommittee (Chairman Hayes, D-Ill.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a joint hearing on the shooting deaths of five people in the Royal Oak, Mich., Post Office in November 1991. The hearings will focus on safeguards intended to prevent repeated episodes of violence in U.S. Postal

■ *Revised listing*

House continued...

Service facilities.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. July 23

CHANGING DEMOGRAPHICS

Census and Population Subcommittee (Chairman Sawyer, D-Ohio) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will continue a series of hearings on demographic changes and America's changing profile, focusing on household and family structure, children and income patterns.

1pm 311 Cannon Bldg. July 28

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. July 29

Agenda & witnesses scheduled:

July 28 & 29: U.S. educational system, U.S. workforce trends

POSTAL SERVICE

FINANCIAL ACTIVITIES

Postal Operations and Services Subcommittee (Chairman McCloskey, D-Ind.) of House Post Office and Civil Service Committee will hold a hearing on the financial activities of the United States Postal Service.

10am 311 Cannon Bldg. August 11

Public Works & Transportation

225-4472

AIRPORT IMMIGRATION

Aviation Subcommittee (Chairman Oberstar, D-Minn.) of House Public Works and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on airport, immigration issues, including air passenger facilitation and the transit without a visa program.

9:30am 2167 Rayburn Bldg. July 9

APPALACHIAN DEVELOPMENT

Economic Development Subcommittee (Chairman Kolter, D-Pa.) of House Public Works and Transportation Committee will hold a hearing on legislation (HR 4157) to reauthorize the Economic Development Administration and the Appalachian Regional Council.

9:30am 2253 Rayburn Bldg. July 9

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 14.

Rules

225-9486

★ RULES FOR FLOOR DEBATE

House Rules Committee (Chairman Moakely, D-Mass.) will meet to consider rules for floor debate for pending legislation.

11am H-313 Capitol Bldg. July 8

Science, Space & Technology

225-6371

ENVIRONMENTAL COSTS OF TRANSPORTATION ENERGY

Environment Subcommittee (Chairman

★ New listing

Scheuer, D-N.Y.) of House Science, Space and Technology Committee will hold a hearing on a General Accounting Office report on policy options to address the environmental costs of energy use in the transportation sector. The hearing will preview the report and assess the trade-offs in using economic incentives, regulation and other approaches to accelerate the use of vehicle technologies with reduced emission and improved fuel economy.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Witnesses scheduled: Victor Rezendes - General Accounting Office, other witnesses TBA

Note: This hearing was originally scheduled for May 19.

Small Business

225-5821

CREDIT CRUNCH

House Small Business Committee (Chairman LaFalce, D-N.Y.) will hold a hearing on the difficulty that small businesses have in obtaining credit under new restrictive capital standards for financial institutions and lenders.

10am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. July 9

Witnesses scheduled: William Taylor - chairman, Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation; T. Timothy Ryan - director, Office of Thrift Supervision; Jerome Powell - Treasury Department

Veterans' Affairs

225-3527

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: VETERANS COMPENSATION

Compensation, Pension and Insurance Subcommittee (Chairman Applegate, D-Ohio) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will mark up pending legislation.

9am 334 Cannon Bldg. July 8

Agenda:

HR 5008 - Reform the formula for payment of dependency and indemnity compensation to survivors of veterans dying from service-connected causes

HR 4244 - Increase, effective as of December 1, 1992, the rates of disability compensation for veterans with service-connected disabilities and the rates of dependency and indemnity compensation for survivors of such veterans

SUBCOMMITTEE MARKUP: VETERANS EDUCATION

Education, Training and Employment Subcommittee (Chairman Penny, D-Minn.) of House Veterans' Affairs Committee will mark up legislation (HR 5087) that would provide education assistance for veterans.

9:45am 334 Cannon Bldg. July 9

Ways & Means

225-3625

FULL COMMITTEE MARKUP: TAX MATTERS

House Ways and Means Committee (Chairman Rostenkowski, D-Ill.) will mark up tax proposals of interest to committee members.

3pm 1100 Longworth Bldg. July 8

Time TBA 1100 Longworth Bldg. July 9

FOREIGN INCOME TAX

House Ways and Means Committee (Chairman Rostenkowski, D-Ill.) will hold hearings on the Foreign Income Tax Rationalization and Simplification Act of 1992 (HR 5270).

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. July 21 & 22

MISCLASSIFICATION OF INDEPENDENT CONTRACTORS

Select Revenue Measures Subcommittee (Chairman Rangel, D-N.Y.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on the misclassification of employees and independent contractors for federal income tax purposes.

10am 1100 Longworth Bldg. July 23

TRADE RELATIONS WITH NONMARKET-ECONOMY NATIONS

Trade Subcommittee (Chairman Gibbons, D-Fla.) of House Ways and Means Committee will hold a hearing on U.S. trade relations with nonmarket-economy countries.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Agenda:

HR 5444 - Establish new criteria for the extension of most-favored-nation status to countries now in transition from nonmarket to market economies

HR 5258 - Provide for the withdrawal of most-favored-nation status from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and provide for the restoration of such status if certain conditions are fulfilled

H J Res 507 - Approve the extension of nondiscriminatory treatment with respect to the products of the Republic of Albania

H J Res 512 - Approve the extension of most-favored-nation status to Romania

Note

The offices of all members of Congress and all congressional committees and subcommittees may be reached by calling (202) 224-3121.

Joint Committees

Joint Economic

★ FEDERAL POLICY & THE FAMILY FARM

Joint Economic Committee (Chairman Sarbanes, D-Md.) will hold a hearing on agricultural industrialization in family farming, focusing on the role of federal policy.

10am 2359 Rayburn Bldg. July 8

■ Revised listing

Conference Committees Future Listings

CALIF. WATER PROJECT

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 429) dealing with changes in the Central Valley water project in California.

Time and room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

From the Committee on Interior & Insular Affairs, for consideration of title I and VII-XXXIV of the House amendment, and titles I and VII-XXXVIII of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Miller, Rahall, Gejdenson, Vento, Kostmayer, De Lugo, Lehman, Markey, Hansen, Rhodes, Thomas, Young, Marlenee
From the Committee on Interior & Insular Affairs, for consideration of titles II-VI of the House amendment, and titles II-VI of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Miller, Rahall, Gejdenson, Vento, Kostmayer, De Lugo, Lehman, Owens, Hansen, Rhodes, Thomas, Young, Marlenee

As additional conferees from the Committee on Merchant Marine & Fisheries, for consideration of titles II-VI, IX, XXX, and XXXIV of the House amendment, and titles II-VI, IX, XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXVI and XXXVIII of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Jones, Studds, Hughes, Hertel, Carper, Manton, Lowey, Unsoeld, Davis, Fields, Herger, Doolittle, and Cunningham

As additional conferees from the Committee on Merchant Marine & Fisheries, for consideration of titles I, VII, XI, and XVIII-XX of the House amendment, and titles I, VIII, XI, XII, XIV, XV, XIX, and XX of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Jones, Studds, Davis,

As additional conferees from the Committee on Public Works & Transportation, for consideration of section 3411 of the House amendment, and titles XXI, XXXI, and XXXVIII and sections 3001-3004, 3007, 3508, and 3509 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Anderson, Mineta, Nowak, Borski, Kolter, Valentine, Hayes, Hammerschmidt, Shuster, Clinger, Petri, Packard

As additional conferees from the Committee on Public Works & Transportation, for consideration of title VII of the House amendment, and title VII and section 3404(c)(7) of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Nowak, Hammerschmidt

As additional conferees from the Committee on Agriculture, for consideration of title XXV and section 212 of the House amendment, and section 212 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: De La Garza, English, Dooley, Condit, Huckaby, Stenholm, Stallings, Campbell, Coleman, Morrison, Herger, Smith, Marlenee

As additional conferees from the Committee on Agriculture, for consideration of titles XIX and XX and sections 301, 305, 308 and 2302 of the House amendment, and titles XIII, XIV, XVIII, and XXXVI and section 202 of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: De La Garza, Volkmer, and Coleman

VETERANS HEALTH CARE

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 2344) to improve the provision of health care and other services to veterans by the department of Veterans Affairs.

Time and room TBA date TBA

House conferees: Montgomery, Edwards, Rowland, Stump, Hammerschmidt

JOB TRAINING

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR

★ New listing

3033) to amend the Job Training Partnership Act to improve the delivery of services to hard-to-serve youth and adults.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy; Metzenbaum; Simon; Hatch; Thurmond

House conferees: Ford, Williams, Perkins, Andrews, Olver, Goodling, Gunderson, Henry

FAMILY PLANNING

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 323) to amend title X of the Public Health Service Act to revise and extend the programs of assistance for family planning services

Time and room TBA date TBA

House conferees: TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Harkin, Adams, Hatch, Kassebaum

DEFENSE PRODUCTION ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (S 347) to amend the Defense Production Act of 1950 to revitalize the defense industrial base of the United States

Time and room TBA date TBA

House conferees:

From the House Banking Committee: Carper, LaFalce, Oaker, Vento, Kanjorski, Ridge, Paxon, Hancock

From the House Armed Services Committee: Aspin, Mavroules, Sisisky, Dickinson, Bateman

Additional conferees from House Energy Committee: Dingell, Markey, Collins of Ill., Lent, Rinaldo

Additional conferees from House Government Operations Committee: Conyers, English, Wise, Horton, Kyl

Additional conferees from House Judiciary Committee: Brooks, Edwards of Calif., Fish, Moorhead

Additional conferees from House Ways and Means Committee: Rostenkowski, Gibbons, Jenkins, Archer, Crane

Senate conferees: Riegle, Sarbanes, Dixon, Garn, Gramm.

Note: At the end of the first session of the 102nd Congress the House passed a bill (HR 3919) to temporarily extend the Defense Production Act through March 1, 1992.

FAMILY & CHILD SERVICES

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2720) to extend for one year the authorizations of appropriations for the programs under the Child Abuse Prevention and Treatment Act and the Family Violence Prevention and Services Act, and for certain programs relating to adoption opportunities.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Dodd, Kennedy, Adams, Hatch, Coats

House conferees:

EXPORT ADMINISTRATION

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 3489) to reauthorize the Export Administration Act of 1979.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Riegle, Cranston, Sarbanes, Garn, Mack

House conferees:

From the Committee on Foreign Affairs for the consideration of the House bill and Senate amendment: Fascell, Gejdenson, Wolpe, John-

ston, Engel, Murphy, Orton, Broomfield, Roth, Bereuter, Miller, R-Wash.

From the Committee on Armed Services, for consideration of sections 120 and 303 of the Senate amendment: Mavroules, Hertel, Pickett, Hunter, Kyl

From the Committee on Banking, Finance & Urban Affairs for consideration of sections 201(c), 205, and 207-210 of the Senate amendment: Oaker, Neal, LaFalce, Leach, McCandless

From the Committee on Judiciary for consideration of sections 120, 123, 502, of the House bill, and sections 121, 124, 302, 305, and 306 of the Senate amendment: Brooks, Schumer, Huges, Sensenbrenner, Gekas, .

HEALTH PROFESSIONALS

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 3508) to revise and extend certain programs relating to the education of individuals as health professionals.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Simon, Hatch, Kassebaum

House conferees: Dingell, Waxman, Richardson, Lent, Billey

PREVENTIVE HEALTH

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 3635) to revise and extend the program of block grants for preventive health and health services

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Harkin, Hatch, Kassebaum

House conferees: Dingell, Waxman, Rowland, Lent, Billey

OLDER AMERICANS ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2967) to reauthorize the Older Americans Act.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees:

From the Committee on Labor and Human Resources: Kennedy, Metzenbaum, Adams, Hatch, and Cochran

From the Committee on Finance (solely for the Social Security retirement earnings provisions): Bentsen, Moynihan and Packwood

House conferees: TBA

FEDERAL FACILITIES COMPLIANCE

Conferees will meet on HR 2194, Federal Facilities Compliance Act of 1991.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate conferees: Burdick, Baucus, Moynihan, Mitchell, Lautenberg, Chafee, Simpson, Durenberger, Warner

House conferees:

From the Energy and Commerce Committee for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Dingell, Swift, Eckart, Slattery, Sikorski, Lent, Ritter, Schaefer

Bilirakis appointed in lieu of Schaefer for consideration of that portion of section 2(b) of the House bill which adds section 6001(c) to the bill

As additional conferees from the Armed Services Committee, for consideration of section 113 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Ray, Hochbrueckner; Saxton

As additional conferees from the Judiciary Committee, for consideration of section 2(a) of the House bill, and section 103(a) of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Brooks, Frank of Mass., Gekas

■ Revised listing

Conference continued...

As additional conferees from the Merchant Marine Committee, for consideration of section 304(a) of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Jones of N.C., Studds, Davis

As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of sections 102, 109, and 115-119 of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Nowak, Hammerschmidt

As additional conferees from the Public Works Committee, for consideration of title IV of the Senate amendments, and modifications committed to conference: Roe, Savage, Norton, Nowak, Borski, Hammerschmidt, Shuster, Inhofe

FOLLOW-THROUGH ACT

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 2312) to make certain technical and conforming amendments to the Follow Through Act and the Head Start Transition Project Act.

Time and room TBA date TBA

Senate Conferees: Kennedy, Pell, Metzenbaum, Hatch and Kassebaum

House Conferees: TBA

CFTC REAUTHORIZATION

Conferees will meet on legislation (HR 707) to improve the regulation of futures trading and authorize appropriations for the Commodity Futures Trading Commission.

Time and room TBA add dates TBA

Note: Conference began November 6

Senate conferees: Leahy, Boren, Heflin, Conrad, Lugar, Dole, Cochran

House conferees:

From the Committee on Agriculture, for consideration of the House bill, and the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: de la Garza, English, Staggers, Stallings, Nagle, Sarpalius, Johnson, Huckaby, Glickman, Penny, Espy, Long, Stenholm, Tallon, Coleman, Smith of Ore., Gunderson, Combest, Allard, Barrett, Nussle, Boehner, Roberts

From the Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, for consideration of section 263 and title III of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Gonzalez, Annunzio, Neal, Hubbard, LaFalce, Oaker, Wylie, Leach, McCollum, Roukema

From the Committee on Energy and Commerce, for consideration of section 263 and title III of the Senate amendment, and modifications committed to conference: Dingell, Markey, Scheuer, Synar, Eckart, Slattey, Lent, Moorhead, Rinaldo, Ritter

Other continued...

★ JAPAN'S ASIA STRATEGY

Economic Strategy Institute will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear a discussion of "Japan's Strategy in Asia: Old Myths and New Realities." The speaker will be James Clad, senior associate with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Noon, 1100 Connecticut Ave. N.W. Suite 1300 July 15

SUPERFUND

Natural Resources Committee of District of Columbia Bar Association will sponsor a panel discussion on damage claims for injuries to natural resources under the Superfund law.

Noon to 2pm, D.C. Bar Association meeting room, 7th floor, 1707 L ST. N.W. July 15

Contact: 202-331-4364

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$18 for members, \$23 for non-members and \$10 for section government and public interest lawyers.

For reservations send a check, made payable to D.C. Bar, to:

Natural Resources Damage Claims Program
D.C. Bar, Sections Office
1707 L ST. N.W., 6th Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036-4203

Other Events

The Monitor has received notice of the following events scheduled to take place in Washington. Associations, non-profit organizations and public interest groups who wish to have events listed in the section should send pertinent information to: The Congressional Monitor, Other Events Editor, 1414 22nd St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037. Notices must include a telephone number. Notices may be transmitted by facsimile to 202-728-1862, attn: Robert Healy. Only events related to Congress can be listed. Deadline is noon two days before the date of issue (i.e. Monday noon for Wednesday issue). The editors reserve the right to edit or reject any submission. For further information call 202-887-8686.

SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Washington Foundation for Psychiatry will sponsor a panel discussion on sexual harassment in the workplace.

8:30am to 10:30am, Washington Foundation for Psychiatry, room 302, 1400 K St. N.W. July 9

Contact: Carole Berke at 202-789-0442

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$30 in advance and \$35 at the door, for reservations call the number listed above.

JAPAN ISSUES

Congressional Economic Leadership Institute will sponsor a briefing for the Congressional Competitiveness Caucus by Michael Crichton, author of the recent best-seller Rising Sun.

Noon, B-369 Rayburn Bldg. July 9

Contact: Julia Teuscher at 202-546-5007

Note: This event is for members only. Members of the press may attend by invitation, for details call the number listed above.

★ New listing

HEALTH CARE

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon briefing on the Bush administration's proposals for health care and welfare issues. Dr. Gail Wilensky, deputy assistant to the president for policy development, will give the briefing.

Noon, George Washington University Club, 800 21st St., N.W. July 9

Contact: Jim Kenworthy at 202-863-0426

Note: Lunch is \$14 for NEC members, \$20 for non-members. Reservations must be made by July 7. Members of the press may attend on a space available basis.

BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE & PUBLIC POLICY

Federation of Behavioral, Psychological and Cognitive Sciences will sponsor a briefing on the impact of behavioral science research on public policy.

Noon to 2pm, Ripley Center, Smithsonian Institution July 10

Contact: 202-336-5920

★ AUTO INDUSTRY

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Tom Webb, chief economist of the National Automobile Association discuss "THE Automobile Industry in Transition."

Noon to 1:30pm, Montpelier dining room, Library of Congress Madison Bldg., 101 Independence Ave. S.E. July 14

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$10 for members and \$15 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is noon the day before the luncheon is scheduled.

★ ECONOMIC RECOVERY

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Robert Brusca, senior vice president and chief economist of Nikko Securities Co. International discuss "Recovery from the 1990-92 Recession: Faster Than Expected?"

Noon to 1:30pm, GW University Club, 3rd Floor, Marvin Center, 800 21st St. N.W. July 21

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$14 for members and \$20 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is noon the day before the luncheon is scheduled.

★ BENTSEN BREAKFAST

National Association of Manufacturers will sponsor a breakfast meeting to hear Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, D-Texas, discuss the Senate Finance Committee tax proposals, including expiring tax provisions, energy taxation, luxury tax repeal, the trade bill, intangible assets taxation and tax simplification.

8:30am to 10am, Capital Hilton Hotel, 16th & K Sts. N.W. July 22

Contact: Tracy Rohan at 202-637-3118

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$35 for members and \$45 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above.

WOMEN'S ELECTORAL PROSPECTS

Women in Government Relations will sponsor a breakfast meeting to honor women members of Congress Rep. Patricia Schroeder, D-Colo., and Sen. Nancy Kassebaum, R-Kan. Representatives from EMILY's List and WISH will talk about the prospects in November for women candidates.

8am to 9:30am, Washington Court Hotel, 525 New Jersey Ave. N.W. July 23

Contact: Catherine Monzel at 202-833-8994

■ Revised listing

Other continued...

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$35 for members and \$50 for non-members. For reservations send a check, made payable to WGR, to:
WGR (July Breakfast)
1325 Massachusetts Ave. N.W.
Suite 510
Washington, D.C. 20005

HEALTH ISSUES

National Health Council will sponsor a breakfast meeting with Rep. Nancy Johnson, R-Conn., who will discuss health care revision issues.

8am to 10am, Hyatt Regency Capitol Hill, 400 New Jersey Ave. N.W. **July 23**

Contact: 202-785-3910

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$20 for members and \$30 for non-members. For reservations send a check, made payable to National Health Council, to:

John H. Madigan Jr.,
Vice President for Public Affairs
Johnson Briefing
National Health Council
1730 M St., N.W.
Suite 500
Washington, D.C. 20036

★ U.S. ECONOMY IN PERSPECTIVE

National Economists Club will sponsor a

luncheon meeting to hear American Enterprise Institute economists Herbert Stein and Murray Foss discuss "The U.S. Economy in Perspective: An Illustrated Guide to the American Economy."

Noon to 1:30pm, GW University Club, 3rd Floor, Marvin Center, 800 21st St. N.W. **August 4**

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$10 for members and \$15 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is noon the day before the luncheon is scheduled.

★ HOUSING POLICY

National Economists Club will sponsor a luncheon meeting to hear Kathryn Nelson of the Office of the Assistant Secretary For Housing and Urban Development for Policy Development and Research discuss "Affordable Housing and Federal Policy: To Whom Should Limited Housing Resources be Directed?"

Noon to 1:30pm, Montpelier dining room, Library of Congress Madison Bldg., 101 Independence Ave. S.E. **August 11**

Contact: 703-532-9048

Note: There is a charge for this event of \$10 for members and \$15 for non-members. For reservations call the number listed above. Deadline for reservations is noon the day before the luncheon is scheduled.

Status of Appropriations — Fiscal 1993

Week of July 6

FULL COMMITTEE

House: 225-2771; Senate: 224-3471

AGRICULTURE

House: 225-2638; Senate: 224-7240

Bill No: HR 5487
House subcmte hearings completed: April 29
House subcmte markup completed: June 10
Senate subcmte hearings completed: April 7
House full cmte markup completed: June 25
H Rpt 102-617
Passed House: June 30

COMMERCE, JUSTICE, STATE, & THE JUDICIARY

House: 225-3351; Senate: 224-7277

House subcmte hearings completed: April 7
Senate subcmte hearings completed: May 9
House subcmte markup completed: June 30
House full cmte markup scheduled: week of July 20

DEFENSE

House: 225-2847; Senate: 224-7255

Bill No: HR 5504
House subcmte hearings completed: May 7
House subcmte markup completed: June 18
House full cmte markup completed: June 29
H Rpt 102-627
Passed House: July 2
Senate subcmte hearings completed: June 25

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7236

Bill No: HR 5517
House subcmte hearings completed: June 17
House subcmte markup completed: June 23
House full cmte markup completed: July 1
H Rpt 102-638

ENERGY & WATER DEVELOPMENT

House: 225-3421; Senate: 224-7260

Bill No: HR 5373
House subcmte hearings completed: March 31
House subcmte markup completed: June 4
House full cmte markup completed: June 11
H Rpt 102-555
Passed House: June 17

FOREIGN OPERATIONS

House: 225-2041; Senate: 224-7209

Bill No: HR 5368
House subcmte hearings completed: May 1
House subcmte markup completed: June 12
House full cmte markup completed: June 18
H Rpt 102-585
Passed House: June 25

INTERIOR

House: 225-3081; Senate: 224-7233

Bill No: HR 5503
House subcmte hearings completed: May 27
House subcmte markup completed: June 16
House full cmte markup completed: June 29

Senate subcmte hearings scheduled: H Rpt 102-626
June 18

LABOR/HHS/EDUC

House: 225-3508; Senate: 224-7283

House subcmte hearings completed: May 19
House subcmte markup completed: July 2
House full cmte markup scheduled: week of July 20

LEGISLATIVE BRANCH

House: 225-5338; Senate: 224-7338

Bill No: HR 5427
House subcmte hearings completed: January 29
House subcmte markup completed: June 10
House full cmte markup completed: June 18
H Rpt 102-579
Passed House: June 24
Senate subcmte hearings completed: February 7

MILITARY CONSTRUCTION

House: 225-3047; Senate: 224-7255

Bill No: HR 5428
House subcmte hearings completed: March 25
House subcmte markup completed: June 11
House full cmte markup completed: June 18
H Rpt 102-580
Passed House: June 23
Senate subcmte hearings completed: May 18

TRANSPORTATION

House: 225-2141; Senate: 224-7245

Bill No: HR 5518
House subcmte hearings completed: April 30
House subcmte markup completed: June 11
House full cmte markup completed: July 1
H Rpt 101-639
Senate subcmte hearings completed: May 14

TREASURY/POSTAL SERVICE

House: 225-5834; Senate: 224-6280

Bill No: HR 5488
House subcmte hearings completed: April 9
House subcmte markup completed: June 10
House full cmte markup completed: June 25
H Rpt 102-618

VA, HUD & INDEPENDENT AGENCIES

House: 225-3241; Senate: 224-7211

House subcmte hearings completed: April 30
House subcmte markup completed: June 25

FY92 SUPPLEMENTAL

Bill No: HR 5132
House full cmte markup completed: May 12
H Rpt 102-518
Passed House: May 14
Senate full cmte markup completed: May 19
Passed Senate: May 21
Conference completed: June 17
H Rpt 102-577
Conference report adopted by House: June 18
Conference report adopted by Senate: June 18
Signed by the president: June 22
PL 102-302

House Floor Action

Week of July 6

Monday, July 6:

Not in session

Tuesday, July 7:

Convenes at Noon

Under suspension of the rules:

- HR 3562 Relating to the use of unobligated moneys in the Customs Forfeiture Fund begin consideration
- HR 5269 Add to the area in which the Capitol Police have law enforcement authority begin consideration
- HR 3836 Provide for the management of federal lands containing the pacific yew to ensure a sufficient supply of taxol, a cancer-treating drug made from the pacific yew begin consideration
- HR 4310 Reauthorize and improve the national marine sanctuaries program, and to establish the Coastal Sanctuary Foundation begin consideration

HR 1435

ation

Direct the secretary of the Army to transfer jurisdiction over the Rocky Mountain Arsenal, Colorado, to the secretary of the Interior begin consideration

Wednesday, July 8:

Convenes at 10am

- HR 5100 Strengthen the international trade position of the United States begin consideration
- HR 5517 District of Columbia Appropriations begin consideration
- S 1150 CONFERENCE REPORT: Reauthorize the Higher Education Act of 1965 begin consideration

Thursday, July 9 &

Balance of the Week:

Convenes at 10am

- HR 5518 Transportation Appropriations begin consideration

Senate Floor Action

Weeks of July 6 & 13

Not in session

Week of July 20

Monday, July 20:

- S 2877 Interstate Transportation of Municipal Waste Act of 1992 begin consideration

Tuesday, July 21 &

Balance of the Week:

Schedule uncertain



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SENATE COMMITTEE PUBLICATIONS

AGRICULTURE, NUTRITION & FORESTRY COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Nominations of Charles R. Hilty and Gary C. Byrne
Full Committee. November 22, 1991.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12777-1
Price: \$2.75

ARMED SERVICES COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- S 2066, A Bill to Require the Secretary of Defense to Provide Financial Assistance to Local Educational Agencies Administering Public School Districts Where Military Installations Are Located
Readiness, Sustainability and Support Subcommittee. February 19, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12775-5
Price: \$2.50

BANKING, HOUSING & URBAN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- The Residential Lead-Based Paint Hazard Reduction Act of 1992
Housing and Urban Affairs Subcommittee. March 19, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12803-4
Price: \$11.00

COMMERCE, SCIENCE & TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Nomination of Barbara Hackman Franklin to be Secretary of Commerce
Full Committee. February 6, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12783-6
Price: \$3.25
- Reauthorization of National Railroad Passenger Corporation
Surface Transportation Subcommittee. February 26, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12779-8
Price: \$2.75

ENERGY & NATURAL RESOURCES COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Hawaiian Homes Act
Full Committee. February 6, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12759-3
Price: \$24.00
- California Desert
Public Lands, National Parks and Forests Subcommittee. April 4, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12758-5
Price: \$21.00

ENVIRONMENT & PUBLIC WORKS COMMITTEE

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

- SRpt 102-305 to S 2902, An original bill to authorize research into the desalinization of water and water reuse and to authorize a program for states, cities and any qualifying agency that desires to own and operate a desalinization or water reuse facility to develop such facilities

FINANCE COMMITTEE

HEARINGS

- Nominations of Jerome H. Powell and John Cunningham Dugan
Full Committee. May 14, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12771-2
Price: \$1.00

PRINTS

- Technical Explanation of the Amendment to Title XIX of HR 776
Full Committee. June 18, 1992.
GPO Stock No. 552-070-12770-4
Price: \$1.75

REPORTS

Note: Reports are available from the Document rooms.

- SRpt 102-304 to S 33, A bill to establish the Social Security Administration as an independent agency, and for other purposes

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Forests, Family Farms and Energy Subcommittee. March 19, 1992. Serial No. 102-64.
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- **HRpt 102-636 to S 2780**, A bill to amend the Food Security Act of 1985 to remove certain easement requirements under the conservation reserve program, and for other purposes

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- **HRpt 102-638 to HR 5517**, A bill making appropriations for the Department of Transportation and related agencies for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes
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- **HRpt 102-641 to HR 450, A bill to amend the Stock Raising Homestead Act to resolve certain problems regarding subsurface estates, and for other purposes**
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● **RULE GRANTED:** HRpt 102-647 to H Res 508, Resolution waiving certain points of order against and during consideration of the bill HR 5504, making appropriations for the Department of Defense for the fiscal year ending September 30, 1993, and for other purposes

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● **Chilean Trade: Factors Affecting U.S. Trade With and Investment in Chile, by Allan I. Mendelowitz, Director of International Trade and Finance Issues, before the Subcommittees on International Economic Policy and Trade and on Western Hemisphere Affairs, House Committee on foreign Affairs**

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• **Federally Funded Health Services: Information on Seven Programs Serving Low-Income Women and Children**

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• **Child Labor: Information on Federal Enforcement Efforts**

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• **Telecommunications: Concerns About**

competition in the Cellular Telephone Service Industry

RCED-92-220, July 1, 1992.

• **Telecommunications: Competition in the Cellular Telephone Service Industry**, by Kenneth M. Mead, Director of Transportation Issues, before the Subcommittee on Communications, Senate Committee on Commerce, Science, and Transportation

T-RCED-92-72, July 1, 1992.

PUBLIC LAWS

• **H J Res 517 = PL 102-306 106 Stat. 260**, Joint resolution to provide for a settlement of the railroad labor-management disputes between certain railroads and certain of their employees

Signed by the president June 26, 1992.

• **S 756 = PL 102-307 106 Stat. 264**, A bill to amend title 17, U.S. Code, the copyright renewal provisions, and for other purposes

Signed by the president June 26, 1992

• **S 2703 = PL 102-308 106 Stat. 273**, A bill to authorize the president to appoint General Thomas C. Richards to the Office of Administrator of the Federal Aviation Administration

Signed by the president June 26, 1992

• **H J Res 470 = PL 102-309 106 Stat. 275**, Joint resolution to designate the month of September 1992 as National Spina Bifida Awareness Month

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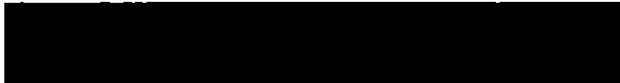
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Robin

① Thank him by phone
saying I asked to call

Memo to the President
from Charley Bartlett

You were very good in the Rose Garden this morning, well-spoken and resolute. I was very glad you pulled the rein on Harry Whatshisname - he has always seemed to me biased. People like it when you are crisp with your interrogators - you were too agreeable with Barbara Walters.

Most important you expounded at a length that reflected real, deep concern at some of the problems, particularly those relating to the impoverished. You must keep in mind that those of us who walk the streets are constantly faced with the poverty problem, seeing as we do homeless and beggars at every street corner. The circumstances of these people are much in the minds of every urban American.

In fact I wish very very much that you could find it in your heart to go with Bob Dole and others (many in your official entourage) who want you to issue an executive order opening up several of those unneeded military camps to get a CCC opportunity in place for some of those decent young people who are trapped without jobs and without the chance to escape that formerly existed through enlistment. If many good young people go to those camps, the police will have an easier time running down the bad people who are left dealing drugs etc. on city streets.

That very agreeable Southern poll this weekend told us two things: you are strong with the conservatives and Southerners don't like self-righteous Bible-toters. They can smell characters like Perot a mile off. If we can assume Perot will fade badly, you are left with Clinton and that means the target is the center. Bold action on CCC camps would be enormously appealing to that group. I cannot, after several weeks of inquiry, find anybody who is against the idea outside of Cheney and the White House.

July 1, 1992

C.B.

7/6/92 (1342)

Called Mr. Bartlett. Told him the President was in Munich and asked me to call him and thank him for the 1 July fax and told him that DOD and White House were currently looking at the idea of CCC camps. He was very pleased to hear back so soon. He really believes this is a GOOD idea. Robin MacLean

Per Rose: No further
action required. No need
to follow up on stat
of CCC camps. 0845
7/7/92

Tell him
DOD is
thinking
about
this
as we
have

--- Tuesday --- July 7, 1992 ---

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

Updated Each Morning At 11:50

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SHORT LIST GETTING LONGER?

Clinton VP guessing game:
Kerrey talks about weekend
interview, Cuomo speaking role,
and presumed no-go Rockefeller
seems to have made it back on
everyone's list. (#1)

CONVENTION: Uncommitted
forces flexing anti-Clinton
muscle? (#2) PA's Casey wants
to bat. (#3) And Brown gets
his meeting with Clinton. (#3)

GHOSTS OF WHITE HOUSES PAST

SENATE WATCH: Ex-Nixon aide
Herschensohn (R-CA) unhappy
with press on Watergate. (#15)
Ex-Reagan aide Williamson (R-
IL) hit for spokesperson role
cited in ABC Iran report. (#9)

NY SEN: GOP PRIMARY BEGINS

Rockefeller in vs. D'Amato --
with Giuliani help? Poll shows
Abrams strongest in fall. (#10)

PA SEN: New poll suggests
Yeakel benefits from abortion
case; questions over women's
support of Specter. (#12)

HONEY, EYE BLEW UP THE BITES

CBS experiment offers 30-sec.
window for evening news. (#8)

SPOTLIGHT

LEARNING FROM 1988

When Bush defined Dukakis
and his "Massachusetts
Miracle," the MA Gov. never
responded or recovered.

Not this time: Yesterday,
Dukakis's successor, MA GOP
Gov. Wm Weld, went to AR to
hit Clinton's environmental
record and was punched from
all sides in the same news
cycle. Clinton called Weld
"pandering" to GOP Right in
order to run for president.
The AR and MA Dem parties
both hit him in releases.
Clinton aides were at the
press conference to refute
charges. And the campaign
released anti-Weld info on
a GOP fundraising "scandal"
in MA, his failure to pay
federal taxes this year,
his tax/budget problems in
MA, etc., etc., etc. (#4)

Is this counter-attack?
Or deterrent? Or both?

===== QUOTE OF THE DAY =====
"Keep it short."

-- Clinton spokesperson Dee Dee Myers, relaying her boss' advice
to Mario Cuomo on his nominating speech, L.A. TIMES, 7/7. (#3)

THE APN BULLETIN BOARD

FROM TODAY'S GREENWIRE: Cash-strapped states struggle to find ways to pay for cleaning up toxic waste sites.
FROM TODAY'S DAILY REPORT CARD: An accelerated program at a AZ Navajo Res. high school is an "impressive success."
FROM TODAY'S ABORTION REPORT: Clinton VP pick may spotlight issue and coincide w/Gov. Casey's pro-life platform push.
FROM TODAY'S AMERICAN HEALTH LINE: If the president needed private health insurance, experts say he couldn't get it.

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WHITE HOUSE '92

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CLINTON: Uncommitted delegate rumblings. (#2)
DEM CONVENTION: More on Cuomo speech; Brown to bury hatchet. (#3)
BUSH SURROGATES: Looks like '88, but there's a difference. (#4)
BUSH: TV on G-7 trip -- "Jobs Jobs Jobs," Volume III. (#5)
QUAYLE: Bad reviews from the cornfields. (#6)
PEROT: Meets today with 100-member advisory panel. (#7)
POLITICAL TV: Honey, eye blew up the bites. (#8)

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NY: Poll suggests Abrams strongest vs. D'Amato. (#10)
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PA: Polls conflict in woman support of Specter. (#12)
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CALIFORNIA CABLE

SENATE "A": Herschensohn's Watergate role probed. (#15)

TV MONITOR (#16)

???? OVERLOOKED ???? ?

Might old friends make good tickets?
Bill Clinton was Governor of Arkansas while
Senator Kerrey was Governor of NE,
Senator Graham was Governor of FL,
and Senator Rockefeller was Governor of WV.

???? OVERLOOKED ???? ?

SCORE OF GAME # OF PUBLICATIONS/WEEK

APN	16	25
ROLL CALL	12	2

*1 CLINTON'S VEEP WATCH: KERREY VISITED, CUOMO RESURFACES

N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Jackman reports Clinton "may decide to announce his choice of a running mate this week." As to the timing, one "faction" in the Clinton camp "is lobbying for Clinton to unveil his choice tomorrow or Thursday to drive the news Clinton's way before the convention. Another school is lobbying for Clinton to hold off until Sunday night, and make the announcement in New York to heighten interest in the convention and prompt voters to tune in" (7/7). "Aides to Clinton apologize -- both for refusing to talk and for knowing so little about what is going on. Only a handful of people are truly involved, and they have been remarkably leak-free" (Balz, W. POST, 7/7). CNN's Gene Randall: "It is widely expected he'll announce his decision sometime this week" (7/6). Chris Matthews on when he makes announcement: "I'd hold it 'til Sunday, if he can keep it a secret. You got to charge it up" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/6). Clinton press sec. Dee Dee Myers "said the choice will probably come sometime between tomorrow and next Monday -- but maybe not until next Wednesday. There was even some talk that for maximum attention, Clinton may unveil the name in the middle of the All-Star game next Tuesday night" (Orin, N.Y. POST, 7/7). Myers: "He's going to try to keep speculation to a minimum, although with only a week to go before the convention, that's a little tough to do. ... As soon as he's made a decision ... we'll try to announce it. It could happen anytime between Wednesday of this week and Tuesday of next week, or Wednesday of next week. ... There's just no way of telling at this point" (CNN, 7/6).

KERREY VISITED: Kerrey said "he was questioned for three hours Sunday by representatives of Bill Clinton's campaign who are involved in selecting" a running mate. Kerrey "said the extent and the nature of the questions -- some highly personal -- indicated to him that he is a serious contender. He said his questioners, whom he declined to identify, assured him he is under serious consideration by Clinton." Kerrey: "In order to go through this, I just wanted to make sure they were serious. I made sure they understood I don't need this for any personal reason. They have satisfied me 100 percent." Among the topics discussed, Kerrey said, "was the relationship he has with his two children, Benjamin and Lindsey, and his ex-wife, Bev Higby. One of Kerrey's supposed drawbacks is that he is divorced. ... Kerrey said he has visited with Clinton more than once in recent weeks, but never about the vice presidency." Kerrey said he did not know "when Clinton would make a decision, who other candidates might be or what his chances are of being selected": "I'm not running for the job. I'm not going to be disappointed in any way, shape or form. I would be just as happy in the Senate with Vice President Gore or Vice President Hamilton or Vice President Wofford" (Kotok, OMAHA WORLD-HERALD, 7/7).

HAMILTON: W. POST's Balz writes Hamilton's position on family leave "puts him on the Republican side of that issue" (7/7). Kerrey "said he did not think Hamilton hurt his chances" on "Meet the Press" when he took different positions on abortion and family leave from Clinton. Kerrey called Hamilton's positions "not inconsistent to the extreme" (WORLD-HERALD, 7/7). W.S. JOURNAL's Paul Gigot: "You want to go with somebody of stature. Hamilton is that." Chris Matthews: "Every one of the people we've mentioned is smarter than Dan Quayle" ("Crossfire,"

CNN, 7/6). CNN's Bob Franken, on Hamilton's "Meet the Press" appearance: "The experts say it's hard to tell whether Hamilton hurt his chances" (7/6). N.Y. POST's Orin reports Hamilton "is doing another high-profile event today -- a Washington reporters' breakfast." Noting his NBC appearance, Orin asks, "Is Hamilton sending a message that he couldn't care less about the No. 2 spot?" Hamilton spokesman Chris Mehl: "No, it's just that if you ask him a question, he tries to answer it" (7/7).

GORE: Gigot: "Gore has a lot going for him. ... The best thing about Al Gore is his wife Tipper. ... On values, she would make a terrific debater." Matthews: "I could see a Clinton/Gore ticket doing very well in [CA]. They're young, they're hip. ... The best way to bring out the problem with Dan Quayle is to bring somebody in his own age, who served in Vietnam and isn't a hypocrite" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/6). N.Y. POST's Orin writes "conventional wisdom" is that it will be Gore and "will happen tomorrow or Thursday" (7/7).

CUOMO: N.Y. TIMES' Sack writes the announcement Cuomo will deliver Clinton's nominating speech "raised the question of whether Mr. Cuomo might also relax his vow of uninterest in the Vice Presidency." Cuomo said he discussed the VP job with DNC chair Ron Brown on the phone. By admitting that "and then declining to discuss the context, [Cuomo] managed to insert himself back into the [VP] search from which he had withdrawn weeks ago. What seemed certain today was that no formal offer of the [VP] spot had been made to Mr. Cuomo. But what was less clear was whether he would actually be interested the job." Cuomo said he considered the VP spot to be "a critical job": "It's a very important position. So please, it's not a disparagement of the office when I say it wouldn't work for me." Cuomo added he saw the issue as "academic" because he didn't expect to be picked: "I'm told the process is concluded in the sense that they have all the candidates they can handle" (7/7). N.Y. POST's Dicker writes Cuomo "cracked open the door to a possible [VP] run yesterday." Cuomo "duck[ed] several questions on what he would do if Clinton asked him directly to be is running mate." Some Dem insiders "said it was possible" Cuomo's speech would "spark a last-minute Cuomo-for-vice-president draft." NY Dem chair John Marino "said that wouldn't happen because it would be too late to pick Cuomo in the middle of the convention": "You don't ask your vice-presidential choice to nominate you" (7/7). ARK. DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE's Oman writes Cuomo's decision to nominate Clinton "puts to rest speculation" he will be Clinton's VP (7/7). BOSTON GLOBE's Loth writes the decision "may have been designed to quell speculation" of Cuomo as VP (7/7). WSJ's Gigot said Cuomo as running mate would help the GOP: "It would be a terrific choice. ... You'd have a debate between the presidential nominee Clinton, and the [VP] nominee Cuomo" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/6).

ABORTION: NBC's Andrea Mitchell profiled the abortion positions of Hamilton, Gore, Kerrey and Wofford: "Clinton has promised to pick a running-mate who supports abortion rights, but all the men he's considering ... have mixed records." Excerpts were shown from Hamilton's "Meet the Press" appearance: "There are no perfect answers in the abortion case. ... It is perfectly appropriate to put some restraint on a woman seeking an abortion." Gore supported abortion rights in the Senate, "but in the House he voted against Medicaid abortions for poor women." Kerrey also voted pro-choice in the Senate, but 10 years ago wrote "abortion is morally repugnant." Wofford supports

restrictions. And "Clinton himself supports [AR's] law requiring" parental notification. "Clinton advisors do not think he would eliminate a candidate who supports limiting abortion, largely because most Americans agree with some restrictions on abortion" (7/6). W. POST's Balz writes, to "ardent supporters of abortion rights, virtually everyone who has been mentioned ... has a question mark in his background" (7/7). In a profile of the "'pro-choice' test," N.Y. TIMES' Toner asks, "What litmus tests are left for Democrats? How much is Mr. Clinton willing to be bound by them?" NARAL spokesperson Loretta Ucelli: "We're as curious as everyone else. We would imagine that the views of the [VP] nominee would reflect the views of the candidate himself on choice" (7/7). BOSTON GLOBE's Nolan calls Clinton's appearance before a NARAL rally last week a "mystery": "After saying he would make abortion rights a litmus test for judges, his choice of Wofford or Hamilton would be a Sister Souljah stunt, angering these groups" (7/6).

VEEP, VEEP: CNN's list: Wofford, Gore, and Rockefeller (7/6). N.Y. TIMES survey of 921 Dem convention delegates, conducted 6/18-7/1 found Bradley was favored by 1 in 6 delegates, followed by Richards, Rockefeller and Cuomo, each at about 1 in 20 (7/7). Clinton Communications dir. George Stephanopoulos, asked if Clinton has a "litmus test" on abortion for VP: "It is critically important to have a running-mate who is pro-choice." Stephanopoulos said Clinton's search cmte, "the Warren Commission," has met with "dozens of people ... and that includes many women and minorities." On Bradley saying he did not want to be VP: "We have to take him at his word." On when: "It will be within a week" ("CBS This Morning," 7/7).

*2 CLINTON: UNCOMMITTED DELEGATE RUMBLINGS

A group of 20 uncommitted WA delegates to the convention "wants to meet" with Clinton, and has told DNC chair Ron Brown "to give them delegate lists and meeting places so they can organize all of the convention's 685 uncommitted delegates." WA is second only to NY in total uncommitted delegates; the WA group has contacted uncommitteds from VT, SC, NV and other states "in hopes of wielding influence at a convention firmly under Clinton's control." One "trial balloon" the WA group is discussing is to nominate Rep. Pat Schroeder (D-CO) for VP -- a move supported by WA Dem chair Karen Marchioro and Rep. Jim McDermott (D-07). From the group's letter to Clinton: "You have spent a total of four hours in our state. We hoped you would return. You did not. Now, we ask you to take one hour [in NYC] to meet with us -- at any time" (Connelly, SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 7/7).

OH: Cleveland PLAIN DEALER's Diemer & Luttner examine Clinton's "adrift and quiet" OH campaign, noting several of the state's superdelegates, including Reps. Louis Stokes (D-21) and Donald Pease (D-13), are uncommitted. Stokes also has his own "small bloc of delegates" awarded him under a favorite-son slate bearing his name; he "suggested he could support Clinton if Clinton demonstrates interest in working with [OH] black leaders." Stokes: "If he goes out on his own, then you may see a different result." Clinton's OH director Greg Haas recently quit; no replacement has been named. Also, "few leading [OH Dems] have endorsed" him. Clinton OH co-chair/AG Lee Fisher: "They have not decided whether Ohio will be a priority state in the top tier." Fisher said Clinton manager David Wilhelm told him OH, where Clinton trails Perot and Bush, "may not be a prime

target for Clinton during the closing months" (7/5).

MEET THE FAMILY CIRCLE: BOSTON GLOBE's Black profiles Hillary Clinton, noting this month "a raft of interviews with [her] are appearing in leading women's magazines ... part of an effort to display her many dimensions after her staff became concerned that she was being caricatured in the media." Examples: A recent NEW YORKER cartoon featured a woman telling a salesperson not to show her anything "too Hillary" (7/7). N.Y. POST editorial (header: "Bill Clinton's Hillary Problem") cites an AMERICAN SPECTATOR story (8/92 issue) on Hillary by Daniel Wattenberg, warning, "it now emerges that the campaign has significant links with the far left. These ties cannot be severed: Hillary ... embodies them." The SPECTATOR piece "isn't remotely comforting ... We now feel a need to learn more about Mrs. Clinton, her actual relation to the campaign and her current political sensibilities. Moderates within the [Dem] Party will likely feel the same way" (7/7). B. GLOBE's Pertman examines the emerging "tougher" Bill Clinton, interviewing old friends about the effect of the campaign's rigors on the candidate (7/6).

ALSO: Chris Matthews paints Clinton as a "fight promoter" hoping to benefit from a Bush-Perot slugfest; he holds up the 1912 Wilson/Taft/Roosevelt election as precedent (W. TIMES, 7/7). W. POST's Grove offers a "Style" profile of Clinton finance dir. Rahm Emanuel (7/7).

*3 CONVENTION: MORE ON CUOMO SPEECH; BROWN TO BURY HATCHET?

The announcement "defused any possibility that the Cuomo-Clinton contretemps would become an unwelcome sideshow to Mr. Clinton's coronation. Mr. Cuomo's change of heart -- he preferred to say he had simply deferred to the judgment" of Clinton and DNC chair Ron Brown -- "symbolized a marked improvement in relations" between Clinton and Cuomo (Sack, N.Y. TIMES, 7/7). Clinton: "I think he'll make a compelling case -- not just for me, but for why we have to change" (mult., 7/7). CNN's Bernard Shaw: "Clinton needed to find the proper way to pay tribute to Mario Cuomo ... and foster their new found friendship" (7/6). Dukakis '88 manager John Sasso: "That voice itself is a lethal weapon" (BOSTON GLOBE, 7/7). W. POST's Walsh writes the choice of Cuomo "has several clear pluses. It assures [Clinton] of the high-profile support of the convention's host governor in a state and city where Clinton was badly roughed up during the [4/28] primary. Moreover, Cuomo ... comes from and could serve as a bridge to a traditional wing of the party that has often viewed the southern, Baptist and moderate Clinton with suspicion" (7/7). The announcement "represented something of a turnabout for Cuomo." While Cuomo said he decided to speak, "Because I was asked." L.A. TIMES' Decker notes, "The truth appeared to be somewhat more complex" (7/7). It was not clear what role the Clinton camp would have in reviewing Cuomo's comments. Clinton press sec. Dee Dee Myers "said no set procedure had been set up between Cuomo and the campaign -- adding only it was 'customary' that the speaker discuss the address with the nominee's aides." Last month, Cuomo said "he did not permit" Mondale aides to control the text of his '84 keynote, and said of Clinton's staff: "I can't imagine these people doing that" (Clifford, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 7/7). Dee Dee Myers said Clinton had just a few words of advice for Cuomo: "Keep it short" (L.A. TIMES, 7/7). Myers added Cuomo's speech would be scheduled for 10-15 minutes (NEWSDAY, 7/7). Asked if abortion rights would be mentioned, Cuomo: "It's not a subject I would put on a list to keep out"

(Benenson, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/7). N.Y. TIMES' Sack and N.Y. POST's Dicker both examined the announcement as reviving Cuomo as a VP prospect. Others saw it as a clear signal Cuomo was off the VP list. See #1.

JERRY BROWN: S.J. MERCURY NEWS' Trounstein writes Brown, four years ago, "reflected on the difficulty Jesse Jackson was having letting go of his bid ... and joining his party's united front for November." Brown: "Once you start running and you win a few primaries and you have these supporters and enthusiasm and you have your vision and you've been articulating it, then how do you stop? ... [How do you] become a cheerleader for something else that you didn't think was as important as what you are?" Notes Trounstein, "Judging from his continuing caustic criticism" of the Dem Party and Clinton, "Brown -- after years of seeking enlightenment, apostolic to Zen -- hasn't yet solved this political koan." Brown, "still unhappy that his 'Humility Agenda' and numerous liberal platform amendments have been rejected" is heading to NYC "vowing to fight ... to argue ... and to generally not go gently into that New York City night." Brown and his "band of true believers" plan to put his name in nomination, lobby minority and state caucuses and speak out on radio and TV. He refuses to say whether he will endorse Clinton or even release his delegates. Brown: "We intend to speak truth to power." Dem consultant Mark Mellman: "He's going to the party without a date." Clinton spokesperson Dee Dee Myers: "I guess Jerry will do whatever Jerry wants to do. ... I don't think Jerry has to be irrelevant. He ran a credible campaign. ... If he wants to participate in the convention, if he wants to come along, great. That's up to him" (7/6). ABC's Lisa McCree reported, last night in DC, Jerry Brown "slipped into Clinton's hotel for a meeting. Clinton's aides say the two discussed their differences for the convention" ("GMA," ABC, 7/7).

ABORTION: PA Gov. Bob Casey (D) in a letter to DNC chair Ron Brown, requested an "opportunity to address" the convention in order to "voice his opposition to the party's support of abortion rights." Casey testified at the platform meetings, and "urged Democrats to support at least some restrictions on abortion." Casey said the platform position adopted by the cmte "has the effect, in my opinion, of placing the national party even more squarely within the abortion-on-demand camp." DNC spokesperson Ginny Terzano said Brown "has not responded formally or spoken with Governor Casey, but anyone who is speaking at the convention will have endorsed Governor Clinton by the time of the convention and Governor Casey has not" (Schwartz, W. POST, 7/7). Casey, saying, "I intend to press the issue" at the convention, added, "First I hope I can get in. I don't know if they'll let me in or keep me in the parking lot" (PHILA. INQUIRER, 7/7). N.Y. TIMES Tabor reports, Operation Rescue, "usually known for chalking up huge numbers of arrests, is going lean" to the convention. While a "large number" of supporters are expected, the "group's leadership has recruited a special strike force of about 50 people" to protest at "clinics, hotels and convention sites" (7/7).

OTHER: USA TODAY's Benedetto writes, Dems "have fashioned a pragmatic" draft platform "that breaks sharply with past quadrennial statements of purpose." It "resists the old concept of making the platform a parking place for pet peeves of the many special interests of which the party is composed." Cited: "the encouragement of 'basic American values,'" the backing of a capital gains tax cut, and "toughening language on work for

welfare" as examples of how the platform is different from past conventions (7/7).

LEARN IT HERE, NO DISTRACTIONS: The DNC will hold daily campaign training sessions during the convention, covering coordinated campaigns, voter targeting, voter registration, voter contact, earned press, the women's vote, GOTV, fund-raising, paid media, and redistricting (DNC release, 7/6).

*4 BUSH SURROGATES: LOOKS LIKE '88, BUT THERE'S A DIFFERENCE GOV. WM WELD (R-MA): His 7/6 visit to Little Rock was both a reminder of things past and a sign of things to come. In a trip paid by the Bush/Quayle campaign, Weld held a Little Rock press conference one block from Clinton HQ, outfitted with charts labeled: "Clinton's 'Massachusetts Miracle'" (USA TODAY, 7/7). What Weld called an effort "to peel a way a few leaves on the artichoke" was reminiscent of the 1988 GOP effort to attack/define Weld's MA predecessor, Michael Dukakis, by pointing to his state record. Weld focused primarily on Clinton's enviro record, pointing out AR ranks last among the states for "quality of environmental initiatives ... worst in the nation in workplace safety" (ARKANSAS DEMOCRAT-GAZETTE, 7/7). Weld: "The 1991-92 Green Index ranks Arkansas the 48th state out of 50 in terms of overall environmental quality" (Bush/Quayle release, 7/6). "This situation is a direct result of ... his favoring of poultry interests to feather his own political nest" (AP/W. TIMES, 7/7). "I like him. He's a likeable guy. But so is President Bush, so let's talk about the issues" (DEM-GAZETTE, 7/7). "Did he ever meet a tax he didn't like?" Weld "did not appear to know that most of the significant tax hikes here were designed to increase teachers salaries and make other improvements in state education." But if the Weld visit reminded reporters of the Bush '88 assault on Dukakis, the Clinton response did not. Unleashing an assault obviously designed both to discredit Weld and deter other surrogate attacks, the campaign included attacks by Clinton, the campaign, the AR Dem party, and the MA Dem party. Clinton: "Bill Weld used to spend all his time telling me how much he admired me and what a good governor I was. But now he's pandering to the right wing of the Republican Party so he can run for president in 1996" (BOSTON GLOBE, 7/7). A Clinton release provided reporters information on: A MA "fundraising scandal" involving GOP officials "selling access;" the fact that Weld "paid no federal taxes this year;" Weld "twice diverting" MA gas tax funds to balance the state budget; 30,000 fewer MA jobs since Weld took office; etc. (7/6). Two Clinton officials attended the press conference and were available to the press immediately afterward: Betsy Wright said Weld "should be embarrassed to go into ... Arkansas with that kind of scandal swirling around him" (USA TODAY, 7/7). The Weld visit came on the same day the BOSTON HERALD ran a scathing column by Don Feder, warning the GOP not to make Weld keynoter at their convention. Arguing that he is "wedded ... to the gay agenda ... [supports] condom distribution to the public schools ... [and] is equally doctrinaire on abortion," Feder adds, "You might as well turn the podium over to the [NARAL] and Queer Nation" (7/6).

OTHER BUSH SURROGATES: GOV. CARROLL CAMPBELL (R-SC): Bush interrupted his G-7 Munich schedule for a photo op with the BMW Chair and the SC Gov., who were announcing BMW's decision to build a 2000-job plant in SC. At a later news conference, Campbell "took a shot at ... Clinton for proposing higher taxes on foreign investors ... Clinton's proposals 'would work against

the development and creation of jobs'" (Shanahan, NEWHOUSE, 7/7).
MARILYN QUAYLE: Speaking to a GOP fund-raiser in Phoenix, "She charged that Democrats in Congress held 'hostage' US troops ... by threatening not to fund military efforts against Iraq but promising to cut spending if Bush would go along with a tax hike. 'He did [and] as usual, Democrats in Congress did not live up to their part of the bargain'" (ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 7/7). ED/SEC
LAMAR ALEXANDER: Anticipating today's likely NEA endorsement of Clinton, Alexander said "the NEA will give its support to the candidate who promises the most amount of money for the least amount of change" (BOSTON HERALD, 7/6). NEA pres. Keith Geiger gave "education president" Bush an "F" on Sunday: "George Bush probably wouldn't know a public school if he saw one" (W. POST, 7/7). Alexander's response added that "in order for [Clinton] to get the nomination, he's had to make the NEA happy, and the NEA only likes people they can control" (7/7).

*5 BUSH: TV ON G-7 TRIP -- "JOBS JOBS JOBS," VOLUME III
CBS' Connie Chung: "Bush is trying to portray this as a jobs-creating trip at a time when both his re-election campaign and the U.S. economy are in trouble." GOP strategist Kevin Phillips: "I just don't think that people believe that George Bush going over and meeting a bunch of other world leaders, who also have 35% job-approval ratings, is going to solve anything in the [U.S]." CBS' Susan Spencer: "If [Bush's] camp seems slightly manic about all this, it may be because his recent trips abroad have been such PR disasters. ... Unless his campaign picks up quite a bit, it is probably the last time before the election that George Bush will need his passport" (7/6). NBC's Margaret Larson: "Bush tonight is where he often seems most comfortable -- meeting with fellow leaders on the world stage. ... Diplomatic theatre with a political audience back home. [Bush] is seeking a boost for the economy, and that could help his sagging campaign" (7/6). ABC's Carol Simpson: "Bush seemed well aware that Americans are far less focused on international problems than on their own pocketbooks" (7/6). NBC's John Cochran: "For a moment today, [Bush] seemed to think he was back on the campaign trail as he eagerly sought some hands to shake, but no votes here. ... It's hard to find a political plus in the Summit for Bush because it looks long on talk and short on action." Presidential scholar Allan Lichtman: "Bush will probably get negative mileage out of this Summit. Here's the reason -- people think his eyes are too much on foreign shores" (7/6). ABC's Brit Hume: "It is true that the U.S. economy, now heavily dependent on exports, would benefit from growth among its trading partners and thus, from policies that promote growth. The problem for Mr. Bush is that such things take time. And, with four months till the election, time is one thing he hasn't got" (7/6).

JIM BAKER -- PAST, PRESENT, FUTURE? NBC's John Cochran: "The Munich summit is less important to Bush's future than a fishing trip" with Sec/State Jim Baker next week. "Will he ask Jim Baker to forget about foreign affairs and take charge of Bush's bumbling, mistake-prone campaign? Some of Bush's oldest political allies want Baker to move into the [WH] as [CoS] so he can coordinate policy and politics" (7/6). U.S. NEWS reports in secret testimony to the POW-MIA Senate select cmte, a key Reagan official revealed that a week after Reagan's inauguration, Vietnam "offered to free an unspecified number of American POWs

in exchange for billions in U.S. foreign aid." The offer was nixed by Reagan advisers, "led by [then-CoS] James Baker [who] did not want the [U.S.] to appear to be paying ransom to Hanoi. The testimony helped persuade the Senate last week to ask [Bush] to declassify all documents relating to the POW issue." Hill insiders "predict that to avoid possible [GOP] embarrassment, Bush will try to delay the release of at least some of the papers until after the November election" (7/13 issue).

ALSO: N.Y. TIMES' Schmitt reports despite earlier reports several women were being considered to be Sec/Navy, senior Bush Admin. officials said Pentagon comptroller Sean O'Keefe is expected to be given the job today. The 36-year old O'Keefe is a "close confidant" of Sec/Defense Dick Cheney (7/7). U.S. NEWS reports the Bush campaign expects Pat Buchanan to make his GOP platform stands against the twin issue of immigration and foreign aid; however, endorsing Bush the fight "would likely win him a prime-time spot for a convention speech" (7/13 issue). A review of pre-Gulf Iraq policy by W. POST's Goshko concludes, Bush, Baker, and "other senior foreign policy advisers were not paying much attention to Iraq." Rather, Goshko highlights the roles of several State and NSA officials, who accuse congressional investigators of a "witch hunt ... making documents public selectively and out of context" (7/7).

*6 QUAYLE: BAD REVIEWS FROM THE CORNFIELDS

IOWA POLL: A DES MOINES REGISTER poll, conducted 6/14-23, surveyed 810 IA adults; margin of error +/- 3.4% (7/5).

SHOULD BUSH KEEP QUAYLE AS RUNNING MATE?

	ALL	GOP	DEM	IND
Should replace him	54%	35%	66%	60%
Should keep him	37			
Undec.	9			

W.S. JOURNAL's Paul Gigot: "It would make absolutely no sense to dump him. ... He's the only one over there giving George Bush a reason for voters to give him a second term." Gigot on the '88 choice: "He wouldn't have been my first choice. ... My choice would have been Jack Kemp." S.F. EXAMINER's Chris Matthews said Kemp should be picked now: "Kemp would help the ticket" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/6).

*7 PEROT: MEETS TODAY WITH 100-MEMBER ADVISORY PANEL

Perot and his wife Margot are scheduled to meet 100 business leaders and professionals in Dallas today to begin forming a nat'l advisory cmte to provide Perot with ideas to help him lay out a detailed platform. The campaign did not want to reveal the list of people scheduled to attend the meeting, but N.Y. TIMES' De Witt reports "a few names have trickled out." Among them: author Martha Steward, ex-arms negotiator Paul Nitze, Home Depot co-founder Marcus Bernard, law firm partner Samuel Butler and "leading" Orange Co., CA GOPer Kathryn Thompson. Atty Thomas Barr and Ruth Sharp Alshuler, a friend of Margot Perot, will serve as co-chairs of the panel. Perot spokesperson James Squires said the names of those in attendance will be released later this month (7/7). CNN's Bernard Shaw reported the upcoming meeting ("Inside Politics," 7/6).

ABORTION: Perot is "tempting an increasing number of Republican abortion-rights supporters who hope the threat of their defection from [Bush] will nudge the GOP toward a compromise on the abortion issue." Republicans for Choice chair

Ann Stone says she's received hundreds of letters from GOPers "who see Perot as a real alternative." Bush campaign aides "play down the significance of the issue." But Nat'l GOP Coalition for Choice head Mary Dent Crisp notes, "in a tight three-way race, even a small scale mutiny of Republicans who favor abortion rights from Bush to Perot 'could make the difference between victory and defeat.'" AEI's Karlyn Keene contends a "divisive fight" over the issue at the GOP convention could also "galvanize abortion rights supporters" (Poor, ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH, 7/5).

WAR OVER MEMORIAL: "Like his war on drugs ... or his efforts to reform public education" in TX, Perot's fight over the Vietnam Veteran's Memorial "is yet another example of Ross Perot the advocate: a man who leaps to the defense of a cause, often leaving wounded in his wake." COX NEWS' Ben Smith profiles John Wheeler, fund-raising chair of the Vietnam Vets Memorial Fund, who says his experience with Perot "cost him his marriage and, temporarily, his sanity." Wheeler said the dispute led to a 1981 phone call from Perot threatened, "I'll wipe you out." Perot denies making the remark. Perot spokesperson James Squires called Wheeler's recollections "just one of the great distortions about Ross Perot to recast him in history" (ATLANTA CONSTITUTION, 7/7). W. POST's Mintz examines the dispute. "In some regards" Perot's involvement with the building of the Memorial shows him at "his best -- an unselfish patriot working to bring recognition to the veterans who returned to their country unheralded and ignored. To his detractors, Perot's behavior ... was a classic display of an unwillingness to compromise and abusive style toward those who disagree with him." Mintz notes the GAO investigation of Perot's allegations of impropriety by the Memorial Fund "were not valid" (7/7). In a separate piece, Mintz examines an instance when Perot offered to help a leading anti-war group raise money at the same time "he was working closely with White House officials and had offered them large sums of money for projects supporting" Richard Nixon (W. POST, 7/7).

BALLOT UPDATE: Perot qualified for the WA ballot yesterday after supporters turned in 49,607 signatures. It was the 21st state he has qualified for; another 8 states are waiting to have their petitions certified (SEATTLE POST-INTELLIGENCER, 7/7).

MOVE OVER MTV: CNN's Bernard Shaw: "The tycoon from Texas has turned to videotape in a bid to keep control of his public image." CNN's Tony Clark, in what might be "forerunner" to TV ads: "The Perot campaign is putting out a videotape that depicts the Texan as a leader along the lines of Washington, Jefferson, Lincoln, and Franklin Roosevelt." The 12 min. tape, authorized and paid for by the petition committee shows Perot as "a supporter of the military, a hero to his employees, a leader in education reform, and a maverick who took on General Motors. ... The video, which is being sold at volunteer gatherings and through an 800 phone number, uses clips from Perot speeches to touch on familiar campaign themes." The deficit, a faltering education system, loss of jobs and industry to other countries, and goes into some of Perot's ideas. Video: "Give the president a line-item veto. Forbid the government from exempting itself from the laws it imposes on citizens. Require all political candidates to turn in any excess campaign funds." The video was produced by a TX company before Hal Riney came on board ("Inside Politics," CNN, 7/6).

PEROT CRITIQUE: Ex-DE Gov./'88 candidate Pete du Pont, in an op-ed, "urge[s] fellow conservatives to be wary of Ross Perot's candidacy. ... While conservatives may not see President

Bush as the most diligent protector of Ronald Reagan's legacy, I support him for re-election because he understands the policies that made the 1980s prosperous and his goal is to re-create that prosperity." Du Pont calls Perot a "protectionist" and insists he "will raise taxes" (N.Y. TIMES, 7/7). Columnist Rich Cohen contends "one of Perot's recurring problems: telling the truth.

... In fact, if you pay strict attention to Perot, you find numerous instances where he either does not tell the truth or does not seem to know what the truth is" (W. POST, 7/7). MIAMI HERALD header over Don Shoemaker column: "Make no mistake: Ross Perot is out to buy the presidency" (7/6). ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH header: "Disenchanted Seem Enchanted By Perot" (7/6). NBC's Lisa Myers: "After a meteoric beginning, Ross Perot has learned that he too is subject to the political law of gravity.

... Right now, Perot's aversion to being handled is conflicting with his promise of having a world-class campaign" (7/6). W. POST's E.J. Dionne: "The most attractive thing about the Perot campaign at the beginning were his volunteers. ... If you looked at all those good people trying to change America, I think that helped him a lot. I think now, with the professionals coming in the focus goes off that at the very moment that a lot of questions are being raised about Perot. I think even if Saint Francis of Assisi or Job were political consultants you'd guess that if they went into a campaign they'd have fights too."

TIME's Laurence Barrett: "The volunteer core itself ... remains quite loyal." Barrett said he had two other "problems": finding a running mate and a program. Dionne: "Picking a running mate is going to be very difficult because it's the closest thing people will have to a sense of which party Ross Perot might belong to." Barrett on who Perot should choose for VP: "It's very important that this person be perceived as sober, responsible, and someplace close to center, which is why he'd love to get a relatively conservative Democratic like Paul Tsongas ... but Tsongas won't play, or a relatively liberal Republican, but those are relatively scarce these days. ... I think he's had a few turn-downs already. ... I think there were feelers to Tsongas, and certainly there were some early feelers to Jeane Kirkpatrick, who may not have turned it down, but I think perhaps Perot had some second thoughts about that." Dionne: "No matter what happens I find it hard to see Ross Perot dropping much lower than 15 percent" ("Today," NBC, 7/7).

BERMUDA REAX: CNN's Bernard Shaw: "The Perot camp dismisses this ... story as a 'minor incident'" ("Inside Politics," CNN, 7/6). LCV exec. dir. Jim Maddy and Sierra Club political dir. Reid Wilson called on Perot to "explain what happened" in the incident: "An impression is beginning to take shape about Ross Perot and the environment which is not positive" (LCV release, 7/6).

VEEP STAKES: W.S. JOURNAL's Paul Gigot on who you pick: "You try with all your might to get Jack Kemp to accept a vice-presidential nod." Gigot on the chances of Kemp: "I think they are real slim, which gives Ross Perot a problem." S.F. EXAMINER's Chris Matthews: "He needs a nice guy as his running mate" ("Crossfire," CNN, 7/6).

*8 POLITICAL TV: HONEY, EYE BLEW UP THE BITES

KNIGHT-RIDDER's Gunther reports CBS has set a new policy to expand TV's "incredible shrinking soundbite." The new policy, a "summertime experiment" by anchor Dan Rather and exec. producer Erik Sorenson, will allow candidates to be given at least 30

seconds to speak whenever they appear in a bite on the CBS Evening News. "The other networks are not setting minimum daily requirements for sound bites. But, in their own way, they are reacting to critics," such as NBC Nightly News' series airing 3-minutes of excerpts from each candidates' stump speeches without any commentary. ABC News' "Nightline" routinely has given candidates more time to talk. Studies show the long soundbite, recently put on the nation's endangered species list, has shrunk from 42.3 seconds in 1968 to 9.8 seconds in '88. The Center for Media and Public Affairs' recent study of the '92 campaign to dates showed the soundbite down to 7.3 seconds on network newscasts (PHILA. INQUIRER, 7/7).

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===== SENATE WATCH =====

*9 ILLINOIS: "NIGHTLINE" SPURS FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE

Although "debate on foreign policy has not figured prominently" in the race, "it emerged noisily" after ABC's 7/1 "Nightline" which reported atty Rich Williamson (R), then-Asst. Sec. of State, "provided an untrue version of the U.S. role" during the Iran-Iraq war (Jones, CHICAGO TRIBUNE, 7/3). On 7/2, Cook Co. Recorder of Deeds Carol Moseley Braun (D) accused Williamson "of playing a role in a White House effort to 'cover up' a 'secret' war in the Persian Gulf." The program used an '88 clip of Williamson "defending the Reagan admin.'s handling of the incident to describe what they concluded was the official and untrue version." In an interview taped 2 weeks ago and used on "Nightline," Williamson said he got the information from the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the DoD and the NSC (Sweet, CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, 7/3). Williamson: "The process is set up so that in all these cases those relevant agencies sign off, and so if there are misstatements of fact, there -- they had to intentionally approve it" ("Nightline, ABC, 7/1). Braun: "These revelations about the U.S. role in a secret Persian Gulf war are alarming, as is the role played by Richard Williamson. ... I look forward to the Special Prosecutor fully investigating the "Nightline" revelations" (Braun release, 7/2). Williamson spokesperson David Loveday called Braun's accusations "ludicrous": "She wants to change to subject from her support to the decriminalization of marijuana and her unwillingness to debate" (SUN-TIMES, 7/3).

TAXES: CHICAGO TRIBUNE editorial states Williamson "has to try to cut [Braun] down to size. How to do it? Try talking taxes. ... Williamson would like to think of taxes this way: She's for them, he's against them. ... [But] each of the hikes Williamson pins to Braun were supported by the Republican leadership of the [IL House] and signed into law by GOP Gov. James Thompson. ... In a way, Richard Williamson, in Washington, and Carol Braun, in Springfield, were partners" (7/5).

*10 NEW YORK: POLL SUGGESTS ABRAMS STRONGEST VS. D'AMATO

A WABC poll conducted 6/25-28 by ABC News, surveyed 755 adults; margin of error +/- 6%. Tested: Sen. Al D'Amato (R), AG Bob Abrams (D), ex-Rep. Geraldine Ferraro (D), NYC Comptroller Liz Holtzman (D) and Rev. Al Sharpton (D) (Dem campaigns, 7/6).

GENERAL ELECTION MATCH UPS

Abrams	47%	Holtzman	44%	Ferraro	45%	Sharpton	16%
D'Amato	35	D'Amato	38	D'Amato	41	D'Amato	57

DOES SHE/HE HAVE THE INTEGRITY TO SERVE AS U.S. SENATOR?

	Yes	No
Ferraro	67%	26%
Abrams	60	22
Holtzman	62	19
D'Amato	53	38

GOP PRIMARY BEGINS TOMORROW: N.Y. DAILY NEWS' Milligan reports enviro atty Laurence Rockefeller (R) plans to announce his challenge to Sen. Al D'Amato (R) tomorrow, according to a "source close to Rockefeller." The source said Rockefeller "really feels New Yorkers deserve better" than D'Amato. Polls taken 10/91 by the Marist Institute showed D'Amato with a 39.4%

approval rating among GOPers. D'Amato's "decline" in the polls is "largely attributable to a lengthy probe of his campaign contributors" by the Senate Ethics cmte, which "cleared D'Amato of wrongdoing last year." Rockefeller, a "liberal Republican, is pro-choice and likely" to make D'Amato's anti-abortion position a "major issue" for the primary. D'Amato "was traveling" and his office "did not respond" to questions about the possible announcement (7/7). Ex-U.S. atty. Rudolph Giuliani (R), at a meeting of Queens GOPers, "left the distinct impression that he's ruled out supporting" D'Amato. The two "have been feuding" since the '89 mayoral race in which D'Amato backed millionaire Ron Lauder over Giuliani in the GOP primary. Giuliani said D'Amato "wouldn't have a claim on my partisanship, since he did so much to undermine the election of a Republican as mayor." Giuliani also "pointed out" Rockefeller is "one of my consistent supporters" (Lombardi, N.Y. DAILY NEWS, 7/7).

POLITICALLY MOTIVATED? Operation Rescue leaders charged AG Bob Abrams (D) "sued to stop their anti-abortion demonstrations" during the Dem Convention to "boost his senatorial campaign." Operation Rescue nat'l spokesperson Rev. Patrick Mahoney: "It's no question its because of his political campaign." Abrams spokesperson Ed Barbini "denied" the charge. Mahoney said his group plans to pray outside NYC abortion clinics and Madison Square Garden during the convention, and "confront" Bill Clinton (Nisesm, N.Y. NEWSDAY, 7/3).

*11 OKLAHOMA: HANEY WITHDRAWS; LEWIS FACES NICKLES IN NOVEMBER
State Sen. Kelly Haney (D) withdrew "at the last minute" 7/6 from the Dem primary to challenge Sen. Don Nickles (R) on the first day of the three-day filing period. Haney was "reportedly having trouble raising money" and said his Senate duties "prevented him from actively campaigning until it was too late to be effective." Haney "urged" voters to support the Dem nominee against Nickles. The only remaining Dem candidate is ex-House speaker Steve Lewis (Ervin, TULSA WORLD, 7/7). Lewis: "Kelly Haney ran a campaign of integrity and commitment. ... Working together as one united Democratic team, we can beat Don Nickles" (Lewis release, 7/6). Senate Majority leader Darryl Roberts (D) withdrew from the race earlier in the year.

*12 PENNSYLVANIA: POLLS CONFLICT IN WOMAN SUPPORT OF SPECTER
A Millersville Univ./Penn State poll, conducted 6/28-30, surveyed 466 registered voters; margin of error +/- 4.5% (Millersville release, 7/7). The Political/Media Research poll, conducted 6/26-28, surveyed 824 RVs; +/- 3.5% (see HOTLINE 7/2).

	MU/PSU				PMR		
	ALL	MEN	WOMEN		ALL	MEN	WOMEN
Yeakel	43%	37%	50%		44%	38%	50%
Specter	37	45	28		50	54	46
Undec.	20	18	22		6	8	4

CONTEST BASED ON OPINIONS OF SUPREME COURT PA ABORTION RULING

		GOES	REASONABLE	NOT FAR
MU/PSU	ALL	TOO FAR	LIMITS	ENOUGH
Yeakel	43%	52%	42%	19%
Specter	37	28	41	58
Undec.	20	21	17	23

		MS/PSU		PMR
SPECTER JOB	NOW	4/92	10/91	NOW

Excellent	4%	6%	11%	8%
Good	33	31	39	45
Fair	47	41	41	33
Poor	10	8	9	11

***13 WISCONSIN: BUSINESSMAN CHECOTA'S COMPANY IS STRUGGLING**

In a Sunday "Business" section piece, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL's Glinn & Gilbert examines the business record of businessman Joe Checota (D). While Checota "has been running largely on his experience as a successful businessman and entrepreneur ... public financial records and interviews with current and former employees depict a company that is beset by problems." Checota "acknowledges that with small profits" in the last 2 quarters his company, Universal Medical Buildings, "is essentially breaking even." Checota "does not deny that his company is going through a tough stretch," but "speaks optimistically of the company's future": "We're in a period of the most significant accumulation of business that we have been in the last couple of years." Checota also said the company is ahead of schedule in repaying lenders from a \$25M '87 bond issue. However, Glinn & Gilbert report the company "barely made a profit" last year, while Checota himself "did well financially" with a \$212,005 salary and more than \$2M in shared partnership fees from the company and other partnerships (7/5). Glinn & Gilbert also interview current and ex-employees, and report Checota "has created both loyalists and enemies in his business life" (JOURNAL, 7/5).

1-800-CHECOTA: JOURNAL's Mike Nichols profiles Checota's toll free "issues line" -- mentioned in about half of the spots in his \$1M TV ad campaign. Checota spokesperson Bill Zaferos called the line "extremely popular" and said the line is an attempt to reach "people who would not feel connected" to the race. About 2,500 calls have come in since its 5/92 installation, or "fewer than two calls per hour." U/WI's John Bibby said "the point is not how many people call, but how many people know they can": Checota is trying to convey "concern and openness" (Nichols, MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, 7/5).

PRESTO! STATES NEWS' McNichol reports National Presto Industries, its officers and relatives have donated more than \$10,000 to Sen. Bob Kasten (R). Kasten sits on Appropriations cmte and last year "inserted" \$7M in the defense budget for Presto to clean up hazardous waste on its site. Presto "has never disappeared from the Army's budgets even though it's munitions plant has produced nothing" since '80 and now makes small appliances and consumer products. Since '80, "the only money generated by the factory has been the \$2.7 million per year the Army has given Presto to keep the assembly lines oiled and ready to roll. ... In addition, since 1980, the Army has paid Presto another \$5 million in munitions procurement to help clean up toxic waste that has polluted the Eau Claire site." Army officials decided 10/91 to cancel Presto's contract next year. "Kasten contacted Pentagon officials telling them he expects them to honor their commitment to help Presto pay for the Eau Claire clean up." Both Kasten and Presto officials say contributions "are unrelated to Kasten's support for the clean up payments." Kasten spokesperson Mary Crawford: "That's a bunch of bunk and I'm getting sick of hearing questions like that. ... This is very similar to other cases, but it's different because in this case the Army is responsible" (MILWAUKEE SENTINEL, 7/3).

TV: BUSINESS JOURNAL's Rich Kirchen reports on the TV ad revenue generated by the Senate race. For 5-6/92 Checota and

Moody spent about \$700,000 combined. Checota spent about \$500,000 on Milwaukee stations while Moody spent about \$175,000 in Milwaukee and \$60,000 elsewhere. Checota has placed another \$62,000 worth of ads to run on the NBC affiliate during the Olympics and his ads will resume today after a week-long Fourth of July hiatus. Moody's ads stopped 6/14 and will resume "sometime before" 8/1 (7/4).

*14 HOUSE RACE BRIEFINGS

AZ 01: State Rep. Jim Barnes' (R) manager Greg Patterson filed a lawsuit 7/2 claiming Rep. Jay Rhodes (R) failed to submit enough valid signatures on his nominating petition. Patterson said no more than 860 out of the 1,501 Rhodes submitted are valid. 901 signatures are needed. According to Patterson, state Rep. Bill Mundell (R) is also involved in the effort to check the signatures. Rhodes manager Peter Brantingham called the lawsuit a "frivolous nuisance": "We think the two of them (Barnes and Mundell) are extremely desperate and they're doing everything they can to keep Jay off the ballot" (ARIZONA REPUBLIC, 7/6).

FL 07: Vaughn Forest (R), CoS to Rep. Bill McCollum (R-08), "wants to keep collecting his paycheck" while he runs for a seat in the 7th CD. McCollum intends to give Forest "some paid leave to campaign" and allow him to "keep his job as an aide" if he loses. House Ethics cmte atty Charles Willoughby said aides can do whatever they like "as long as there is no conflict of interest." Analyst Norman Ornstein: "I don't see anything immoral or illegal about it, but in this climate he's got to be prepared to take a lot of grief for it." ORLANDO SENTINEL's Groer agrees that Forrest's plan could "inspire voters to claim taxpayers are subsidizing his race." Forest: "I am not a millionaire. Millionaires quit to run" (7/2).

MD 05: Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-05) "has found something good about that awful condition" of being an incumbent. Hoyer has "wedged" \$17 million worth of projects into the federal budget that benefit the Indian Head Naval Surface Warfare Ctr in the new 5th CD. Hoyer said the projects are not 'pork': "It's politics. I'm trying to represent my area as effectively as I can." Real estate broke Larry Hogan (R) contended Hoyer's "concern for the Navy is late-blooming and unreliable": "Now he acts like Santa Claus. ... He puts fear into some people in [So. MD] that if he's not reelected, we'll lose the bases." Hoyer called said Hogan's accusations "either based upon ignorance of the facts or designed to specifically misrepresent the facts" (W. POST, 7/5).

MA 06: Ex-MA GOP exec. dir. Sandy Tennant (R) "accused" ex-state Rep. Peter Torkildsen (R) "of working 'hand in hand with the Democrats.'" Tennant's claim came after the Torkildsen camp asked the BOSTON HERALD to contact state Rep. Jeffrey Hayward (D) "to buttress its claim" that Tennant once supported the legalization of marijuana. Hayward said Tennant supported decriminalization when he ran for state Rep. in '78, but "abandoned that stance" when he ran for Mayor of Lynn in '85. Tennant "acknowledged he once supported" this stance but then changed his mind: "Maybe Peter doesn't understand why the Democrats are working with him. They want to face him in the final election; not me." Torkildsen manager Gene Hartigan on Tennant's accusation: "His response is a little strange, it sounds a little irrational" (BOSTON HERALD, 7/2).

MA 09: Rep Joe Moakley (D) is "frustrated and perturbed ... by politically driven rumors that he's seriously ill." Moakley: "When you lose weight everyone figures the Grim Reaper is around the corner ... I'm surprised someone hasn't taken my pulse." Aides are concerned that "health rumors could damage him or weaken his position for redistricting" (Battenfeld, BOSTON HERALD, 7/5). Ex-Jackson '84 state coordinator Boyce Slayman was hired to "organize" Moakley's reelection campaign in Boston's

"predominately black precincts." But Moakley's black precincts "may be shifted over" to Rep. Joe Kennedy (D-08) because of a Supreme Court redistricting ruling. Slayman says Moakley plans to "keep him on board all the same": "There's no part of the state I'm unfamiliar with" (BOSTON GLOBE, 7/5).

MO 01: Rep. William Clay (D), chair of the House Commis. on Cong. Mailing Standards, sent \$59 to the Treas. Dept. to "cover the cost of a first-class mailing and the cost of buying and printing of the envelopes." Under the heading of "HYPOCRISY," Clay's office sent out copies of a W. POST article on the Quayles renting their private home to an unwed couple. Clay: "My staff was supposed to mail the article in stamped envelopes ... unfortunately someone in my office mistakenly sent the article in a franked envelope." House Minority Leader Bob Michel (R-IL) "raised serious concerns ... about whether Clay had abused the franking privilege" (Grimes, ST. LOUIS POST DISPATCH, 7/2).

NH 02: AG John Arnold announced a settlement 7/3 between NH and Rep. Dick Swett (D-02) over allegations Swett exceeded a \$400,000 campaign spending cap by about \$66,000 in his '90 campaign. Sources say Swett's fine is "about \$25,000." GOPers "charged contributions were funnelled" from Swett's father-in-law, Rep. Tom Lantos (D-CA), through the DNC to the NH Dem Cmte. State Rep. Wm Hatch (R): "Here it is, on the eve of the Fourth of July, and this secret deal gets resolved. It is another example of the arrogance of Diok Swett, indicating that he is a real inside-the-Beltway player." Businessman Steven Duprey (R): "I'm surprised at the timing. The [AG] released his decision on a day when his office is technically closed" (Braile/Ghioto, BOSTON GLOBE, 7/4). Swett cited the AG's "willingness to acknowledge certain ambiguities in the spending cap law, coupled with our mutual interest to uphold the integrity of the law" as reasons why he accepted the settlement (Manchester UNION LEADER, 7/4). Also, Duprey "was smarting" 6/25 from a UNION-LEADER editorial column submitted by ex-Gov. Meldrim Thomson (R). Thomson: "Steve Duprey is not a true Republican. ... My advice for Steve Duprey is to return to the fold as a true Republican before seeking support from Republican voters." The "bad timing aspect" was that Thomson's criticism came the same day the Duprey campaign launched a mailing noting Duprey's support in the early 70s for "Mel Thomson's conservative state budgets." In '78, Duprey supported "politically and financially" Gov. Hugh Gallen (D) in his "upset" of Thomson (Landrigan, NASHUA TELEGRAPH, 7/1).

OH 01: The Hamilton Co. Board of Elections deadlocked along party lines yesterday over when to schedule a Dem primary election to replace retiring Rep. Charles Luken (D), and whether to hold a GOP primary. Board members said they would send both issues to OH Sec/State Bob Taft (R) to break the tie. State law requires the board to select a primary date to replace Luken who was "properly nominated" as the Dem candidate. But board member Thomas Luken, the Rep's father, "said there is no such requirement" for the GOP, whose candidate, bakery executive Stephen Grote, failed to qualify "because of problems with his certifying petitions. Grote has since filed as an independent candidate." Since Luken's announcement, the GOP "has been scrambling to find a way to get a GOP candidate on the ballot" (CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, 7/7). OH GOP chair Rex Elsass "accused" the Dem party of "clandestine game playing" in arranging Luken's announcement so that it would be "difficult -- if not impossible -- for the Republicans to put a candidate on the ballot" (Wilkinson, ENQUIRER, 7/2). Ex-Cincy mayor/'90 Luken challenger

Kenneth Blackwell (R) is considering another bid (Nolan, AP/Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 7/7). State Sen. William Bowen (D) announced his intention to run yesterday (ENQUIRER, 7/7). Looking to possible impact on the presidential election: If a Dem wins Luken's seat, "and no other Ohio seats change hands, the Democrats would have a 10-9 margin" and OH's vote could go to Clinton. If the GOPers "pick up just one more Ohio seat ... Bush could get Ohio's vote" (CINCINNATI ENQUIRER, 7/2)

OH 10: A study by the Center for Responsive Politics, entitled "Open Secrets," reports Rep. Mary Rose Oakar (D) "ranked third among House Members in her reliance on campaign contributions raised from interest groups" in her '90 re-election campaign, as 85.6% of her \$337,442 re-election money came from PACs. Author Larry Makinson: "Voters ought to be very concerned when those cash constituents (PACs) speak louder than they do." Oakar "was well down the House list" in terms of "actual dollars from special interest groups." Oakar (D-20) will face Bill Smith (R) in the newly drawn 10th CD (Cleveland PLAIN DEALER, 7/2).

TX 02: The "verbal battle" between Rep. Charlie Wilson (D-02) and businesswoman Donna Peterson (R) "is accelerating, with a promise of more to come." Referring to a WASHINGTONIAN poll of congressional staffers which names Wilson number one in the House "No Altar Boy" category, a Peterson press release states Wilson has "been singled out by Congress's own staff members for his behavior." Wilson responded: "The difference in Ms. Peterson and me is I've always said I'm no altar boy and never will be. And, as the campaign goes on, we'll see if she's an altar girl" (Kate, ORANGE LEADER, 7/3). Peterson on female GOP candidates: "We're kind of the outsiders' outsiders. We're outsiders because we're women, but we're also outsiders because we're outside the liberal agenda" (McGurn, NATIONAL REVIEW, 7/6 issue).

TX 29: TX District Judge John Delaney scheduled a new Dem primary runoff between state Sen. Gene Green and Houston councilman Ben Reyes for 7/28 and "ordered special steps to prevent another round of unlawful voting." Reyes had sought a Saturday election date to "allow more working people to participate but didn't think a Tuesday date was a "setback." Green was "glad" the balloting will take "place as soon as possible." The judge ordered Harris Co. Dems to "train polling place workers to screen out ineligible voters" and include posters at the polling places to inform "voters they are ineligible to cast ballots if they voted" in the 3/10 or 4/14 GOP contests (Bernstein, HOUSTON CHRONICLE, 7/3).

*15 SENATE "A": HERSCHENSOHN'S WATERGATE ROLE PROBED

L.A. TIMES' Bunting & Jackson profile ex-TV commentator Bruce Herschensohn's (R) role as a Nixon WH aide during Watergate. Herschensohn served as a deputy special assistant to the President. L.A. TIMES examined 12,000 "Herschensohn papers" at the national archives showing his "total devotion to defending Nixon at the height" of Watergate. The papers reveal "creative strategies to boost Nixon's image" and "offer some insight into the ideology of Herschensohn." Among the internal memos he wrote was one suggesting the use of "every device and friend we have" to attack the Senate Watergate hearings. Another memo "proposed enlisting Lady Bird Johnson" to help Nixon. Herschensohn wrote: "She has the stature, the party affiliation, the credibility, even the right sex, to be of tremendous impact." Herschensohn "remains a devoted Nixon supporter" and Nixon attended a 4/6 fundraiser for Herschensohn's primary campaign against Rep. Tom Campbell (R-12). Herschensohn also said he "intends to seek Nixon's help" for the general election campaign against Rep. Barbara Boxer (D-06). Herschensohn manager Ken Khachigian, who was also a Nixon aide, said "any of us who worked in the Nixon White House are gun-shy about memos that get pulled out 20 years later. ... These have been used in such a way to either surprise, ambush or embarrass" (7/5). Herschensohn held a 7/6 press conference to "complain" the article's header, which he said "implied he had a role" in the Watergate burglary. He called the headline -- "Memos Show Herschensohn Watergate Role" -- "highly destructive." He said "Watergate has an aura to it, a feeling to it among the American people, and for it to be said that I had a 'Watergate role' is simply inaccurate and terribly destructive." L.A. TIMES spokesperson: "Those memos are part of Mr. Herschensohn's public record, and no wrong-doing on Mr. Herschensohn's part was implied, as the story made specifically clear" (L.A. TIMES, 7/7).

*16 THIS MORNING: NBC's "Today" hosted Council of Economics Advisors chair Michael Boskin; W. POST's E.J. Dionne and TIME's Laurence Barrett on Perot; congress. candidate Daniel Becker (R-GA) and abortion clinic atty Margie Pitts Haymes on Becker's controversial pro-life TV ads. ABC's "GMA" hosted Sec/State James Baker from Munich. "CBS This Morning" hosted Clinton Commun. dir. George Stephanopoulos (7/7).

LAST NIGHT: All nets led with Bush at the G-7 Summit. "M/L" focused on the "Motor Voter" bill with Reps. Al Swift (D-WA) and George Allen, Jr. (R-VA), League of Women Voters' pres. Becky Cain, and AL Office of Voter Registration's Anita Tatum. CNN's "Crossfire" hosted S.F. EXAMINER's Chris Matthews and W.S. JOURNAL's Paul Gigot on VP picks for Clinton and Perot. "Larry King Live" examined sexual harassment in the military. "Nightline" hosted FBI's Larry Potts and NEW YORK MAGAZINE's Nicholas Pileggi on organized crime (7/6).

ABORTION 0, BRAVES 1: CNN reported GA congress. candidate Daniel Becker (R) has made "graphic" anti-abortion ads and bought air time during Atlanta Braves games. CNN's Brian Cabell: "The footage of aborted 3rd trimester fetuses brought a flood of 800, mostly angry, calls to the station." TBS' Terry Segal: "The law states that we must air a legally qualified political candidate's ad without any alteration or modification of the content." Becker: "I want to make a statement very loud and very straight forward that the pro-life issue is a winning issue." Cabell: "Airing the video during baseball games has brought particular criticism. ... Becker is [not] perturbed, he plans another 400 of the commercials prior to the [7/21] primary" (7/6). Becker: "I cut through the rhetoric and in a very graphic sense, I take it right to the American people." NBC's Kenley Jones: "A lot of people didn't like the commercial." Unidentified woman: "I thought it was the most graphic commercial I've ever seen in my life and so extremely distasteful." Another unidentified woman: "I could even support his opinion, but I cannot support the way he is playing his opinion" (7/6).

THE REAL STAR: CBS' Robert Krulwich looked at the use of the media by pres. candidates. Krulwich: "Arguably, this could be the cheapest campaign in the history of modern American politics ... because this is the year when [TV] companies, entertainment, and news discovered that candidates are hot guests." Krulwich analyzed the number of extra viewers for talk-shows when candidates appear and described a "pattern which suggests only [Perot] is a real television star" because his viewership was much larger. The viewerships of Clinton and Bush are declining. Krulwich said the CBS show which the Dems most want for advertising slots is "Murphy Brown." Krulwich: "The President looks like he's going to make a major [TV ad] buy in the summertime" ("CBS This Morning," 7/7).

THE ECONOMY: Council of Economic Advisors chair Boskin on WH CoS Sam Skinner's argument that the American people don't know what's going on in the economy: "Everybody has a pretty good idea that the economy is improving at too slow a pace." Boskin said Americans are "slightly better off" economically than they were four years ago and "a foundation is being laid for a much better economy in the future" ("Today," NBC, 7/7).

LAUGHS: NBC's Jay Leno on Bush attending the Economic Summit: "Isn't that like sending Quayle to a spelling bee?"

Leno: "Do you ever think Ross Perot has a good hair day?" Leno pointing out "the bright side" of the pres. campaign: "Two of the candidates are going to lose." Leno on Ted Kennedy getting married to a lawyer in a ceremony performed by a judge: "Kennedy must have felt right at home standing before a judge with a lawyer right beside him -- just like the old days." Leno on the pressure on Kennedy's best man: "Imagine trying to come up with a toast that Ted Kennedy hasn't heard before" ("Tonight," 7/6).

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

"Even if Saint Francis of Assisi or Job were political consultants you'd guess that if they went into a campaign they'd have fights too."

-- W. POST's E.J. Dionne, on Perot campaign, "Today," NBC, 7/7.

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WASHINGTON

TELEPHONE MEMORANDUM

PRESIDENT BUSH

JULY 7th , 1992

[illegible]

PRESIDENTIAL MOVEMENTS

LOCATION Munich, Germany

DATE 7 July 1992

TIME	MOVEMENTS
0912	Depart Sheraton Hotel via Motorcade
0924	Arrive Residenz
1527	Depart Residenz via Motorcade
1535	Arrive Sheraton Hotel
1603	Depart Sheraton Hotel via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1606	Arrive Running Site (LOW KEY)
1633	Depart Running Site via Motorcade (LOW KEY)
1637	Arrive Sheraton Hotel (LOW KEY)
1848	Depart Sheraton Hotel via Motorcade
1858	Arrive Residenz
2327	Depart Residenz via Motorcade
2336	Arrive Sheraton Hotel

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Munich, Germany)

For Immediate Release

July 7, 1992

PRESS BRIEFING
BY
SECRETARY OF STATE JAMES BAKER

The Sheraton Hotel
Munich, Germany

5:07 P.M. (L)

SECRETARY BAKER: First let me say that I expect that the meeting tomorrow with President Yeltsin, the first democratically-elected President of Russia; will send a strong signal of encouragement to the forces of democratic reform throughout the former Soviet Union.

President Yeltsin is engaging in a courageous effort. Perhaps history will conclude that the advent of democracy in Russia is one of the greatest events of our era. In that context, we were pleased with the agreement between the IMF and Russia on a first credit tranche loan of \$1 billion.

This is particularly important because it opens the way for additional funds from the world bank and what we hope will be a generous debt rescheduling in the Paris Club.

In addition to macroeconomic issues we talked with President Yeltsin in Washington and will discuss again here in Munich the need to move forward quickly to create the building blocks of a private economy over there. This is why our technical assistance is so important and it's why we are so eager to have the Freedom Support Act passed by the Congress.

I would also note that we take the issue of nuclear power plant safety very seriously. The G-7 has developed an action plan that will involve substantial bilateral aid by the United States and others to deal with immediate operational safety needs. We've agreed to coordinate our efforts in this area through the G-24 process.

Secondly, the G-7 leaders acknowledged the recovery that is taking form, but agreed that economic growth is too important to take the early positive signals for granted. They are concerned that too many people are still looking for work. We're pleased that over the past week or so, some additional positive actions have been announced. In particular, Japan is going to move ahead later this year with a significant expansionary budget.

The new German budget, announced on July 1, emphasizes spending restraint that should pave the way for more supportive financial markets. The Italian government is working on a new budget package, and our own discount rate was just cut to three percent.

The President spoke with his colleagues about the importance of expanding the United States' capacity for growth in the medium- and longer-term also. He stressed his programs for education, worker retraining, and to establish a constructive context in our cities through action on drugs and crime.

The President noted how these elements fit into a strategy based on the logic of opening up our society to more

competition and free choice, while at the same time focusing government programs on helping people adapt to changes.

Third, there have been a number of discussions here in Munich on Yugoslavia. We have stressed the need to forge ahead with the humanitarian response to the tragedy in Bosnia by all means necessary. We've talked about the importance of taking action now to prevent the spread of conflict and to enforce sanctions so that Serbia will recognize that its actions will remain unacceptable.

We've also discussed the need for Croatia to act responsibly if it wants to be accepted by the international community.

And, finally, we looked ahead to the possibility of a broader international conference to address unresolved issues arising out of the Yugoslav crisis.

Fourth, we were pleased with the support expressed for the proposal the President brought with him from Warsaw to allocate the Polish stabilization fund to other reform measures. For example, an export financing facility and support for the banking system once Poland is back on track with the International Monetary Fund. The President is determined to continue working for the success of democracy and free market economics in Poland.

Fifth, on the Uruguay Round, we put forward our ideas to help complete the negotiations. And while I believe we have made substantial progress since last year, the last steps often prove to be the most difficult. And it is, I think, a fact of life that attention has been diverted in Europe since the Danish referendum to completion of the Maastricht Treaty arrangements. We hope that as this settles down, we will be able to follow up.

Sixth, we have stressed the importance of ensuring the integration of developing countries into the world economy. We've emphasized trade, while recognizing the role of aid as well. We have talked about actions taken on debt, and in particular we have noted our own substantial debt forgiveness to lesser developed countries.

We've also drawn attention to the very dangerous conditions caused by the drought in southern Africa, and we've urged others to join in meeting the United Nations appeal for aid. Up until now, the United States has been carrying the primary burden of addressing what could become a huge humanitarian tragedy.

So in summary, first our actions with Russia and Poland demonstrate our ongoing commitment to helping spread and secure democracy in corners of the world where we would not have believed it was possible just a few years ago.

Secondly, the President's work on economic growth at home and abroad is important because it is directed toward creating the prosperity that our people need. And our economy operates effectively only as part of the larger global economy.

We recognize -- and thirdly, we recognize in the former Yugoslavia the need for collective action to cope with ongoing dangers to innocent men, women and children. The Europeans, of course, have a major role to play, but we can act as a catalyst and we can provide vital support to ensure that there is an effective international response.

Now, I'd be pleased to take your questions.

Q Clarification, please, and a question. Clarification, there will definitely be at the conference on Yugoslavia? I thought the statement said they might be.

SECRETARY BAKER: No. It said there could be.

Q There could be.

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes.

Q Are you saying there could be or there should be?

SECRETARY BAKER: Could. We've said there could be. There will be consultations and those consultations could lead to a broader international conference. There's already an international conference, as you know, sponsored by the EC under the very able direction of Lord Carrington. And I think that's taken note of in the Yugoslav statement that you have there.

Q The question, please, I had in mind was, was there any discussion at all of expanding the seven to eight to include Russia? And what is likely to come out of that notion? Will he be invited in?

SECRETARY BAKER: I believe that that was discussed at one of the informal meetings of the heads. It is my sense that there are several countries that have some difficulties with the concept of making the G-7 a G-8. I do think we should recognize as a fact, however, that President Gorbachev attended the summit in London last year; President Yeltsin will be here this year. And if Russia stays on a democratic and free-market course, it might be very likely that the next summit would see the leader of Russia in attendance.

Q Mr. Secretary, on the communique on Yugoslavia, the seven governments firmly warned the parties concerned not to take any action that would endanger the lives of those engaged in the relief operation. Aren't you asking for a cease-fire in place? And if you are, how does Bosnia get its territory back?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, the political solution and the question of sorting out the political differences that led to the conflict in the first place is going, in my opinion, to be something that's going to take quite some time. The reference that you're referring to in the statement on Yugoslavia is simply to make it clear that the international community as represented by the seven nations here is quite serious about the importance of noninterference in the delivery of humanitarian assistance to people who are being starved and deprived of other necessities of life.

It doesn't go on to say exactly what might or might not happen. But you've heard us discuss in the past the possibility of additional action at the United Nations that would permit the use of all necessary means to see to it that the humanitarian effort could go forward.

Q If I could just follow up, your aides have briefed us and said that Bosnia should not try to regain, in effect, what it has already lost by continuing the battle. Is that the United States view, that Bosnia has simply lost this territory and must now get it back through --

SECRETARY BAKER: No, and I would be very surprised if that's what anybody said or suggested to you. I think what we're saying is there has to be a peaceful resolution of these problems. It is time for the shooting to stop and it is time for the political solutions to take hold.

That's why there's a reference in there to the possibility of broader international efforts to achieve a political solution.

Q Mr. Secretary, according to French officials, President Mitterrand has suggested that non-U.N. troops might be used to open the land corridor which everyone feels is probably necessary to deliver humanitarian aid. How do you feel about that idea, and would the United States still be willing to provide some air cover if these troops were supplied by, say, the WEU?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, that's a very hypothetical question. You will note that the statement on Yugoslavia specifically refers to the provisioning of humanitarian assistance by land as well as by air, and makes known, I think, the seriousness of purpose of the seven in that regard. Exactly how that would work in the event that the use of all necessary means were required has not been finally determined. But I can conceive of any number of different ways that it might work. All of them are now hypothetical.

The North Atlantic Treaty Organization will be discussing this issue in the coming days. The Western European Union will be discussing this issue in the coming days. The United Nations is already heavily involved in sanctions and in the ongoing effort in Yugoslavia. And so it will be a case of making the, I think, most efficient and best use of the assets of these various organizations to which most all of the countries here belong.

Q Mr. Secretary, to what degree is there a consensus among the seven that the area to which relief is going has to be expanded beyond Sarajevo. And secondly, how --

SECRETARY BAKER: I'm sorry, I didn't hear you. What is the --

Q Is there any consensus to expanding the relief area to areas other than Sarajevo? Other parts of Bosnia.

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, I think the statement calls for that. I can't find it exactly in here, but if you'll look at it, it talks about the provisioning of humanitarian assistance, not just to Sarajevo, but to other areas in Bosnia that require it.

Q How exactly can the oil from Romania be more effectively blocked? What do you have in mind?

SECRETARY BAKER: I think that's one of the issues, quite frankly, that needs to be looked into more vigorously and more carefully, perhaps through the United Nations, but also through bilateral discussions among countries. Because I think we have a situation here where the sanctions, once they were applied, showed some real effectiveness in the short term. And so that's one that we will be taking a further look at, and it's a very important one.

Q Mr. Secretary, we've been told only air and naval units of the United States would be used in helping clear this ground corridor if, indeed, that comes to be. Why are ground forces being ruled out? Is it because, unlike in the Gulf, America's national interests, vital interests do not seem to be at stake in Yugoslavia, and therefore, it's simply not worth the --

SECRETARY BAKER: I think you'd have to conclude that we had some significant interests at stake if the President were willing to order the use of air and naval assets and the use of force in that respect for the provisioning of humanitarian assistance. The President hadn't ruled anything out. I think

you've heard him say that. When asked, some of us have said we consider it unlikely that ground forces would be used.

There are a lot of countries that are interested in this problem. This problem will create an example for others who might be tempted to stir up ethnic tensions and acquire territories on the basis of some nationalistic imperative. So we think it's important that this matter be addressed in that light.

Now, I'm not going to get into comparisons; we don't do comparisons at the State Department. I know you do at the White House, but we don't for obvious reasons. (Laughter.)

Q What is special about ground troops as opposed to air and naval units? Why do they seem to be off limits? Is it symbolic, or what?

SECRETARY BAKER: Look, when I was briefing the other day I think I mentioned the fact that everyone recognizes that this is a very difficult situation there. It would be a difficult situation, as I understand it from the experts, militarily. There is a quagmire potential, but there is a very real problem that must be addressed. We feel that we ought to do our share in addressing that problem.

Q Mr. Secretary, how does it set an example when, while we're talking about humanitarian aid, and as I understand it, Serbian cleansing of Bosnia-Herzegovina is going on even as we speak and the population of refugees continues to grow and Bosnia continues to be rather carved up? And as far as I can tell, that specifically is not going to be addressed by any military force but by diplomatic efforts.

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, it is now being addressed by the most comprehensive sanctions that the United Nations has voted in a long time save, I suppose, for the sanctions upon Iraq. And I've just indicated that there's some evidence that those sanctions are having some effect.

Now, have they shut down all the shooting in Bosnia? Absolutely not, and probably will not shut down all of it. But it's, I think, reasonable and logical to look at it, Saul, on a cost-benefit basis and that the approach we're taking is a very rational and reasonable approach under the circumstances.

Q Mr. Secretary, Yeltsin has said he wants a two-year moratorium on the servicing of his debt. What's the administration's view of that?

SECRETARY BAKER: Our view is that, as I indicated in my statement, I think, we would hope that there would be an early decision in the Paris Club to reschedule the Russian debt. Now, whether or not it would be a two-year moratorium or whether it would be some other kind of rescheduling, I'm just not that familiar with the details that are being discussed. But we would like to see the Paris Club act promptly. And it's my understanding that the Paris Club has indicated a willingness to move on this issue in advance of the completion of a full IMF, standby agreement, which is a little bit different than their normal policy.

Q Mr. Secretary, in an earlier statement on Yugoslavia, the United States was quite clearly out in front. Now a lot of the initiatives we're hearing are coming from Germans, from the French, from the EC. Is the United States now in the back seat? Are a lot of people crammed into one driver's seat? And what kind of precedent is being set here for future conflicts in Europe -- for who leads in future conflicts in Europe?

SECRETARY BAKER: I think a good precedent is being set when you get the transatlantic partnership working together

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to resolve a security problem in Europe. And I think that -- I'm not sure that I accept the hypothesis of your question when you said we were in front and now we're behind. The truth of the matter is, the EC was in front for a long time on this. We've tried to be helpful. We're now, all of us, in it together and moving down the same road and on the same path. And I have to say that I think this declaration, this separate declaration on Yugoslavia, is a very, very forceful and meaningful declaration -- with respect of which, I might say, there was no differences of opinion -- no significant differences of opinion during the course of its preparation and drafting.

Q If you put limits on the kind of American military involvement in Yugoslavia, will that limit the nature of political leadership or the extent of political leadership the United States can exercise?

SECRETARY BAKER: I can't see that that would be the case. Particularly if we are making it clear that in the event that all necessary means were required, the possibilities exist for naval and air.

Q Mr. Secretary, the Chairman's statement calls for a withdrawal or for a timetable for withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic States. What, in your opinion, is causing those negotiations to be deadlocked and what should Russia and/or the Baltic States do to get the thing moving again?

SECRETARY BAKER: They should sit down and agree on a process and a procedure and, if possible, as indicated there, on an ultimate date for withdrawal. That's been very difficult to accomplish. We know what the arguments are on both sides, but it is important, we think, to recognize that you don't station troops on someone else's territory without their consent. By the same token, I think it must be recognized and realized that Russia -- the current leadership of Russia didn't station those troops there, and they have significant problems in withdrawing them, given the withdrawals that they're trying to accomplish now from Germany, Poland, Mongolia and everywhere else. But it's a case of our wanting the parties to sit down and negotiate it out in good faith and arrive at a process, procedure and time frame. And we'll continue to press.

Q Is there any part of the Yugoslavia declaration that you would say bears the stamp of George Bush?

SECRETARY BAKER: Yes, a lot of it. You bet.

Q What part?

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, I mean -- what part of it doesn't? I mean, you've heard what we've been saying over the course of the past month or so, and we support everything -- have strongly supported everything that's in here.

Q I understand that. What I'm trying to get at is the question of the origination of ideas and concepts and proposals brought here by this administration as opposed to this administration's support for ideas which, as Doyle suggested, germinated elsewhere.

SECRETARY BAKER: Well, there are ideas in here that germinated elsewhere, but many of the ideas in here we began to discuss some time ago. You've heard the President discuss it. You've heard us talk about not recognizing Serbia as a successor or continuation state. You've heard us talk about the importance of getting this humanitarian aid through even if it means resort to all necessary means and so forth. So there's a lot in here, I think, that grows out of ideas that we've had, the President particularly has had; but there's also stuff in here that comes from others. It's a good statement, and it represents the strongly-held views of every country here.

MORE

Q Mr. Secretary, President Bush comes here as the leader of the only superpower. Yet, he seems to have slipped into the mode of just one of the gang. Does he not have a special leadership role here or is there something that we're missing?

SECRETARY BAKER: I think you're missing something. I think that we, as I said in the formal statement, can and have served as a catalyst for action with respect to Yugoslavia. But leadership doesn't mean doing it all by yourself. It means doing it jointly with your partners where everyone can agree on what ought to be done. And now we are in the happy circumstance of everyone agreeing on what ought to be done.

Q Mr. Secretary, may I ask a question, sir, concerning the political situation back home? To what extent were decisions that were made with respect to the forgiveness of Russian debt, the provision of aid or pushing ahead with any kind of financial assistance -- to what extent were the decisions made here tempered by the political campaign that the President is facing?

SECRETARY BAKER: I don't think to any extent at all, I say with a very, very straight face. The President is not here for domestic political reasons. This is the 18th Summit of the Major Industrialized Nations of the world. It is very important that the President of the United States have this opportunity to meet with the other leaders of the major industrial powers once a year and talk about how they can better coordinate their economies, Randall, so that we can enhance world growth which will enhance growth in the United States.

So the decisions that he's taking here, the positions that we're taking have not been framed with an eye to what might or might not be going on at home in terms of the political campaign. In terms of how it will impact economic growth at home, clearly, we would love to see that enhanced. And the work that's done here by an American President can help in accomplishing that.

Q About the GATT agreement, Mr. Secretary, can you say what time frame you see for that? You mentioned we would have to wait until it settles down in Europe.

SECRETARY BAKER: Let me tell you something. I really am disappointed that we were not able to conclude a particular part that we've been working very hard on here, because there was some sense that maybe we could. We made some very forthcoming proposals back in May when Franz Andriessen was in Washington. Those proposals are still on the table. He made one to us. We've now responded to that. We've made another couple of suggestions while we've been here.

And I'm, frankly, of the view that we are much, much closer now to the prospect of a Uruguay Round agreement than we were as recently as five weeks ago. But I do believe it's going to have to wait a little bit longer until this other problem sorts itself out.

I think that the communique -- and it hasn't been drafted yet; we're still working on the exact language of the communique -- but I think that that language will be more forward-leaning than what we were able to say in the aftermath of Houston and London. And we will hopefully be able to say more than just that this is very important to world growth, which it is, because I think we've made progress. I think we're getting there.

END

5:34 P.M. (L)

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Munich, Germany)

For Immediate Release

July 7, 1992

YUGOSLAVIA COMMUNIQUE

We, the leaders of our seven countries and representatives of the European Community are deeply concerned about the ongoing Yugoslav crisis. We strongly condemn the use of violence in the former Yugoslavia and deplore the suffering inflicted upon its population. We particularly deplore those actions directed against civilian populations, as well as the forced expulsion of ethnic groups.

Although all parties have contributed to this state of affairs, the Serbian leadership and the Yugoslav army controlled by it bear the greatest share of the responsibility. We support the EC Conference on Yugoslavia chaired by Lord Carrington as the key forum for ensuring a durable and equitable political solution to the outstanding problems of the former Yugoslavia, including constitutional arrangements for Bosnia and Hercegovina.

We call on all parties to resume negotiations in that conference in good faith and without preconditions. We welcome the close consultations between the conference chaired by Lord Carrington, the EC, the U.N. and other parties concerned with the Yugoslav crisis.

These consultations could lead to the holding of a broader international conference to address unresolved questions, including issues related to minorities. We stress the absolute need for the parties in former Yugoslavia to show the will for peace which is indispensable to success and without which the peoples of former Yugoslavia will continue to suffer.

The tragic humanitarian situation, especially in Bosnia and Hercegovina, is unacceptable. We fully endorse as heads of state and government the efforts of the international community to provide relief. We welcome the efforts made in achieving the opening of the airport of Sarajevo, and we support actions taken by UNPROFOR to secure the airport.

The blockade of Sarajevo must be lifted, and the shelling of the town stopped in order to sustain a comprehensive relief operation. We express our gratitude to all participants in the airlift to Sarajevo and the supply of its population. We appeal to all parties in Bosnia and Hercegovina not to imperil the humanitarian effort.

We firmly warn the parties concerned, including irregular forces, not to take any action that would endanger the lives of those engaged in the relief operation. Should these efforts fail due to an unwillingness of those concerned to fully cooperate with the United Nations, we believe the Security Council will have to consider other measures, not excluding military means, to achieve its humanitarian objectives.

MORE

The airlift to Sarajevo can only be the beginning of a larger humanitarian effort. Safe access by road to Sarajevo, as well as to other parts of Bosnia and Hercegovina in need must be guaranteed. The needs of the hundreds of thousands of refugees and displaced persons require further significant financial support. We are willing to contribute and ask others also to make fair contributions.

We underline the need for Serbia and Croatia to respect the territorial integrity of Bosnia and Hercegovina and for all military forces not subject to the authority of the government of Bosnia and Hercegovina to either be withdrawn or disbanded and disarmed with their weapons placed under effective international monitoring.

We call on all parties to prevent the conflict from spreading to other parts of the former Yugoslavia.

We urge the Serbian leadership to respect minority rights in full to refrain from further repression in Kosovo, and to engage in serious dialogue with representatives of Kosovo with a view to defining a status of autonomy according to the draft convention of the EC Conference on Yugoslavia.

Sanctions decided by the U.N. Security Council in Resolution 757, as well as all other provisions of relevant U.N. resolutions, must be fully implemented. We support the efforts of the U.N. peacekeeping forces in implementing the U.N. peace plan for Croatia and all its elements.

We demand that Serbs and Croats extend their full cooperation to the U.N. peace plan and make every effort to bring the bloodshed in Croatia to an end.

We do not accept Serbia and Montenegro as the sole successor state to the former Yugoslavia.

We call for the suspension of the delegation of Yugoslavia in the proceedings of the CSCE and other relevant international fora and organizations.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary
(Munich, Germany)

For Immediate Release

July 7, 1992

STATEMENT BY THE PRESS SECRETARY

The President today named Sean O'Keefe Acting Secretary of the Navy, until such time as a successor is confirmed.

Since 1989, Mr. O'Keefe has served as Comptroller of the Department of Defense and in 1991 was also designated Chief Financial Officer of the Department. From 1981 to 1989, he served on the staff of the United States Senate Committee on Appropriations, serving as the Minority Counsel for the Defense Subcommittee. He served as the Staff Director for the Defense Subcommittee until 1987. Mr. O'Keefe served in principal analyst positions on the staff for operations and maintenance, shipbuilding, and aircraft procurement appropriations. He also was a Presidential Management Intern in 1978.

Mr. O'Keefe was graduated from Loyola University with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and received a Master of Public Administration degree from Syracuse University. He was born January 27, 1956. He is married, has one daughter and one son, and resides in Arlington, Virginia.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

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

Tue 7-July-92 8:01 EDT

Summit Wives Transported Back to Fairy-Tale Times

By ALEXANDER G. HIGGINS

Associated Press Writer

HOHENSCHWANGAU, Germany (AP) **Barbara Bush** and three other First Ladies at the annual economic summit were transported today to the fairy-tale world of the Bavarian Alps.

The outing took them to some of Germany's prime tourist spots, including the haunts of tragic King Ludwig II and a remote church in an Alpine meadow.

Their first stop was Neuschwanstein Castle, an inspiration for the Sleeping Beauty Palace at Disneyland and an icon of German tourist posters.

The castle was built in 1869 on orders of Ludwig - known to detractors as a "mad monarch" but to admirers as a fairy-tale king who only wanted peace.

Perched on a peak top, the gray granite castle rises to towers, turrets and pinnacles, recalling the days of Medieval knighthood.

"I love the background," said Mrs. Bush as she stood in the courtyard looking up at tree-covered cliffs shrouded in clouds. "It's just like home," she quipped. "No it is really beautiful."

Also with her were Hannelore Kohl, wife of the German Chancellor and host of the annual gathering of the world's top seven leaders, Mila Mulroney and Diana Amato, wives of the Canadian and Italian prime ministers. The wives of French President Francois Mitterrand, Japanese Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa and British Prime Minister John Major did not come to Munich for the three-day summit of the world's richest democracies.

Ludwig, who became king at age 18 in 1864, turned to building castles and palaces after losing a war to the Prussians in 1866.

The composer Richard Wagner was drawn to his court and his operas influenced some of Ludwig's constructions.

The king's extravagant projects cost millions and emptied the treasury of Bavaria. Ludwig spent only 170 days living in Neuschwanstein.

The unfortunate monarch was sent under house arrest to Starnberg Lake to be interned. The day after he arrived he drowned in the lake under mysterious circumstances.

The First Ladies were visiting another palace, Hohenschwangau, built at the foot of the promontory where Neuschwanstein is perched. Hohenschwangau, built by Ludwig's father Maximilian II to resemble an English manor house, was the site for the First Ladies' lunch.

It was there that Ludwig spent most of his youth and from where he watched the work on Neuschwanstein through a telescope in his bedroom window.

Following the castle tours, the First Ladies were flying by helicopter to a meadow church in the slopes of the Ammergau Alps in southwestern Bavaria.

The 18th century building was the crowning achievement of architect Dominikus Zimmermann.

Tue 7-July-92 2:33 EDT
Group Of Seven Summit - Notes

MUNICH, Germany (AP) - A brief, violet clash marred Barbara Bush's night at the opera Monday.

Hannelore Kohl, wife of the German chancellor and hostess for the evening's production of "Carmen," waited in a violet gown to welcome guests.

Arriving in a violet gown of her own, Mrs. Bush could only laugh and exclaim, "Oh my God!"

Tue 7-July-92 9:24 EDT

Summit Backs Use of Military to Get Relief to Yugoslavia

By TERENCE HUNT

AP White House Correspondent

MUNICH, Germany (AP) — Western leaders today declared that U.N. military force may be necessary in war-shattered Yugoslavia if humanitarian shipments are blocked. The leaders also put out a welcome mat for Russian President Boris Yeltsin, arriving here with insistent demands for economic help.

Midway through a three-day summit, the leaders issued a political communique lamenting the "death, destruction and widespread dislocation of innocent people" in the former Yugoslavia.

President Bush and the leaders of Britain, France, Germany, Italy, Canada and Japan also said the breakup of the Soviet Union had created unprecedented opportunities as well as enormous problems for the countries of central and eastern Europe.

"We will support them as they move toward the achievement of fully democratic societies and political and economic freedom," the political communique said.

The solidarity on Yugoslavia took some of the sting out of sharp differences on other issues.

On the economic front, the leaders appeared doomed to failure in their search for a strategy to revive global economic growth or to revamp the world trading system. Struggling with political and economic problems back home, the leaders appeared unwilling to take bold action to break longstanding impasses.

On Yugoslavia, the leaders said: "We firmly warn the parties concerned including irregular forces not to take any action that would endanger the lives of those engaged in the relief operation."

"Should these efforts fail due to an unwillingness of those concerned to fully cooperate with the United Nations, we believe the Security Council will have to consider other measures not excluding military means to achieve its humanitarian objectives," they said.

The statement added: "The airlift to Sarajevo can only be the beginning of larger humanitarian effort. Safe access by road to Sarajevo as well as to other parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina indeed must be guaranteed."

The statement on Yugoslavia, originally scheduled to be released Wednesday, was put out a day early at the behest of German Chancellor Helmut Kohl.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III hailed the "very strong and forceful statement." He reiterated in an ABC interview that the United States would support a U.N. resolution that calls for using force and would commit air and naval support if necessary.

Apart from the statement on Yugoslavia, the highpoint of the day was the expected arrival of Yeltsin to meet with the leaders.

Yeltsin, already assured of a \$1 billion down payment in aid from the International Monetary Fund, flew in a day earlier than scheduled to press for two-year moratorium on repayment of Russia's \$65 billion to \$70 billion in foreign debt. Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady said the debt relief "is in the cards."

A senior administration said today the agreement was likely to be announced soon after the Aug. 7 date for releasing \$1 billion of IMF funds. The official said Yeltsin will take home "a very substantial package" which will include \$2.5 billion in debt relief this year alone.

That amount was part of a \$24 billion aid package for Russia unveiled by Bush and Kohl two months ago.

Yeltsin is extremely popular in Russia, but he has crushing economic problems, and the Western leaders appeared intent on ensuring that he not go home empty handed, as Mikhail Gorbachev did last year. By year's end Gorbachev was thrown from power when the Soviet Union disintegrated.

In another statement, issued in Kohl's name as host of the summit, the leaders charged that Iraq is still refusing to comply with U.N. demands on resolving the Gulf war aftermath.

"We warn the Iraqi regime against repressive actions against all the peoples of Iraq," they said, declaring that Baghdad must comply with U.N. resolutions to receive shipments of food and medical supplies.

In their political statement, the leaders said the end of East-West confrontation "has fundamentally changed the global political landscape. ... The way has been opened for a new partnership of shared responsibilities, not only in Europe which at long last is reunited but also in the Asia-Pacific region and elsewhere in the world."

Recognizing an intensive campaign by Japan, the leaders prodded Russia to resolve a long and bitter dispute over control of four islands seized from Japan at the end of World War II.

With Russia and the other former Soviet republics committed to sharp reductions in nuclear weapons, the leaders pledged their efforts "to inhibit the spread of expertise on weapons of mass destruction.

"We attach the highest importance to the establishment in the former Soviet Union of effective export controls on nuclear materials, weapons and other sensitive goods and technologies and will offer training and practical assistance to help achieve this."

The leaders stressed that arms agreements signed by the former Soviet Union particularly the strategic arms reduction treaty and an agreement to slash conventional forces in Europe - must be implemented.

The communique also praised the sweeping arms reduction agreement reached last month by Bush and Yeltsin as "another major step towards a safer, more stable world." The accord would slash both sides nuclear arsenals by two third and eliminate Russia's deadliest land-based, multiple warhead missiles.

"We support Russia in its efforts to secure the peaceful use of nuclear materials resulting from the elimination of nuclear weapons," the leaders said.

They said that new global challenges underline the need for strengthening the United Nations, particularly in maintaining international peace and security.

With the political document concluded, the leaders turned their attention to the crushing economic problems in Russia.

While business meetings dominated today's agenda, there was an opportunity for relaxation at a special ballet performance tonight and a state dinner, with Yeltsin getting a late invitation to attend after arriving here a day earlier than scheduled.

Barbara Bush and the other summit wives spent the day visiting some of Bavaria's prime tourist spots, including the fairy-tale world of Neuschwanstein Castle on a peak in the Bavarian Alps.

Early today, unknown attackers threw a firebomb into an office building of one of Germany's largest companies, smashing a window at the Siemens electronic company office. No injuries were reported.

Unable to resolve differences on trade and steps to boost economic growth, the leaders talked extensively over dinner Monday night about the crisis in Yugoslavia and their determination to provide humanitarian assistance.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992



Reuters

Mila Mulroney, wife of Canada's prime minister, greets Barbara Bush during Munich summit.



RICH JANDA/THE WORLD-HERALD

A WAVE TO WELCOMERS: Barbara Bush arrives at Omaha Wal-Mart store.

Barbara Bush Turns Pages, Lights Smiles

BY C. DAVID KOTOK
WORLD-HERALD STAFF WRITER

First lady Barbara Bush made a non-political start to her campaign visit to Omaha Monday.

In an appearance at a Wal-Mart department store, Mrs. Bush played the role of an elementary school teacher at story time rather than as a campaigner for her husband's re-election bid.

But it was politics that brought the first lady to Omaha, with the Bush-Quayle campaign committee paying the cost of her travel. Her non-political stops, at the Wal-Mart and at an Omaha Housing Authority work site, were sandwiched around a \$1,000-a-person fundraiser.

At the Wal-Mart near 103rd and Fort Streets, Mrs. Bush demonstrated why she

is believed to be one of her husband's top political assets as she read a story to 50 children sitting at her feet. A crowd of more than 200 looked on.

She was expressive as she showed the pictures in the book. When a character was described as shaking, Mrs. Bush would hold up her hands and shake.

Mrs. Bush read the book "Arthur Meets the President" to the youngsters, who were related to Wal-Mart employees. The book, by Mark Brown, is a story about a mouse.

In the first couple of pages, it described how Arthur the mouse would go to the White House. Mrs. Bush turned to the children and asked, "Who lives in the White House?"

"You," said several of the children.

"Right. Who do I live with?" Mrs.

Please turn to Page 8, Col. 1

First Lady Tells Tale of Mouse, White House

• Continued from Page 1

Bush said.

Several of the children said the president.

Mrs. Bush made several corrections in the text of the book.

The book referred to an indoor swimming pool at the White House. Mrs. Bush shook her head and said the president's residence does not have one. She did the same thing on a reference to gold curtains.

Before ending her 30-minute visit and shaking hands with onlookers, Mrs. Bush said the children had been attentive.

"Thank you for letting me come play with you," she said.

Mrs. Bush said she was lucky because her husband "went to New York and I got to come to Nebraska."

The first lady's stop at Wal-Mart was planned to underscore her campaign for literacy. She has appeared on network radio stations with "Mrs. Bush's story time." Her broadcasts have been turned into an audio tape series.

Many of the parents of the children arrived as early as 9 a.m. at the Wal-Mart.

Debbie Maxwell brought her video recorder with hopes of getting a videotape of her 5-year-old daughter, Laura, with the first lady.

"I'm real excited," said Mrs. Maxwell, a Wal-Mart employee. "I think it will be nice as she grows older to give her the film."

Angela Parks, 15, said she brought the two children whom she baby-sits, Nicholas Lefever, 10, and his brother, Kyle, 7, because she thought it would be a good experience for them.

"They're more interested in baseball and don't read much," Miss Parks said.

Anne and Clifton Batchelder spent days preparing to make Mrs. Bush feel at home for the fund-raising luncheon. One hundred guests were expected at the fund-raising event on the Batchelders' rolling back lawn on the north edge of the Omaha Country Club.

Batchelder is a former state senator and longtime leader of the conservative Republican faction in the state.

Mrs. Batchelder, a former GOP state chairwoman, national committeewoman and 1974 lieutenant governor candidate, worked on the catering details for the luncheon.

This was the first lady's second luncheon at the Batchelders' — in 1986, when her husband was vice president, Mrs. Bush came to a low-price fundraiser for the Nebraska Federation of Republican Women.

Those who have given President Bush's re-election campaign \$1,000 were invited, along with those who pledged \$1,000 to attend the luncheon.

Morning
Edition



PHIL JOHNSON/THE WORLD-HERALD
STORY TIME: Barbara Bush reads "Arthur Meets the President" to children at Wal-Mart.

Mrs. Bush Vents Anger at Perot

BY C. DAVID KOTOK
WORLD-HERALD STAFF WRITER

First lady Barbara Bush was all smiles during her Omaha visit Monday except when she was asked about allegations that presidential candidate Ross Perot had authorized an investigation of the Bushes' children.

Her comments on that subject were similar to her reaction last week when the allegations first appeared in the Washington Post.

Mrs. Bush used the term "violated" Monday to describe her feelings after reading the account of Perot's investiga-

tion of then-Vice President Bush and his family.

"If he had our children investigated, then I felt a little bit strongly about it," Mrs. Bush told reporters during her three-hour visit to Omaha.

"I did feel violated," she said. "I think when a private citizen investigates your children, you feel a little bit violated. I know I did."

President Bush and Perot, an independent who has yet to declare his candidacy, battled last week over the allegations. Bush aides questioned Perot's temperament to be president, and

Please turn to Page 2, Col. 1

Mrs. Bush Shows Distaste for Perot

Continued from Page 1

Perot said he had been targeted by Republican dirty tricks.

Perot has said he did not have the Bushes' sons and daughter investigated. He produced a handwritten thank-you note Bush wrote to him in 1986 after Perot made a call to Bush describing rumors about two of the Bushes' sons.

That was not enough to satisfy Mrs. Bush.

"The interesting thing was he promptly printed a letter George wrote him in 1986," Mrs. Bush said. "But the violations came when he talked to, supposedly, Bob Woodward in 1987 and 1988."

Woodward works for the Washington Post.

"You know when your husband runs for office... you and he are ready," Mrs. Bush said. "But you are not ready for your children to be hurt."

During a press conference at the end of a tour of the Omaha Housing Authority's Gateway Project, Mrs. Bush declined to even speak Perot's name.

"I don't think about him much, to tell you the truth," Mrs. Bush said. "I talk

about George Bush and the things he's done... I don't really worry about any of the other opponents."

Mrs. Bush had no trouble speaking Perot's name in her brief remarks at a private \$1,000-a-person luncheon at the home of Anne and Clifton Batchelder. Mrs. Bush reportedly told the 125 paying guests and party officials that she thinks Perot's candidacy already has peaked.

During her visit to Omaha, Mrs. Bush made two public and two private appearances. The trip to Omaha was paid for by the campaign of Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle.

She began with an animated reading of a book to more than 50 youngsters sitting at her feet and to more than 200 onlookers at the Wal-Mart at 103rd and Fort Streets.

The book, "Arthur Meets the President," is part of a series of audio cassettes by the first lady to encourage reading to young children.

Mrs. Bush next went to the Batchelders', where an estimated \$50,000 was raised for her husband's re-election

effort. After her brief remarks and after eating the main course of sirloin tips in a pastry shell, Mrs. Bush made the round of tables, personally greeting each person.

The Batchelders' dog, Lady, apparently sensed the first lady's affection for dogs. Mrs. Batchelder said Lady, an Australian shepherd, jumped into Mrs. Bush's car, surprising an aide and the Secret Service.

Before leaving Omaha, Mrs. Bush made an unscheduled stop near the airport to thank a group of volunteers.

After touring the OHA Gateway Project, which trains public housing residents in construction skills and helps provide an education, Mrs. Bush touted the program as an example for the nation.

Mrs. Bush — accompanied by Mayor Morgan, his wife, Anne, and OHA Director Robert Armstrong — stopped at the desk of Terry Keith, 40, who lives in the Spencer Homes project, to give Ms. Keith help on a math problem.

Ms. Keith called her meeting with the

first lady "great." But it was not enough to convert her to support Bush.

"I'm not a George Bush fan," she said. "I'm a working person and I'm poor."

However, if Mrs. Bush can influence policy to start more programs like the one in Omaha, Ms. Keith said, the stop at the program near 21st Street and Ames Avenue will be worthwhile.

"Everyone in this room is getting a second chance," Ms. Keith said. "I have a new outlook at life."

This political year is unlike any she has seen, Mrs. Bush told reporters. "It's not a normal campaign year," she said.

"But when push comes to shove, you are going to say, 'Who is stable, who is steady, who has the great education revolution in mind, who has come up with all these great ideas?'" Mrs. Bush said.

"Look, without George Bush, we'd have gas lines miles long. Saddam Hussein would be in Kuwait, and he already stated that Saudi Arabia was next."

If Bush had not stopped the Iraqi president, she said, the resulting U.S. energy crisis would have created "double digit — double, double digit — unemployment and inflation."

Mrs. Bush Shows Distaste for Perot

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Please turn to Page 19, Col. 5



RICH JANDA/THE WORLD-HERALD

MATH PROBLEM: Barbara Bush helps Terry Keith, who lives in the Spencer Homes housing project, solve a math problem.

Mrs. Bush Shows Distaste for Perot

Continued from Page 13

the campaign of Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle.

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WILLIAM NORWICH

SO PEOPLE are buzzing about summer parties?

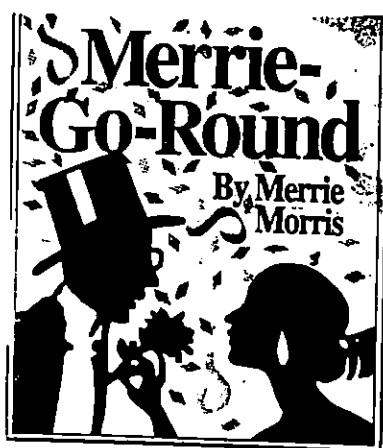
Barbara Walters donned a capital Stetson for financier Alecko Papamarkou's annual Fourth of July party in London. Other guests included Placido Domingo and Sidney Poitier. The next stop on Walters' European tour — she is traveling with Sen. John Warner — is the South of France.

Pat Buckley returned from a holiday in Greece to celebrate her umpteenth wedding anniversary with columnist William F. Buckley in Connecticut this past weekend.

What to wear? Newsweek offers an amusing item about what President Bush wore, or didn't wear, to his daughter Doro's recent wedding to Bobby Koch. En route to Camp David, somebody forgot the president's clothes. He had meant to wear a blue suit, of course, but opted instead for an impromptu outfit of pinstripe pants, a navy blazer, a tie borrowed from Bobby Koch, and a white cowboy shirt.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

The Washington Times



Nuptial news

And here's another wedding to look forward to. The New York Times carried Torie Clarke's engagement announcement Sunday — she'll marry William Graham in December. (Alas, no picture of the happy couple.) Naturally that's conveniently after the election, since Torie is press secretary for the Bush-Quayle campaign.

Torie, 33, met her beau, who's four years her junior, on a congressional trip to Taiwan. He's just finished his MBA at Stanford, and (gasp!) may take a job with the Democrats.

We hope Torie's dad is better prepared for her nuptials than Doro Bush LeBlond's was for her wedding. Newsweek reports that George Bush forgot the blue suit he was to wear to the ceremony and had to scramble for something suitable. Mr. President, that old saying about "something borrowed, something blue" is meant for the bride.

Chicago Tribune, Monday, July 6, 1992

O'Malley & Collin

INC.



Quayle tale Dan and Marilyn Quayle were not invited to the wedding of President Bush's daughter, Dorothy, because Barbara Bush was steamed at the vice president's wife. Sources say Marilyn made "snide" remarks to Robert Koch, Dorothy's groom-to-be, at a White House soiree and the First Lady decreed that *no one* was going to talk *that* way to her new son-in-law.

Nation/world

Democratic Party launches investigation into Bush's S&L role

From Chicago Tribune wires

WASHINGTON—Ron Brown, the Democratic National Committee chairman, said Sunday that his party is spending \$30,000 to investigate President Bush's financial dealings, focusing on his role in the savings and loan debacle.

"We think the American people deserve to know what happened. How did we get into this \$500 billion mess?" Brown said on Cable News Network's "Newsmaker Sunday."

Brown said the investigation will seek whether Bush's friends or family got special treatment in the thrift crisis.

Democrats usually have shunned



using political campaign money to dig up unsavory or damaging information about their opponents, a tactic long used by Republicans.

Brown defended the switch in strategy, saying, "Finding out the truth is supposed to be what political campaigns are all about."

✎ Bush's son Neil was reprimanded by federal regulators for his role as a director of a failed thrift in Colorado.

The S&L crisis will cost taxpay-

ers an estimated \$500 billion, including interest over 40 years.

Meanwhile, aides to undeclared candidate Ross Perot denied trying to hire away one of Democrat Bill Clinton's consultants for \$600,000.

Paul Storch, who heads a New York telemarketing firm that runs Clinton's 1-800 hotline, said in a memo to Clinton headquarters that someone in the office of Ed Rollins, a top Perot aide, had called, offering him the money to switch sides and set up a Perot hotline.

Perot spokesman James Squires called the incident "absolutely unbelievable" and said no one au-

thorized to make such an offer did so.

Perot found himself the subject of a report in Time magazine Sunday which said he had part of a Bermuda coral reef blown up to dock his yacht at the doorstep of his vacation home.

Time said that Bermuda's Department of the Environment had ruled against Perot's request to dredge Castle Harbor in front of his home because the area was legally protected.

"Faced with that denial," Time said, "Perot's contractors realized that any similar request for permission to cut a channel in a nearby coral reef would probably

be nixed as well. A week later, without filing for a permit, Perot's construction team blew a section of the reef near his house."

Officials later said there was no evidence Perot or members of his family had been involved in any damage to the coral reef, but Time said police records show that underwater dynamite and detonators were issued for two days in succession to a marine construction expert hired by Perot's contractor.

Clinton, who played golf in Little Rock on Sunday, refused to comment on his vice presidential search and whether Rep. Lee

Hamilton's chances were hurt because the Indiana congressman is opposed to a family-leave law.

"I haven't discussed this vice presidential thing so far and I don't intend to start today," Clinton said.

Hamilton, who met with Clinton last week to discuss the vice presidential slot, said he is opposed to a family-leave law that would force employers to give workers time off for the birth of a child or a family sickness.

Clinton strongly supports such a law and has made it a key part of his campaign and attack on President Bush, who vetoed such a bill.

Spotlight becomes a searchlight

Despite
high-profile
abortion ruling,
Souter remains
a puzzle

By Glen Elsasser

WASHINGTON—Even in his brief moment in the spotlight, David Souter remained an enigma.

When the U.S. Supreme Court disclosed a much-awaited decision last week on abortion, Justice Souter read from a majority opinion that will keep a woman's right to an abortion alive after more than a decade of attacks from state legislatures and two Republican presidents.

In tones as deeply felt as a high-church canon, he explained why, for the sake of continuity and uniformity of law, the bulk of *Roe vs. Wade*—the 1973 decision that established the abortion right nationwide—should be upheld. Sitting nearby in the packed court-



Tribune photo by Ernie Cox Jr.

David Souter during his Senate confirmation hearings in 1990.

room was an obviously pleased William Brennan, the legendary liberal justice whose retirement put a virtually unknown Souter on the court and in the limelight for a time two years ago.

For five minutes or so, Souter had riveted the attention of the theater-like courtroom. Yet, the opinion was not all his. Justices Sandra Day O'Connor and Anthony Kennedy had contributed to the writing, and they read portions that were, presumably, their handiwork.

What was Souter's role in fashioning a surprise ruling? It would be a difficult question to answer about any justice, but perhaps even more so when it comes to Souter.

His tenure as a judge, says University of Chicago Law School professor Richard Epstein, has been characterized by caution. And

See Souter, pg. 3

Souter

Continued from page 1

in an institution that cultivates secrecy about its members, Souter has succeeded during his brief tenure in keeping the lowest profile of all.

"He's a very bright, nice person," says Mary Ann "Andy" Stewart, the widow of Justice Potter Stewart and a fixture on the Washington social scene since the late 1950s. A close friend of First Lady Barbara Bush's, she has known all the justices and their spouses since her husband's nomination.

Pressed for more details about Souter, she seems to be more at a genuine loss for words than to be protecting confidences. "We're not close friends," she adds, "but I can say he is really likable."

Yankee bachelor

To the public, Supreme Court justices are little more than phantom-like beings who wear black robes and avoid cameras except on extremely select occasions.

A few, such as O'Connor and Kennedy, are seen occasionally traveling the capital social circuit. The colorful Antonin Scalia dominates courtroom arguments with bravura. John Paul Stevens, a former Chicago jurist, wears signature skinny bow ties and asks lawyers pointed questions.

At 83, Harry Blackmun has survived death threats for writing *Roe vs. Wade*. Chief Justice William Rehnquist, to relieve his aching back, regularly takes a friendly stroll around the court. And Clarence Thomas, who received more



David Souter leaves the New Hampshire home of his mother, Helen, just before traveling to Washington to appear before the Senate Judiciary Committee on his Supreme Court nomination two years ago.

publicity than he ever desired during his rancorous confirmation hearing, appears to have found a congenial harbor after stormy testimony about his alleged sexual harassment of Anita Hill.

But what about Souter? Friends and acquaintances testify to the sterling character and personality of the monastic Yankee bachelor who, before his nomination, lived alone on a family farm in Weare, N.H., reachable only by a dirt road.

He was said to read Victor Hugo and Alfred, Lord Tennyson,

to have climbed every mountain in New Hampshire, and to have rarely watched TV. His life seemed so very solitary.

His closest friend in Washington is Sen. Warren Rudman (R-N.H.), who insists, "No one here knows him better than I, and he's not a recluse at all."

Long workdays

Souter served for eight years as a deputy attorney general of New Hampshire when Rudman was attorney general. Later, the Harvard- and Oxford-educated lawyer was

the state's attorney general, a justice on the state Supreme Court and briefly a federal appeals court judge.

According to Rudman, Souter invites friends for lunch in his Supreme Court chambers. When queried about any possible romantic interests on Souter's part, Rudman brushes the subject aside by saying, "He has dear friends in Washington and New York, but he also has a very demanding job."

For Souter, the workdays are long, usually 14 to 15 hours. He lives modestly in an apartment in



Sen. Warren Rudman (R-N.H.) says his close friend Souter is not a recluse, just very busy.

southwest Washington, an area of 1960s Scandinavian-style high-rises and townhouses a short drive from the court. Although justices are provided with transportation if requested, Souter commutes by driving his 7-year-old Volkswagen Golf.

To keep in shape, Souter runs regularly, usually at night, in a safe place near his apartment. He rarely eats out in the evening, preferring instead to fix a low-cholesterol, low-fat concoction of his

own choice. Rudman calls it his old friend as "in terrific physical shape" for a person 52 years old.

Every few months he travels to New Hampshire to visit his mother, who is said to be in good health. The summer recess, which began after the court's June 29 session and will last through September, will be spent mostly in his home state, where he will pursue two of his favorite pastimes: mountain climbing and reading early English and American history.

Invitations declined

Invitations pour into his office; they are regularly declined. Souter rarely makes public appearances. But among the exceptions were his presiding over the moot court competition at Harvard Law School and a cameo appearance at an American Bar Association convention last year.

Unlike other justices, Souter does most of his own opinion writing, which adds to his workload. "David hasn't gotten to know Washington well," says Rudman, "but ask him five years from now after he settles into a less-demanding routine."

Souter is reputed to be a witty storyteller, but examples are hard to come by. One such story was inspired by a trip back home, after he had made it to the highest court in the land, and involved an encounter with an elderly man in a parking lot:

"You look like that lawyer," the old man reportedly said.

"That's because I am," Souter replied to an increasingly skeptical audience.

"The hell you are," the old man retorted.

ART BUCHWALD

Political Persuasions

No matter where you go these days everyone wants to talk politics. I've been listening to all the important reasons people are going to vote for a candidate in this election, and they constantly amaze me.

At a cocktail party the other day I wrote down some of the things I heard:

"We've had a lot of vice presidents who couldn't spell potato, either."

"I like Mrs. Perot because, for a billionaire's wife, she doesn't wear a lot of jewelry."

"I like George Bush's wife because she's a First Lady who doesn't dress to kill."

"The only reason I'm voting for George Bush is that I believe every president who screws up Desert Storm should get a second chance."

"I'm for Bill Clinton because he doesn't understand rap music any more than I do."

"Ross Perot is my man because he doesn't hesitate to investigate another person when he doesn't like them."

I wandered across the crowded

room and picked up more political comments.

"If we elect George Bush, does that mean Dan Quayle will still be only a heartbeat away? If Bill Clinton is elected, does that mean Jesse Jackson will be only a heartbeat away from the presidency?"

"I'm not sure what Bill Clinton stands for politically, but I have great faith in anyone born in Arkansas."

"What I admire about Ross Perot is that he doesn't claim to have all the answers."

"This just in from 'Profiles in Courage': Dan Quayle just endorsed the American family."

"Clinton is the only one for all the people. But so is Coca-Cola."

"I wrote to Justice Scalia about where he stood on the abortion issue—and he changed his mind."

"It doesn't matter who the president is. What counts in America is how many miles your car gets to the gallon."

"If I had my druthers I'd turn the White House over to a woman one year and a man the next—and a kid the next."

"George Bush gets my vote

because he and I both wear green plaid slacks."

"People say that you shouldn't vote for Ross Perot because he wants to buy the presidency. I'd rather he pay for it than give it to him for free."

"The American voter has had it with political independents. Only the fresh ideas of the Democratic and Republican parties can save us now."

"I heard that Bill Clinton not only smoked a marijuana cigarette and didn't inhale it, but put a spoonful of chocolate ice cream in his mouth and didn't swallow it."

"If George Bush can't solve our \$4 trillion deficit, nobody can."

"George Bush may be the environmental president, but he still doesn't give a damn about the snow leopard."

"If Congress held Ross Perot's economic plan hostage, he would hire a bunch of Marines to rescue it."

"It could be worse. Prince Charles could be running for president—without his wife at his side."

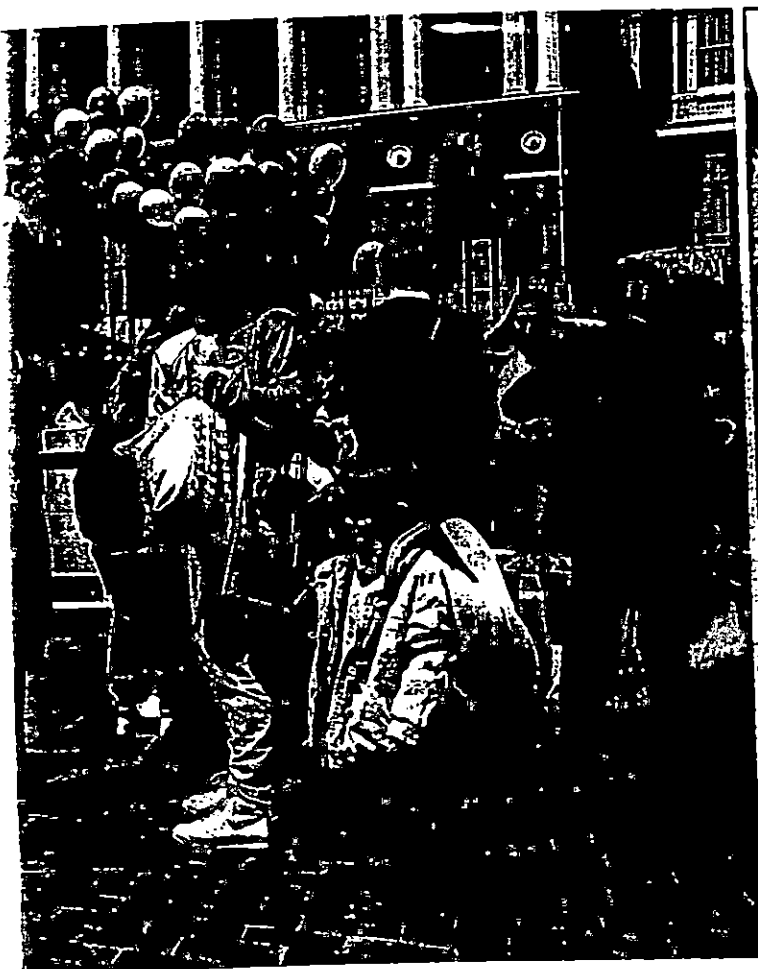
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In Boston, Make Way for Ducklings

At the annual celebration
of an American childhood
classic, fancifully cos-
tumed young Bostonians
make their way along the
history-rich route immor-
talized by Robert McCloskey's
beloved mallard family



PHOTOGRAPHS BY DIMITRIS SIMYLIS



REPRINTED WITH PERMISSION OF VIKING CHILDREN'S BOOKS; © ROBERT MCCLOSKEY

by Patricia Mandell

Mr. and Mrs. Mallard were looking for a place to live. But every time Mr. Mallard saw what looked like a nice place, Mrs. Mallard said it was no good. There were sure to be foxes in the woods or turtles in the water, and she was not going to raise a family where there might be foxes or turtles. So they flew on and on."

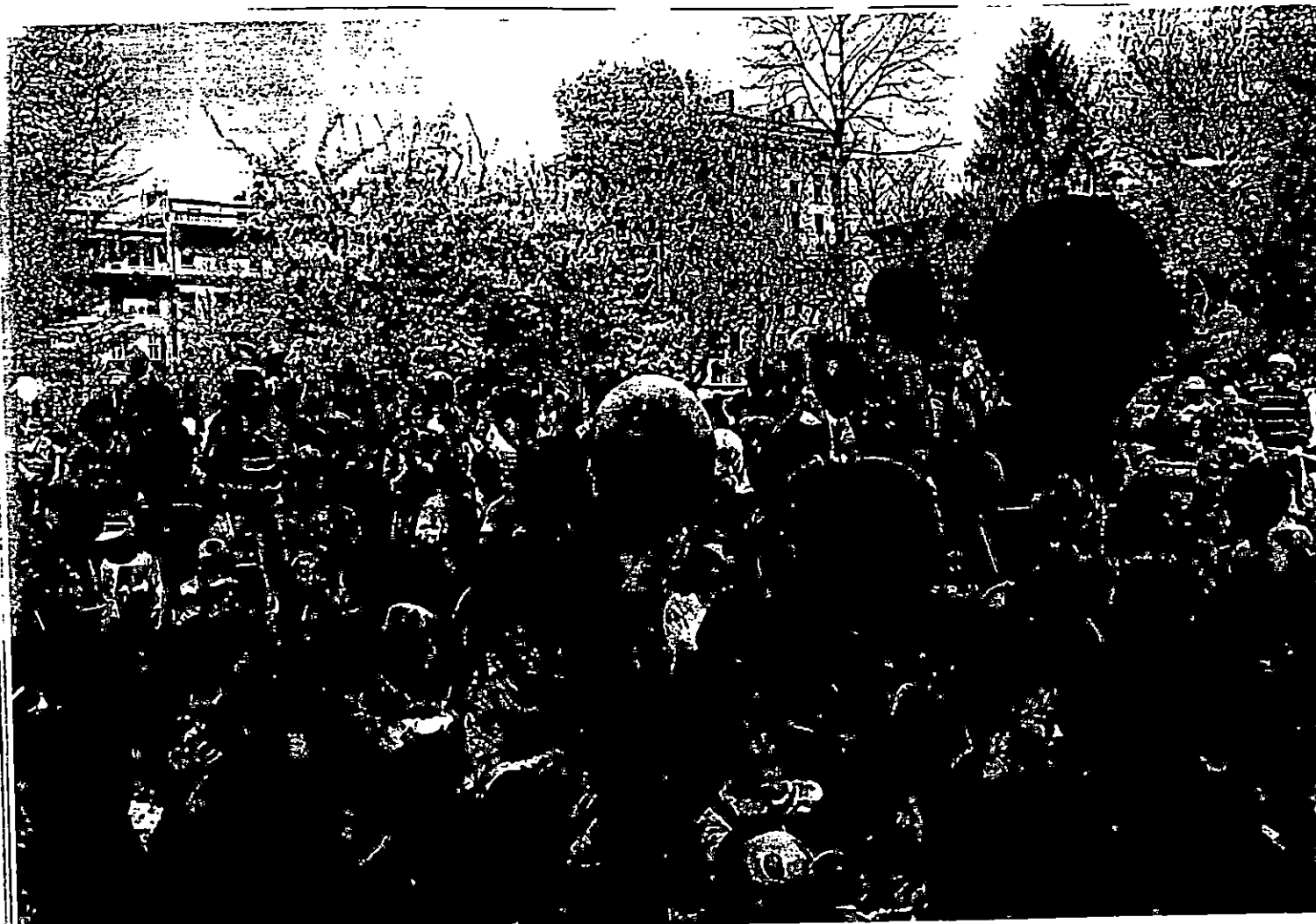
Eventually, these world-famous ducks settle in Boston, the backdrop of Robert McCloskey's beloved children's classic, *Make Way for Ducklings*. The Mallards hatch a brood of eight on an island in the Charles River, near the Longfellow Bridge. When Mrs. Mallard attempts to move her ducklings to a new home in the Public Garden, heavy downtown traffic threatens the ducks. A policeman named Michael comes to the rescue, moving them safely across the busy highway. More police cross the ducks over the corner of Beacon and Charles streets and into the Public Garden. There, as they say, the ducks live happily ever after, following the famous swan boats and feasting on handouts of peanuts.

So enduring and endearing is this tale that it has sold more than two million copies since its publication some fifty years ago by Viking Press. The story has been pub-

lished in six languages: Russian, Portuguese, Japanese, Italian, Norwegian, and Afrikaans.

In honor of the Mallards, a larger-than-life bronze sculpture of Mrs. Mallard and her eight ducklings—Jack, Kack, Lack, Mack, Nack, Ouack, Pack, and Quack—was placed in the Public Garden in 1987, the one-hundred-fiftieth anniversary of the garden's founding. Last summer, a similar statue was dedicated in Moscow by Barbara Bush and Raisa Gorbachev, a gift from the children of the United States to the children of the Soviet Union. Those two statues are the first re-creations of his ducklings that Robert McCloskey has ever allowed, even though he could have made a fortune licensing his mallards (witness the *Ninja Turtles* or the *Little Mermaid*).

As a young, unproven art student in 1934, McCloskey never dreamed that he would become a famous writer or that his little story about some ducks would win the prestigious Caldecott Medal as a "most distinguished American picture book for children." "Fifty years ago, I would never have expected this to happen, and neither would my publisher," says the now seventy-seven-year-old McCloskey, a shy, retiring man who dislikes attention of any kind and lives on a island off the coast of Maine.



Back in the 1930's, an Ohio native freshly arrived in Boston. McCloskey lived in a small apartment on Beacon Hill. On his daily walk to the Vesper George Art School, he noticed a family of mallards in the Public Garden. They didn't strike him as grand artistic material, but he remembered them. In those Depression years, few struggling artists could find a job, let alone dream of epic creations. After further study at the National Academy of Design in New York City, McCloskey returned to Boston to work. An editor gave him the age-old advice to draw things he knew.

Well, he knew those ducks. But to be thorough about it, McCloskey brought four ducks to live in his cramped Beacon Hill studio. He crawled behind them and sketched them for weeks to get every detail just right. And indeed, in his engaging brown-and-white illustrations, the ducks look remarkably lifelike. The illustrations also portray a quieter, gentler Boston. Everyone wears hats, for example, even some of the children, and the Public Garden is serenely uncrowded. A uniformed street sweeper tidies up Charles Street.

It's hard to imagine today's homicidal Boston drivers stopping for a family of ducks, even at a policeman's behest. However, there is one day a year when Officer Michael still assists "ducklings" across Charles Street to the Public Garden—Ducklings Day.

Held annually the last Sunday in April, Ducklings Day

is an ebullient springtime celebration featuring a children's parade that follows the route of Mrs. Mallard and her brood. Massing in front of the State House on Beacon Hill, toddlers and small children mill about in their bright-yellow homemade duckling costumes, complete with bills and webbed feet, wings of paper or felt, perhaps some feathers. Even small babies are lovingly dressed in yellow with tiny bill caps and eyes.

The parade sets off down Beacon Street in amiable chaos. Parents hoist diaper bags and camcorders, push strollers, and carry toddlers on their shoulders. At the corner of Beacon and Charles streets, a costumed Officer Michael blows his whistle to allow the herd of strollers across the street. As the parade enters the Public Garden, children flock to the statue of Mrs. Mallard and the ducklings. They love to ride the mother duck, who stands some forty inches tall, and pet the bronze ducklings.

After the parade ends in the Public Garden, an elegant afternoon tea is served at the Four Seasons Hotel across the street. The grand ballroom is set with fine linen, crystal, and china; many little girls wear pretty flowered spring dresses with lace collars, while the boys don jackets and ties. But there the formality ends. A profusion of yellow balloons fly from chairs, and each place setting holds a small package of duck food wrapped in green tissue. The party is definitely child-oriented: sandwiches of turkey, ham, peanut butter and jelly, not dogs, brownies,

After the parade, marchers enjoy a program of juggling, music, and mime in the Public Garden (left). Where one enchanted youngster holds tight to the bronze statue of Mrs. Mallard. Below, at a tea following last year's event, author Robert McCloskey accepts a silver bowl honoring the fiftieth anniversary of his award-winning book.



chocolate-chip cookies, and duck-shaped cookies trimmed with yellow frosting. Long before the buffet is over, energetic children are racing about the ballroom.

Both the parade and tea benefit the Historic Neighborhoods Foundation, which began the annual parade thirteen years ago. A nonprofit Boston organization that interprets the city's architectural history, the foundation also leads public tours in spring, summer, and fall when children can follow the route of the ducklings. The foundation uses the tours to teach children about Boston's historic cityscape, stopping at the Charles Bulfinch-designed State House, Mt. Vernon Street, the Charles Street Meetinghouse, and Louisburg Square. Children learn not only about architecture but also a few things about boot scrapers, cobblestones, and gas lamps.

Last year, the fiftieth-anniversary celebration of *Make Way for Ducklings* publication attracted the largest turnout ever. McCloskey, on hand for the parade and tea, was mobbed throughout by the press, autograph seekers, and longtime fans. One English teacher who had taught his books for thirty years grabbed his arm, saying, "I just want to tell you how much I admire your books." Then she burst into tears.

Even though he had only recently lost his wife of some fifty years, McCloskey gamely faced the hundreds who turned out and was graciousness itself through it all. In the Public Garden after the parade, Quentin Weld read a

The foundation uses the tours to teach children about Boston's historic cityscape—from boot scrapers to gas lamps.

proclamation from his father, Massachusetts Governor William Weld, declaring the date Robert McCloskey Day. The author was asked to pose repeatedly for the cameras with one of the child ducks on his shoulder. Speaking from the platform, he said, "I keep thinking I can handle a situation like this, but I'm always overwhelmed. I hardly know whether to say 'Ho, ho, ho' like a department-store Santa or go *quack*." For children, McCloskey pulled his cheeks out and quacked remarkably like a duck, just "so you know how they quack," he explained. A huge swell of laughter rose from the children.

In the ballroom of the Four Seasons Hotel, McCloskey accepted with simple thanks an engraved silver bowl honoring the occasion. "I want to thank everyone for celebrating this fiftieth anniversary of the ducklings," he said. "I shall never forget it."

Back in the Public Garden, other parade participants were picnicking on the grass. Nearby, the graceful swan boats continued their leisurely circuit of the lagoon, trailed by quacking ducks as certain of a handout as Mr. and Mrs. Mallard. □

Patricia Mandell, a free-lance writer in Marshfield, Massachusetts, still treasures her battered 1956 childhood copy of Make Way for Ducklings, which she is now reading to her infant daughter, Alexandra. She is the author of Massachusetts: Off the Beaten Path, published by Globe Pequot Press (1992).

A Ducky Day: Tea and Tours

Ducklings Day: The Ducklings Day parade starts at 1 on Sunday, April 26, 1992, in front of the main gates of the Massachusetts State House on Beacon Street. Advance tickets (\$10 per family) may be ordered from the Historic Neighborhoods Foundation, 2 Boylston Street, Boston, Massachusetts 02116, 617/426-1885.

This year's tea is at the Park Plaza Hotel and Towers (64 Arlington Street, Boston 02116, 617/425-2000) from 2 to 4. Tickets to the tea, which benefits the foundation, may be purchased from the foundation for \$75 (sponsor), \$125 (patron), \$250 (donor), or \$100-\$1,000 (corporate). Reservations are necessary.

Historic Neighborhoods Foundation Tours: Public tours following the ducklings' route through Beacon Hill are offered on Saturday mornings in spring and fall and on Thursdays, Fridays, and Saturdays in summer for children ages 5-12 (\$5 per child, reservations required). The foundation also supports several school programs, including group field trips for children in kindergarten through second grade and a package that shows school groups how to combine elements of field trips and the Duckling Day parade.

daily 7/7

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

June 9, 1992

MR. PRESIDENT:

Marlin and Ron Kaufman both
favor your making these calls.

Thank you.

Phillip D. Brady

7/7

*Ron - The President
never make these
calls. What to do?*

Go

*Pres. did not
want to
do -*

EDWARD C. LAWSON, JR.
2100 Philtower Building
Tulsa, Oklahoma
74103

FACSIMILE COVER SHEET

Date June 5, 1992

TO: ADDRESSEE Ms. Robin MacLean
COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____
ADDRESSEE'S TELEPHONE NUMBER _____
ADDRESSEE'S FACSIMILE NUMBER 202-456-2397

COMMENTS: Dear Robin:
Please ask the President to make two telephone calls. Please have
him call:
Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Jr. - Owner and Editor of the Tulsa Tribune .
(918) 581-8402 - Business or (918) 494-8988 - Residence.
Robert E. Lorton - Owner Tulsa Daily World.
(918) 581-8330 - Business or (918) 742-7774 - Residence.

The President has done this in the 1988 Campaign and should do it now.
Feel free to mention my name as both gentlemen are close friends. *

FROM: ORIGINATOR Edward C. Lawson, Jr.
COMPANY _____
ADDRESS _____
TELEPHONE NUMBER _____ ROOM NO. _____

NUMBER OF PAGES (INCLUDING THE COVER) _____
(please number all pages)

FACSIMILE VERIFICATION
NUMBER 918/582-4537 NUMBER 918/584-5155

* Ask for their editorial support and any help they can give. Thought everything went well last night and please congratulate the President for me.

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 7, 1992

The President today recognized the Sun Lakes Volunteers of Sun Lakes, Arizona, as the 823rd Daily Point of Light for the Nation. The volunteers ensure that Pima Indian youngsters have meaningful educational opportunities and develop good character and values.

Nearly 65 volunteers from the Sun Lakes retirement community, including former teachers, doctors, and lawyers, travel 12 miles each day to Saint Peter's Indian Mission School to provide individualized tutoring to students, grades kindergarten to eighth. These retirees devote one day a week to helping the students improve their academic performance.

Although the local high school drop out rate is 65 percent, a majority of Saint Peter's students graduate with good scholastic records. Volunteers reinforce daily lessons by reviewing schoolwork and reading books to the children while forming a personal bond with their young friends. According to school officials, many of the children have little contact with adults outside the reservation. The presence of the retirees therefore provides the young people with an opportunity to gain social skills and an understanding of a different culture.

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

#

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Handwritten Notes	Re: [Mitterrand]. (1 pp.)	n.d.	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Tuesday, July 7, 1992

Date Closed: 9/17/2019	OA/ID Number: 90695-004
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARD 1 OF 6

POINTS TO BE MADE ON CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE
FOURTH SESSION, TUESDAY, JULY 7
12:45 P.M.-2:15 P.M

- IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE DEMONSTRATE OUR ONGOING SUPPORT FOR THE EFFORTS OF THESE NEW DEMOCRACIES.
 - THAT'S A MAJOR REASON I MADE A BRIEF STOP IN POLAND BEFORE COMING TO MUNICH.
- POLAND -- STABILIZATION FUND
- IT'S MY IMPRESSION THAT POLAND IS AT A CRITICAL JUNCTURE.
 - THE POLITICAL PARTIES ARE BADLY FRAGMENTED, MAKING IT HARD TO CONTINUE WITH ECONOMIC REFORMS.

DECLASSIFIED

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

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Declassify on: OADR

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARD 2 OF 6

- THE LAST GOVERNMENT MANAGED, IN ITS LAST DAYS, TO GET THROUGH A BUDGET THAT SHOULD ENABLE POLAND TO GET BACK ON TRACK WITH THE IMF. BUT THERE ARE PRESSURES TO EASE THE PROCESS OF ADJUSTMENT, TO PAY MORE ATTENTION TO PRODUCTION AND EMPLOYMENT.
- WE NEED TO GIVE THE REFORMERS A SHOT IN THE ARM THROUGH HELP THAT ADDRESSES SOME OF THE PUBLIC CONCERNS.
- THE G-7 PUT TOGETHER A \$1 BILLION STABILIZATION FUND FOR POLAND THAT WILL SOON NO LONGER BE NECESSARY.
- IF THE POLES GET BACK ON TRACK WITH THE IMF, WE SHOULD WORK WITH THEM TO REDIRECT THIS MONEY TO HELP WITH TWO PRESSING NEEDS: FIRST, TO CREATE A FACILITY THAT WILL HELP FINANCE POLISH EXPORTS, AND SECOND, TO HELP SET UP AN

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARD 3 OF 6

INTERNAL BANKING SYSTEM THAT WILL SUPPLY CREDIT TO NEW PRIVATE BUSINESSES. THERE MAY BE OTHER IDEAS, TOO.

- WE WILL REDIRECT OUR \$200 MILLION GRANT, AND I AM GLAD THAT THE UK AND CANADA, WHICH ALSO PUT UP GRANTS, WILL JOIN US, AND THAT FRANCE IS ALSO WILLING TO CONTINUE ITS LINE OF CREDIT.
- FOR OTHERS OF YOU THAT PROVIDED LOANS OR LINES OF CREDIT TO BACK UP THE STABILIZATION FUND, I THINK WE SHOULD LOOK FOR WAYS TO REDIRECT THESE FUNDS IN THEIR CURRENT FORMS TO HELP SUPPORT POLISH REFORM.
- WE WANT TO HOLD A CONFERENCE WITH THE POLES LATER THIS YEAR TO FOLLOW UP. I WOULD LIKE OUR COMMUNIQUE TO SUPPORT THIS CONFERENCE AND THE IDEA I'VE OUTLINED.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

CARD 4 OF 6

- THIS WOULD BE A PRACTICAL OUTCOME OF THE SUMMIT, AND A USEFUL COMPLEMENT TO THE SPECIAL TREATMENT OF RUSSIA AND YELTSIN.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

- I'D LIKE YOUR VIEWS. I WROTE PRESIDENT HAVEL A SUPPORTIVE LETTER, BUT WE ARE NOT INTERFERING.
- FRANKLY, IT'S HARD TO UNDERSTAND HOW THEY CAN ALLOW NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO POLITICAL PARTIES DECIDE THE FUTURE OF THE STATE.
- HAVEL IS RIGHT TO SAY THERE SHOULD BE A REFERENDUM, BUT IT MAY BE TOO LATE FOR THAT.
- IF COMES TO A SPLIT, WE SHOULD TRY TO SEND THE SAME SIGNALS TO THE NEW GOVERNMENTS. WE WILL WANT TO BE SUPPORTIVE OF BOTH, BUT THE SLOVAKS IN PARTICULAR NEED TO BE KNOW THAT OUR HELP

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARD 5 OF 6

DEPENDS ON THEIR COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRACY AND REFORM.

- A SPLIT COULD THREATEN REGIONAL COOPERATION WITH POLAND AND HUNGARY. WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE ALL TO CONTINUE COOPERATING, BUT THE CZECHS MAY SIMPLY LOSE INTEREST. THEN WE WILL BE LOOKING AT A VERY DIFFERENT CENTRAL EUROPEAN SITUATION.

ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE -- IF RAISED

- WE APPRECIATE THE ASSISTANCE THAT HAS COME FROM ALL THE G-7. WE KNOW HOW MUCH GERMANY AND THE EC HAVE DONE.
- I DON'T WANT TO SOUND DEFENSIVE, BUT THE U.S. IS DOING MORE THAN WE SOMETIMES GET CREDIT FOR. WE ARE FOCUSING ON GRANT ASSISTANCE AND INVOLVEMENT OF OUR PRIVATE SECTOR.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

CARD 6 OF 6

- WE ARE SEPARATING EAST EUROPEAN AND CIS ASSISTANCE. SUPPORT FOR RUSSIA WON'T COME AT THE EXPENSE OF EASTERN EUROPE.
- BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SUPPORT HAS BEEN A SORE POINT. BECAUSE OF OUR LEGISLATION, OUR LOANS WOULD HAVE TO BE BACKED BY AN ENORMOUS BUDGETARY OFFSET. WE SHOULD RELY ON THE IFIS MORE AND KEEP THE G-24 FOCUS ON OUR ONGOING ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS.

CONFIDENTIAL

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CARD 1 OF 8

POINTS TO BE MADE ON RUSSIA/FORMER SOVIET UNION
AND
PREPARATIONS FOR YELTSIN MEETING
THIRD SESSION, TUESDAY, JULY 7
9:30 A.M.-12:30 P.M. "A"

- ✓ I BELIEVE YELTSIN HAD A SUCCESSFUL VISIT TO THE U.S. HE CLEARLY WANTS TO DISTINGUISH HIMSELF FROM THE SOVIET LEADERS WHO CAME BEFORE.
- GIVEN THE RISING RUSSIAN NATIONALISM HE FACES AT HOME, YELTSIN NEEDS TO STRIKE A SUBTLE BALANCE IN MUNICH: HE NEEDS REAL HELP, BUT ALSO OUR RESPECT.
- I AM GLAD TO SEE THAT HELMUT'S PROPOSED STRUCTURE OF DISCUSSION HAS US FOLLOW

DECLASSIFIED

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Declassify on: OADR

PER NSC WAIVER, #2024-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/94

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - GEORGE BUSH HANDWRITING

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CARD 2 OF 8

- YELTSIN'S STATEMENT WITH A DISCUSSION OF
POLITICAL TOPICS. *(Kohl calls for frank discussion)*
- THIS WILL OFFER HIM RESPECT BY TREATING HIM AS
A PARTNER.
 - I THINK IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO GET YELTSIN'S
VIEWS ON YUGOSLAVIA, THE CONFLICTS ON RUSSIA'S
PERIPHERY, HIS RELATIONS WITH THE OTHER
REPUBLICS, AND HIS ASSESSMENT OF THE POLITICAL
MOOD INSIDE RUSSIA.
 - WE ALSO NEED TO POINT OUT THAT RUSSIA HAS AN
OPPORTUNITY TO OPEN ITS DOORS -- POLITICALLY
AND ECONOMICALLY -- TO A WHOLE NEW
RELATIONSHIP IN THE ASIA-PACIFIC REGION. BUT
THE FULFILLMENT OF THIS OPPORTUNITY WILL, OF
COURSE, REQUIRE A PEACE TREATY WITH JAPAN AND
A SETTLEMENT OF THE NORTHERN TERRITORIES
ISSUE.

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CARD 3 OF 8

- WE NEED TO BACK KIICHI IN A WAY THAT ESTABLISHES A CONSTRUCTIVE CLIMATE FOR YELTSIN'S TRIP TO JAPAN.
- AS FOR RUSSIA'S ECONOMY, I THINK YELTSIN, GAIDAR, AND THEIR COLLEAGUES HAVE TAKEN COURAGEOUS STEPS, BUT THEY STILL HAVE A LONG ROAD AHEAD.
- I THINK WE SET UP BOTH THE G-7 AND YELTSIN FOR A FAILURE IF WE EXPECT THAT RUSSIA WILL BECOME A NORMAL MARKET ECONOMY IN A FEW YEARS.
- OUR GOAL SHOULD BE TO KEEP THE PROCESS OF DEMOCRATIC AND MARKET REFORM MOVING AHEAD, EVEN THOUGH THE PATH WILL HAVE ITS UPS AND DOWNS.
- THAT'S WHY I INCREASINGLY BELIEVE WE NEED TO FACE THIS HISTORICAL OPPORTUNITY AS A

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CARD 4 OF 8

CHALLENGE OF POLITICAL ECONOMY, NOT JUST
TECHNICAL ECONOMICS.

- WE NEED TO URGE YELTSIN TO ESTABLISH THE BASIC
BUILDING BLOCKS OF A MARKET ECONOMY. THIS
INCLUDES STRENGTHENING THE POLITICAL BASE FOR
REFORM BY ENCOURAGING A MIDDLE CLASS OF
PROPERTY HOLDERS.
- FOR EXAMPLE, RUSSIA NEEDS TO GET SMALL RETAIL
SHOPS IN THE HANDS OF WOULD-BE MERCHANTS, A
STEP HIS EASTERN EUROPEAN NEIGHBORS TOOK
PROMPTLY; HE NEEDS TO ENABLE FARMERS TO BUY,
SELL, AND MORTGAGE LAND; HE COULD GIVE TRUCKS
TO FORMER SOLDIERS, ENABLING THEM TO EARN A
LIVING WHILE SIMULTANEOUSLY CREATING
COMPETITION IN TRANSPORT AND DISTRIBUTION.

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CARD 5 OF 8

- THESE PEOPLE WILL BE BOTH A CONSTITUENCY FOR REFORM AND THE CREATORS OF MORE GOODS AND SERVICES.
- SIMILARLY, RUSSIA NEEDS CLEAR, SIMPLE RULES ABOUT CONTRACTS, PROPERTY RIGHTS, TAXATION, AND OPPORTUNITIES FOR INVESTORS, WHETHER FOREIGN OR DOMESTIC.
- HE NEEDS TO MOVE QUICKLY TO FOSTER COMPETITION BY BREAKING UP THE BIG MONOPOLIES.
- YELTSIN COULD START BY MAKING THE ENERGY SECTOR A MODEL. RUSSIA HAS ENORMOUS OIL AND GAS RESOURCES, SOME OF WHICH COULD BE TAPPED RAPIDLY TO INCREASE FOREIGN EXCHANGE, IF HE ACTIVELY ENCOURAGES FOREIGN INVESTMENT.
- I THINK YELTSIN IS INCREASINGLY RECOGNIZING THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE SO-CALLED STRUCTURAL OR MICRO REFORMS. I EVEN HOPE HE MIGHT

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CARD 6 OF 8

ANNOUNCE SOME MOVES IN MUNICH. BUT HE ALSO HAS PROBLEMS WITH HIS PARLIAMENT, SO OUR EMPHASIS OF THIS SO-CALLED STRUCTURAL AGENDA COULD HELP GIVE HIM SOME POINTS TO USE AT HOME.

- WE ALSO NEED TO STRESS THE SAME POINTS WITH THE OTHER REPUBLICS.
- THE MOVE BY THE IMF TO A PHASED APPROACH COULD HELP US EMPHASIZE THE PARALLEL IMPORTANCE OF THESE STRUCTURAL CHANGES.
- NOW THAT MONEY CAN START FLOWING FROM THE IMF AND THE WORLD BANK, THE "TEST OF WILLS" CAN BE DE-EMPHASIZED A BIT.
- AT THE SAME TIME, WE NEED TO EXPLAIN TO YELTSIN THAT HYPERINFLATION COULD EXPLODE IF HE DOESN'T WORK WITH THE IMF TO ESTABLISH THE BUDGETARY AND MONETARY FUNDAMENTALS.

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CARD 7 OF 8

- I AGREE WITH THE IDEA OF CALLING FOR A CONSULTATIVE GROUP FOR RUSSIA TO BETTER COORDINATE OUR TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE FOR THE STRUCTURAL REFORMS, BUT IN THE CONTEXT OF RUSSIA'S OVERALL BUDGETARY AND MONETARY EFFORT. THE WORLD BANK HAS COORDINATED THESE GROUPS EFFECTIVELY BEFORE.
- I'M PLEASED THAT CONGRESS IS MOVING AHEAD WITH OUR FREEDOM SUPPORT ACT SO WE CAN DO MORE, BOTH THROUGH OUR SUPPORT FOR THE IMF AND THROUGH TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND CREDITS.
- BUT I ALSO WISH TO POINT OUT THAT WE'RE ALREADY PRETTY FAR ALONG WITH BOTH SIZABLE COMMITMENTS AND DELIVERIES.
- WE'VE PLEDGED OVER \$7 BILLION WORTH OF SUPPORT AND ALREADY DISBURSED 60 PERCENT OF THAT.

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CARD 8 OF 8

THIS INCLUDES ABOUT \$1.6 BILLION OF GRANTS,
NOT LOANS.

- IT'S MY IMPRESSION THAT YELTSIN WILL ALSO
PRESS FOR DEBT RELIEF, AND I THINK WE SHOULD
BE ABLE TO GIVE HIM A PARIS CLUB RESCHEDULING
OF BOTH PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST.
- HE'LL ALSO URGE US TO KEEP OUR MARKETS OPEN TO
RUSSIAN GOODS, AND HE'S RIGHT.
- FINALLY, I THINK WE SHOULD BE PREPARED FOR HIS
PUSH TO ESTABLISH A G-8.
- I THINK THE FORMULA WE HAVE NOW MAKES SENSE:
RUSSIA IS TOO IMPORTANT TO LEAVE OUT OF THESE
MEETINGS; BUT IT IS ALSO TOO FAR FROM BEING A
MARKET ECONOMY TO BE A FULL-FLEDGED
PARTICIPANT.

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CARD 1 OF 4

POINTS TO BE MADE ON NUCLEAR SAFETY
THIRD SESSION, TUESDAY, JULY 7
9:30 A.M.-12:30 P.M.

*Do what
coordinates
efforts*

- I APPRECIATE THE IMPORTANCE HELMUT ASSIGNS TO THIS TOPIC.
- IT SEEMS THAT THE WORK OF THE G-7 EXPERTS HAS USEFULLY DIRECTED ATTENTION TO THE KEY TASKS THAT WE NEED TO PERFORM.
- THIS SHOULD ENABLE ALL OF US TO ENDORSE AN ACTION PLAN.
- THE U.S. HAS ALREADY SPENT ABOUT \$18 MILLION. WE HAVE COMMITTED ANOTHER \$28 MILLION, AND WE HOPE TO GET FUNDS FROM CONGRESS THAT COULD TAKE US OVER \$100 MILLION FOR JUST THE NEXT FEW YEARS.

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PER NSC WAIVER, #2024-02
By MC NARA, Date 7/16/21

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CARD 2 OF 4

- WE ALSO THINK IT'S A GOOD IDEA TO COORDINATE OUR BILATERAL EFFORTS TO FULFILL THE OBJECTIVES IDENTIFIED IN THE ACTION PLAN.
- IF OTHERS CONTRIBUTE AS WE ARE, WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO FUND THE ACTION PLAN THROUGH COORDINATED BILATERAL EFFORTS. OUR G-7 EXPERTS ESTIMATED THE FIRST ROUND OF OPERATIONAL AND SAFETY COSTS AS ABOUT \$680 MILLION OVER FIVE YEARS, WITH A THIRD OF THE SUM COMING FROM THE HOST COUNTRIES.
- SO I'M LEFT WITH TWO CONCERNS.
- FIRST, I'M NOT CLEAR WHAT THE PROPOSED MULTILATERAL FUND IS SUPPOSED TO COVER, UNLESS OTHERS ARE NOT COMING FORWARD WITH THEIR BILATERAL CONTRIBUTIONS.
- I'M NOT COMFORTABLE WITH CREATING A NEW POT OF MONEY THAT IS SUPPOSED TO BE FINDING A PURPOSE

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CARD 3 OF 4

WHEN IT APPEARS WE CAN ALREADY FUND THE \$680
MILLION ACTION PLAN, AND I'M NOT COMFORTABLE
WITH PAYING TWICE.

[FALLBACK POSITION]

- IF YOU WANT THIS FUND TO COVER GAPS IN OUR
BILATERAL PROGRAMS, I SUGGEST WE AGREE TO KEEP
IT SMALL AND CONTROLLED BY THE DONORS, NOT AN
INTERNATIONAL BUREAUCRACY.
- I ALSO SUGGEST THAT THOSE WHO ARE COMMITTING
LESS BILATERALLY SHOULD FUND IT.
- || AND IF GAPS DO APPEAR IN LATER YEARS AND THE
FUND HAS BEEN WELL MANAGED, WE WOULD CONSIDER
HELPING OUT EITHER THROUGH OUR BILATERAL
EFFORT OR SMALL ADDITIONS TO THE FUND.]
- MY SECOND CONCERN IS BEING DRAWN INTO A MULTI-
BILLION DOLLAR COMMITMENT TO BEGIN OVERHAULING
EXISTING NUCLEAR PLANTS, WHEN THE HOST

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CARD 4 OF 4

COUNTRIES ARE STILL MOVING TOWARD A
MARKET-BASED ENERGY SYSTEM.

- THE ENERGY WASTED IS ENORMOUS, BECAUSE
PRICES ARE SO LOW.
- AND THE WORLD BANK BELIEVES THAT IF THE
FORMER SOVIET UNION DOES IN THE END NEED
MORE GENERATING CAPACITY, IT WOULD
PROBABLY BE CHEAPER TO USE OIL, GAS, OR
COAL-FUELED PLANTS.
- SO I STRONGLY ADVISE THAT WE HAVE THE WORLD
BANK AND IEA FOLLOW THROUGH ON THEIR WORK ON
ENERGY SUPPLY, DEMAND, PRICING, CONSERVATION
AND SO FORTH BEFORE WE MOVE TOWARD
MULTI-BILLION DOLLAR CONSTRUCTION PROGRAMS.
IN THE MEANTIME, WE NEED TO CONCENTRATE ON THE
OPERATIONAL SAFETY AND REGULATORY IMPROVEMENTS
IN THE ACTION PLAN.

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- (1) WE KNOW YOU WANT TO ASSURE YOUR FARMERS THAT
PAYMENTS UNDER CAP REFORM ARE PROTECTED.
- (2) IF WE CAN DO SO, AS I THINK WE CAN, THEN WE
NEED YOU IN TURN TO ANSWER THE GLOBAL CALL TO
CUT THE VOLUME OF YOUR SUBSIDIZED EXPORTS.
- IF WE CAN MAKE THIS MOVEMENT ON AGRICULTURE,
THEN WE CAN WORK TOGETHER ON OUR COMMON
INTEREST IN SECURING COMMITMENTS TO OPEN
MARKETS FOR GOODS AND SERVICES.
- I THINK WE'RE AT A TURNING POINT HERE, AND
HISTORY WILL JUDGE US HARSHLY IF WE FAIL TO
TAKE THE FINAL STEPS.

when it's not safe - it's
w/ quote
Blows he says it's like
a kid leaving to blow
a trumpet - all out!

to
Russia
China
Bio,

POINTS TO BE MADE ON POLITICAL ISSUES
SECOND SESSION, MONDAY, JULY 6
8:40 P.M.-10:30 P.M.

ETHNIC CONFLICTS IN FSU

- THE ESCALATING CONFLICTS ON RUSSIA'S PERIPHERY
- IN PLACES LIKE NAGORNO-KARABAKH, GEORGIA, MODOVA AND THE BALTICS -- ARE A HUMANITARIAN TRAGEDY, BUT THEY ALSO REPRESENT A SERIOUS THREAT TO REGIONAL STABILITY.
- IN MOSCOW, THESE CONFLICTS PROVIDE VALUABLE AMMUNITION TO EXTREMISTS WHO WANT TO EXPLOIT THE NATIONALIST CARD BY ATTACKING YELTSIN'S GOVERNMENT.
- GIVEN THE STAKES WE ALL HAVE IN SUCCESSFUL REFORMS IN RUSSIA AND THE NEW STATES, WE

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PER NSC WAIVER, #2024-02

By MC NARA, Date 7/1/84

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CARD 2 OF 7

- CANNOT WASH OUR HANDS OF THESE CONFLICTS.
- IN GENERAL, OUR APPROACH NEEDS TO BALANCE TWO PRINCIPLES.
 - FIRST, WE SHOULD FULLY SUPPORT THE INDEPENDENCE, SOVEREIGNTY, AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF THE NON-RUSSIAN STATES.
 - SECONDLY, WE NEED TO WORK WITH THE NEW STATES TO SEE THAT THE RIGHTS OF NATIONAL MINORITIES ARE FULLY PROTECTED, IN PRACTICE AS WELL AS IN LAW. WHILE CONDEMNING ANY USE OF FORCE OF COERCION, WE HAVE TO BE SENSITIVE TO YELTSIN'S NEED TO DEMONSTRATE THAT HE IS LOOKING AFTER THE SAFETY AND RIGHTS OF RUSSIANS LIVING IN OTHER FORMER REPUBLICS.
 - IT'S IMPORTANT THAT WE STRENGTHEN MECHANISMS AND INSTITUTIONS LIKE CSCE AND THE U.N. SO THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN HELP

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CARD 3 OF 7

ADVANCE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENTS OF THESE
DISPUTES, PREFERABLY BEFORE THEY DETERIORATE
INTO OPEN WARFARE.

-- THAT'S WHY WE'VE SUPPORTED AN EFFECTIVE EURO-
ATLANTIC PEACEKEEPING CAPABILITY -- WITH A
REALISTIC AND COMPLEMENTARY DIVISION OF LABOR
AMONG INSTITUTIONS.

-- WE SEE THIS CAPABILITY BASED ON CSCE POLITICAL
AUTHORITY AND OVERSIGHT WHILE ALLOWING FOR THE
USE OF NATO, WEU, NACC, TO PREPARE, SUPPORT
AND MANAGE OPERATIONS, AS WELL AS FOR THE
CONTRIBUTION OF FORCES AND RESOURCES FROM ANY
AND ALL CSCE STATES.

SOUTH AFRICA

-- THE VIOLENCE AT BOIPATONG WAS A TRAGEDY. I
HAVE BEEN IN CONTACT WITH DE KLERK, MANDELA,
AND BUTHELEZI, URGING THEM TO KEEP IN MIND THE

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CARD 4 OF 7

PRIMARY GOAL: THE NEGOTIATIONS.

- MY MESSAGE WAS WELL RECEIVED, THE TONE OF THE RESPONSES MODERATE. IT STRIKES ME THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND ANC ARE BOTH CAUGHT ON A HOOK AND NEED HELP IN GETTING OFF, BUT THEY HAVE ALSO BEEN SKILLFUL ENOUGH TO LEAVE THEMSELVES ROOM TO MANEUVER IN THEIR DEMANDS.
- WE MUST NOT PERMIT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS TO FAIL. THE G-7 CAN SEND AN IMPORTANT MESSAGE TO ALL OF THE PARTIES, STRESSING: THE ABSOLUTE NEED TO CONTROL VIOLENCE, THE NEED TO QUICKLY RECONVENE THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S COMMITMENT TO HELPING DEVELOP A NEW SOUTH AFRICA.
- ON THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, PER THE ANC'S REQUEST, WE SHOULD TAKE CARE THAT WE URGE THE PARTIES TO RESOLVE

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CARD 5 OF 7

THEIR OWN PROBLEMS, AND, IF NECESSARY, ANY
ROLE BY EXTERNAL ENTITIES SHOULD BE CAREFULLY
DEFINED AND NOT OPEN-ENDED.

NORTHERN TERRITORIES

- I THINK IT IS IMPORTANT THAT WE SHOW A COMMON
FRONT OF SUPPORT FOR JAPAN ON THE NORTHERN
TERRITORIES ISSUE.
- WE AND THE JAPANESE HAVE BEEN DISCUSSING IN
SOME DETAIL HOW THIS MATTER MIGHT BE RESOLVED,
AND NO SIMPLE SOLUTION HAS YET PRESENTED
ITSELF.
- WE RECOGNIZE THAT YELTSIN HAS PROBLEMS WITH
NATIONALIST ELEMENTS WHO OPPOSE RETURN OF THE
FOUR SMALL ISLANDS.
- AT THE SAME TIME, JAPAN HAS A LEGITIMATE CLAIM
-- WHICH THE U.S. WHOLEHEARTEDLY SUPPORTS --
ON THE ISLANDS.

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CARD 6 OF 7

- FOR NOW, WE SHOULD SUSTAIN PRESSURE FOR A SOLUTION WHILE WE CONTINUE TO SEARCH FOR A FORMULA AND A POLITICAL OPPORTUNITY TO RESOLVE IT.

IRAQ

- WE NEED TO KEEP MAXIMUM PRESSURE ON SADDAM VIA SANCTIONS AND DIPLOMATIC ISOLATION BOTH TO SECURE FULL COMPLIANCE WITH ALL UNSCRS AND TO CREATE A CHANGE IN LEADERSHIP IN BAGHDAD.
- UN PROGRAMS IN IRAQ NEED FUNDING TO CONTINUE. WE ARE HELPING AND NEED ALLIES TO DO THE SAME.
- WE ARE PRESSING SADDAM TO STOP ATTACKS ON THE SHIA AND KURDS WHILE WE REMAIN COMMITTED TO IRAQI UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

NON-PROLIFERATION

- OUR G-7-PLUS-AUSTRALIA EFFORT TO PROMOTE EXPORT CONTROLS IN THE FORMER SOVIET UNION IS,

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CARD 7 OF 7

OF COURSE, A CRITICAL NON-PROLIFERATION INITIATIVE. I HOPE WE CAN CONTINUE CONSULTATIONS ON OTHER NON-PROLIFERATION PROBLEMS.

-- IN PARTICULAR, WE ARE PLEASED THAT OTHERS SHARE OUR CONCERNS ABOUT IRAN'S VARIOUS PROGRAMS.

-- IRAN IS AT AN EARLY STAGE IN ITS EFFORTS TO ACQUIRE AN INDIGENOUS PRODUCTION CAPABILITY FOR WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION. OUR AIM SHOULD BE TO ENSURE THAT OUR EXPORT CONTROLS HELP PREVENT IRAN FROM BECOMING THE "NEXT IRAQ."

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10:30 pm Concludes participation in Dinner, Dep.
Pavilion and proceeds to Motorcade
10:35 pm Boards Motorcade and Dep. Nymphenburg
Castle en route Sheraton Hotel
10:55 pm Arr. Sheraton Hotel and proceeds to
Suite
11:00 pm Arr. Suite for RON
RON Munich, Germany

J. C. Präsident
Bush



Munich: Residenz

The picture shows Max Joseph Square in Munich with the so-called "King's Building" of the Residenz and the National Theatre. The "King's Building" was erected between 1826 and 1835 by Leo von Klenze (1784—1864), the National Theatre in 1818 by Karl Fischer (1787—1820). It has twice been destroyed, in 1823 and 1943, and twice reconstructed in its original form.

"The New Residenz and the State Opera House in Munich", 1839, Albrecht Adam (1786—1862). Munich City Museum.

München: Residenz

Das Bild zeigt den Max Josephs Platz in München mit dem sogenannten Königsbau der Residenz und dem Nationaltheater. Der Königsbau wurde in den Jahren 1826—1835 von Leo von Klenze (1784—1864), das Nationaltheater 1818 von Karl Fischer (1787—1820) erbaut. Es wurde im Laufe seiner Geschichte zweimal zerstört, 1823 und 1943, und zweimal in der ursprünglichen Form wiederaufgebaut.

Albrecht Adam (1786—1862) „Die Neue Residenz und die Staatsoper in München“, 1839. Münchner Stadtmuseum.

MÜNCHEN, 7. JULI 1992

AUS ANLASS
DES MÜNCHNER WIRTSCHAFTSGIPFELS

MITTAGESSEN

DES BUNDESKANZLERS
DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND

Tomato consommé

Fillet of beef with red wine sauce

Baden heart cherry soufflé

1991er Oberrotweiler Käsleberg
Spätburgunder Weißherbst Kabinett
Weingut Salwey

1990er Assmannshäuser Höllenberg
Spätburgunder Spätlese trocken
Weingut August Kessler

1990er Dernauer Burggarten
Spätburgunder Auslese
Weingut Jean Stodden

Klare Tomatensuppe

Ochsenfilet mit Rotweinsauce

Auflauf von badischen Herakirschen

1991er Oberrotweller Käsleberg
Spätburgunder Weißherbst Kabinett
Weingut Salwey

1990er Assmannshäuser Höllenberg
Spätburgunder Spätlese trocken
Weingut August Kessler

1990er Dernauer Burggarten
Spätburgunder Auslese
Weingut Jean Stodden

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
02. Handwritten Notes	Re: [President George Bush July 7th Session AM] [originally closed as 07]. (8 pp.)	7/7	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Tuesday, July 7, 1992

Date Closed: 9/17/2019	OA/ID Number: 90695-004
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S[4]	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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

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

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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
03. Handwritten Notes	NFB (Nicholas F. Brady) to President Re: Heads Meeting [originally closed as 08]. (2 pp.)	7/7	(b)(1)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Tuesday, July 7, 1992

Date Closed:	9/17/2019	OA/ID Number:	90695-004
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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:		Disposition Date:	
AR Case #:		MR Case #:	
AR Disposition:		MR Disposition:	
AR Disposition Date:		MR Disposition Date:	

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TIME OF TRANSMISSION

UNCLASSIFIED

TIME OF RECEIPT

**WHITE HOUSE
SITUATION ROOM**

PRECEDENCE:

IMMEDIATEURGENT

RELEASER:

*O'Leary*PRIORITY
ROUTINE

DTG:

07 12 48 Z

MESSAGE NO.	<u>71</u>	CLASSIFICATION	<u>UNCLASSIFIED</u>	PAGES	<u>1</u>
FROM	<u>John S. Gardner</u>		<u>2702</u>		
	(Name)		(Phone Number)		(Room No.)
MESSAGE DESCRIPTION	<u>LETTER TO PRESIDENT FROM SECRETARY MARTIN</u>				
TO (Agency)	DELIVER TO:	DEPT/ROOM NO.	PHONE NUMBER		
<u>Bill Barry</u>	<u>Phil Brady/Munich</u>	<u>EYES ONLY</u>	<u>NO COPIES FOR RETENTION</u>		
REMARKS: Phil: This letter is "personal and confidential" for POTUS Ede explained to Sec. Martin that it would have to be opened to get it to him, and she understood. But Ede would like for you to hand this directly to the President or Bill and make no copies.. Thanks.					
UNCLASSIFIED					

SECRETARY OF LABOR
WASHINGTON

July 6, 1992

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Mr. President:

The decision about who should be Secretary of the Navy is always an important one. The Tailhook fiasco has made it more so.

Your meeting with one of the officers who was harassed was both wise as Commander-in-Chief and sensitive as a human being. That same combination of traits will help you make your selection.

I know well one of the people being mentioned. Beverly Byron and I were on the Armed Services Committee together. Her concern for enlisted men and women and her work with the Nation's defense never got the publicity of a Pat Schroeder or a Les Aspin. She was never a show horse; she just worked tirelessly to improve the quality of life in the Armed Services and the security of life in the United States.

But one example may point out why she now would be a particularly fine choice. I was in the Philippines with her, first at Clark Air Force Base and then at Subic Naval Base.

Mr. President, all was not well at Subic. The Officers' Club was basically unusable by families or women officers. Prostitutes were openly flaunted; entertainment unfit on a base was common. Moreover, enlisted women were being used to entertain foreign naval personnel on ship.

She handled all of this with no publicity and no nonsense. She's right for the job.

Sincerely,


LYNN MARTIN

MATERIALS FORWARDED TO THE PRESIDENT
Tuesday, July 7, 1992

ACTION

1. Cheny memo re Sean O'Keefe to Perform the Duties of the Navy.
2. Semiannual Report to Congress on Libya.

CLASSIFIED

1. Response to President Perez of Venezuela.

INFORMATION

REMARKS

SCHEDULE

1. Trip Briefing Book for Wednesday, July 8.

POOL REPORT # 7

July 7, 1992

Bush meets Kohl
(Munich, Germany)

The President met Chancellor Kohl this morning at Vier Jahreszeiten Hotel in downtown Munich for a working breakfast scheduled to last sixty-five minutes. At the outset during a photo-op Kohl and Bush exchanged pleasantries, with Kohl asking the President if he had received the presents. Kohl said some of the presents had come from former East Germany including Zeiss binoculars. Bush, asked if the Economic Summit would mean jobs for America, had no immediate reply. Kohl, responding, said: "Sicher - certainly."

Bush, asked if that's a no, said: "Absolutely, it's a yes."

Bush, Baker and Brady stood in a semicircle with Kohl and the German counterparts.

Earlier Bush met with Italian President Giuliano Amato at the Sheraton Hotel. Bush took no questions during a photo-op in which he was sitting with Baker, Brady and Scowcroft in a semicircle across from Italian Foreign Minister Vincenzo Scotti and Treasury Minister Piero Barucci.

Stewart Powell
Hearst Newspapers

POOL REPORT # 17

July 7, 1992

Reception before Ballet

Mixing and mingling in the Residenz courtyard. All the fun was in comparing receiving line styles (Canadians arrive in a big rush; Bushes make a stately entrance) Some of your colleagues were invited to the ballet (Gibbons, J. Lee, A. Compton, H. Thomas, B. Schweid) so you can ask them what it was like. Mrs. Bush wore lavender lace (dress she wore to Doro's wedding), Mr. Bush a tux.

Michel McQueen
Wall Street Journal

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^Pool Report on State Dinner, July 7

Pool Report #18

The Tuesday night dinner was held in the Antiquarium (Hall of Antiquities) of the Residenz, the oldest remaining room of the palace, filled with antique statues and frescos. (see your blue press book for details.)

The big vaulting room, which was set with very long table seating about 100 people, was lit with candelabra and, during our photo op, the kleig lights and flashes of the photographers.

Everyone looked elegant in tuxes and evening dress, except for the more plainly dressed Russian President Boris Yeltsin in a dark grey suit and brown tie. He was seated with Chancellor Helmut Kohl and his wife, across the long table from President Bush and the host of the evening, Bavarian Minister President (ie, governor) Max Streibl. Streibl gave a lengthy toast in German which many of the foreign guests (and certainly your pooler) found unintelligible, though a German-speaking informant said it primarily consisted of the usual pleasantries of the great occasion etc.

A string quartet from the Munich School of Music was poised to play after the toast was completed and we were ushered out. The guests at the dinner each had three wine glasses as well as a water glass for what seemed likely to be a fine repast. (See attached menu.)

Helen Thomas, who was seated at one end of the very long table, inquired of your pooler where Yeltsin was. She was so far away she couldn't see him, which does not speak well for the wisdom of those who made the seating arrangements.

Neither Bush nor anyone else except for Streibl said anything we could hear during our brief attendance at the dinner.

--- Don Oberdorfer, Washington Post

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POOL REPORT # 14

July 7, 1992

Travel Pool I to the Opening Plenary at the Residenz
(Munich, Germany)

The motorcade was absolutely uneventful and the scheduled 10:30 a.m. photo-op of the Plenary was cancelled.

Saul Friedman
Newsday

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
04. Report	Pool Report #15, Re: Plenary Session at the Residenz (Munich, German); redaction. (1 pp.)	07/07/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
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WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Tuesday, July 7, 1992

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Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
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AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
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- P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]

POOL REPORT #15

July 7, 1992

Plenary Session at the Residenz
(Munich, Germany)

President Bush did a lot of grinning and spinning for the cameras while waiting for the session to begin. He chatted up the photographers but refused to answer questions from your pool.

Asked about the big "J" - jobs for Americans - Bush brushed off the question when he arrived at the massive 18th-century Kaisersaal. Instead, he answered the question he wished he'd been asked, saying the summit is "going good, going great, going nicely."

He talked with Dirk Halstead, complimenting him on a picture taken somewhere deep into a canyon. "They have to lower him down this cliff...about 2,000 feet. He was looking straight down," Bush said in amazement.

When Dirk said he'd like to shoot a picture of Bush hanging from a cliff, the President declined the invitation.

But something about the idea of falling freely through the air in the midst of a hot presidential campaign seems to appeal to the President. "I wanted to go bungee jumping but ~~the CIA, the FBI, the~~ head of Bush's Secret Service detail) wouldn't let me do that over here in North Carolina."

When your pool asked him to explain, he said: "You write that up and you're dead meat."

Your pool informed him she'd already been slain by his refusal to answer questions. He then relented, saying "Okay, give me a slow ball."

At that precise moment, Kohl tapped his glass to bring the session to order and Bush twirled around to the table for business.

EC President Jacques Delors brushed off a question about the GATT round.

Only Sir Douglas Hurd responded to queries. Asked when the international conference on Yugoslavia will be convened, he said: "What Lord Carrington is trying to do could lead in that direction. That's only just been decided."

The session broke up after less than an hour when the leaders determined their sherpas had matters under control. Bush was planning to go jogging before tonight's dinner.

Jessica Lee
USA Today

POOL REPORT #16

July 7, 1992

President goes jogging
(Munich, Germany)

Motorcade left just after 4:00 with Bush in a red, white and blue windbreaker over his all-black jogging outfit. Rode about five minutes to the Turnerschaft Jahn Munchen, a sports club founded in 1887. The President, his military aide, and four Secret Service did eight laps on the 400-meter gravel track, or about two miles.

On lap 2, Nicole Lechl, 4 years old, joined Bush for about 10 yards, then burst into tears and ran to Daddy (Rudi Lechl, member of the Sports Center staff) and a friend. Lap 3, Bush waved to her and said, "Hi, you're my friend." Lap 4, five local boys joined the run; by the time he finished, Bush was surrounded by 11 kids, mostly boys. He tried to converse--"Where do you live--Munich?" but had little success until he found one who spoke English.

On lap 7, the President called out "Eine runde mehr"--one more round, a phrase usually associated with beer halls. After the eighth lap, Bush sipped from a bottle of Evian water, invited the kids to grab sodas and water from a cooler, and chatted up the crowd of about eight adults and the karate team who'd gathered around. The English-speaking kid said, "He is great. It is great to run with him." "That's my spokesman," Bush replied. "It's much more fun when you run with someone." He then handed out stickpins to the kids. Just before the limo pulled away, Bush got on the PA and said, "Thank you kids--auf wiedersehen!"

Oh yeah, substance: President ducked questions about the Yugoslavia agreement. Asked whether he was taking anything home from the summit, he replied, "About what we thought when we came."

Mike McNamee
Business Week

POOL REPORT # 13

July 7, 1992

Plenary session
(Munich, Germany)

Coverage was of the plenary session in the Residenz and Bush brushed off your pool's two attempts to ask questions. He sat with Baker at the table, which is shaped like an almond, and the two of them reviewed a document in Bush's hand for the cameras. "We're working away on this draft statement," Bush said. He then said something inaudible about Yugoslavia, and it appeared that the document he had in his hand was the one the leaders will issue on Yugoslavia.

Bush and Baker then told photogs that they will fish in Wyoming when Bush goes out there during the Democratic convention. And Bush brought up the Susan Biddle episode again. "Did you see Susan fighting for her rights yesterday?" he said. "You ought to give Susan a combat medal."

Miyazawa came over to shake hands as the pool was being led out. Couldn't hear any words exchanged.

Andrew Rosenthal
New York Times

Pool Report #12

July 7, 1992

President's Meeting with Jacques Delors
(Munich, Germany)

Secretary Baker, sitting beside the President among a cast of thousands to meet with Delors, was asked if he might go to Belgrade following the G-7. Baker merely looked astounded and quizzical at the thought and seemed to dismiss it.

The President, asked if he anticipated a trade agreement said, "We're not anticipating a final agreement out of this meeting. We never have been."

The President dismissed the pool's further questions saying, "We've got to go to work here."

Saul Friedman, Newsday





Munich
State Dinner

DATE: July 7 92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washington Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

29 Nations Limit Troops In Europe

*Non-Binding Pact
Is First of Its Kind*

By Michael Z. Wise
Special to The Washington Post

VIENNA, July 6—The United States, Russia and 27 other countries made final today the first agreement to limit the number of troops they may station in Europe, calling the political commitment a further enhancement of security on the continent.

"Today's initialing of this agreement brings the curtain down on a whole era of arms control," said chief U.S. negotiator Lynn Hansen, noting that the accord would be the last hammered out among North Atlantic Treaty Organization member states and countries whose territory was under control of the now defunct Warsaw Pact.

The agreement, to be signed Friday by leaders of the 29 participating countries in Helsinki, applies to land and air forces in the area between the Atlantic and the Ural Mountains covered by the Conventional Forces in Europe treaty signed in Paris in November 1990.

It is neither legally binding nor subject to legislative ratification, while providing for a broad exchange of information on manpower levels among participants. Hansen termed the agreement "unprecedented in the history of Europe; as far as I know, anywhere." He added that he expects the troop ceilings to decrease in coming years.

But Poland's chief negotiator, Jerzy Nowak, said Warsaw, Prague and Budapest were concerned that the agreement set no limits on paramilitary troops, although paramilitary force levels are covered in the information exchange.

Paramilitary troops have been responsible for much of the bloodshed since the breakup of Yugoslavia. The former Yugoslav republics are not covered by the accord.

Under the agreement, the United States will be allowed to station 250,000 troops in Europe, Russia 1,450,000, Ukraine 450,000, Germany 345,000, France 325,000 and Britain 260,000. In many cases, these figures are higher than current troop levels. There were 350,000 U.S. troops in Europe at the height of the Cold War, but Washington has already cut this to 220,000, with more reductions scheduled.

Nowak said Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary had sought a legally binding treaty with even lower limitations, particularly in the former Soviet Union. U.S. diplomats, however, said a legally binding treaty would likely have proven unacceptable in view of verification difficulties.

King Denies Jordan Plotted Against Iraq

Amman Tied to Reported Saddam Coup Bid

By Nora Boustany
Washington Post Foreign Service

AMMAN, Jordan, July 6—King Hussein of Jordan, reacting to reports that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein may have linked him to recent military disturbances or a possible coup attempt, today declared that his country played no role in any such event.

King Hussein's clear-cut denial, in an interview, marked his first response to reports surfacing in Washington and the Middle East that the Iraqi president told a group of his senior officers the Jordanian monarch was involved in U.S.-led intelligence efforts to encourage a coup.

"There was certainly nothing in terms of our involvement or collusion. There was neither knowledge nor participation in anything of that nature," he said. "If these accusations are being made against us, we have not heard from the Iraqis, neither officially nor otherwise. And if such accusations are indeed being made that would complete the circle of accusations against us, this is a bit too much."

In the face of heavy U.S. and other Western criticism, King Hussein refused to join the U.S.-led alliance against Iraq during the Persian Gulf War. If the Iraqi leader really believed Hussein has now sanctioned a plot against him, the consequences would likely be serious for Jordan—which receives most of its oil supplies from Baghdad.

A deterioration in Iraqi-Jordanian ties also would hurt Iraq, however, since Jordan is still Iraq's main gateway to the world, providing a conduit for imports barred by

the U.N. trade sanctions leveled against Iraq. The Jordanian monarch has distanced himself from Saddam since the gulf crisis but has refused U.S. requests for the placement of U.N. monitors near the border to slow the flow of sanctions-busting trade.

Hussein said he suspects something happened in the Iraqi military but that he has no hard evidence to substantiate the coup reports. "I honestly have no concrete facts, but apparently there is something going on," he said.

A Western diplomat in Washington said at least 140 Iraqi officers have been executed in recent days following a crackdown by Saddam. This is a large number of officers, the diplomat noted, but not when compared to an Iraqi officer corps totaling 14,000. Contrary to an initial press report, he added, a mechanized brigade did not move on Baghdad on June 29 to seize power, but rather was "pounced on" by Saddam's forces as part of the crackdown that led to the executions.

The claim that an attempted coup against Saddam was thwarted in a battle on Baghdad's northwestern outskirts was made July 1 by the Iraqi National Congress, a London-based dissident group. U.S. sources in Washington, who remained skeptical, said the report apparently originated in Saddam's meeting with his officers. These sources said no authoritative information has surfaced to confirm reports of an abortive coup.

A knowledgeable Washington source said that although Hussein

See IRAQ, A16, Col. 1

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

King Denies Role in Alleged Iraq Coup

IRAQ, From A13

was not involved in any plotting of a military coup, he has allowed U.S. intelligence agencies to use Jordan as a platform to gather intelligence about Iraq.

For months, Jordan has been a staging point for efforts by the Central Intelligence Agency and other U.S. intelligence-gathering arms to glean information, including extensive communications monitoring, the source said. This probably has required additional U.S. technicians in Jordan beyond normal diplomatic staffing levels, he added.

Hussein has been aware of the effort from the beginning, the source said.

Because the king has allowed these U.S. intelligence operations to take place secretly within Jordan, U.S. intelligence officials apparently have counted him as a silent ally. According to one U.S. source, when CIA director Robert M. Gates heard complaints about Hussein from Saudis and Egyptians during his visit to those countries last February, he told them that King Hussein had done more to help get Saddam out of power than any of them.

Although he has allowed the CIA to gather intelligence, Hussein has been dubious about coup plots, the knowledgeable source said, adding, "I'm not sure he thinks an outside coup is possible."

Asked about his reported authorization of the U.S. intelligence effort on Jordanian soil, Hussein said: "This is not a police state and we have always had a clear policy of noninter-



"This is not a police state, and we have always had a clear policy of noninterference in the affairs of others."

— King Hussein of Jordan

ference in the affairs of others in this region or anywhere else. And we do not permit others to interfere in our sovereign affairs."

But he added: "People come and go. . . . I can't control everyone."

Pressed on whether a specific request was made to him two weeks ago by Gates to assist in ousting Saddam, Hussein said: "I can't discuss anything beyond what I have said."

Correspondent Caryle Murphy contributed to this report from Cairo.

Security Council Demands Access to Arms Information

Reuter

UNITED NATIONS, July 6—The Security Council today demanded Iraq immediately permit U.N. inspectors to search Baghdad's Agriculture Ministry for weapons information.

The council said in a statement that Baghdad's attitude constituted a "material and unacceptable breach by Iraq" of a Persian Gulf War cease-fire resolution. But the statement did not say what the council would do if Iraq did not comply.

The confrontation began Sunday morning when a weapons inspection team headed by U.S. Army Maj. Karen Jansen was unable to enter the Agriculture Ministry. Iraqi authorities said information kept there was beyond the scope of U.N. weapons inspections and not covered in Security Council resolutions.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Media Notes

Columnist Severs PC Connection

Will Zachmann Says Editors Wanted Advertiser-Friendly Copy

By Howard Kurtz
Washington Post Staff Writer

William Zachmann, one of the most popular pundits in the technospeak subculture of personal computing, has been churning out regular columns for PC Week and PC Magazine for four years.

But Zachmann pulled the plug on the Fourth of July, saying it was time to declare his independence from the PC Week editors who, he says, were pressuring him to write more favorably about Microsoft. The software firm is one of the largest advertisers in the magazines, which are published by Ziff-Davis.

"I have been subjected to improper pressure . . . to please a major advertiser," Zachmann said yesterday. "This is well over 50 percent of my income I am kissing goodbye here. But I just decided it was time to take a stand."

Michael Edelhart, a Ziff-Davis vice president, called the charge "dumb" and "categorically untrue," saying: "Will's column was becoming very strident and somewhat monomaniacal in writing the same thing [about Microsoft software] every week. It was droning repetition. . . . He lost his audience and was resisting ordinary editorial advice."

Said PC Week Editor-in-Chief Sam Whitmore, "Is Microsoft pressuring us? The answer is absolutely not."

Microsoft Vice President Jonathan Lazarus said that "we were concerned about some of the misfacts that Mr. Zachmann peppered

his columns with. They were discussed with people at PC Week and with Will. We did not request or pressure Ziff-Davis to fire Will or change anything he wrote. We expressed our displeasure."

There has long been talk in the computer world that some computer magazines have had trouble shedding their image as boosters of the fast-growing industry. For example, Ziff-Davis and other publishers see no problem in co-sponsoring conferences with the companies they cover.

Zachmann, an industry analyst who runs his own Massachusetts firm, says he ran into trouble for criticizing Microsoft's Windows software and defending a rival version, OS/2, made by IBM. Microsoft has seven pages of ads in the current PC Week, compared with three for IBM.

In April, after directing him to focus his writing on Windows and OS/2, Whitmore told Zachmann he was unhappy with the column. "There was no doubt that Sam was pressuring me about Windows," Zachmann said. "He said I was losing my credibility because of my lack of objectivity. The message was clear."

That evening, Zachmann says, he received a call from a Microsoft official, who said he had "heard I was now going to be taking a more positive view of Microsoft and Windows, and basically wanted to help with my reeducation. I cannot imagine how this could have been a coincidence. I was dumbfounded."

Zachmann says his editors raised no objection when he found fault

with the IBM software in a recent column. But when he criticized Windows two weeks later, Zachmann says, PC Week Editor Eric Lundquist told him he "had a problem" with the column and asked him to rewrite it.

Lundquist said he simply asked: "Where did you get those facts? Do you really feel comfortable in those claims?"

Zachmann announced his September departure on a computer bulletin board, prompting a rash of messages. One PC Magazine columnist called the situation "an outrage" and "really demoralizing."

Stretching the Sound Bite

"The CBS Evening News" is taking a stand against the incredible shrinking sound bite—at least for the summer.

Apparently stung by criticism that the network evening newscasts barely allow presidential candidates to speak—the average utterance has dwindled to 7.3 seconds—the CBS newscast has adopted a new rule. Whenever President Bush, Bill Clinton or Ross Perot is heard from, he must be allowed to speak for at least 30 seconds, an eternity in television time.

"The hardest habit to break is the habit of every network news reporter that when the piece is a minute and a half or two minutes, the sound bite runs 10 to 15 seconds," said Executive Producer Erik Sorenson.

Sorenson called the rule "an experiment" that would be evaluated after Labor Day, and said he would approve occasional exceptions. The

purpose of the longer excerpts, he said, is "to hear the candidate really say something substantive." Citing a recent Clinton sound bite, Sorenson said, "If all he is going to say is, 'The president should be less worried about his job and more about all the Americans who are unemployed,' that's a cheap shot. All it says about Bill Clinton is that he's got a clever sound-bite writer."

Correcting the Correction

Columbia Journalism Review has thrown one of its famed "darts" at Steven Brill, president of American Lawyer Media, for "the journalistic equivalent of a public flogging."

The episode began when the San Francisco Recorder, a Brill publication, ran what Brill called a "mealy-mouthed correction" of errors in a piece about a personal injury suit against General Motors. In a Page 1 apology, Brill named the editorial assistant who made the mistake, the associate editor who wrote the clarification, and the executive editor and publisher for failing to review it. Brill also suspended the associate editor for one week and sent copies of his missive to all American Lawyer employees.

Recorder Publisher Peter Scheer took issue with Brill's apology. In a memo to his staff, he called it "pure overkill" and "a brilliant PR move. . . . There was no justification for humiliating employees of this paper. . . . Steve went too far."

Never one to duck a good fight, Brill has now fired off a letter to the journalism review that asks, is it "dedicated, above all, to the idea that journalists should be as accountable as the people they write about? . . . What you call 'cruel and unusual punishment' is the 'punishment' that all of us proudly dole out to those we write about every day."

Scheer said yesterday that "to Steve's credit, I've still got this job after dissenting loudly and publicly."

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

ART BUCHWALD

Political Persuasions

No matter where you go these days everyone wants to talk politics. I've been listening to all the important reasons people are going to vote for a candidate in this election, and they constantly amaze me.

At a cocktail party the other day I wrote down some of the things I heard:

"We've had a lot of vice presidents who couldn't spell potato, either."

"I like Mrs. Perot because, for a billionaire's wife, she doesn't wear a lot of jewelry."

"I like George Bush's wife because she's a First Lady who doesn't dress to kill."

"The only reason I'm voting for George Bush is that I believe every president who screws up Desert Storm should get a second chance."

"I'm for Bill Clinton because he doesn't understand rap music any more than I do."

"Ross Perot is my man because he doesn't hesitate to investigate another person when he doesn't like them."

I wandered across the crowded

room and picked up more political comments.

"If we elect George Bush, does that mean Dan Quayle will still be only a heartbeat away? If Bill Clinton is elected, does that mean Jesse Jackson will be only a heartbeat away from the presidency?"

"I'm not sure what Bill Clinton stands for politically, but I have great faith in anyone born in Arkansas."

"What I admire about Ross Perot is that he doesn't claim to have all the answers."

"This just in from 'Profiles in Courage'! Dan Quayle just endorsed the American family."

"Clinton is the only one for all the people. But so is Coca-Cola."

"I wrote to Justice Scalia about where he stood on the abortion issue—and he changed his mind."

"It doesn't matter who the president is. What counts in America is how many miles your car gets to the gallon."

"If I had my druthers I'd turn the White House over to a woman one year and a man the next—and a kid the next."

"George Bush gets my vote

because he and I both wear green plaid slacks."

"People say that you shouldn't vote for Ross Perot because he wants to buy the presidency. I'd rather he pay for it than give it to him for free."

"The American voter has had it with political independents. Only the fresh ideas of the Democratic and Republican parties can save us now."

"I heard that Bill Clinton not only smoked a marijuana cigarette and didn't inhale it, but put a spoonful of chocolate ice cream in his mouth and didn't swallow it."

"If George Bush can't solve our \$4 trillion deficit, nobody can."

"George Bush may be the environmental president, but he still doesn't give a damn about the snow leopard."

"If Congress held Ross Perot's economic plan hostage, he would hire a bunch of Marines to rescue it."

"It could be worse. Prince Charles could be running for president—without his wife at his side."

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TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Clinton's Lean Green Machine

Finance Director Rahm Emanuel And the Old-Fashioned Squeeze

By Lloyd Grove
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rahm Emanuel is on the case—which means he's on the phone. "How'd they get you off the [bleeping] golf course?" Bill Clinton's finance director greets a prominent Chicago attorney. "I'm in D.C., bubby! Who you gonna play golf with today?"

Twelve pounds lighter than when he joined the Clinton campaign 7½ months ago—a sometime ballet dancer, he was already thin; now he's a human razor blade—Emanuel toys with a baseball in his brand-new office at the Democratic National Committee.

"Here's what I'd like the firm to do," he tells the lawyer, who has agreed to collect checks for a Chicago fund-raising dinner after the Democratic convention. "I'd like the firm to contribute \$25,000 in hard money—at the word 'hard' he bounces the ball off a biceps—and \$20,000 to the DNC Victory Fund. . . . This is very important. This is important to me. This is the first event out of the convention, and I cannot come in low. Did I touch that [bleeping] Jewish guilt button or not?"

Apparently he did. Emanuel suddenly giggles, relaxing his grip on the baseball—a substitute, perhaps, for Captain Queeg's ball bearings—and spends another minute gossiping with the lawyer before taking his next call.

One commitment down, but hundreds to go.



BY LARRY MORRIS—THE WASHINGTON POST

Rahm Emanuel: "Nobody would ever say 'self-effacing' is one of my better qualities."

In this strangest of presidential election years, with candidates hawking their wares on MTV and soliciting contributions through 800 numbers, as though American democracy had metamorphosed into a giant Home Shop-

ping Network, Emanuel is a pillar of the political establishment that has provoked so much anger and cynicism of late.

He raises money the old-fashioned way—he schmoozes it.

It's a brutal enterprise, rife with rejection and thus de-

manding a sense of self-confidence best described as arrogance. "I don't like fund-raising," says Emanuel, who is clearly up to the task. In a decidedly sour economy, in which even rich folks have been pinching political pennies, he has brought in about \$17.2 million so far, not

See EMANUEL, C2, Col. 1

The Washington Post

Clinton's Finance Man

EMANUEL, From C1

counting an additional \$7 million in federal matching funds—enough for Clinton to have won the nomination. In June, Emanuel collected more than \$3 million, Clinton's biggest monthly take of the year.

Yet despite this accomplishment, the campaign has been plagued by cash-flow problems in recent weeks, with staff members forgoing their salaries while Emanuel and his field operatives work frantically to make up a deficit approaching \$4 million.

It is, say several seasoned political money people, a troubling financial position for a presidential candidate who is barely a week away from becoming his party's standard bearer—especially when President Bush has \$7.6 million in the bank and Ross Perot can raise a quick \$100 million by having dinner with himself.

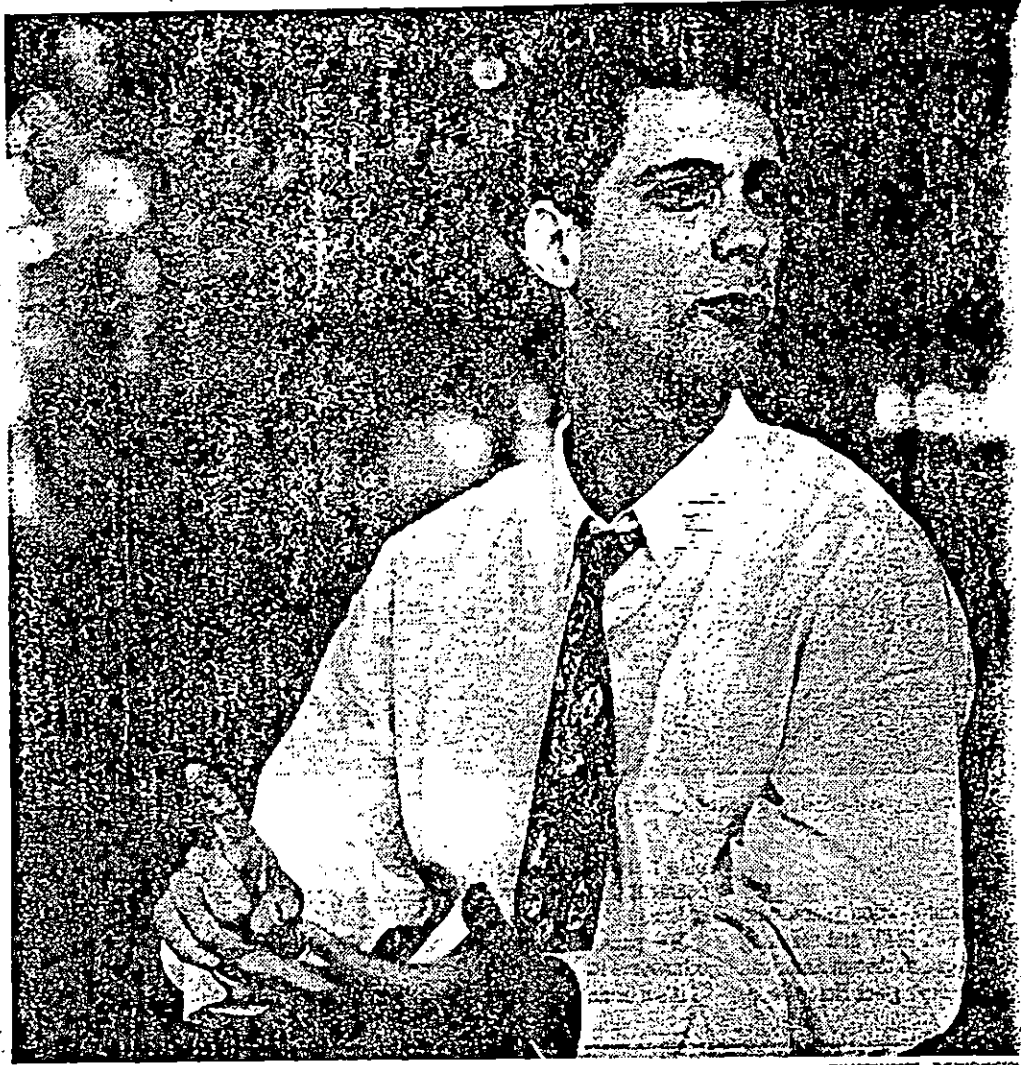
"At this point in time there should be a surplus," says a top Democratic fund-raiser who has helped gather money for Clinton, noting that Michael Dukakis had no such worries in 1988. "It looks like they have not tailored the expenditure side to meet what is expected from the fund-raising side." Emanuel says the debt will be whittled down to about \$1.5 million by next week's Democratic convention in New York City—half a million more than planned—and will vanish completely before Labor Day.

But it is more than a simple matter of dollars and cents. The shortfall suggests a deeper discontent with Clinton among traditionally Democratic voters, as reflected by his poor performance in recent public opinion surveys, with the notable exception of last week's Washington Post-ABC poll that showed the Arkansas governor in a dead heat with Bush and Perot. The numbers, in turn, have given many Democratic money people the willies.

"With Dukakis, we had a 17-point edge coming into the convention," says one, fund-raiser Bill Crotty of Daytona Beach, Fla. "Clinton is definitely the nominee, but it's hard to look for money out there when a lot of people in the party are unsure whether he can win. The enthusiasm for giving diminishes." Crotty says, when questions are continually raised in the press about Clinton's character and his standing in the polls. "It gives cause for pause."

"There is a perception problem out there," says Chicago real estate developer Tom Rosenberg, who has raised hundreds of thousands of dollars in past campaigns, but not this one—despite Emanuel's attempts to get him involved. "Both within the media and the general public, the perception is that Clinton is going to have difficulties. . . . I don't think Clinton has a really strong constituency [in the money-giving community] that is responding to a personal message—who believe that it means something to them if he's elected, that his agenda is *their* agenda."

Add to these concerns the complaint of Philadelphia title insurance tycoon William Batoff, another big-money man from Democratic campaigns past. Batoff says one of the reasons he's been sitting this one out is Emanuel's less than respectful treatment of him.



Emanuel on fund-raising: "One of the things I try hardest to do is let people know that when you set a goal, that is the goal."

"There's a general air of arrogance that exists in that campaign, not just limited to Rahm," Batoff says. "Fund-raising is a hard game and you have to be aggressive, but I don't think you deal with somebody like me, who has been a part of the process since 1978, the way I've been dealt with." After several phone conversations, in which Emanuel bluntly refused to meet Batoff's requirements for his help, namely a flashy title in the campaign, "I was totally turned off," says Batoff, who supported Sen. Tom Harkin (D-Iowa) during the primary race. "I've done less than zero for Clinton. You know what less than zero means? It means that when some of my people have asked whether to give Clinton money, I've told them not to."

Emanuel dismisses these critics with an angry jab of his finger and gives as good as he gets.

"Let me recommend that you get a new Rolodex," he tells a reporter, coldly, when various names are mentioned. "You've got the greatest gathering of has-beens in the fund-raising business I've ever seen." As for Bill Batoff, "He can keep his money. I have no problems saying that."

Al Capone in Washington

Emanuel assured his tough-guy status, overseeing strategy for House races at the Democratic Congressional Campaign Committee, when he fired off a nasty note to Washington pollster Alan Secrest, with whom he had argued for the entire 1988 election cycle.

"It's been awful working with you," he wrote. "Love, Rahm."

Appended to the note was a rotting fish.

"All I can say is, 'take no prisoners' works," says George Stephanopoulos, Clinton's communications director, of

the style that has also enhanced Emanuel's reputation as a talented strategist and a whiz at opposition research (he's a partner in a Chicago consulting firm that supplies opposition research to Democratic candidates). As if he didn't have enough to do, he has also been active in Clinton's vice presidential selection process, having helped assemble a research team to vet potential choices.

Maybe the only tender thing about him is his age—32.

"Nobody would ever say 'self-effacing' is one of my better qualities," Emanuel says. He has been described as "Al Capone-esque," an adjective he laughs off with the observation, "That's probably a compliment to a kid from Chicago."

"He kind of cultivates this tough-nosed, hard-edged image," explains his old friend David Wilhelm, Clinton's campaign manager. "He'll kill me for saying this, but there is no one I know in politics with a bigger polit"—which may say more about politics than about Emanuel's warm and fuzzy side.

"Rahm," says Democratic media consultant David Axelrod, another fellow Chicagoan, "is a guy of boundless energy and unlimited chutzpah—which are two qualities I think have been extraordinarily helpful to Bill Clinton."

Walking briskly from a Capitol Hill coffee shop to his office at the DNC, where he arrived three weeks ago after spending the primaries in Little Rock, Ark., Emanuel says: "In Washington, you're only known to be as big as your Rolodex. In Chicago, you're only known to be as good as your enemies list. Maybe that's why I'll never make it in this rat-ass town."

He muses further about the Essential Rahm, as it applies to the Clinton campaign. "Strict? Tough? Fine. I

prefer those adjectives to some of the others. 'Arrogant' probably is fair. But I would say that I had that *before* this campaign."

He was reared in the heavily Jewish 49th Ward on the North Side of Chicago, the middle son of a renowned pediatrician who grew up in Tel Aviv and was a member of the Israeli underground during the war of independence. Rahm retained dual citizenship until age 18, when he gave up his Israeli passport, but sometimes thinks "ambivalently" about moving permanently to Israel. It is now part of his legend that during the Persian Gulf War in early 1991, when Iraqi scuds were falling on the country where he spent many a childhood summer, he volunteered for 2½ weeks on an army base near the Lebanese border, rust-proofing brakes for military vehicles.

His genes for politics and ballet probably come from his mother, a native Chicagoan who used to amuse and amaze her friends by belly-dancing at parties, worked as a grass-roots organizer for the Congress of Racial Equality and once was an unsuccessful candidate for alderman. Rahm was drawn to dance in high school as a way to keep in shape for soccer, but disappointed his mother terribly—for which he claims to still feel guilty—by rejecting a prestigious scholarship to the Joffrey Ballet company school and instead going to Sarah Lawrence and then Northwestern to study philosophy and rhetoric.

"You have to have a certain build for ballet, and I was just not the build," Emanuel says. As he talks, he occasionally kicks off a kofa to flex and crack his toes. "My height is 5 foot 8, and I was never going to be a contender. You need to be taller, stronger and have longer legs, and I never would have the 'line position' that a major

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choreographer would want. I would always be second string, and I had too much [bleeping] ego for that."

Campaign manager Wilhelm recalls being "stunned by Rahm" and his cocksureness during their first race together, a 1980 House Democratic primary campaign in which their candidate, David Robinson, unseated incumbent Rep. Paul Findley (D-Ill.). "I was the campaign manager and he was our finance director, 19 or 20 years old, and when people would give \$250, he would call back and say, 'That's not enough.'" Wilhelm recalls that during Richard M. Daley's winning Chicago mayoral campaign in 1989, when they worked together in the same roles, "Rahm would literally stand on-top of my desk and gesticulate wildly about what we needed to do for him."

"Wilhelm's German. He wouldn't know money if it hit him in the head," Emanuel says. He signed on with Clinton last November, after the near-continuous importunings of Wilhelm, who tended to call him late at night, long after his normal 10 p.m. bedtime, when Emanuel says he is unnaturally vulnerable and apt to agree to anything.

When he arrived in Little Rock on Nov. 10, Emanuel says, "I had a real eye-opener." The Clinton campaign had raised about \$600,000, had no fund-raising organization and no events on the November schedule. "We were dark," he says. "And then we raised \$2.4 million with 26 events, 20 of the events between Thanksgiving and Christmas"—a back-breaking effort in which Emanuel stepped on more toes than he ever did dancing "The Nutcracker."

Some of the bruised digits belonged to Mickey Kantor, the Los Angeles lawyer-lobbyist who is Clinton's campaign chairman. "We did have a rough start," says Kantor, a softspoken native of Tennessee, who was initially less than charmed by Emanuel's brash ways. "He was aggressive, and came at me in a way that I didn't appreciate properly," says Kantor, 53, who wondered if this Young Turk was motivated more by a desire to make his mark than by his commitment to Bill Clinton. "He probably didn't appreciate fully my experience, and the number of times I've been through this. What he probably perceived as my being laid-back was really my understanding of the process and my sense that things were not going to come as quickly as he thought they might."

But today Kantor says he's a fan.

By most accounts, it's Emanuel who has done the heavy lifting and whip-cracking and not campaign treasurer Robert Farmer, the former Dukakis finance chairman and Democratic Party treasurer who arranged a press conference last summer to reveal his plans to go with Clinton. Though Clinton advisers credit Farmer with bringing in checks, they say he was all but MIA during the December fund-raising blitz and the bleak winter weeks of tabloid mayhem and news accounts of Clinton's draft record. Farmer disputes this version of events, noting that he's been working full time on the campaign since January as an unpaid volunteer. But, a

Clinton aide insists, "Rahm did everything."

Emanuel and his team of field operatives—then a staff of 12 compared with today's army of 60—kept the money coming in by staging 47 fund-raising events during January and February, when Clinton was absorbing his worst blows in the media. The candidate's indefatigable, feisty response to the brickbats boosted morale among the faithful, allowing Emanuel's team to raise an extra million dollars for New Hampshire; another \$600,000 for Georgia, Maryland and Colorado; an additional million for New York; and yet another million for California.

"I played my [bleeping] role," says Emanuel, who declines to join the Farmer-bashing. "I think what I was supposed to do, and what I did, was really to marshal a lot of disparate pieces and keep people focused. One of the things I try hardest to do is let people know that when you set a goal, that is the goal. Tell me what we will do. What is the goal of this event, and what should I budget? What I budget I write in pen, and the goals are what I write in pencil. And then I become very strict."

Emanuel's strictness, his deft use of the guilt button when the checks come up short (usually activated, he says, through interminable silences on the phone), his willingness to offend, his outsize ego and the ease with which he handles egos to match his own, are probably what make him good at what he does.

"He takes contributors seriously," says Wilhelm, "not just as contributors, but as people—people who have a lot of interest in the campaign. Whenever new polling numbers come out, for instance, the first person I call is Rahm. And he immediately gets on the phone and calls his key people. They feel they have a stake, a sense of participation, a sense of being on the inside, that not all fund-raisers give."

There's also his chameleon-like adaptability, suggested by the contradictory assessments given by two key Clinton fund-raisers.

"He's not a great stroker," insists Philadelphia lawyer Leonard Barrack. "I have seen fund-raisers in other campaigns who do more stroking than he does. I have never seen anyone do less."

But Erskine Bowles, a lawyer in Charlotte, N.C., says Emanuel is "a good cheerleader. He provides appropriate encouragement, keeps the right amount of pressure on you and does it with the kind of enthusiasm that stimulates you to action. . . . The amazing thing is that I haven't met Rahm, but I feel very close to him."

Bowles, a Southern gentleman, adds: "I've never heard him use one, four-letter word that I can recall. I'm amazed, really surprised, to hear that he does."

Hundreds to Go

"Bull[bleep], you lying sack of [bleep]!"

Emanuel, laughing gleefully, is on the phone to a member of his field staff, who is giving him the latest projections on who'll raise how much.

"Tell me the [bleeping] number. . . . I just keep jacking it up."

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The TV Column

HIGHLIGHTS

- "Civil War" and an Audubon special on WETA.
- "Kennedy Assassinations: Coincidence or Conspiracy" on WDCA.
- Bill Moyers talks with Bill Clinton on WMPT.
- Plus Frank Capra's "Meet Joe Doe" on WFTY.

Public Broadcasting

Kennedy Assassinations: Coincidence or Conspiracy. A look at the theories linking the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and his brother, Sen. Robert Kennedy, featuring interviews with filmmaker Oliver Stone. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Civil War: Forever Free 1862 (CC) (R). In Part III, Abraham Lincoln waits for a victory and gets it with the Battle of Antietam. 90 minutes (Channel 26 at approx. 8).

National Audubon Society: Mysterious Elephants of the Congo (CC). Jane Fonda hosts this documentary on the African Congo and its elephants. Followed by "Danger at the Beach," which examines our nation's polluted seashores. Two hours (Channel 26, approx. 9:30).

Listening to America With Bill Moyers: A Conversation With Gov. Bill Clinton (CC). Bill Moyers interviews candidate Clinton at the governor's mansion in Arkansas. One hour (Channel 22 at 10).

Primetime Movies

Mannequin (1987). A sculptor falls in love with the human embodiment of a department store mannequin; with Andrew McCarthy and Kim Cattrall. Two hours (Channel 5 at 8).

Meet John Doe (1941). Frank Capra's movie about the struggle of idealism in the midst of corruption; with Gary Cooper and Barbara Stanwyck. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Bare Essentials (1991) (CC) (R). A couple encounter strange characters when stranded on an island; with Mark-Linn Baker and Lisa Hartman (Channel 9 at 9).

Series

Mann & Machine (CC). Eve decides to care for the baby she and Bobby save from an illegal baby market (Channel 4 at 8).

Full House (CC) (R). When his family rebels against Dan's obsession with cleanliness, he turns into "Dirty Dan" (Channel 7 at 8).

Rescue 911 (CC) (R). Rescuers try to save two men trapped by fire on the 12th floor of a skyscraper, a father and son help deliver a baby and a rescue team tries to save a cab driver who has been shot (Channel 9 at 8).

Home Improvement (CC) (R). Tim and the boys clean the house when Jill needs time to prepare for her fund-raising speech (Channel 7 at 8:30).

Quantum Leap (CC) (R). Sam becomes a soap star whose role has him being held at gunpoint by a deranged couple (Channel 4 at 9).

Roseanne (CC) (R) sees a therapist when the man she stubbornly wants for Jackie is not to anyone's liking (Channel 7 at 9).

Coach (CC) (R). Hayden plays his first bowl game and learns that the opposing coach is his former mentor (Channel 7 at 9:30).

Dateline NBC (CC). A report on the fashion business in New York City (Channel 4 at 10).

Jack's Place (CC). A Broadway musical reviewer gets bad press from his ex-wife, while Chelsea coaches a dateless man (Channel 7 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show. With martial artist and actor Jean-Claude Van Damme and music guests A Tribe Called Quest with Leaders of the New School (Channel 9 at 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With actor Joey Lawrence, political analyst John McLaughlin and music group Gipsy Kings (Channel 4 at 11:35).

Late Night With David Letterman. With comedian Jimmy Walker and music group the Primates (Channel 4 at 12:35).

Wednesday Morning

Today (CC). With author Edvard Radzinsky and Part I of a segment on hysterectomies (Channel 4 at 7).

Good Morning America (CC). With a group of young Chicagoans who discuss dating, actors Jean-Claude Van Damme and Dolph Lundgren and a look at stars advertising their signature lines on cable shopping networks (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning (CC). With country-pop star Billy Ray Cyrus, a health update on stroke prevention, a report on summer travel bargains and a review of the movie "Unlawful Entry" (Channel 9 at 7).

—Cristina Dragomirescu

Captain Airwaves has gone to the West Coast to look at fall series and already reports that he's all shook up. His column will resume shortly.

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Pavarotti: Fizzling on the Fourth.

The Tenor's Greedy Tune

■ Luciano Pavarotti's recent concert demands were apparently even bigger than the tenor himself. While he did perform at Cap Centre Wednesday (to a half-filled arena), he was unwilling to be part of the Fourth of July festivities at the Capitol. It seems that stage couldn't accommodate his ego and the other scheduled performers such as Henry Mancini and James Galway.

Sources say he demanded they be removed from the program before he would consider the performance.

"That would have gone against our tradition of providing a variety of performers with different appeals," said Stephen Klein, National Symphony Orchestra executive director.

Then there was the money. Pavarotti reportedly insisted on selling about 7,000 VIP tickets—which the National Park Service nixed, and he demanded the worldwide video rights. Pavarotti's representatives couldn't be reached for comment.

Perhaps he thought perks are just a natural part of being on Capitol Hill.

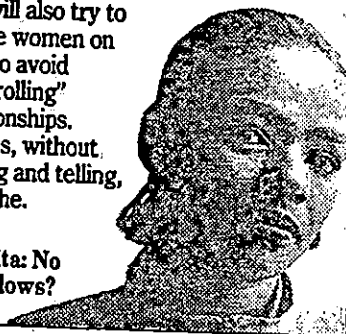
A Family Bout for Ray

■ Former boxing champ Sugar Ray Leonard and his ex, Juanita, were back in the ring yesterday for a closed-door hearing in Montgomery County Circuit Court to resolve visitation rights to their 8-year-old son, Jerrel. The hour-long hearing did not address the couple's squabble about her forthcoming book.

Sugar Ray's attorney Bryan Renehan called yesterday's meeting a "minor dispute" that was worked out amicably. And while Mike Trainer, Sugar Ray's business partner, said the couple "happened to be in town at the same time," Juanita Leonard says she drove for 11 hours from Atlanta for the meeting.

Juanita also tells The Post's Veronica Jennings that she's been upset about efforts by Sugar Ray's attorneys to "control . . . the writing" of her book, which she says will not focus on their 20-year relationship. She assures she will only talk about "the folks who were around us and how it affected us," and will also try to advise women on how to avoid "controlling" relationships. All this, without kissing and telling, says she.

Juanita: No low blows?



The Prince, Putting Up His Dukes?

■ Prince Charles has apparently decided not to stick to the princely road, striking back with a bit of negative campaigning of his own. A British newspaper has quoted friends of HRH as calling Diana a "seriously unbalanced" wife.

"The princess is not the only one who has been miserable and lonely and disillusioned by an empty marriage," said an article in Today newspaper by Penny Junor, who's written several books on the royal family.

Junor concludes that Charles "will not denounce his wife. He knows she is unwell; and it is because she is unwell that she has twisted the facts and distorted the truth" about the marriage.

Sounds an awful lot like last week's Bush-Perot row.



Charles: Getting even?

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WE'VE HEARD THAT...

■ Everyone's wondering why Rep. Lee Hamilton, said to be on Bill Clinton's short list for VP, would set himself up to be asked about abortion on "Meet the Press" Sunday—especially after reports that Clinton was angry when Hamilton publicly admitted he was under consideration. A Hamilton spokesman says there had been a long-standing commitment to the show to talk about foreign policy and Hamilton wouldn't think of canceling. Some would say he should've thought again.



Hamilton: Keeping his commitments.

Myers. "He's not afraid to look men or women in the eye when he talks to them."

■ Maryland supporters of Paul Tsongas (he won the state presidential primary) are griping that it took Democratic convention planners too long to offer their man a spot on the speaking roster. (As of last week, there was no decision when he'd speak; as of yesterday, he was penciled in for Wednesday). "Clinton should have reached out quicker," beefed a local bigwig.

■ Spelling is quickly becoming a major campaign issue. Veep spokesman Dave (no, we still haven't spoken) Beckwith was thoughtful enough to send word that in a press release responding to a Dan Quayle speech in Arkansas last week, Clinton staffers misspelled "targetted" and "entrepreneur." Next, a candidates' spelling bee?

■ Ron Reagan Jr., who recently hosted E!



Reagan: Keeping his cable connection.

Entertainment Television's first newsy documentary, has just been signed to do six more for the cable network. The first, "See How They Run," will look at the '92 campaign. No word on whether Dad will wax eloquent.

■ Some of the House's notorious "gym rats" found it amusing that on the very day Rep. Scott Klug introduced a bill prohibiting federal employees from working out during work hours, he himself was shooting hoops midafternoon. "I think we're talking more about the people who work 9 to 5 and the taxpayers pay their salary while they're working out," said the Wisconsin Republican yesterday of his bill, which failed to pass. "On the days I go to the gym, I happen to work from 7 in the morning to 7 at night." And that's what they all say.



Perot: Charmed by Clinton?

■ When Ross and Margot Perot had a casual dinner last fall with Bill Clinton, the couple agreed that Clinton sets out to charm the ladies. Perot told one source that Clinton consciously

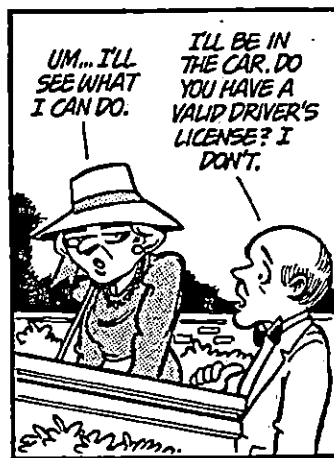
"makes eyes" with the opposite sex. "Bill likes people—although I'm sure that's not what Mr. Perot meant," says Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee



Klug: Hey, just exercising my prerogatives!

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Washington Post

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Cuomo Accepts Convention Role

N.Y. Governor Sets Aside Past Differences, Will Nominate Clinton

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

LITTLE ROCK, Ark., July 6—New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, who has had a sometimes stormy relationship with Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton, has agreed to nominate Clinton for president at next week's Democratic National Convention in New York City, Clinton campaign officials announced today.

Considered one of his party's most accomplished speakers, Cuomo agreed to deliver the presidential nominating speech on the third night of the convention at the urging of Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown. He formally accepted that role during a telephone conversation with Clinton on Sunday night.

"We're thrilled about it," said Dee Dee Myers, the Clinton campaign press secretary. "Cuomo is a great speaker. He speaks for a large part of this party. In many ways, he's the soul of the Democratic Party."

As late as last week, Cuomo reportedly was resisting entreaties that he nominate Clinton while publicly saying that he wanted no speaking role at the convention. But he had a long conversation with Brown on Saturday and was persuaded to change his mind.

"In the end, I deferred to [Brown's] judgment," Cuomo said today.

For Clinton, the choice of the tempestuous New Yorker as the man who will introduce him not only to the convention but to a huge national television audience the night of July 15 has several clear pluses. It assures the presumptive Democratic presidential nominee of the high profile support of the convention's host governor in a state and city where Clinton was badly roughed up during the April primary.

Moreover, Cuomo, a northern ethnic, Catholic and liberal, comes

from and could serve as a bridge to a traditional wing of the party that has often viewed the southern, Baptist and moderate Clinton with suspicion. The enthusiastic support of Cuomo and Democratic politicians like him could be critical to Clinton's chances of holding the traditional Democratic base in the Northeast in November.

Cuomo has been mentioned frequently as a possible presidential candidate, has flirted publicly with the idea, but has never been willing to take the plunge. According to

"Cuomo is a great speaker. He speaks for a large part of this party. In many ways, he's the soul of the Democratic Party."

—Dee Dee Myers, Clinton spokeswoman

Clinton aides, over the years Cuomo and the Arkansas governor have had a "cordial" relationship. But while Clinton has become friends with several of his fellow governors—including such unlikely Republicans as former White House chief of staff John H. Sununu when he was governor of New Hampshire—he has never been particularly close to Cuomo, in part because Cuomo has not played an active role in the National Governors' Association.

"They are both strong characters and from time to time they've argued with each other, but they have also ganged up together at other times," said Mike Gaudin, Clinton's Arkansas press secretary.

Gaudin recalled that last year

Clinton and Cuomo got into a public tiff after Clinton was quoted as suggesting that New York was not an ideal site for the Democratic National Convention. Subsequently, the two men agreed that to avoid such incidents they would consult by telephone before speaking publicly about any differences, Gaudin said. But that system was not used the next time Clinton and Cuomo found themselves at odds.

This involved a tape recording, produced by Gennifer Flowers when she was accusing Clinton of having a 12-year affair with her, on which Clinton described the Italian-American Cuomo as a "mean sonofabitch" and as someone who "acts like" he is in the Mafia.

Clinton said he "deeply" regretted the remark, which was tape recorded without his knowledge, but before he could apologize Cuomo publicly accused him of contributing to "an ugly syndrome that strikes Italian Americans, Jewish people, blacks, women, all the different ethnic groups."

While Clinton was embracing Cuomo today, another governor—Republican William Weld of Massachusetts—was busy bashing Clinton's record. Acting as a surrogate campaigner for President Bush, Weld traveled here for a news conference at which he criticized Clinton's environmental and tax increase records.

In what is likely to be a pattern through November, the Clinton campaign responded with criticism of Weld's record in Massachusetts. There was a certain irony to the exchange because Weld, a GOP moderate who like Clinton supports abortion rights, is the kind of Republican governor with whom Clinton has been friendly.

Late today, Clinton flew to Washington where Tuesday he will address the National Education Association meeting and receive its endorsement.

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COLMAN MCCARTHY

Perot Brings Pizazz to Political Buzz

Give this much to Ross Perot. He's adding a touch of verbal sprightliness to this year's political discourse, a k a electioneering babble. His buzzword quotient is low. He'll use one in a tight spot—when Larry King, say, goes to phone calls—but his dependency is not severe.

Unlike a platitude or bromide, a buzzword is an utterance with just enough ambiguity to let the utterer and sympathetic listener feel bonded by the coded meaning that only they understand and which the rest of the infidel world scorns as baloney.

When Perot wanted to counterattack charges that he was a secretive paranoid who launched investigations of people, he could have buzzed with any number of old reliables: damnable lies, smear tactics (interchangeable with McCarthyism), cheap shots (as against expensive shots that the well-bankrolled Perot side uses).

Instead, Perot displayed some originality that suggests he has an active linguistic brain cell or two. The charges, he said, were "Mickey Mouse tossed salad" and "animal crackers." These were sound bites with bite.

Perot is not entirely the coiner of fresh lingo. He labeled the charges "Republican dirty tricks," the lamest of buzzword phrases, one that's been hobbling around on crutches since Watergate. It conjures the image of E. Howard Hunt and Chuck Colson reincarnated in some young right-wing rabids toiling in the White House basement to sabotage good-guy Perot. In fact, the dirty tricks turn out to be mere clean tricks, known as "opposition research." Some juniors at the Republican National Committee who had proven their skills at envelope stuffing were elevated to rummaging through old newspaper articles on Perot and Democrat Bill Clinton to find damning quotes.

President Bush responded to the stories about Perot's gumshoeing with the oldest of standbys: It was "not American." The president has few buzzwords that he relies on more than this rhetorical hand-over-the-heart. Next to visiting the flag factory, what is as effective as America-swooning? Last July, Bush defended his CIA nominee Robert M. Gates: "I just don't think it's the American way to bring a good man down by rumor and insinuation." In 1987, Bush pushed the

patriotic button for Oliver L. North, the self-confessed liar: "Ollie North . . . believed passionately in something. He believed that every American life is precious."

For Bush, everyone and everything can be Americanized, even the future. "We will get on our way to a new record of expansion and achieve the competitive strength that will carry us into the next American century," he buzzed last year. America is a positive buzzword, a sheened cover for nationalism that evokes honesty, grandeur and goodness not found in any of the planet's other 160-odd nation states.

Negative buzzwords often find their way into political speeches as a way of savaging misfits who appear to be un-American. Dan Quayle is mastering this art. "Sophisticated folks" in Hollywood, newsrooms and faculty lounges are the enemy, he told the Bowling Proprietors Association of America that recently convened in Las Vegas, well known as the center of our family values. "Our country," said the vice president, "is only as strong as the family and the values they live by. When the sophisticated folks laugh at those moral values, they are laughing at America itself."

In his Las Vegas speech, Quayle the common man neglected to invite the assembled bowlers to the bowling alley dearest to his populist heart: the eight lanes at the private Congressional Country Club where the vice president frolicked in rarefied contentment in his House and Senate days. The "Members Only" sign at Congressional's front gate before the guard's house is there not to admit "Members of the Working Class," but rather Dan and his elite pals whose yearly club dues are higher than most nations' per-capita income.

In buzzing against sophisticates in Hollywood, newsrooms and faculty lounges, Quayle has geographically shifted the locale of American elitism. In 1970, Spiro Agnew, another vice president who identified with the masses—though not to the point of going to prison with them—alerted the public to the threat of "the whole Georgetown-Manhattan-Hyannisport elitist axis."

That's one of the problems with buzzwords. They tend to date. For now, "Mickey Mouse tossed salad" is garden fresh. If Perot keeps coming on with those, he has a lock on the lively language set.

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MARY McGRORY

Learning From 'Truman'

At least America is reading right this summer. David McCullough's magnificent biography "Truman," which is not only a masterpiece but a delight, is on the bestseller lists, No. 1 in Washington.

Nothing could make the country feel better—or worse. Harry Truman was, as he freely conceded, "an ordinary man," and it is good to know that the presidency, the mightiest office in the free world, is something that a farm boy without a college education cannot only function in but master. Truman walks off these pages as spruce, smiling, crisp, straight-talking, secure, decisive—someone we would love to be able to vote for today.

Unlike Bill Clinton, the about-to-be-anointed Democratic nominee who has been plotting to be president for some 15 years, Truman was catapulted into the White House when FDR died. The dismay was universal: a pygmy, a machine-made provincial was succeeding a god. Truman humbly agreed. But he had always wanted to do the right thing, and the White House is the place for that, and he won the nation's confidence. Unlike George Bush, who gives the impression he would rather die than not be president, Truman was detached about great office.

"Three things ruin a man," he told an interviewer when he was in retirement at the Truman Library. "Power, money and women. I never wanted power, I never had any money, and the only woman in my life is up at the house right now."

Americans could be reading "Truman" because it is so superbly written and has, mysteriously, the suspense and excitement of a novel; it is more likely that the mere mention of the name of our 33rd president stirs such nostalgia for his succinct leadership, and a yearning for character. The idea of a Gennifer Flowers is unthinkable. He worshiped Bess Truman from the minute he clapped eyes on her in Sunday school, even though during their long marriage she always put her mother's well-being above his. As for whining in public about the rigors of the job, as is the habit of the present occupant of the Oval Office, Truman would have thought it beneath him.

Said Eric Sevareid, when Truman died, "Remembering him reminds people what a man in that office ought to be like. It's character, just character. He stands like a rock in the memory."

His biographer, whose white hair and gracious manner is known to devotees of public television documentaries, is as genial as his subject. He is going about now flogging his book, and everywhere he goes he is beset by almost beseeching questions about a possible similarity between Truman and Ross Perot. Gently, he lets them down. He points out that Truman was a flop in business, that he was a lifelong professional politician and a partisan Democrat.

When Morton Meyerson, one of Perot's closest aides, showed up at a Dallas book-signing and presented a copy to be inscribed for Perot, the author wrote tactfully, "I learned a lot from this story, and hope you will, too."

Much is to be learned from Harry Truman's story, mostly that it is wrong to write off anyone. As an ambitious young man, dying to marry his true love, Truman made one bad investment after another. His haberdashery failed. But, although he was almost blind, he signed up for World War I and went to France, where he discovered, under fire, that he was a leader. McCullough thinks it was his most formative experience.

Twenty years later at a Democratic convention, which was bitter, unraveling and convinced he could not win, he stood up and made a fiery speech to the exhausted delegates. "He was exactly like the Missouri Artillery captain in the Vosges Mountains who, when his battery panicked under attack, stood by his guns, and with a fierce harangue got his men back in order again."

He made mistakes—who doesn't?—but he stood up to the job with a stunning blend of self-confidence and humility. In the end, Winston Churchill, who had "loathed his taking the place of Roosevelt," wrote him, "You, more than any other man, have saved Western civilization."

And we are all grateful for the 1948 campaign, that glorious confounding of pundits and press. Shown a poll that had him losing 50 to 1 among the correspondents, Truman observed that he knew them all, and that "not one of them had sense enough to pound sand in a rathole."

McCullough's book will make you laugh; Truman could be very funny. It also could make you cry. Nobody with less side, ego or self-importance has been seen in Washington since Harry Truman went back to Independence, Mo., to his mother-in-law's house and took the suitcases up to the attic.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Investors React to Group of 7 Summit With a Yawn

Analysts and Traders See No Major Decisions Coming From Leaders Meeting in Munich

By Robert J. McCartney
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 6—Sometimes the world's financial markets are riveted by economic summits like the one underway in Munich. Currencies, bonds and stocks fluctuate with every bulletin flashed on the business news wires, and the final communiqué begets global price surges.

Not this time.

With the United States, Germany and Japan preoccupied with domestic economic policies, and everybody satisfied with the current weakness in the dollar, investors have received the Munich gathering with a yawn.

Unlike some past summits, the gathering of President Bush and the other leaders is not expected to lead to any major, market-affecting decisions regarding their joint stewardship of the world's seven leading industrial powers, according to stock and currency traders and other analysts. No major initiatives are expected on exchange rates, interest rates or fiscal policy, they said.

"I don't think anybody thinks anything substantive, economic or policy-

wise, can come out of that meeting," said Steven G. Einhorn, a partner and co-chair of the Investment Policy Committee at Goldman, Sachs & Co.

The United States is focused on keeping interest rates low to spur economic recovery, Japan is preparing an expansionary tax-and-spending package, and Germany is concentrating on restraining inflation.

"There are different needs in different countries. I don't think there's anything unifying that they can provide," Einhorn said.

That view was supported by today's performance in world financial markets, where there was little activity and no clear-cut direction in prices. In New York, the Dow Jones industrial average was up 8.92 points in a seesaw day, while the Tokyo and London markets dropped by small amounts. The dollar was lower in light trading against both the German mark and Japanese yen.

Traders said the summit was likely to have a significant impact in the markets only if something surprising happens—and they warned that the result then probably would be negative, as investors recoiled at what they would perceive as government meddling.

"I don't think we're paying a lot of attention [to the summit]. We would pay attention if something had come out," said Dudley Eppel, senior vice president in charge of equity trading at Donaldson, Lufkin & Jenrette Securities Corp.

Eppel said the markets would react negatively if the summit leaders "did something fancy with the currencies," such as a strong statement of concern over the dollar's low rate of exchange. Stocks would fall on "anything that could be interpreted as upsetting the apple cart, anything that would give an excuse to start selling," Eppel said.

Frederick Schuster, who trades dollar-yen options contracts on the Chicago Mercantile Exchange, said steps taken last week by monetary authorities in Washington and Tokyo had already created a clear framework for the currency markets. The U.S. Federal Reserve cut interest rates, and the Bank of Japan set a new target for the dollar-yen exchange rate of 120 yen per dollar, compared with its current level of about 124.

"I really don't see anything coming out of the summit that's going to have a lot of foreign exchange impact," Schuster said.

"People are pretty happy with where the dollar is," and the world leaders "don't want currency markets bouncing all over the place" in reaction to a new policy statement, he said.

A senior foreign exchange trader at a major New York bank said the United States and Japan were content with the dollar's weakness because it tends to help resolve the big Japanese trade surplus with America. Germany shares that satisfaction because a strong mark helps limit inflation at home.

"There's a general feeling that the Big Three are rather agnostic in their view toward the dollar," said the trader, who asked to remain unidentified.

"Given the fact that the [dollar's] decline has been moderate and orderly, the Big Three have no reason to dig in their heels at this point," he said.

Players in the financial markets expressed some curiosity about what the summit had to say about aid to Russia and global trade talks. But those issues do not immediately affect the markets, and investors' interest grew mostly from a general desire to keep abreast of current events.

Regulators Seize Big Calif. Thrift

HomeFed Becomes Largest

S&L Failure Yet

By Susan Schmidt
Washington Post Staff Writer

HomeFed Bank of San Diego was taken over by the federal government yesterday, the largest savings and loan yet to fail in the four-year-old thrift crisis that has cost taxpayers hundreds of billions of dollars.

The long-ailing California thrift, with 206 branches and \$13.5 billion in assets, fell victim to the 1980s' search for profits in high-risk lending on land and commercial real estate. Such loans, along with foreclosed real estate, made up 40 percent of HomeFed's holdings, federal officials said.

HomeFed is the eighth-largest S&L in the country. It is one of a handful of very large institutions that have been teetering on the brink of survival in Southern California, where the results of years of real estate recession are now hitting hard.

HomeFed lost \$268 million in 1990 and a staggering \$732 million in 1991. It showed a profit of \$31 million early this year, largely because of asset sales and tax credits.

The government will continue to operate the thrift indefinitely until Congress approves funds to cover the S&L's losses, pay off depositors and shut it down. Depositors remain federally insured up to the \$100,000 limit.

The Office of Thrift Supervision announced the government takeover yesterday after attempts to put together a plan to bring in a private buyer for HomeFed's deposits and some of its assets were frustrated.

Three months ago, OTS regulators placed HomeFed in the Accelerated Resolution Program, or ARP, which was designed to avoid a government takeover. It would have saved the government money, the agency maintains, by bringing in a new operator instead of placing HomeFed under government conservatorship. ARP is intended to preserve some of the institution's value by averting a deposit drain that generally occurs when an S&L is open but operating in government hands.

OTS has had to all but abandon its ARP program in the aftermath of Congress's refusal this spring to approve any more money to close down dying S&Ls. The government is taking over insolvent institutions, but it cannot close HomeFed or any other S&L until Congress approves more money to cover losses and pay off depositors.

The longer an institution operates in government hands, the bigger the loss to taxpayers, federal officials say.

"Clearly, the taxpayers could have been saved millions, even billions of dollars, if funding had been approved to resolve HomeFed and other troubled institutions through ARP," said OTS Director Timothy Ryan in a prepared statement last night. "The lack of congressional initiative on this matter is troubling, as OTS cannot allow deteriorating thrifts to continue operating in the private sector."

Two other California thrifts with souring loan portfolios, California Federal Bank and Glendale Federal

See THRIFT, D10, Col. 1

Regulators Seize Big California S&L

THRIFT, From D1

Bank, recently announced agreements with regulators that give them a year to raise capital substantially before risking possible seizure.

For California, with 1.3 million people unemployed and a deepening recession, yesterday's announcement was the latest in a string of gloomy economic developments.

Last week, giant Hughes Aircraft Co. announced it would lay off 9,000 workers, and the state began handing out IOUs instead of paychecks as it wrestled with budgetary problems.

Against this backdrop, the takeover of the giant S&L was not even the top story on nightly TV news reports there, with commentators noting that at least with HomeFed, depositors enjoyed federal insurance for their savings.

Staff writer Lou Cannon contributed to this report from Los Angeles.

Colbert I. King

Debunking the Case Against Gays in the Military

The military's racial exclusion policies of 50 years ago were based on nothing more than fear and raw prejudice. Finally with the bold and courageous action of President Truman in 1948, racial segregation in the military was brought to an end. The current Department of Defense ban on gays and lesbians in uniform hangs on similar phobias and narrow-mindedness. Unfortunately, there is no Harry Truman in the White House today.

Bill Clinton has already said that he will repeal the ban if he reaches the Oval Office. "I don't think it's right. People should have a right to serve their country. And if denied the right... it should be on the basis of behavior, not status," Clinton has said repeatedly since declaring his candidacy.

Ross Perot's position is a little harder to follow. Having first told Barbara Walters on May 29 on ABC News "20/20" that he didn't think allowing gays in the military was "realistic," Perot backed off only a few days later when asked by NBC "Today's" Katie Couric if he favored such a ban. Saying his earlier position had been misstated,

Perot boasted about the homosexuals who had worked for him ("they were brilliant people, did outstanding work"), declaring that he never interfered with a person's private life. President Bush is keeping his hands off the ban.

But a president wanting to issue an executive order lifting the ban need look no farther for a strong justification than the just-released General Accounting Office study on the Department of Defense's Policy on Homosexuality. The GAO confirms what many critics of the Defense Department policy have maintained all along—that the ban on gays rests on the flimsiest of grounds.

All of the old chestnuts on which the military once relied—officially and unofficially—have been either blown out of the water by the GAO study or conceded by the Defense Department. There is agreement that the ban on gays can't be justified on psychological grounds—homosexuality is not a mental disorder. Neither can the Pentagon bar gays as security risks, especially since the secretary of defense and the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

have publicly said they are no longer concerned about that.

And the Defense Department's stance can't be buttressed by medical or sociological analysis because there is no credible scientific evidence to support the discrimination. Finally, the Defense Department can hardly draw comfort from the practice of other nations, since, as the GAO notes, some allies have more enlightened policies toward gays in their military, as do some fire and police departments in the United States—apparently without any significant decline in discipline, order or morale.

But perhaps worst of all, the military's bias has exacted a terrible price. The GAO reports that in 1990 alone, the military wasted \$27 million replacing the men and women it hounded out of the services for being gays or lesbians. Pentagon officials strenuously dispute that estimate. But there is no disputing the fact that the military's witch hunts have caused untold pain and unnecessarily wasted thousands of lives.

Stripped of much of a rationale for

the exclusion policy, the Defense Department has been left with its fall-back position, which comes down to a sort of: It's-a-military-thing, you-just-wouldn't-understand. "The policy is a matter of professional military judgment, not scientific or sociological analysis," wrote the Department of Defense in response to the GAO's report. Even if gay service members have exemplary performance records, their homosexuality seriously impairs overall combat effectiveness, the Pentagon said. And besides that, adds the military, gays and lesbians aren't generally accepted by the public—a questionable assertion—and especially in the military, where there are confined living and working conditions.

That argument is hard to follow, since strict enforcement of rules against uninvited sexual approaches, harassment or misconduct should more than adequately protect the rights of individuals to be left alone. In fact, the Pentagon ought to think about doing that anyway, given the nightmare and terror of Navy Lt. Paula Coughlin and

26 other Navy women who were sexually assaulted by at least 70 male Navy and Marine Corps officers—their presumably straight comrades in arms—at the infamous Tailhook convention last September. And to hear Army reserve specialist Jacqueline Ortiz tell her story about sexual abuse by her sergeant, Iraqi troops weren't the only soldiers to catch hell from U.S. forces during Desert Storm.

Ironically, the Navy of the 1940s was as unrepentant in its racism as today's Pentagon is in its prejudice against gays. The Navy then defended its discrimination on the grounds that whites would never accept blacks as equals, let alone in positions of authority. Said the Navy in a now-declassified 1942 defense of the anti-blacks policy, "These concepts may not be truly democratic, but it is doubted if the most ardent lovers of democracy will dispute them." Harry Truman did. But then again, that president had guts.

The writer is a member of the editorial page staff.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Peter Secchia

The Assassination of Giovanni Falcone

ROME—Judge Giovanni Falcone was a friend of mine. He was also a brave and decent man who had taken on an extraordinary job: prosecuting the Mafia on its home turf in Sicily. He was the closest thing Italy had to a living symbol of resistance to organized crime.

I last saw Judge Falcone on May 21 at dinner in my home. Two days later he was dead. He, his wife and three Sicilian special anti-terrorist agents assigned to be with him at all times were brutally murdered by the Mafia—killed by a huge bomb while traveling on the autostrada near Palermo.

Through the 1980s, Judge Falcone spearheaded the efforts of Sicily's renowned anti-Mafia pool of magistrates. He built extensive and complex legal cases against notorious Mafia figures, and brought them to court in "maxi-trials" involving hundreds of Mafiosi at a time. His investigative abilities and indefatigable work habits, his sincerity, honesty and bravery were an inspiration not only to his colleagues but to those members of the Mafia who were ready to "talk." It was these qualities that enabled Judge Falcone to penetrate the Mafia code of silence and expose the workings of a sophisticated, complex and vicious organization. Through it all, he remained a man of honor.

Gianni Falcone was also a true friend of America. He worked closely with U.S. officials against those operating the notorious "pizza connection," which distributed heroin all along the East Coast of the United States. His efforts, cooperation and invaluable experience in this difficult arena were instrumental in the convictions of 21 of 22 defendants on charges of trafficking, racketeering and money laundering.

Judge Falcone's death was front-page news



AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE

"This tyranny cannot last. The Mafia must be destroyed."

everywhere in Europe. His funeral, televised nationally, saw him mourned by an array of government leaders. At the services in Palermo, I felt the emotional distress of thousands of mourners as they crowded into the basilica, while more than 10,000 people lined the streets outside to pay their last respects to the

Sicilian judge who had come to symbolize their hopes of escaping the Mafia.

The most moving moment came in a tearful public plea by the widow of one of Falcone's slain bodyguards. She forgave the men who killed her husband, but pleaded with them to change their ways.

But among other Sicilians, who have suffered for generations under the yoke of the Mafia, it was clear there was a feeling of deep anger, a desire that justice be done at last. There were cries for liberation from a system that enslaves the Sicilian people and forces them to sell their souls. It is a system that funnels taxes from working people to the construction of buildings that are never completed. It is a system that controls the water supply of the people of southern Italy and Sicily, and that dictates to farmers what can and cannot be produced.

This tyranny cannot last. The Mafia must be destroyed. As the Italian government was able to defeat the Red Brigade terrorists of the 1970s, so Italy will also defeat the Mafia. It was the murder of Prime Minister Aldo Moro that galvanized the population in its fight against terrorism. We can only hope that the murder of Judge Falcone will do the same for the fight against the Mafia.

Gianni Falcone's mission was to engage the Mafia and defeat it. It is up to us—both Italians and Americans, for the Mafia is an evil that exists in both Sicily and America—to take up where he left off, and to continue his battle. This is a battle in which more than power will be decisive. An essential element in winning it will be a change of attitude among the people.

Hollywood must stop portraying the Mafia as an honorable, romantic and somehow quaint fraternity and show it for what it is: an organization of crude, dangerous people who will not hesitate to kill the best among us if they stand in its way. It showed this most clearly in its assassination of Giovanni Falcone. I hope his death will not go for naught.

The writer is U.S. ambassador to Italy.

Nat Hentoff

Lifeless Reasoning by the Court

The not-yet-born, who have divided the nation for so long, can count on few friends at the Supreme Court.

Justice Antonin Scalia is not a friend. As he again made clear in his dissent in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, "The states may, if they wish, permit abortion-on-demand, but the Constitution does not require them to do so." To him, these wars have to do with federalism, not the saving of human life in all jurisdictions.

Nor is another dissenter, the chief justice, a rescuer of the fetus. As David Savage points out in his valuable book, "Turning Right: The Making of the Rehnquist Court," in Rehnquist's view, "the Constitution neither gave women a right to choose abortion nor guaranteed the fetus a right to life. Because neither was decided by the Constitution, the states and their elected officials could decide for themselves."

Byron White may be the only opponent of *Roe v. Wade* on the court who goes beyond federalism to a concern for the vast number of lives that have been foreclosed by *Roe*. In his original 1973 dissent, Justice White said that *Roe* had allowed abortion to "satisfy the convenience, whim, or caprice of the putative mother." (Clar-

ence Thomas has yet to disclose on precisely what grounds he is against *Roe*.)

On the other side, John Paul Stevens makes no pretense of being at all troubled by the fate of—as some justices put it—"potential life." In his concurring opinion in *Planned Parenthood v. Casey*, he emphasizes that to be a person guarded by the Constitution, one first has to be born. Accordingly, "an abortion is not 'the termination of life entitled to 14th Amendment protection.'" At least

Stevens does indicate that a life is involved. He does not say whether it is human life. But it does not matter. Like Dred Scott, a non-person—as Justice Roger Taney said—cannot be a "constituent member of this sovereignty."

Potential life does matter, however, to the writers of the dominant opinion in the Pennsylvania case—Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy and David Souter. "The state has legitimate interest from the outset of the pregnancy in protecting the health of the woman and the fetus that may become a child. These principles do not contradict one another; and we adhere to each."

The phrase, "that may become a child," offers a touch of warmth to the not-yet-born. But while the overall decision provides obstacles to their "termination," not many will be saved. The deciding three justices say that some consider abortion to be "nothing short of an act of violence against innocent human life;" but "the liberty of the woman" to abort "is at stake in a

sense unique to the human condition and so, unique to the law." Accordingly,

while one may "express profound respect for the life of the unborn" there must be no "undue burden" to a woman's right to an abortion.

But, as O'Connor, Souter and Kennedy have profoundly disturbed the advocates for the not-yet-born, they have also greatly disappointed those fighting to protect abortion rights. By taking away the highest standard of review in these cases—strict scrutiny—the justices have ruled, despite their calming rhetoric, that abortion is actually no longer a fundamental constitutional right. The standard is now whether a restriction on abortion is an "undue burden." The state no longer has to show—as under the

strict scrutiny test—a "compelling interest" to justify its restriction.

This rickety decision, therefore, hardly justifies confidence on any side—and not only because of the narrowness of the 5 to 4 vote. Yet the Souter-Kennedy-O'Connor troika lectures all of us to be upstanding citizens and follow the commands of the court, which has labored with such care and anguish in this case on our behalf. This is one of those times, they say—and one of those rare cases—when "the Court's interpretation of the Constitution calls the contending sides of a national controversy to end their national division by accepting a common mandate rooted in the Constitution."

The court is not, however, being obeyed. The controversy has only grown more bitter and wearying. A young pro-life woman I know—and she has counterparts among pro-choicers—told me after the court's decision, "I've recently been in Indiana and Kansas, working alongside women who tell me they have been in this abortion battle for 20 years. Twenty years! And I've only just begun! Am I going to have to spend my life this way?" She didn't ask me for the answer. She knew the answer.

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Robert Kuttner

Protectionism: In the Right Dose, a Cure

It is a staple of economic theory that any spell of protectionism is likely to become a permanent crutch, making the protected industry that much more inefficient, denying the consumer free choice, and harming everyone's economic well-being. People who believe that should have a look at their local auto showroom.

The American auto industry in the 1970s found itself abruptly overtaken by imports. To a large degree, this fate was the industry's own fault. For a generation, the industry had coasted on its big head start, engineering better tail fins rather than better engines, resisting the public's appetite for a reliable small car. Sheltered from competition, Detroit earned comfortable profits, which it shared with its workers.

When the import wave of the 1970s collided with two recessions, Detroit very nearly went under. Three U.S. presidents responded by reluctantly negotiating "voluntary" Japanese import quotas to stem the tide of Hondas and Toyotas. Congress, with equal reluctance, floated a special low-interest loan to bail out Chrysler.

Both measures gave most econo-

mists hives. But elected politicians nonetheless concluded that the auto industry, along with all its supplier industries, was simply too important to the economy to be allowed to die just because a generation of auto executives had gotten lazy.

Foolish politicians. Didn't they ever read an economics textbook?

Well, a funny thing happened. Contrary to the theory, restrictions on imports gave Detroit some breathing space, which the automakers used wisely. Detroit didn't get lazier; it started making better cars. And it started making them more efficiently.

Chrysler pioneered a whole new product, with its popular minivans. Ford demonstrated with its Taurus line that it could win back skeptical import buyers. Even GM managed to design a brand new car from the ground up, produced in partnership with the UAW—the widely acclaimed Saturn, which Car and Driver magazine recently rated the top value among cars priced under \$10,000.

Today, the most productive North American auto plant is roughly at par with the most productive Japanese auto plant. And the Big Three have actually been gaining market share at

the expense of Japanese imports. In the first five months of 1992, domestic carmakers accounted for 72.4 percent of the U.S. car and light-truck market, up 1.6 percentage points over a year ago. The Japanese market share was down 1.4 points, to 24 percent.

In the meantime, Japanese automakers, long accustomed to very low borrowing costs, now face capital costs almost equal to those of their American competitors. Japan has been locating "transplant" factories in the United States to manufacture made-in-U.S.A. Hondas and Nissans, not just to get around import quotas but because U.S.-based production now actually enjoys a cost advantage.

According to a recent study by the Washington-based Economic Strategy Institute, the low-cost producer among American and Japanese automakers is now Ford. The study calculated total costs of labor, materials, and other expenses, and found that the average cost per car was \$6,395 for cars made in America, and \$6,644 for cars made in Japan. Ford's costs were just \$5,415.

Mazda, Nissan and Toyota can still

make a car with fewer man-hours than even Ford, but the gap is closing. And lower American wages and fringe benefits still make it slightly cheaper to produce cars domestically.

This is, of course, a remarkable turnabout. But as Clyde Prestowitz, president of the Economic Policy Institute, observes, all is not well. Japanese producers still resist buying components from American suppliers, and a Big Three car still has more than twice the domestically produced parts of even a Honda made in Ohio, because Japanese producers still bring in most of the parts from home. "If the Japanese were behaving rationally," says Prestowitz, "they would buy more parts in the U.S."

This is not to say that Detroit is free of flaws, either. In the 1980s, American carmakers took advantage of import quotas to retool—but also to raise prices. Despite the cheaper dollar, domestic auto companies basically took advantage of the fact that a higher yen forced Japanese producers to raise prices—and Detroit played follow the leader and raised prices, too.

Domestic carmakers could have in-

creased their market share even sooner if they had resisted the temptation to gouge consumers. Moreover, GM is still the high-cost producer, by far. And its innovative Saturn line still only accounts for a small fraction of total GM sales.

And government hasn't consistently helped. The Bush administration still can't decide whether it matters if America retains a strong auto industry, or whether Japan plays fair. President Bush has lobbied Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa to press Japanese producers to buy more U.S. auto parts. But a week ago the Bush-appointed U.S. International Trade Commission overruled a Commerce Department finding that Japanese automakers had been dumping minivans in the United States at prices far below those posted in Japan.

It remains to be seen whether Detroit can build on its recent gains, and make a durable comeback. But its surprising success to date calls into question the usual claim that a bout of protection will only doom industry to sloth and decline. For Detroit in the 1980s, a small dose of protection was exactly the right remedy.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Richard Cohen

Perot's Problem With The Truth

Toward the end of Peter Jennings's "National Town Meeting" with Ross Perot last week, an exchange took place that illustrates one of Perot's recurring problems: telling the truth. Asked about an employee who had been fired for refusing to shave off his beard, Perot first said he had "no knowledge" of the case and then said, "I have never heard of this case. This is a new thing in my life." Only after Jennings persisted did Perot admit that, well, yeah, maybe he had heard of it. "But I've never paid any attention." Well, I have.

In fact, if you pay strict attention to Perot, you find numerous instances where he either does not tell the truth or does not seem to know what it is. The incident about the bearded employee is typical. This was a celebrated case—a 1983 employment discrimination case, to be exact—and one, moreover, that Perot's Electronic Data Systems lost. The suit, brought by a Jewish employee named Reginald Dallaire, had the potential for the worst sort of publicity for Perot and EDS. If Perot did not know of the case in 1983, he should have. He's certainly learned of it since then.

How do I know that? Because the case has been cited repeatedly in the press (the Dallas Morning News, Perot's hometown paper, broke the story on May 30). It has been used to show that Perot insisted on strict standards of dress and appearance—so strict that when Dallaire converted to Judaism and grew a beard, management disputed his interpretation of Jewish law and asked him to shave. Indeed, the case was so well known that the question about it came not from Jennings but from a member of the audience. Still, it took a modest insistence from Jennings to get Perot to fess up. There is a pattern here.

For instance, it's still not clear why Perot wanted an early discharge from the Navy, since he has changed his story from time to time. Similarly, Perot has contradicted himself about whether he employed known homosexuals. After suggesting to Barbara Walters that he would not hire gays—at least for certain jobs—Perot has been busy backpedaling. He told a writer for the New York Times Magazine that he could not have discriminated against gays because "as far as he knew" he never even met one. For Jennings, however, he had a different explanation. Perot said his gay employees were "brilliant people doing outstanding work" who "worked directly for me." These, presumably, are the very same people he never met.

Even so trivial a matter as the by-now mythical founding of EDS has become complicated by Perot's tendency to tell a good yarn. The \$1,000 he said he borrowed from his wife to found the business turns out to have only been the corporate filing fee—not their total investment. The Perots sank about \$20,000 of their own money into the business. They were never poor.

Many is the man who has made a myth of his life. Ronald Reagan comes to mind. And many is the salesman—and Perot is one—who says what it takes to close the sale. Usually these are minor matters—innocuous fibs—no more harmful than the extraordinary praise for a friend's totally ordinary child.

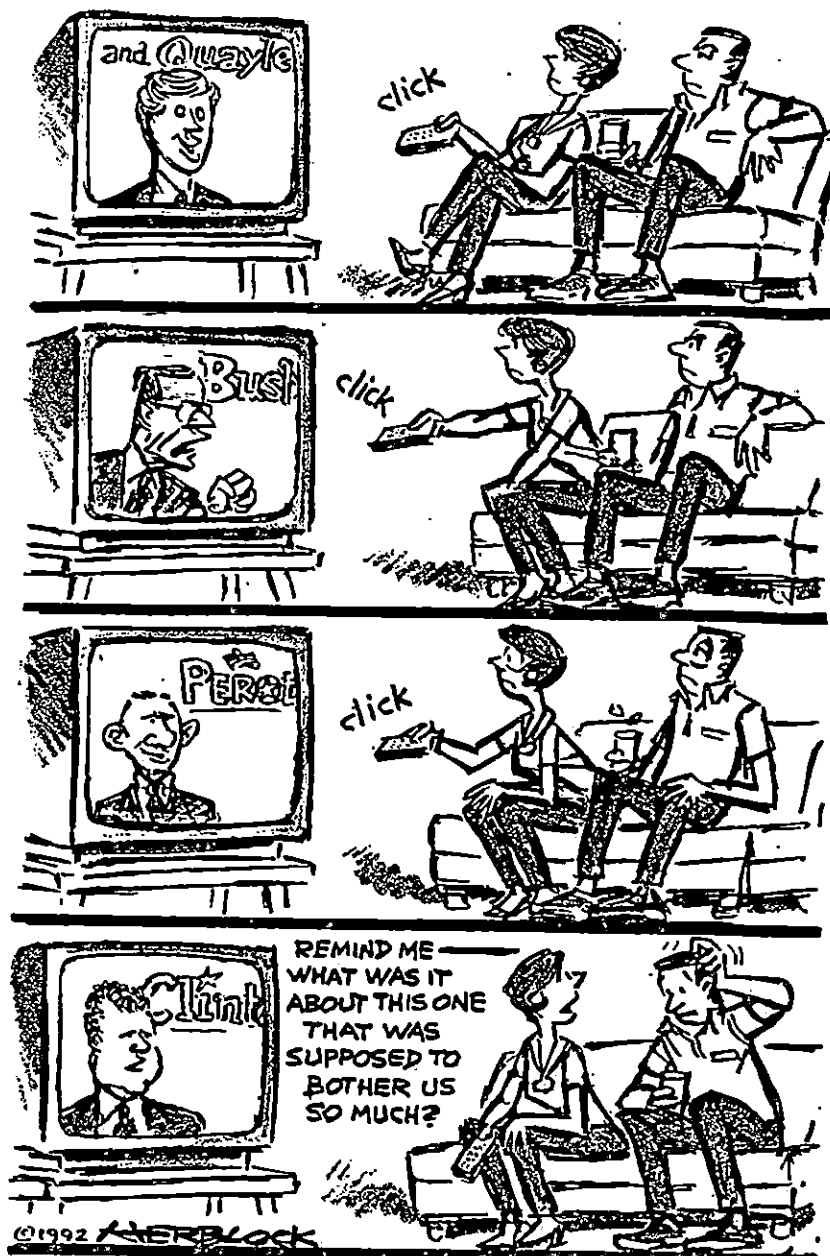
But with Perot, matters of some consequence also become topics of dispute. For instance, Perot denies suggesting that South Dallas, the minority area, be cordoned off so that the police could conduct house-to-house drug searches. When his remarks were first reported, Perot did not object. Now, though, he insists he said nothing of the sort. Two journalists say otherwise. They say they heard him.

Perot now portrays himself as uncharacteristically passive in the dogging of Richard Armitage, a senior Pentagon official in the Reagan administration charged with finding American MIAs in Southeast Asia. He says an investigator, James L. Badey, came to him with derogatory information on Armitage. Not so, says Badey. Perot sought him out. Similarly, Perot says a journalist asked him for a purportedly compromising picture of Armitage in the company of a Vietnamese woman. Not so, says that journalist, The Post's David Remnick. Perot proffered it.

Perot partisans may argue that this is all trivial stuff (Armitage might differ on that), and anyway, some of these events are so dated that the truth will never be known. But that's a standard we were not supposed to apply to Ross Perot, the Eagle Scout in all things who presumably had at least one merit badge in truth telling. But what we are finding instead is a man who substitutes sanctimony for candor, who says what he must to get in the door and close the sale and who thinks that proclaiming honesty is the same as being honest. With his many contradictory statements, Perot is playing both spider and fly—caught in a web consisting of transcripts and newspaper clippings of his own statements. It may all be silly putty, as he says, but more and more he's stuck in it.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992



For the Record

From "A Democrat Looks at Foreign Policy" by Rep. Lee H. Hamilton in the Summer 1992 Foreign Affairs:

Economic weakness undermines the ability of the United States to achieve its foreign policy goals:

- We supplied the bulk of the military forces in the Persian Gulf, but the war was financed by payments of \$54 billion from friends and allies. There is no guarantee that these partners will be so generous in future crises. When we rely on others to finance our foreign policy, we put it at risk.

- Sophisticated electronic components in weapons that performed so well during the gulf war were manufactured abroad. A failure to maintain competitive high-technology industries will erode future U.S. military strength.

- U.S. inaction on the International Monetary Fund quota increase undercuts the ability of the IMF to support market economic reforms in eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics.

- Persistent arrears in our share of financing the United Nations harms the ability of that organization to carry out vital peacekeeping missions.

- Strong and balanced economic growth would make it easier for Americans to deal with both domestic and international problems. In the 1950s and 1960s the United States was the engine of growth for the world economy and a force for promoting both democracy and more open international markets. German Chancellor Helmut Kohl boasts that the 1990s will be the "Decade of Europe," and it is commonplace now for Japanese politicians to speak of U.S. economic decline. If we do not deal with our domestic economic problems, they will be right.

The Stakes in Bosnia

Bosnia now is close to being erased from the map. Increasingly in respect to Yugoslavia the policy question is framed as a choice between military intervention and hand-wringing. But there are other alternatives. Right now the seven most powerful nations of the world, democracies all, are meeting in Munich. Boris Yeltsin is about to drop by. The eight could make the simple electrifying statement that they will not accept as a fact the forceful disappearance of the state of Bosnia, any more than they accepted the eradication of Kuwait. They could extend to Croatia the economic sanctions now in force against Serbia, and on the same grounds of a violation of a basic international rule compelling one nation to respect another's territorial and political integrity. Let no one imagine that Muslim Bosnians, swallowed by Serbia and Croatia, will go gently into the night. The carving up of Bosnia means virtually endless war there and the almost certain escalation to Kosovo and Macedonia. Up to now it has been a matter of the relative standing of this ethnic group or that. Now it becomes a matter of the fate of nations. Coming to grips with the change is the task before the eight at Munich.

A BITTER IRONY unfolds in Sarajevo. Just as the United Nations opens up a humanitarian air bridge to the beleaguered city, the country—Bosnia—of which it is the capital is disappearing. Two-thirds of its territory is held by Serbs, who have proclaimed an independent ethnic Serbian state that looks to federation with Serbia. The other third is held by Croats, who have now proclaimed their own independent ethnic Croatian state that looks to federation with Croatia. Muslims, the largest community in Bosnia and the one with the most to gain from keeping Bosnia multi-cultural and multi-religious, have been killed in the thousands, uprooted in the hundreds of thousands and reduced territorially and politically to near zero. In the West, Serbia is commonly seen as the villain of the Yugoslav piece. Certainly the extremist government of Slobodan Milosevic so deserves. But do not overlook the extremist Croatian government of Franjo Tudjman. It has enjoyed largely uncritical favor on the basis of lying on the Western, anti-Communist, Christian side of Yugoslavia's cultural divide. But, in fact, President Tudjman has conspired as an equal with President Milosevic to carve up Bosnia, although his depredations are less well known.

Touching Up Student Aid

CONGRESS THIS week is expected to send the president, and he is expected to sign, a higher education bill that started out to be grander than it is. Under the budget rules, to expand the costly programs as some members wanted, Congress would have had to raise the necessary funds, which it proved unwilling to do. Its escape from the dilemma was to expand the programs for the poorest students especially much more on paper than in fact. Most federal aid to higher education is given to students, about half in grants to the poor and half in guaranteed and subsidized loans reaching up into the middle class. The grants program is subject to the annual appropriations process; the competition is such that rarely has Congress been able to fund the maximum grants authorized. To end the string of broken promises, the House proposed over administration objections not just to increase future grants but to convert the program to an entitlement. But the funds were never provided to pay for such a step, and ultimately the proposal was abandoned. The higher amounts remain, but subject to the availability of funds. The money is highly unlikely to be available in the five-year life of the bill. The loan program would likewise be expanded, but on a zero-sum basis at no new net cost; the bill would, again, give less than it sounds, and in giving to some recipients would take from others. Thus one provision would remove the income ceilings on eligibility for loans (which are entitlements); everyone could get them. That sounds like a return to the Carter era, when the ceilings were also removed—only to be restored as a budget cut and for philosophical reasons in the Reagan years. The return, however, is incomplete. While higher-income people would be eligible for the loans, they wouldn't be eligible for most of the accompanying subsidy. That's good policy, precisely because it's not as generous as some of the election-year rhetoric surrounding the bill might lead you to expect. The bill would also raise loan limits and liberalize the eligibility rules in ways that would add to costs, but this would be financed by adding origination fees and restricting loans with high risk of default. The House bill also proposed by making loans directly rather than having the banks do it for a fee. That has been reduced to a large demonstration project. This is a workmanlike bill extending and tidying up existing law, but it's not a lot more than that, and less than it started out to be. Student aid remains a crazy quilt and backward in one fundamental respect. It's the aid to the better-off students whose cost is guaranteed each year; the funds for the poorest students have to be fought for. A strong bill would fix that; this one leaves the gulf in place.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Pep Talk for the Poles

PRESIDENT BUSH'S brief visit to Warsaw was a morale-raising mission designed to reassure the Poles that they still have good friends in high places. This message comes to Poland in a bleak season in which political fragmentation and internecine bickering are threatening the great progress that the country made in the first couple of years after the fall of the Communist regime. Mr. Bush sought to remind his audience that their economic troubles are not caused by the reforms but by the four decades of mismanagement that preceded them.

The West anxiously hopes that Poland will become a model of successful transition to guide and encourage the similar transition to a free economy that is now beginning among the much larger and poorer populations in the former Soviet lands. The Poles have been more successful than anyone—including they themselves—expected in raising their exports to Western Europe. They have demonstrated remarkable skill in the new markets. The great danger now is continued indecision and paralysis in a government that needs to move fast.

But Poland has been without an effective government for more than a month because the designated prime minister can't find a parliamentary majority. The International Monetary Fund cut off further lending to Poland last year be-

cause the government was losing control of its deficit.

The West earlier had put up a currency stabilization fund of \$1 billion to help Poland make the zloty convertible, and that operation has been wholly successful. Mr. Bush now proposes to turn the stabilization fund, no longer necessary, into direct aid to support investment. That's a sensible idea. But helpful though the cash will be, it has to be said that the real barrier to faster foreign investment in Poland is the delay in establishing clear laws to govern property and private ownership. Those are matters of great ideological controversy, but until investors know exactly what they are buying and how it is to be taxed, only the most adventurous will put their money into Poland.

In Warsaw's Castle Square, Mr. Bush told the Poles that the world understands the stress under which they are living and working. His short speech was a pep talk, urging them not to lose their original vision of three years ago. But further progress requires political decisions that they have to make for themselves. It would be best if they were made soon. Failure of the Polish reforms would not only mean new burdens on a courageous and talented people. It would be a bad omen for the similar hopes of Poland's neighbors to the east.

Teachers in the Know

ALMOST EVERYONE now is familiar with that 1983 alarm known as "A Nation at Risk," which warned of a rising tide of mediocrity in the schools. But almost no one remembers one of the most forceful responses, a 1986 Carnegie report on the teaching profession called "A Nation Prepared." Noting that teachers spend too much time on noninstructional duties and lack the autonomy of other professionals, the authors suggested formation of a national board to issue certificates of merit to those who meet some stiff qualifications. The thinking: Raise the stakes and with them the status of teachers who too often leave for other pursuits.

The National Board of Professional Teaching Standards, composed mostly of classroom veterans, wants to impose more rigorous standards on a profession that has often relied on minimum competencies. It wants to define what teachers in various subject disciplines should know and be able to do. Eventually the board will confer certificates signifying mastery—something that a teaching degree and state licensing should signify but don't necessarily. As the Carnegie folks envisioned it, the teaching corps should consist of lead teachers who hold these certi-

cates and apprentices. The analogies to certification in other fields, whether medicine or architecture, are obvious but loose—this process would be entirely voluntary.

Will teachers submit to a rigorous evaluation (of just what sort is to be decided—perhaps portfolios with lesson assignments, videos from the classroom and a written examination) for uncertain reward? The school districts that are about to participate in the board's first field test—the District of Columbia is one of the 100 sites—will help answer these questions. The group already has the blessing of the education establishment, including the two union heads who sit on the board. It's received grant money from corporations and foundations and from the federal government. With almost \$30 million in its pocket, the board is readying itself for the first examinations in the 1993-1994 school year.

It won't be easy to win over the 2 million-plus teacher corps, but the effort is worth supporting. Higher salaries and merit pay aren't enough to make teaching attractive and effective. The parallel push for higher standards for student achievement will go nowhere without higher standards for teachers.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Education Chief Rebukes Biggest Teachers Union

Alexander Assails NEA for Backing Clinton

By Mary Jordan
Washington Post Staff Writer

Education Secretary Lamar Alexander sharply criticized the National Education Association yesterday and said the union is endorsing Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton because Clinton bowed to its "agenda."

"In order [for Clinton] to get the nomination, he's had to make the NEA happy, and the NEA only likes people they can control," Alexander told reporters in a meeting laced with harsh remarks about the union that represents 2 million teachers and is holding its convention here this week.

Alexander, apparently trying to minimize the endorsement and respond to the union's heightened criticism of the administration, said the NEA only approves of politicians "who generally promise the most amount of money for the least amount of change."

NEA Executive Director Don Cameron said Alexander's comments were part of "a calculated decision by the presidential campaign to attack the NEA in order to have an enemy." The Bush administration has not "been able to improve education, and rather than accepting responsibility, they are looking out for someone to blame," Cameron said.

The NEA traditionally has sided

with Democratic presidential candidates, but only recently has America's largest teachers' union stepped up its vocal attack on President Bush.

On Sunday, union president Keith Geiger told the 8,500 teachers gathered at the Washington Convention Center that the self-proclaimed "education president" deserves an "F" for his work on improving schools.

"George Bush probably wouldn't know a public school if he saw one," Geiger also said in a widely televised remark. "He went to the most expensive private schools all his life and he doesn't understand the problems of public education."

Clinton campaign spokesman Bruce Reed rejected Alexander's critique of how Clinton got the union endorsement. "Arkansas was the first state in the country to require teacher testing and teachers unions opposed it at the time. They now support him because they know Bill Clinton will be a real education president."

Referring to the NEA convention several blocks away from the Education Department as "the crowd down the street," Alexander blamed its "union rules" for the fact that the better teachers cannot command salaries of "\$70,000, \$80,000, \$90,000." The education secretary also said the group "couldn't stom-



LAMAR ALEXANDER
... says NEA can't "stomach" change

ach" change or accept the idea of giving parents the choice of spending a \$1,000 federal voucher at any public, private or religious school.

Cameron called those remarks "nonsense," and said the NEA backs "systemic change." It is, however, squarely against spending "public funds in private schools," he said.

Alexander also condemned U.S. schools for being "in a time warp, designed for another century." But great change is coming, he said. "By the end of the 1990s, kindergartens will be in banks, elementary schools



KEITH GEIGER
... gives "education president" an "F"

in shopping centers and high schools in corporate headquarters. . . . Museums, corporations and businesses" will be running some schools.

In describing future schools, Alexander used some of the same phrases and concepts echoed recently by his former employer, Christopher Whittle, the Tennessee entrepreneur who plans to create the first chain of private schools. He said schools will operate longer, on weekends, with advanced technology, with more parent volunteers and fewer, but higher-paid, teachers.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

Recent congressional investigations into how Bush administration actions unwittingly bolstered Iraq's military ambitions prior to the Persian Gulf War have raised questions about which administration officials were actually minding U.S. policies at the time.

U.S. policies toward Iraq in that period were guided by a 1989 directive from President Bush—officially known as National Security Decision Directive 26 (NSDD 26)—calling for pursuit of normal relations with Iraq, on grounds that this would promote stability in the volatile gulf region.

In recent weeks, that directive has become the source of great controversy, with Bush's critics in Congress and elsewhere charging that it led the administration to help Iraq accelerate its program of nuclear arms development and encouraged its invasion of Kuwait. Some critics now contend that the directive was the springboard for the greatest foreign policy failure of Bush's presidency.

But the record suggests that Bush, Secretary of State James A. Baker III and other senior foreign policy advisers were not paying much attention to Iraq and its truculent president, Saddam Hussein, in the period between the conception of NSDD 26 and Iraq's August 1990 drive into Kuwait.

Instead, the names that crop up most often in formerly confidential administration documents trickling out of Congress make clear that during the first 1½ years of Bush's presidency, Iraq was handled as what the State Department calls "a sixth-floor problem." On the sixth floor of the State Department are the offices of the assistant secretaries of state and their deputies who deal with different regions of the world on a daily basis.

The same was true in other departments—defense, energy, agriculture, commerce—that had roles in implementing Bush's instruction to improve relations. The officials involved there and at the State Department were people who normally work in behind-the-scenes obscurity. Now they are in the unaccustomed position of seeing their paper trail of memos and recommendations exposed to intense scrutiny and second-guessing by Congress and the media.

Congressional critics charge that the documents point to an official U.S. permissiveness that ignored Saddam's support of terrorism and helped him build up the war machine used to invade Kuwait in August 1990. The officials, who have been the target of these charges, say Congress, by making documents public selectively and out of context, is engaged in a "witch hunt" that could make many in the government bureaucracy reluctant to speak candidly or to put anything that smacks of potential controversy on paper.

Among those whose foreign policy roles have become the objects of scrutiny are:

John H. Kelly, assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs from June 1989 until the end of 1991. During that period, he was the senior American diplomat dealing with the Persian Gulf and thus was principally responsible for implementing Bush's directive. However, he had never served in the gulf and had worked only briefly in the Middle East during a Foreign Service career centered mostly on Europe and East Asia. He made his only visit to Baghdad just five months before Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

Kelly's title notwithstanding, the real boss over U.S. Middle East policy in the State Department has been Dennis B. Ross, director of policy planning and one of Baker's most trusted aides. But Ross concentrated on overseeing efforts to start the Arab-Israeli peace process and left other regional issues, including the gulf, to Kelly. Even so, Kelly was unable to get the attention of Baker or other top-level officials, even after the department's Mideast experts began expressing alarm in February 1990 about Saddam's increasing bellicosity toward Kuwait and Israel.

Kelly currently is U.S. ambassador to Finland.

Richard N. Haass, special assistant to the president for national security affairs and senior director for Near East and South Asian affairs for the National Security Council (NSC). When Bush took office in early 1989, he ordered a wide-ranging review of global problems. As part of that process, Haass in February 1989 wrote the criteria for an interagency review of U.S. policy toward Iraq that led to the directive Bush later signed.

Despite a long-standing interest in the region, Haass had no previous high-level experience with Middle East policy. In the Reagan administration, he had worked at the State Department as a specialist on Greece-Turkey-Cyprus affairs, then took a post at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. During the 1988 presidential primary campaigns, he advised Sen. Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) on Central America issues and, following Bush's election, joined the NSC staff under national security adviser Brent Scowcroft.

Like Kelly, Haass visited Iraq early in 1990, and he came away concerned that the U.S. policy of friendliness was not having the desired effect of moving Baghdad toward moderation. He initiated a series of inter-agency discussions about whether the policy required some tinkering. But the exercise was confined to working-level officials, and the concerns were not communicated to senior policy makers.

April C. Glaspie, ambassador to Iraq from July 1988 until the outbreak of the gulf crisis. Although her performance in the days leading up to the invasion of Kuwait has been the subject of controversy, Glaspie went to Baghdad with a reputation among her Foreign Service colleagues and Middle East experts as a seasoned diplomat with extensive contacts and astute assessments in the politics of the Arab world. She was the first woman to rise to an ambassadorship through the ranks of America's Middle East diplomatic corps.

Most of the dispute about her role centers on her interview with Saddam on July 25, 1990, just before his move against Kuwait. Critics have charged that her overly friendly tone in the interview, her statement to Saddam that the United States had "no opinion" on Iraq's border dispute with Kuwait and her failure to give Saddam a stern warning against military action apparently encouraged the Iraqi leader to believe that the United States would not oppose his move into Kuwait.

Glaspie's Foreign Service colleagues maintain that she has been treated unfairly, and they cite the charges against her as the most egregious example in the Iraq controversy of how reliance on documents can produce a misleading picture of what actually happened. They note that because her meeting with Saddam took place unexpectedly and on short notice, she did not have detailed instructions from Washington about what to tell him and was not authorized to warn him about specific retaliatory actions the United States might take if Iraq moved against Kuwait.

In addition, the officials say, the impression of a weak and indecisive stance conveyed in her reporting cable—which was subsequently made public—reflects the traditional Foreign Service dictum that a cable should emphasize the position of the other side and keep descriptions of the U.S. ambassador's response to a minimum. In oral reports on the meeting, the officials say, Glaspie described in much greater detail her sense that the situation was urgent and her warning to Saddam that the United States would protect its interests in the region.

Before the Gulf War, Iraq Was a 'Sixth-Floor Problem'

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

James P. "Jock" Covey, principal deputy assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs since June 1989. Covey, widely regarded as likely to be among the next generation of top-level American diplomats, has spent virtually his entire Foreign Service career in Middle East affairs. Before becoming Kelly's chief deputy, his assignments included deputy chief of the U.S. Embassy in Egypt, deputy director of the State Department's executive secretariat and staff director of Middle East affairs for the National Security Council. He held the NSC post in 1985 and 1986 when then-national security adviser Robert C. McFarlane oversaw the covert sale of U.S. arms to Iran, but Covey never was publicly involved in the ensuing scandal.

In April this year, Bush nominated Covey to be assistant secretary of state for a new bureau of South Asian affairs that will deal with India, Pakistan and other countries in the region. But last month Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.), ranking minority member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, asked for indefinite postponement of hearings on Covey's nomination. Senate sources say Helms and other committee members want to probe Covey's involvement in U.S. policy toward Iraq.

State Department sources say that while Covey's name appears in some of the policy documents of the prewar period, he was in the process of transferring from the U.S. Embassy in Cairo to Washington when Bush's policy directive was being prepared. By the time he became Kelly's deputy on June 18, 1989, the policy line toward Iraq had already been decided. Between then and Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, the sources said, Covey had only intermittent contact with Iraqi matters, which were handled inside the bureau by Kelly and the deputy assistant secretary for Persian Gulf affairs.

Richard A. Clarke, assistant secretary of state for politico-military affairs. Clarke's name entered the controversy about Iraq with the disclosure of a secret memorandum he wrote assessing U.S. monitoring of Iraq's nuclear and chemical weapons programs in the decade leading up to the Gulf war. He concluded in the memo that "no one was paying attention" to blocking Baghdad's purchase of Western equipment for weapons of mass destruction.

He is a career civil servant who has worked for two decades as a State Department and Pentagon analyst of issues involving strategic and conventional weapons in Europe and the Middle East. He was named assistant secretary at the outset of the Bush administration in 1989.

Earlier this year, he became a target of controversy after the State Department inspector general charged that his office had been lax in monitoring Israel's alleged diversion of U.S. military technology to other countries. Clarke denied acting improperly, and while the department rejected some of the inspector general's charges, it reprimanded Clarke for limiting official inquiries into the subject. Many State and Defense Department officials say that he had been following a long-standing practice within the U.S. government of giving Israel considerable slack on arms transfer questions and had been caught in the cross-fire from those who want the Israelis treated more strictly.

Richard W. Murphy, former assistant secretary for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. When he retired in January 1989 after six years as assistant secretary, Murphy was the dean of the U.S. diplomatic service's Mideast hands. In his 33-year career, he had served as ambassador to Saudi Arabia and Syria, as well as the Philippines and Mauritania.

One of his last actions was to write a detailed memo titled, "U.S.-Iraqi Relations: Picking Up the Pieces," assessing how the United States should deal with Baghdad in the wake of the eight-year Iran-Iraq War, which ended in 1988. The memo concluded that a policy of carefully measured cooperation with Baghdad offered some hope of coaxing Iraq toward moderation. The memo is regarded as an influential forerunner of Bush's directive on improving relations.

However, while visiting Baghdad in March 1989 as an adviser to private business interests, Murphy quickly became aware that the moderate tendencies evident a year earlier were giving way to a shrill new hostility toward the outside world. He ascribed the problem in large part to the fact that Saddam had mortgaged Iraq's oil revenue to pay for the Iran-Iraq War and ambitious development schemes and was regarded in the international financial community as a poor credit risk. Later, Murphy was to conclude that Saddam's frustration over money was what impelled him to attack his tiny but wealthy neighbor, Kuwait.

"To get out of bankruptcy, you rob a bank," he said. But he also acknowledges that despite the warning signs in early 1990, no one realized just how far Saddam would go.

Paul J. Hare, former acting assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. Hare, who had been Murphy's principal deputy, served as acting head of the Middle East bureau between Murphy's retirement and the time Kelly assumed the assistant secretary post.

During his four months in that position, Hare headed the interagency working group that produced the draft document from which Bush's directive eventually was derived. The draft, according to a confidential State

Department memorandum, spoke of "the new political, military and economic importance of Iraq" and stressed "the need for a cautious step-by-step approach to broadening and deepening our bilateral relations."

Earlier, Hare was one of three top department officials who prepared a confidential 1988 memorandum for Secretary of State George P. Shultz and argued against congressional efforts to impose tough economic sanctions against Iraq after Baghdad used poison gas against the Kurds.

When Kelly became assistant secretary in June 1989, he dropped Hare as his principal deputy, replacing him with Covey. Hare subsequently retired from the Foreign Service and is now a research associate with the Middle East Institute here.

Richard T. McCormack, former undersecretary of state for economic and agricultural affairs. As the secretary of state's titular chief adviser on economic matters, McCormack was partially responsible for monitoring Iraq's uses of loans it received from the United States.

During the 1980s, the Commodity Credit Corporation, an Agriculture Department agency, guaranteed loans totaling nearly \$1.8 billion to Iraq, ostensibly for purchase of U.S. farm products. Two weeks ago, Frank Lemay, who had been McCormack's special assistant, told the House Judiciary Committee that in October 1989 he had warned his superiors that Iraq apparently had spent part of these loans to illegally buy nuclear arms technology.

When Bush was asked about Lemay's charges during a network television appearance last Wednesday, he replied angrily, "We didn't know that. The State Department didn't know it. . . . If we had known it, it wouldn't have happened."

However, in his congressional testimony, Lemay said it was his understanding that his superiors passed his warning to Baker. The State Department refused to say whether Baker received such a warning, but McCormack, now out of government, told the New York Times: "Mr. Lemay's representations to the committee were entirely accurate."

Although McCormack's position meant that questions involving Iraqi loans normally would have been brought to his attention, he actually had little expertise or experience in Middle East affairs. A former aide to Sen. Helms, McCormack was made assistant secretary of state for economic affairs in the 1980s as a bow to Republican conservatives in Congress.

However, his weak expertise in economics reportedly annoyed then-Secretary of State Shultz, who had McCormack transferred to the post of ambassador to the Organization of American States. When Baker became secretary, McCormack was elevated, in a new bow to Helms and his followers, to the undersecretary's post. But, until his departure from the department several months ago, real decision-making power on economic matters within the State Department rested not with McCormack, but with Robert B. Zoellick, counselor of the department and one of Baker's most trusted aides.

The Washington Post

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WATCHING SADDAM

ROLES OF STATE DEPARTMENT AND OTHER OFFICIALS LEADING UP TO WAR



John H. Kelly
Former assistant secretary of state, Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. June 1989-end of 1991. Unable to get attention of Secretary of State James A. Baker III as alarm grew over Saddam Hussein's intentions towards Kuwait.



Richard W. Murphy
Former assistant secretary of state for Near Eastern and South Asian affairs. 1983-1989. Perceived Baghdad's shift from moderation to hostility during 1989 visit.



Richard N. Haass
Senior director of Near East and South Asian affairs, National Security Council. 1989-present. Concerned after 1990 Iraq visit about cozy U.S. attitude toward Iraq.



Richard A. Clarke
Assistant secretary of state for politico-military affairs. 1989-present. Wrote memo saying that "no one was paying attention" to blocking Baghdad's buys of Western weapons-making equipment.



April C. Glaspie
Former ambassador to Iraq. July 1988-Outbreak of gulf crisis. Met with Saddam in July 1990; performance subject to widely varying interpretations.



Richard T. McCormack
Former undersecretary of state for economic and agricultural affairs. 1989-1992. Monitored Iraq's use of U.S. loans.

BY MICHAEL DREW-THE WASHINGTON POST

Perot's War: Viet Vets' 'Tombstone' Memorial Modified After Bitter Fight

By John Mintz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Along with the Norman Rockwell paintings and patriotic art that Ross Perot surrounds himself with in his office in Dallas is a bronze statue of three weary-looking American soldiers returning from a patrol in Vietnam.

A life-size version of the statue, designed by Washington sculptor Frederick Hart, stands near a grove of trees at the Vietnam Veterans Memorial here, a starkly realistic counterpoint to the brooding black granite presence of what has come to be known simply as "The Wall." The addition of the statue and a flagpole to the memorial's original design was the compromise solution to a bitter



ROSS PEROT
... wanted heroic aspect included

controversy over how an unpopular war should be best remembered. The battle laid bare many old national wounds over Vietnam that the memorial's proponents had set out to heal.

Perot, the Texas billionaire whose tireless effort on behalf of prisoners of war and the common soldier has made him a hero to many Vietnam veterans, waged a long and bitter campaign to make the memorial a more heroic celebration of those who served in Vietnam and to change the design from one he called "a tombstone."

See PEROT, A6, Col. 1

The Washington Post

PEROT, From A1

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Perot then all but accused Jan Scruggs and John Wheeler, the memorial's two main proponents, of misusing public donations, and—according to Scruggs—allegedly hired the late Roy Cohn to investigate them before ending his involvement in the project.

"I found his tactics frightening, but I was not going to back down," said Scruggs. "The dirtier his tactics got, the more determination it gave me."

In an interview last month, Perot denied using unfair tactics, describing his efforts as solely meant to benefit Vietnam veterans. "There was nothing in it for me personally," Perot said. "Just my concern for those people who fought for 10 years, suffered so terribly."

Like many episodes in Perot's life, his involvement with the building of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial takes on a new significance in light of Perot's emergence as a serious contender for president. In some regards it shows Perot at his best—an unselfish patriot working to bring recognition to the veterans who returned to their country unheralded and ignored.

To his detractors, however, Perot's behavior in the memorial controversy was a classic display of an unwillingness to compromise and an abusive style toward those who disagree with him.

Wheeler today feels such strong emotions about Perot that the only comments he wanted quoted were those he made in a written statement.

"What our country has not seen yet in Ross is the quality of forgiveness and mercy," Wheeler wrote. "In the story of the wall, he has not shown mercy or forgiveness."

Today the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, dedicated 10 years ago this November, is a place of serenity and often heartbreaking emotion where memories of the 58,000 Americans who died in the Vietnam War are kept alive by the names chiseled on the wall and the mementos that are left there—a prayer folded up tight and left in a tiny crack near a name or the photographs of grown children their fathers will never know.

Yet the struggle over building the memorial had a horrible animosity that somehow reconstituted the bitter divisions of the war itself. "It's the nastiest thing I've ever been involved in," said one former federal bureaucrat who had weathered years of other government skirmishes.

A Message About the War

At issue was not whether a memorial should be built but what it should be, and therefore what message it should convey about the Vietnam War. For many conservatives the stakes were enormous. Supporters of U.S. involvement in Vietnam, they felt that the liberal media had made the war seem to be a dishonorable undertaking and a folly. They saw the memorial, which would stand for decades or centuries, as a final statement that should set the record straight on the war and celebrate America's heroism.

Scruggs and Wheeler envisioned it as something different—a place of reconciliation that would also honor those who served in Vietnam, if not the war itself.

Perot had tried to build such a monument in the 1970s. A graduate of the Naval Academy, Perot supported the war, but not vocally. Instead he took up the cause of those who served in it, gaining international fame in 1969 by publicizing North Vietnamese mistreatment of American prisoners of war. Later he embarked on a crusade for a full accounting of whether any Americans were left behind, a cause he still champions.

Perot's efforts to interest both the Ford and Carter administrations in building a memorial listing Americans who died in Vietnam got nowhere. Scruggs, a former infantryman decorated for gallantry, was more persistent. He started a fund to build a memorial in the late 1970s and approached Perot for financial backing in 1980. The



RY MORRIS—THE WASHINGTON POST
ot going to back down."

next year, when Perot gave an initial \$10,000—then the fund's second biggest donation—Scruggs almost did not accept it, fearing it would give Perot too much leverage over the fund. Later Perot gave an additional \$160,000 to finance a design competition.

Perot said he told Scruggs he was donating the money on one condition: "Make sure the men who fought and served in Vietnam like their memorial because they've been so badly treated. . . . I want them to really feel good about their memorial."

A 1981 memo by Scruggs—one of many internal documents of the memorial fund now on file in the Library of Congress—said Perot also stated then that he did not want a "flower power" memorial.

With the backing of the federal government, Scruggs won permission to build a memorial on the Mall, near the Lincoln Memorial. To choose a design, the fund formed a panel of architects and landscape designers that held a public competition and considered 1,400 proposals. Most, including one for a colossal GI helmet with big bullet holes—were quickly rejected. But one design, the judges felt, was clearly superior.

A Yale University undergraduate named Maya Lin proposed building two walls of black granite, meeting in a V, set into a hillcock, with names chiseled in order of death. The walls were to be polished to allow visitors to see their own reflections. There were to be no heroic columns, statues or flags. The plan had the dignity and understatement the judges—and Wheeler and Scruggs—wanted.

Perot couldn't stand it.

In May 1981, days after the selection, he called the fund and told an official there that the design "is great for the 57,000 who died, but not for the 2 million who came home," according to a document at the Library of Congress. "I've enjoyed helping you, but I'm folding my tent now."

Several months later Perot told Scruggs, according to a Scruggs memo, that he "has received many letters from vets" criticizing the design and that he "dislikes the design more and more every day, and is really 'teed off' that he helped us out."

Perot would restate the point countless times in the coming years: His distaste for the design was generated by Vietnam veterans' dislike of it, and his later suspicions about the fund's financial activities were simply a response to veterans' suspicions. It is a posture Perot has maintained in many other controversies—he is simply a passive conduit of other people's information or criticism.

Perot told reporters the proposed memorial was "a tombstone," and that veterans considered it "an apology, not a memorial." Perot disliked the design for the same reasons other critics did—it should not be black, but white; it should be above ground; it should have a flag at the center; and names should be listed alphabetically so visitors could find their loved ones' names, instead of having to look them up in a directory.

"Ross Perot was legitimately concerned about the incompleteness of the [memorial's] original design, which didn't even have the word 'Vietnam' on it, or a walkway for the handicapped," said James Webb, a Perot ally who was assistant secretary of defense for reserve affairs during the dispute. "And he was totally justified in asking they open their books for public inspection."

Polling Ex-POWs on the Design

Perot offered to fund another competition, and then financed a poll of returned POWs on the winning design. Of the 587 POWs asked for their thoughts, 265 replied and 67 percent said they disliked the design.

When it was clear that the basic design would not be changed, Perot and his allies pushed hard for additions—a large flag at the vertex of the V and a statue of soldiers directly in front of the wall. The memorial's backers resisted because these plans would have made the wall a backdrop for the statue and a podium for the flag.

The designer, Lin, met with Perot, and later told CBS's "60 Minutes" that Perot couldn't accept her design without the addition of a statue. "He really felt that . . . we've given [veterans] something peaceful," Lin said, adding that Perot's point was "Now what do we do for the heroics?" . . . He really looked at contemplative as being passive."

The fight became increasingly ugly. Opponents spread the word that participants in the design's selection committee included a communist (indeed, this man had been named in McCarthy-era hearings in the 1950s), a KGB plant (an unsupported allegation) and a man who had falsely claimed to be a World War II veteran (the man in fact had won a Purple Heart from the landing at Anzio).

The opponents persuaded Interior Secretary James Watt, a conservative who had jurisdiction over the memorial because it was on the Mall, to repeatedly delay approval for construction.

At one point Perot told Wheeler by tele-

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phone that if he did not get his way, "I'll wipe you out"—a threat Perot later denied having made.

"There was a chill," Wheeler recalled feeling at the time. "Perot was merciless . . . I resolved to stand and fight."

Finally, in January 1982, Sen. John W. Warner (R-Va.) convened a marathon negotiating session. It became extremely heated—Scruggs recalls screaming at Perot—but it finally resulted in a compromise. A statue and flagpole would be constructed at a modest distance from the wall.

Watt lifted his stop-work order, and construction began. The panels of black granite from India, cut in Vermont, were soon laid into place, and Hart's statue was placed 150 feet away.

Perot was not satisfied with the compromise. He began demanding that he be allowed to audit the fund's books. Perot has acknowledged that he never had specific allegations in mind, only suspicions, and has stressed that he has demanded that other charities to which he has given open their books to him. Perot thought the fund's refusal suggested it was guilty of something.

Scruggs and his supporters decided Perot was out to get them, and refused to open all their files to him, even when he offered to finance an audit by a top accounting firm.

Suggestions of Wrongdoing

Perot sent in lawyers from his company, Electronic Data Systems, to demand access to the books. The fund's lawyers, from the Washington firm of Williams & Connolly, resisted.

Perot made veiled suggestions he knew of wrongdoing. "I've never been able to get over to these fellows that they are custodians of other people's money," Perot said in a televised interview at the time, "that they have a sacred trust, that every penny of this money must be spent carefully, must be accounted for, that you can't give your friends subcontracts, you can't give people consulting fees that don't do anything, and so on and so forth, all these allegations that are being made."

A 1983 Williams & Connolly report on the matter said the firm concluded that Perot was "willing to go to great lengths and expense to impose his will on the organization. A lawyer who represented Perot in making his demand for a special audit described him as the proverbial '800-pound gorilla' who is accustomed to getting his way."

The fund named an independent committee of prestigious businessmen to examine the books, and it found no problems, but

Perot persisted. The fund sent people of standing to try to reassure him—such as retired Gen. Michael S. Davison, former West Point commandant and commander of Army forces in Europe—but he would not be reassured. Davison thought Perot had "some sort of ulterior motive" in demanding the audit, according to Scruggs's notes from 1982.

Fund officials theorized, according to their official files, that Perot was out to "harass" them because he was jealous that they were successful in launching a memorial when he had not been.

They thought Perot became desperate when he realized the memorial was not going to generate much publicity for himself. "He was extremely preoccupied by the idea of finding a way to get credit for the memorial," Scruggs said.

Demands From Roy Cohn

Even when a major accounting firm—the same one that did his firm's books—and the Internal Revenue Service found nothing amiss with the fund's books, Perot's suspicions were not allayed.

In 1983 the fund started to receive demands from Roy Cohn, a New York attorney known as one of the nation's nastiest advocates, demanding access to the fund's books. Fund files show that Cohn told the fund's lawyer, Terrence O'Donnell, that he had been retained by Perot.

"He is a mean man, and he has hired a mean lawyer," another of the fund's attorneys, former attorney general Elliot L. Richardson, wrote to Scruggs. "I have known Roy Cohn since 1947, and if you want me to make him feel embarrassed about having taken on Ross Perot's cause, I would be glad to oblige."

Perot said it is "a myth" that he hired Cohn. In the interview, Perot presented a letter from John Baines, a San Antonio developer, saying he, not Perot, had hired Cohn.

According to the fund's files, Cohn, after having told fund lawyers that he represented Perot, later said he represented a group: Perot, Baines and a Baines associate named William Stensland.

Baines said last month that he retained Cohn for no fee with Stensland, a retired Marine major who helped Baines run a Vietnam veterans' group in Texas. Both men said in interviews that Perot was not involved in retaining Cohn.

But fund officials learned that while Baines and Stensland were Cohn's clients of record, Perot was supposed to pay Cohn, and that Baines was "angry" when Perot indicated he would not pay for Cohn's work, according to fund files.

Tom Bolan, a longtime legal associate of Cohn's, said he recalled that "the client was Baines, but . . . the understanding was Perot wanted to maintain a low profile, and not be the client of record. My understanding was at some point Baines may have bailed out because Perot didn't pay up."

Perot, asked whether he was supposed to finance retaining Cohn, replied, "No, no, no, no, no, no."

In 1984, the General Accounting Office completely cleared the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund of all allegations of impropriety, concluding that "the numerous allegations raised regarding the fund were not valid."

Perot privately was not placated, fund documents indicate. He told an acquaintance at an Air Force gathering in 1984 that the GAO report was "a whitewash," according to one fund document.

Perot summed up the matter differently last month.

"I never made any allegations," Perot said. "The Vietnam veterans made the allegations. I said let's get an audit and clean it up. We eventually got an audit and cleaned it up."

On Nov. 13, the fund will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the memorial's dedication. Scruggs recently wrote to Perot asking whether, despite past bitterness, he would help organize the celebration. Perot's secretary wrote back that he could not.

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Overtures to the Antiwar Movement

Perot Offered to Help Group Raise Money for South Vietnam Trip

By John Mintz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Ross Perot has a reputation for having been a hawk on the Vietnam War, but in at least one instance he offered to help a leading antiwar group raise money.

The offer, which Perot made at the same time he was working closely with White House officials and had offered them large sums of money for projects supporting then-President Richard M. Nixon, was a puzzle to the group's leaders then and remains one today.

The encounter occurred at the height of the war, in 1969-70, as Perot was gaining worldwide publicity by organizing an attempt to fly in medicine and Christmas dinner for POWs being held in North Vietnam.

Alvin Rosenbaum, an antiwar leader working closely with the Vietnam Moratorium Committee—an umbrella of groups that organized two of the nation's biggest antiwar rallies—said he sensed from that trip that Perot was a curious man open to ideas. So he sent Perot a letter asking whether he would be willing to meet. Perot agreed, and Rosenbaum flew to Dallas.

First Perot explained that he, too, had been inspired by John F.

Kennedy—Perot said he was an advance man in Texas for the Kennedy campaign in 1960, Rosenbaum recalls. Rosenbaum said he told Perot the moratorium was organizing a trip to South Vietnam to encourage an end to that regime's repressive ways. But the antiwar group lacked funds for the trip.

Perot, according to Rosenbaum, agreed to help. In a series of conversations, Perot told him to call three businessmen who he said would provide \$5,000 each. Rosenbaum made the calls and found that Perot had persuaded automobile magnate Henry Ford II, PepsiCo Chairman Donald M. Kendall and a conservative Texan, whose name Rosenbaum could not recall, to donate.

The group later decided not to take the trip partly because it feared it would appear the businessmen had co-opted them, and they never collected the funds.

Rosenbaum, now a Washington writer, said he thought then that Perot's actions "had all the hallmarks of an intelligence operation" designed to unearth the left's secrets.

But he said he also was impressed by Perot's willingness to reach across the political chasm that divided them. "There wasn't a single other person around Nixon"

who extended himself to the left in this way, Rosenbaum said. "For him to take that initiative was gutsy."

Sam Brown, the moratorium's founder and now a real-estate developer in California, has a less positive impression of Perot. Brown said he met the Texan at the Mayflower Hotel here in late 1969 or early 1970. "It was a very odd meeting," Brown recalled. "He was interested in sending medical supplies to North Vietnam in return for POWs."

Several times Perot asked Brown how Perot could make contact with the North Vietnamese to discuss such a deal, and whether the moratorium was in contact with the communist government, Brown said. Brown thought the suggestion was loaded: Pro-war forces had suggested for years that antiwar activists were secretly conspiring with Hanoi.

"I thought he was trying to discredit the antiwar movement," Brown said. Brown said he recommended that Perot contact the State Department and left.

The Perot campaign did not respond to questions about the matter.

Rosenbaum remains puzzled by his encounter. "He was trying to do something" in initiating conversations with the antiwar movement. "I'm just not sure what it was."

POLITICS

Casey Seeks Chance to Speak On Democrats' Abortion Plank

Pennsylvania Gov. Robert P. Casey (D) has written Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown requesting an opportunity to address the Democratic convention in New York next week to voice his opposition to the party's support of abortion rights.

Casey testified before the party's platform committee last month and urged Democrats to support at least some restrictions on abortion similar to those embodied in the Pennsylvania law largely upheld by the Supreme Court last week.

Casey said that the court's abortion decision "moved the debate to center stage in this year's national election." He added that the platform approved last week by a party panel "has the effect, in my opinion, of placing the national party even more squarely within the abortion-on-demand camp." Casey called that "a serious mistake for the party."

It is unlikely that Casey will have his opportunity. DNC press secretary Ginny Terzano said yesterday that Brown "has not responded formally or spoken with Governor Casey, but anyone who is speaking at the convention will have endorsed Governor Clinton by the time of the convention and Governor Casey has not."

Delaware Officials Seek to Swap Posts

■ Rep. Thomas R. Carper (D-Del.) wants to stay in politics, but not in Washington. Delaware Gov. Michael N. Castle (R) also wants to stay in politics, but is barred by law from seeking a third term.

An obvious solution: the two hope to switch jobs.

Castle, who has been lieutenant governor and a state legislator, said running for Delaware's sole House seat "is obviously the clearest choice" for him. "The training I've received as governor is absolutely the best training for anything else I could do in public life and I didn't want to throw away that opportunity," Castle told the Associated Press.

This deal has been done before. In 1986, Rep. John R. McKernan (R-Maine) won the governor's seat being vacated by Maine Gov. Joseph E. Brennan (D), who was prohibited from seeking a third consecutive term. Brennan sought McKernan's seat and won. But Brennan found life in Washington not to his liking and four years later tried to win back his old job from McKernan, but failed.

Castle is in a three-way primary in September. If he wins, as expected, he will face Democrat S. B. Woo in November. Carper has one primary rival and is expected to face Republican B. Gary Scott in the general election.

Woo is a physics professor and former lieutenant governor, who challenged Sen. William V. Roth Jr. (R) in 1988. Scott is a well-known real estate magnate and a political newcomer.

Carper, in his fifth term, said he is tired of Washington politics. "In terms of partisan politics, they play it in the big leagues here. This is major league partisanship in Washington," he said. "In Dover, there's partisanship. Is it major league? No. We're talking minor league baseball and I think that's the way it should remain in Delaware."

—Maralee Schwartz

The Washington Post

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By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

Retired Adm. William J. Crowe Jr. yesterday labeled as "absolutely outrageous" news media reports that accuse the former Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman of covering up the truth behind the downing of an Iranian airliner by a U.S. warship four years ago.

Reports last week on the ABC News program "Nightline" and this week in Newsweek magazine assert that the USS Vincennes had been operating illegally in Iranian territorial waters when it fired two anti-aircraft missiles at the unarmed civilian Airbus on July 3, 1988, killing 290 people.

The reports portrayed the skipper of the Vincennes, Capt. Will Rogers III, as "overeager" and "spoiling for a fight, contributing to a series of blunders that led the crew to its mistaken conclusion that the ship was under attack by an Iranian F-14 fighter. Newsweek and ABC conducted a joint investigation into the incident.

The reports said, moreover, that the Vincennes and other U.S. warships in the region had been fighting a "secret war" against Iran that went well beyond their publicly acknowledged mission of protecting neutral shipping from attacks by Iranian gunboats. Crowe subsequently approved an elaborate "pastiche of omissions, half-truths and outright deceptions" to mask the true circumstances of the downing, Newsweek said.

In a telephone interview, Crowe heatedly denied that he had done any such thing. "I just reject and am offended by the idea that this was an orchestrated coverup," Crowe said. "Granted, we were feeling our way. Granted, we made some mistakes. But to leap from that to an orchestrated coverup to deceive the American people—it simply isn't true."

Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, on Thursday wrote Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney to request "an expeditious inquiry into these serious allegations."

The Pentagon said initially that the crew had acted properly because the airliner had been operating outside the prescribed commercial air corridor, was emitting a military electronic code and was descending with what appeared to be hostile intent.

But the Pentagon acknowledged in an investigation released five weeks later that none of those assumptions had been correct, blaming the decision to fire the missiles on a series of errors and miscues by the Vincennes crew. The incident occurred during the "tanker war"

phase of the Iran-Iraq war, when U.S. warships were deployed in the Persian Gulf to protect merchant vessels from mines and attacks by Iranian gunboats.

Newsweek reports that Crowe's initial public briefing placed the Vincennes in international waters at the time of the downing, an assertion repeated by then-Vice President Bush in a July 14, 1988, address to the United Nations. Pentagon officials have said the ship was responding to an attack on one of its helicopters by Iranian gunboats.

But the magazine says the ship actually had been operating in Iran's territorial waters, making the Pentagon's claims of self-defense seem less plausible.

Crowe said yesterday that the Vincennes had, in fact, crossed Iran's 12-mile coastal limit—but only after the helicopter had been attacked by the gunboats. At that point, he said, the location of the ship became "sort of immaterial, both operationally and legally. You have the right to be there if you're attacked."

In any event, he said, in the fall of 1988 the Pentagon disclosed the ship's coordinates at the time of the downing to international civil aviation authorities, so "this information has been in the public domain for a long time."

Some of the information in the Newsweek article has been previously reported. In 1989, for example, Cmdr. David Carlson, skipper of a frigate that also had been operating in the area, caused a stir when he wrote an article describing the Vincennes as a hyper-aggressive "robo-cruiser" that had probably provoked the clash with the Iranian gunboats.

Press reports also had described some of the more aggressive countermeasures carried out by U.S. forces in the gulf during the tanker war, such as the April 1988 de-

struction of two oil-drilling platforms used by the Iranians in military operations. But the Newsweek account asserts that U.S. naval forces went considerably further than public accounts, setting elaborate traps to snare the harassing gunboats.

Navy officials reported, for example, that on the morning of July 3, U.S. warships had gone to the aid of a Liberian ship, the Stoval, which was under attack by Iranian gunboats. Newsweek says, however, that the ship did not exist; U.S. naval forces, the report says, had faked radio transmissions from the phantom vessel to lure the gunboats from their island hideouts.

Crowe said yesterday, "I've been over at the Pentagon all morning and I can't find anyone who knows anything about it. . . . I'm not sure that's a true story."

The Newsweek story was written by reporter John Barry and Roger Charles, a retired Marine

lieutenant colonel who now works as a freelance writer. In an interview yesterday, Barry disputed Crowe's account, saying the Vincennes "was in Iranian waters before it opened fire on the gunboats. . . . I think Rogers went looking for a fight."

Barry said he based his conclusions of a coverup at least partly on public statements by Pentagon officials that the Vincennes had been responding to attacks on neutral merchant shipping—statements that Navy officials now acknowledge were erroneous.

Ronald O'Rourke, a naval affairs analyst at the Congressional Research Service who has studied the Vincennes incident, said yesterday he found the new report "interesting" but inconclusive. "They seem to have uncovered things on the periphery, things that have to do with the context [of the downing] The main point is, they have raised some questions."



ADM. WILLIAM J. CROWE JR.
... calls news reports "outrageous"

Adm. Crowe Denies Coverup in 1988 Downing of Iranian Airliner

The Washington Post

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SUMMIT NOTEBOOK

Germans Concerned About Image As Police Disrupt Munich Protests

By William Drozdiak
Washington Post Foreign Service

MUNICH, July 6—It was just the kind of strong-arm image that postwar German politicians have been trying to live down, and Chancellor Helmut Kohl was said to be furious that aggressive police tactics threatened to spoil the \$22 million party he is throwing here for the leaders of the world's Group of Seven leading industrialized democracies.

As the seven national leaders assembled this morning at Munich's baroque Nymphenburg Palace, hundreds of protesters railed from behind police barricades against what they called the "G-7 international genocide center" and jeered the seven as "the foot soldiers of high finance."

The radical leftist protesters had come from all over Germany to attend an alternative summit here and to denounce what they called the failure of the "rich man's club" to deal with Third World poverty and environmental destruction. As television cameras captured the scene for a global audience, German riot police waded into the crowd of protesters, pounding them with truncheons and dragging some away by the hair.

Two decades after the massacre of Israeli athletes by Palestinian terrorists at the Munich Olympic Games, the Bavarian state government has deployed 9,000 soldiers to make sure that no violence mars the summit. But the heavy-handed police presence is proving to be a public-relations disaster, as delegates and journalists are forced to run a gantlet of intrusive security checks to enter the conference center.

"It fulfills all the nasty stereotypes of our country," said one German official. "The local authorities have gone too far, and we will all end up paying a price in world opinion."

For the past eight years, radical groups have organized alternative "people's conferences" to coincide with the annual summits of the Group of Seven leaders. Just as the summits have evolved over the past 18 years from clubby discussions to full-blown media extravaganzas attended by thousands of journalists, the alternative sessions have changed significantly. Instead of Hare Krishna chants, they now feature serious studies that have begun to have an impact on the agenda of the high and mighty.

Jakob von Uexkull, who founded the alternative summits in 1984, has brought along environmental specialists who are challenging the leaders of the industrialized democracies to live up to their promises made last month at the "Save the Earth" conference in Rio de Janeiro. Contrary to the notion that the Group of Seven is an institution capable of solving world problems, von Uexkull says the summit participants "will be dealing mainly with their own failure" to make economic growth compatible with a safe environment.

Jim Barnes, a nuclear expert from the Friends of the Earth environmental defense group, has released a study titled "Russian Roulette," which focuses on the poor safety prospects of Soviet-designed nuclear reactors in Eastern Europe. "The dangers posed by these plants are analogous to holding a gun to people's heads," Barnes said. The study's conclusions, to his satisfaction, are now shared by the European governments attending the summit; their own studies have determined that a serious nuclear accident in the next 15 years is almost certain unless something is done to repair or shut down the most dangerous plants.

The Group of Seven's status as one of the world's most exclusive clubs has become one of the more controversial issues here. President Bush hinted that it might be time to consider making it the Group of Eight by inviting Russia to join, and the other members were so appalled by the suggestion that Bush's advisers tried to back away from the proposition as quickly as possible.

The most vehement opponents of letting Russian President Boris Yeltsin into the circle are Germany and Japan, perhaps because the old Axis powers do not belong to that other elite world team, the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council—the United States, Russia, China, France and Britain.

Yeltsin, who will join the other seven leaders for talks on Wednesday, announced that he plans to show up for a Group of Seven dinner Tuesday night. While taken aback by this effrontery, German spokesman Dieter Vogel said Germany would not act inhospitably. "The G-7 is a group of gentlemen," Vogel said. "If a guest arrives early, he will naturally be given something to eat."

The Washington Post

U.N. Troops Seen Opening Relief Land Corridors

By Marc Fisher
and Stuart Auerbach
Washington Post Foreign Service

MUNICH, July 6—The world's seven leading economic powers began today to plan stronger measures to end the bloody Bosnian civil war, including more vigorous enforcement of U.N. economic sanctions against neighboring Serbia and possible drives by U.N. troops to open land corridors for humanitarian aid to besieged Sarajevo and other Bosnian cities.

A senior U.S. official said tonight that "rigorous enforcement of the sanctions" against Serbia and the new Yugoslav state it controls "is a necessary element" of a renewed drive for a political solution in Bosnia, where Serb militia forces backed by Serbia's nationalist government have seized about two-thirds of the republic.

Among the new steps under discussion, sources said, are a naval blockade of Serbia and its small satellite, Montenegro, and efforts to close land supply routes from neighboring Romania.

A senior French official said the summit leaders will issue a statement on the Yugoslav crisis Tuesday in which they will pledge continued humanitarian aid to the people of Bosnia "at all costs" and warn that the United Nations will be prepared to stop any attacks on U.N. troops delivering the aid.

Even if the current international airlift bringing food and medicine to Sarajevo airport is unimpeded, White House national security adviser Brent Scowcroft said tonight, land relief convoys are likely to be needed as well because of the great volume of supplies required to sustain Bosnia's beleaguered civilian population. He and other officials indicated that the United States is

prepared to provide air cover for the land convoys if needed, after authorization for such action by the U.N. Security Council.

New U.N. authorization is also likely to be needed for stricter enforcement of the current sanctions, as well as for any expanded military role in the relief effort. Officials of several summit nations suggested that the G-7 leaders are ready to back any new U.N. authorizations deemed necessary.

Summit host, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, who sought to avoid the contentious issue.

Scowcroft said the leaders decided tonight to direct their trade experts to continue meeting here to see if further progress can be made toward resolving the long-stymied talks. Although no resolution is expected during the three-day summit, officials said they still hope for a political push strong enough to get the trade talks moving again.

On the Yugoslav crisis, White

See SUMMIT, A14, Col. 1

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The upheaval in Bosnia and other former Yugoslav republics, which dominated a dinner meeting of the seven leaders tonight, overshadowed the summit's announced purpose: an attack on the recession plaguing most of their countries.

In another important addition to the planned agenda, President Bush and British Prime Minister John Major pushed the Uruguay round of trade talks into the summit discussions over the objections of the

SUMMIT, From A1

House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said tonight that "nothing is ruled out" by the leaders of the seven nations—United States, Japan, Germany, France, Britain, Italy and Canada.

He refused to discuss specific military plans but said the United States is ready to provide air cover for "whatever forces might be necessary to secure the [Sarajevo] airport" or a corridor by which humanitarian aid could be delivered to the city, whose 300,000 remaining residents have been under siege by Serb militia forces for three months.

Italian Foreign Minister Vincenzo Scotti said he will call a meeting of the nine-nation Western European Union later this week in Helsinki to establish a naval blockade in the Adriatic Sea aimed at enforcing the U.N. embargo against Serbia. French officials said the naval action might be aimed at a wider area to stop supplies bound for Serbia that come through Romania, which is reported to be trading heavily with Serbia.

Italian and French officials said the summit leaders also want the United Nations to get more involved in the peace effort launched by the European Community's envoy, Britain's Lord Carrington.

Bush brought up the six-year-old General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) talks at every meeting today, aides said. A senior French official said the United States "seems keenest on getting some kind of an agreement" on the trade talks during the meetings here. A British official said the Uruguay round "is the subject the prime minister cares about most . . . [his] number one priority at the moment."

Major called this afternoon for "forceful intervention" by the summit leaders in the trade talks, according to a Japanese official.

French President Francois Mitterrand replied that "both sides will

have to make sacrifices, but we expect the greater sacrifice from the United States," according to Dieter Vogel, the German spokesman.

Mitterrand, who has been under strong pressure from French farmers not to negotiate away their subsidies, met Sunday night with Bush. But the trade talks took just 10 minutes before both sides realized they shared little common ground, French officials reported. Still, the Anglo-American push made the trade talks the main topic of tonight's working dinner, Fitzwater said.

At the same time, chief U.S. negotiator Warren Lavorel and his European counterpart, Hugo Palmén, held a series of unannounced meetings to try to break an 18-month stalemate over how far Europe will drop its farm subsidies.

"No one has found the magic formula yet, although they are making a lot of effort," said a senior U.S. official. The efforts will continue Tuesday morning, when Bush meets with Jacques Delors, president of the European Community's executive commission, which handles trade negotiations for its 12 members.

While U.S. and European officials doubt there will be a breakthrough in the next two days, they said a strong declaration by summit leaders could give the talks the political push needed to reach an agreement before a congressionally mandated U.S. deadline next March.

Strong declarations at the last two summits failed to produce that kind of push, and since then the weakened economies of the major industrialized nations and the more perilous political positions of their leaders make it even more difficult to achieve a compromise now, senior U.S. and Canadian officials said.

But British officials and Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady underscored the importance of trade to global economic growth—one of the twin themes of this year's summit. "The prosperity, the jobs and investment that are going to come

Major Powers to Stiffen Stand on Serbia

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Judge Chides Government for Trying to Gag Ex-Spy

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal judge said yesterday that former CIA spy master Clair E. George was entitled to delve into his secret career at the agency during his forthcoming criminal trial and scolded Iran-contra prosecutors for trying to muzzle him.

"Criminal defendants are always permitted to give some background about themselves," U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth said in a 39-page ruling. "If the government insists on sanitizing all of the details of the defendant's career," the judge warned, "then an admission that accords defendant something equivalent to war-hero status would be appropriate."

Once the high-ranking deputy director for operations at CIA, with a worldwide force of some 2,500

people at his command, George faces trial this month on nine counts of lying and obstructing congressional and grand jury inquiries into the Iran-contra affair.

In yesterday's pretrial order, Lamberth dealt with George's attempts to use extensive amounts of classified information in his defense and with the prosecution's attempts to "freeze-frame" on the moments during which [George] allegedly lied and permit no other evidence to go to the jury."

The judge noted that he has in the past criticized George for trying to force production of vast numbers of secret documents to demonstrate the "context" of his position. But he added that he "must now similarly chastise the government for attempting to deny defendant from showing any context at all."

George, the ruling made clear,

wants to show what a busy man he was and, as part of this "preoccupation defense," explain the structure and day-to-day functioning of the CIA, the internal workings of his worldwide directorate, the dozens of sensitive covert-action programs that were carried out during his tenure and the wide variety of "flaps" or controversies with which he had to deal.

The Iran-contra affair involved the Reagan administration's covert resupply network for the Nicaraguan contras, secret U.S. arms-for-hostages deals with Iran and the diversion of profits from those deals to the contra cause. George's lawyers plan to argue that he had too many other problems to be held to account for this one.

Lamberth ruled that this was a legitimate approach and that the prosecution's view of the case was

much too narrow. The judge said, "The government's vision of the case would suffocate virtually any defense that Mr. George sought to make."

But having said that, Lamberth also ruled against George time and again in his efforts to make public the secret "details" of his work. The judge said substitute phrases and generalities would suffice for George to make his points.

George "must be permitted to provide the jury with some information about his life and career," Lamberth said. "Unquestionably, the government may substitute for specific places and operations, but the substance of his career and his success must come through."

Final pretrial hearings are scheduled to start Monday. Jury selection will begin when these are concluded. There will be no testimony until July 20 at the earliest.

in the next several years will come because of trade," Brady said.

As of now, the official summit communique to be issued Wednesday does not mention the GATT talks—an indication of how much Kohl wanted to keep the issue away from the summit table.

The leaders' aim appears to be to show enough progress to revitalize formal negotiations going on in Geneva. As a result of the stalemate over the farm question, negotiations in other critical sectors have ground to a halt.

Because of the political sensitivity of the trade talks, officials said it is unlikely that any agreement will come before September's French referendum on European unity and November's U.S. elections.

The first day of the summit featured what French spokesman Jean Musitelli called a "morose discussion" of sluggish economic growth in the seven countries. Bush told his colleagues the American people have low expectations of an improved economy and a "difficult psychological attitude," according to German spokesman Vogel.

Although the seven leaders agreed they must boost growth in all countries, they also agreed to let each country develop its own growth strategy.

After a ceremonial opening, the leaders met for most of the afternoon and attended a working dinner. Earlier, Bavarian police waded into a crowd of about 500 protesters away from the summit site, beating demonstrators with batons in an action Munich Mayor Christian Ude called disproportionate.

Summit organizers said Russian President Boris Yeltsin, already scheduled to join the G-7 leaders Wednesday, will now also have dinner with them Tuesday. But Japan remained resistant to any new aid to Russia until the status of the Russian-occupied northern Kuril Islands, claimed by Japan, is resolved.

Staff writer Don Oberdorfer and correspondent William Drozdiak contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Bosnians Denounce Croat Separatists

Proclamation of Autonomous State Called 'Knife in the Back'

By Laura Silber
Special to The Washington Post

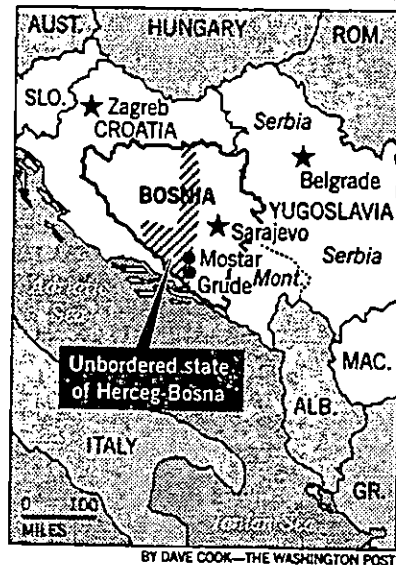
BELGRADE, July 6—The embattled Slavic Muslim-led government of Bosnia-Herzegovina today bitterly denounced a weekend announcement by leaders of Bosnia's Croat minority that they had established an autonomous Croat state composed of about 20 percent of the former Yugoslav republic.

"This is treason," said Stjepan Kljucic, a Croat member of Bosnia's collective presidency who has been trying to preserve a defensive alliance between the republic's Muslims and Croats against Serb militia forces seeking to partition the republic along communal lines.

"This attempt to break our unity is a knife in the back," said Bosnian deputy military commander Jovan Djivak, a leader of the three-month-old effort to defend Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, from besieging Serb forces.

The area claimed by Bosnia's Croat leadership was not precisely defined, but it is believed to stretch roughly from southwest Bosnia near the Adriatic coast almost to the republic's northern border with Croatia. The region is to be called Herceg-Bosna, and its designated capital is Mostar, a Croat-majority city of about 50,000 in southern Bosnia that local Croat militia forces recently secured in a two-month battle with rival Serb militiamen.

The Croat announcement, the latest abrupt twist in Bosnia's complex, three-sided conflict, seemed to shatter all hopes that a multinational state could be forged in the former Yugoslav republic even as U.N.-sponsored relief flights con-



tinued to land tons of food and medical supplies for Sarajevo's beleaguered civilian population.

Organizers of the airlift said that 14 more aircraft had landed safely at the Sarajevo airport today, despite continued exchanges of mortar and small-arms fire in the area between Serb and Muslim-led Bosnian militiamen. They said a total of about 500 tons of humanitarian aid has reached Sarajevo since the airlift began Friday and that the supplies are slowly making their way to the 300,000 local residents who have been cut off for nearly three months by encircling Serb militia units.

Serb forces—heavily backed by the nationalist government of neighboring Serbia—now control about 70 percent of Bosnia, and if the new Croat autonomous region establishes its authority, there will be little left of the republic for the Slavic Muslim community, which makes up 44 percent of Bosnia's 4.4 million popula-

tion and has dominated many towns, villages and regions throughout Bosnia for centuries.

The Croat announcement follows a similar one by Bosnia's militant Serb leaders in April, when they proclaimed the Autonomous Serb Republic of Bosnia on lands roughly consistent with territory controlled by Serb militia forces.

Analysts here have suggested that the Autonomous Serb Republic may have stemmed from a clandestine meeting last May between Bosnia's Serb and Croat leaders in the Austrian city of Graz, at which the two sides reportedly agreed to divide up Bosnia at the expense of the Muslims. At the time, the Croat side denied any such accord had been reached, but newspapers with close ties to the governments of both Serbia and Croatia trumpeted the partition plan as fact.

Left unclear was the status of a purported defense pact between Bosnia and Croatia that was announced by Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic three weeks ago. Croatia has declared since that it is not bound by any formal treaty with Bosnia, and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman today took a non-committal stance on the action of the Bosnian Croat leadership.

Tudjman, who many observers believe has designs on Croat-populated areas of Bosnia, said in a letter to Izetbegovic that Bosnia's Croats had to organize against "Serb aggression" and certain unspecified "tendencies" of the Muslim leadership of Bosnia. Tudjman added that he viewed the autonomous Croat region as "an initiative within the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and only as such."

Columbia Crew Sets Record for Shuttle Flight

Associated Press

CAPE CANAVERAL, July 6—Columbia and its crew of five men and two women set a record for the longest space-shuttle flight today on the 11th day of a laboratory research mission.

Astronaut Carl Meade compared the flight to "an extended camp-out trip" and said he cannot wait to take a shower Wednesday when Columbia is expected back on Earth at 9:08 a.m. EDT at Edwards Air Force Base in California.

At 9:14 a.m. EDT, Columbia swept past the previous shuttle-endurance record of 10 days, 21 hours and 1 minute, set by the same ship in 1990. That pales in comparison with other space programs, including NASA's Skylab and the Russian Mir space station, where one crew spent a year in orbit.

Mission Control congratulated the Co-

lumbia crew by playing the 1960s tune "Stay," which pleads: "Oh, won't you stay just a little bit longer?"

Shuttle commander Richard N. Richards thanked controllers and said he and pilot Kenneth Bowersox celebrated by doing the twist, "about the only thing you can do without going out of control up here."

Richards tried unsuccessfully to contact the two Mir cosmonauts by ham radio as the craft flew over South America. Columbia passed 71 miles below Mir.

"The physical aspect of this is not very demanding at all," Meade said in a live interview today on "CBS This Morning." "Actually, it's the mental that I think challenges most of the people. This is rather like an extended camp-out trip, if you know what I mean. So it's not really that bad."

There is no shower, tub or sink aboard the shuttle, and astronauts must take

sponge baths and use spray soap to wash their hair. There are two options for sponge baths: wet wipes or towels moistened with hot or cold water from the galley.

Skylab, the roomiest manned spacecraft flown by NASA, has the U.S. record for U.S. space flight, an 84-day mission in 1973-74. The world record is held by Musa Manarov and Vladimir Titov, Soviet cosmonauts who spent 366 days from Dec. 21, 1987, to Dec. 21, 1988, aboard Mir, a little more spacious than Skylab.

Skylab's three astronauts had 12,183 cubic feet of living area, about the size of a three-bedroom ranch house. That is almost three times the size of Columbia and Spacelab, the 23-foot laboratory in the shuttle cargo bay.

NASA plans two more 13-day shuttle trips before stepping up to 16-day excursions and, at the end of the decade, stays of several months aboard space station Freedom.

The Washington Post

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VEEP, From A1

VEEPSTAKES

THE GRAPEVINE 'SHORT LIST'



Sen. Albert Gore Jr.
(D-Tenn.)



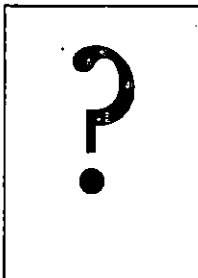
Rep. Lee Hamilton
(D-Ind.)



Sen. Bob Kerrey
(D-Neb.)



Sen. "Jay" Rockefeller
(D-W.Va.)



The Surprises



Sen. Harris Wofford
(D-Pa.)

THE WASHINGTON POST

will receive the National Education Association's endorsement today, Clinton met with Warren Christopher, the former Carter administration official who heads a three-member panel advising him on selection of a running mate.

The wait is agonizing, particularly for those who might get the call. As one Democratic congressional aide put it, "It's like being pregnant and past your due date."

Press secretaries to those on the short list receive endless inquiries. The television networks have begun their stakeouts, tailing the hopefuls as best they can—and as best they know them. Clinton arrived here last night with a large vacant spot on his schedule for this morning, prompting speculation as to whom that time is for.

Clinton has managed the selection process to minimize speculation and prevent embarrassment to potential candidates. His criteria, he has said, include someone who could be seen as a good president, someone who understands what happened to the economy and middle-class Americans during the 1980s, and someone whose background complements his own.

Aides to Clinton apologize—both for refusing to talk and for knowing so little about what is going on. Only a handful of people are truly involved, and they have been remarkably leak-free. Whenever someone reports something, Clinton knocks it down, with a smile of satisfaction.

Every day seems to bring a new name or two: Sen. Bob Graham (Fla.); Sen. Joseph I. Lieberman (Conn.); Sen. Sam Nunn (Ga.); Atlanta Mayor Maynard Jackson. Texas Gov. Ann Richards has been up and down the flagpole, leaving Clinton with a list that may or may not include any women among the finalists.

The talk on Sunday was about Hamilton, the House member from Indiana who appeared on NBC's "Meet The Press" and defended his vote against the parental leave act and explained why he was "comfortable" with the Supreme Court decision upholding parts of Pennsylvania's law restricting abortion.

Did his comments make him unacceptable to Clinton, who had said earlier his ticket would be "pro-choice"? No one knows the answer, except Clinton. Hamilton's opposition to family leave legislation puts him on the Republican side of that issue. But to ardent supporters of abortion rights, virtually everyone who has been mentioned as a possible Clinton vice presidential choice has a question mark in his background.

Looking Out for No. 2

Democrats Abuzz, Clinton Silent on Ticket

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

The quadrennial guessing game has begun in earnest, and if Bill Clinton puts his ear to the window of the governor's mansion in Little Rock, he can probably hear the buzz all the way from Washington.

With a suspenseless Democratic convention looming next week, the last mystery of Clinton's presidential candidacy is his choice of a running mate, and the prospective Democratic nominee seems to enjoy every plot twist, judging from the smile on his face each time he is queried.

Veep talk ricochets through the Democratic community. Does Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.) have the inside track? Is Sen. Bob Kerrey (Neb.) moving

up? (He told the Omaha World-Herald he was interviewed Sunday by Clinton advisers.) Does Sen. John D. "Jay" Rockefeller IV (W.Va.) want it? Were Rep. Lee H. Hamilton (Ind.) and Sen. Harris Wofford (Pa.) hurt by the court's abortion decision last week? Who's the surprise candidate—or candidates—everyone is ignoring?

It is not enough to talk names. Even the timing of the announcement is the subject of intense speculation.

As Clinton aides debate the question, the candidate keeps his own counsel. Asked when the decision might come, a top Clinton adviser jokes, "We're probably going to do it before the convention is over."

Last night, shortly after he arrived in Washington where he

See VEEP, A8, Col. 4

The Washington Post

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Kerrey used to be against abortion, and acknowledged that a decade ago he was "all over the map" on the issue. He has changed his views. Wofford, a former Pennsylvania state official, supported the Pennsylvania law before it got to the court. Gore opposed federal funding for abortion, and according to records put out yesterday by the National Right to Life Committee, once voted to declare a fetus a person under civil rights statutes. A Gore spokeswoman said the vote came in the context of federal funding for second and third trimester abortions and in no way reflected a belief that life begins at conception.

Clinton used to oppose federal funding for abortions and signed a parental notification bill in Arkansas. A "pro-choice" ticket may be however Clinton defines it.

Earlier there was buzz about New York Gov. Mario M. Cuomo, who has sparred with Clinton over the past year. There were questions about whether Clinton would be daring enough to offer the second slot to his sometime adversary. Cuomo suggested last week he had

turned aside preliminary inquiries about his interest in being considered. Then yesterday, the New York Post reported that Democratic National Committee Chairman Ronald H. Brown had reopened the issue during a weekend conversation with Cuomo.

Perhaps. "Brown expressed to . . . Cuomo that it would great to have him on the ticket," a Democratic Party official said. The comment about the vice presidency was a part of a long conversation between the two men dealing with a variety of issues, including whether Cuomo would place Clinton's name in nomination. Cuomo has agreed to do that, virtually assuring that he will not be the vice presidential nominee. Moreover, the Democratic chairman was speaking for himself, not for Clinton.

Conspiracy theorists among the speculators—a small subsample, as the pollsters might put it—have suggested that someone in the campaign leaked the list of four (Hamilton, Kerrey, Gore and Wofford) to the Wall Street Journal last week to test public reaction. That perhaps underestimates the Journal's hard work. Others have suggested that Hamilton's high public profile, particularly on touchy issues, was also a way for the campaign to measure public opinion. Others suggest it is Hamilton's way of campaigning not to get the job.

One way to make sense of looking at Clinton's choice is as generational. Gore, Kerrey and Rockefeller would represent new generation choices, giving the Democrats the opportunity to present themselves as the party of the new world, not the old world. Hamilton and Wofford, by comparison, would provide maturity to the youthful Clinton, perhaps to reassure voters worried about his inexperience.

But that's only one way to look at it, and it's not clear whether it's Clinton's way. Each of the candidates

who are the subject of speculation has strengths and weaknesses.

Gore brings youth, foreign policy experience, a strong environmental record, a family-values family and the experience of having run for president. But he's a fellow southerner, never known to be particularly close to Clinton and can be a wooden speaker.

Kerrey has potential star quality, is a leading voice on national health care issues, could play well in California, has a Medal of Honor from the Vietnam War and would signify "change" in a year when change is the watchword. But he savaged Clinton during the primaries, warning that Republicans would open Clinton "like a soft peanut" because of his draft record, proved to be a less compelling candidate in person than on paper and is divorced. He told the Omaha paper he was questioned extensively Sunday by Christopher's panel, including about personal matters.

Rockefeller is strong on health and children's issues, dislikes President Bush intensely and would warm to the attack, is well-liked by other Democrats and can help raise money. But he lacks extensive foreign policy experience and comes from a small state. One strength that is also a weakness: he's a Rockefeller.

Wofford is a new senator who could be seen as something of an outsider in this year of outsiders, a man who has connections to the Kennedys. A northeastern Roman Catholic, he would complement Clinton's Southern Baptist background. But he is little known nationally and would not necessarily be seen by voters as instantly presidential.

Hamilton, who is in line to chair the House Foreign Affairs Committee, brings foreign policy experience. He is known as a man of integrity and rectitude, but may not excite the faithful.

And then there are—well, why not wait for Clinton to spring the surprise? After all, it's his choice.

USA TODAY

NO. 10,000

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

A DAY

Bush & Co. beam over BMW deal

From wire reports

MUNICH, Germany — President Bush squeezed in an unscheduled photo opportunity, Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady turned into a gusher and the White House yielded its press room.

The reason: Monday's ceremony trumpeting an agreement to build a BMW auto plant in South Carolina.

The deal means 2,000 jobs in the Greenville-Spartanburg area, Gov. Carroll Campbell told reporters here for the economic summit.

After a photo with Bush and BMW officials, the normally staid Brady was effusive. "Things like the BMW plant going into South Carolina don't just happen," Brady said. "They could have built it in any number of places over the world. They picked the United States. That is going to provide a lot of jobs."

The ceremony in the press room came days after the Labor Department announced unemployment climbed to 7.8% in June, the highest in seven years.

Campbell, Bush's Southern political director, said that "high unemployment always hurts an incumbent."

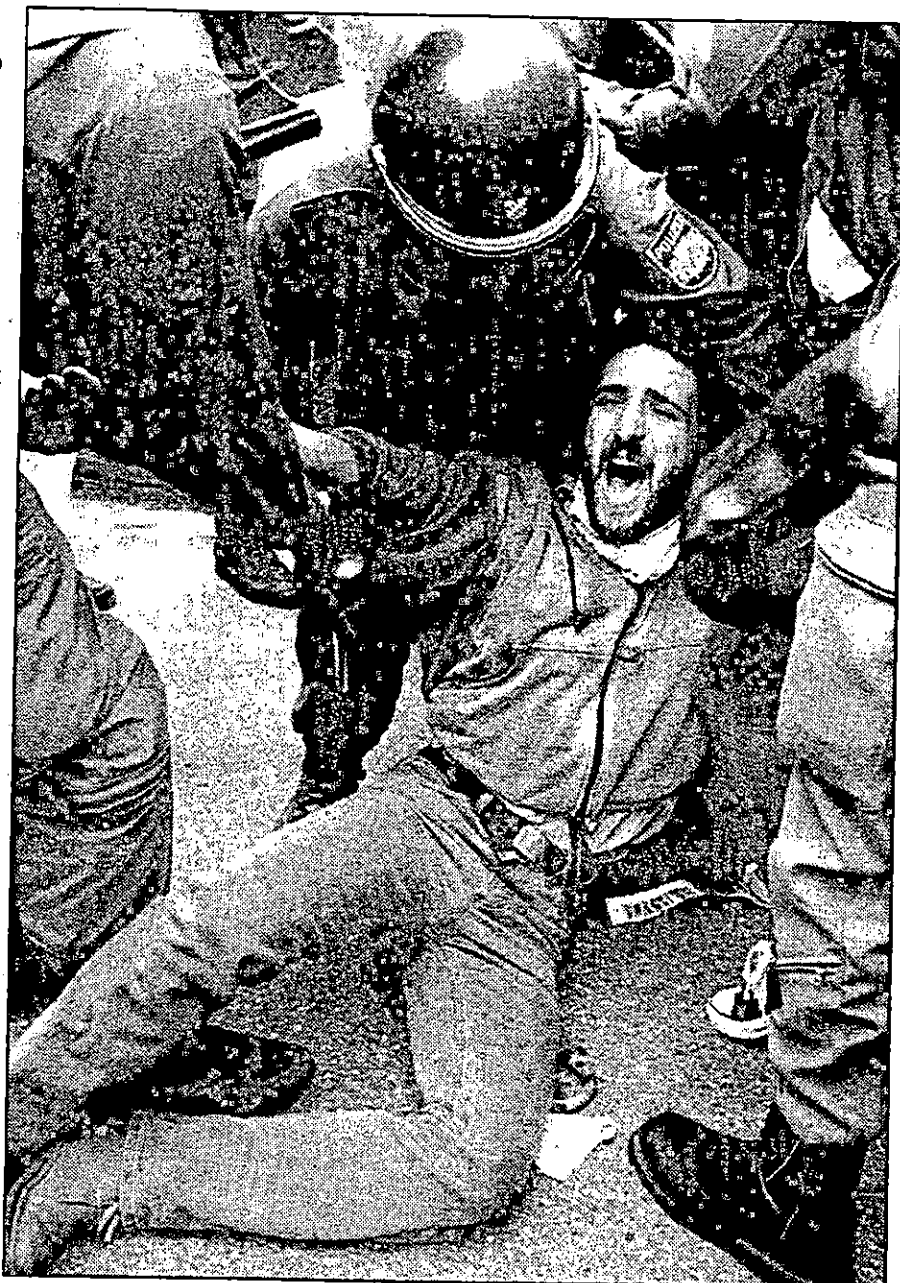
TEST CHOPPED: Police ran out of jail space for more than 450 leftist demonstrators arrested after trying to disrupt summit arrival ceremonies.

Demonstrators came within 200 yards of the spot where summit leaders were entering the meeting hall.

Earlier, dissidents hurled a firebomb through the window of a branch of the Deutsche Bank, causing \$125,000 in damage. The bank, Germany's largest, is a frequent target for leftist anger over German financial power.

BAILING OUT: Germany quit the four-nation effort to build a so-called Euro-fighter, citing costs and questions about the need for the combat jet conceived during the Cold War to upgrade European defenses.

That left Britain, Italy and Spain scrambling to decide what to do next.



MUNICH PROTEST: Riot police haul away one of several demonstrators who staged a protest Monday. More than 450 demonstrators were arrested.

By Gill Allen, AP

One idea: cut costs far below the original \$100 million per nation price.

Germany had said it would consider a cheaper, less-sophisticated version.

MOB SCENE: Want to hold a meeting for seven people? You'll also need room for more than 9,000 others, said German government spokesman Dieter Vogel.

That's the summit numbers game:

► 4,234 journalists from 1,244 organizations in 62 countries.

► 2,800 support staff — from bartenders at the press bar to electricians responsible for the 24,000 miles of cable.

► 2,000-plus bureaucrats, politicians and aides for the summit leaders.

To protect them, throw in more than 9,000 police officers.

USA TODAY

NO. 11,111

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

A DAY

Sentencing Noriega

Prosecutors seek term measured 'in decades'

By Sam Vincent Meddis
USA TODAY

Federal prosecutors Monday filed an 18-page memo in federal court saying Gen. Manuel Noriega "should be incarcerated for a term measured not in years but in decades."

The former Panamanian leader's drug conspiracy was "staggering... without parallel in modern jurisprudence," the memo said. "The defendant, through his dominance over an entire nation, turned Panama into a way station for drugs and a haven for narco-dollars."

Some observers speculate Noriega may get 40 years when he is sentenced Friday by U.S. District Judge William Hoever.

But Noriega's lawyers say they expect that at sentencing prosecutors could ask Hoever to hand Noriega a sentence that will keep him in prison for the rest of his life.

"The general has been told to expect a very heavy sentence," Noriega defense lawyer Jon May said.

The deposed Panamanian leader, convicted in April on eight of 10 drug and racketeering charges, faces up to 120 years in prison.

Noriega, 54, still insists on his innocence and believes a federal appeal of his conviction will eventually succeed, May says.

"He's doing very well, very strong... not broken or defeated by any means," he says.

Defense research shows that Hoever can be a tough judge at sentencing, May says.

Colombian businessman William Saldarriaga, a Noriega co-defendant, was sentenced by Hoever to 20 years in prison last year on relatively "minor" drug trafficking counts, May noted. The maximum Saldarriaga faced: 40 years.

Noriega, who's being held at the Metropolitan Correctional Center outside Miami, faces marijuana-trafficking charges in Tampa.

The government won't ask the judge to consider issues outside the drug case.

But the trial showed the ousted Panamanian leader, who surrendered to U.S. troops following a December 1989 in-



NORIEGA

"The general has been told to expect a very heavy sentence. ... He's doing very well, very strong ... not broken or defeated by any means."

"

— Jon May,
Noriega defense lawyer

vasion, was not only a criminal, but a despot, prosecutors said.

"Noriega tyrannized the country of those who he purported to govern," they said.

May said the memo shows once again that the case against Noriega was political, despite the government's repeated denials.

He called the memo "mere hypocrisy," and said it sought to avoid U.S. responsibility for blood spilled during the invasion.

"Nothing that General Noriega was accused of, and nothing General Noriega was convicted of, justifies what our government did," May said.

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE

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A DAY

Communist Party seeks new life through courts

By Carole Landry
Special for USA TODAY

MOSCOW — The Communist Party is trying for a political resurrection in a most unusual way: through the courts.

Starting today, the Russian Constitutional Court — akin to the U.S. Supreme Court — opens hearings on the legality of the party that ruled the old Soviet Union for 74 years.

The high court will decide on two conflicting appeals:

► One, brought by former Supreme Soviet deputies, argues that President Boris Yeltsin acted unconstitutionally in banning the party and confiscating its property in the aftermath of the August 1991, coup by communist hard-liners.

► The other, brought by Yeltsin supporters, challenges the legality of the party itself. It argues the ban stemmed from the party's illegal activities.

Russian media call it a "new Nuremberg," referring to the trial of German Nazi leaders after World War II.

Former party members Vladimir Ivashko and Valentin Kuptsov say their appeal is an attempt to end Yeltsin's "witch hunt ... a dictatorship."

Government legal adviser Sergei Shakhrai says he hopes it doesn't become a "political trial," even though Yeltsin's supporters have released captured party files linking the communists to international terrorism.

Still, the impending trial has touched old nerves between Yeltsin and the man he replaced, former Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev.

Gorbachev had been scheduled to testify at the trial until the court dismissed him. In response, Gorbachev accused Yeltsin of making him the scapegoat for communism's history. Gorbachev added that Yeltsin was well aware of the party's activities during his years as a Politburo member and shares in the responsibility of the party's alleged illegal actions.

Yeltsin has not passed up any opportunity during the past weeks to stress the importance of the trial.

"The fate of Russia depends on the outcome of this trial much more than it does on the president," he said last week. "If the court does not uphold the ban of the party, then communists will resume their destructive acts and this will lead us to civil war."

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE

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TODAY

Global warning: Incumbents beware

By Johanna Neuman
USA TODAY

The economic summit, Class of '92, has seven men looking a bit out of date.

Facing economic woes and angry electorates, the leaders of the seven largest industrial democracies hope this week to avoid any major decisions that could backfire at home.

"They all come with some baggage," says Gebhard Schweigler of Germany's Research Institute for International Policy. His forecast: "more chance of stalemates."

The leaders of the United States, Germany, Britain, France, Japan, Italy and Canada tread carefully. In this year of upsets, incumbents are in trouble all over the world.

The reason is the end of the Cold War, and with it the need for leaders who excel at strategic, chessboard politics.

"Ross Perot is a sign of the times worldwide," says UCLA political scientist Steven Spiegel. "During the Cold War, people rallied around the known, and did without. Now, there's a feeling of throw the bums out."

Like voters after World War II who shocked pundits by throwing a militarily triumphant Winston Churchill out of



By Doug Mills, AP

FIVE SUMMITTEERS: From left, French President Francois Mitterrand, German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, President Bush, British Prime Minister John Major and Italian Prime Minister Giuliano Amato. 'This (photo) is very major, really big,' Bush told Kohl.

office, "voters today don't think this generation is best for the future," says David Gergen of U.S. News & World Report.

Without a Soviet threat, ideology plays less of a role than incumbency, geopolitics less of a role than economics as borne out by two elections this year:

► In Britain, voters shied from Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock, who led the liberals during nine years of conservative rule, largely because he played the "old politics" of socialism and tax hikes. Instead,

they stayed with Prime Minister John Major's conservatives.

► In Israel, voters rejected the "Dr. No" philosophy of Likud's Yitzhak Shamir in favor of Yitzhak Rabin's promise to disown the politics of ideology for economic prosperity.

More trouble lies ahead:

► In Germany, the cost of assimilating East Germany has strained the once robust economy, putting Chancellor Helmut Kohl, up next year, at risk.

► In France, the right-wing Le Pen Party is on the come-

back. In response, President Francois Mitterrand flew into embattled Yugoslavia, a dramatic gesture of his activism.

► In the USA, President Bush's approval rating is at 37%, down from 89% after the gulf war a year ago.

"It's clear that voters are alienated," says Jeffrey Bell, author of *Populism and Elitism*. "Incumbents seem irrelevant. What's not clear is the alternative to come."

Some experts think the new battlefield will be economic, needing leaders adept at global trade and communications.

"There's a new world order emerging," says Clyde Prestowitz of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. "We're moving into an era of industrial diplomacy."

For that reason, economist Lester Thurow thinks the first casualty was British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher — who lost in 1991 after fighting European integration, which makes Europe a trading bloc.

"Mrs. Thatcher may end up in the history books as the most famous leader to lose her job because she could not adjust her thinking to new world realities," Thurow writes in his new book *Head to Head*. "She will be joined by many others."

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

A DAY

U.N. leader will 'stand her ground'

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

A standoff between U.N. weapons inspectors and Iraqi officials entered a third day today, with the U.S. chemical inspection team leader pledging to stand her ground outside Iraq's Agricultural Ministry building.

Iraqi leaders have refused to let U.S. Army Maj. Karen Jansen and her 16-person team into the building, again defying gulf war cease-fire terms.

It's Jansen's second struggle with the Iraqis. She was jostled and pinned against the wall by Iraqi demonstrators at her Baghdad hotel during a January inspection, when a previous standoff — one of several between Iraq and U.N. representatives — occurred.

"She's not confrontational," says Douglas Englund, U.N. field operations chief. "But she'll stand her ground."

Jansen is a native of Utica, Mich., a Detroit suburb. She joined the Army after graduating from Michigan State and is on loan to the United Nations from the Army chemical corps.

On Monday, the Security Council demanded Iraq allow the team to conduct its surprise inspection, calling its refusal a "material and unacceptable



Reuters

JANSEN: Inspection team leader 'not confrontational.'

breach" of cease-fire terms.

U.N. weapons inspection chief Rolf Ekeus earlier briefed the council on the continuing standoff, saying material having "to do with their weapons procurement program" is housed in the building.

But Iraqi Foreign Ministry Undersecretary Saadoun al-Zubaidi told the Iraqi News Agency the team's real goal was to collect intelligence.

"Unless the Iraqis back down, she (Maj. Jansen) will be maintaining the vigil," said Alastair Livingston, Bahrain-based regional chief for U.N. weapons inspectors.

CORRECTION: An item Monday should have quoted Miami lawyer Ellis Rubin as saying his client, prison inmate Daniel Faries, was very depressed over a court ruling.

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE

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A DAY

CAMPAIGN '92

GOP attacks in Arkansas

Clinton gets a sample of what's ahead

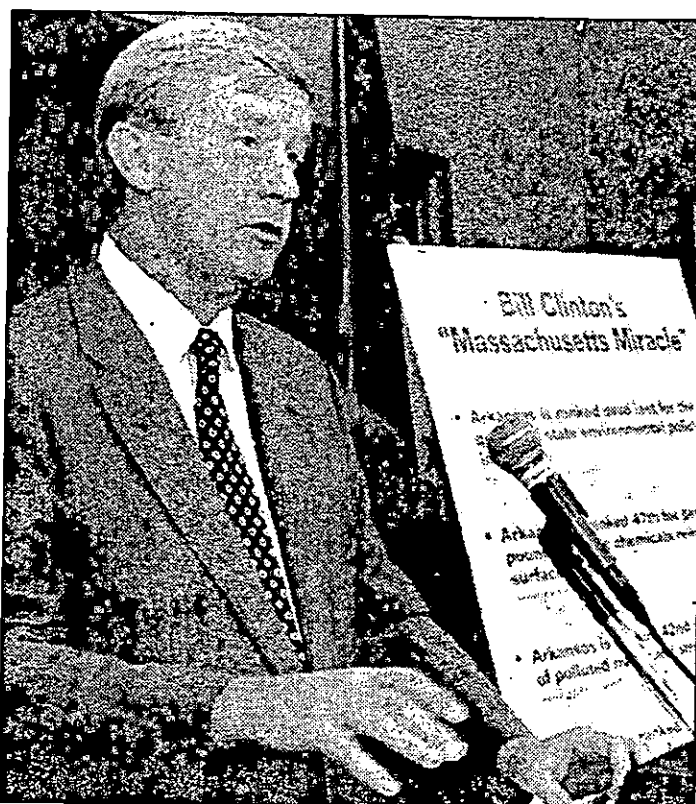
By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

LITTLE ROCK — A week before the Democratic National Convention, President Bush's campaign Monday unleashed a torrent of criticism of Bill Clinton's economic and environmental record — signaling the intensity of the contest ahead.

Massachusetts Gov. William Weld, dispatched by Bush's campaign, went to a hotel one block from the Arkansas governor's campaign headquarters in an effort to bring Clinton down from what is shaping up as a convention-week lift.

Weld, using some standard GOP attacks, called Clinton a big taxer and spender who is weak on crime. Weld criticized his environmental record and compared him to Bush's 1988 opponent — Michael Dukakis.

"Gov. Clinton's claims that his track record here reveals the winning formula may soon prove to be the 1992 version of Mike Dukakis' Massachusetts Miracle," Weld said, smiling as he referred to his predecessor's failed attempt to run on his record as governor.



BUSH SURROGATE: Massachusetts Gov. William Weld talks with reporters in Little Rock.
By Danny Johnston, AP

Weld's remarks, coming unusually early in a campaign and two weeks after a similar round of Republican criticism of independent Ross Perot, suggest the depth of GOP concerns about Bush's political problems.

It also showed how Bush will

rely on other Republicans, such as Cabinet members and governors, to lead partisan attacks. Vice President Quayle led the offensive on Perot.

"There's a plan to have a program of speakers across the country," said Weld, who was

flown here first-class by the Bush campaign. "I'm just one of them."

But Weld's appearance showed how times have changed since 1988, when Dukakis ignored, at least initially, many campaign attacks.

Two Clinton aides attended Weld's news conference, slipping suggested questions to reporters and issuing immediate responses to Weld's allegations. "He worked from false information on everything he said," said aide Betsy Wright.

They also circulated information about Weld's own problems in Massachusetts — including an influence-peddling scandal involving his aides — designed to give second thought to other Republicans considering similar missions.

Weld should "be embarrassed to go into ... Arkansas with that kind of scandal swirling around him," Wright said.

Clinton himself said Weld "is pandering to the right-wing of the Republican Party so he can run for president in 1996."

Still, Weld's attacks suggest some genuine weaknesses in Clinton's record. Clinton has been criticized for neglecting the environment and has conceded that Arkansas' economic concerns sometimes forced him to do that.

Weld repeatedly referred to the 43 tax increases Clinton signed during 11 years as gover-

nor. Wright said many of those were to pay for improving education, but it is clear it is an issue the GOP will stress.

Bush's decision to use a surrogate was not surprising.

The president has been criticized for the negative tone of his 1988 campaign. Further, attacking Clinton for taxes might be difficult given that Bush broke his own pledge not to raise taxes. And Bush's environmental record has incurred at least as much ire among environmentalists as Clinton's.

But Weld argued this did not account for Bush's political woes. He called Bush's job performance "superior," blaming the media: "A decision was made in the media to try to make this a competitive election. That constant barrage of criticism does take its toll."

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 • USA TODAY

U.S. would keep Bosnia convoys safe

By Lee Michael Katz
 and Jessica Lee
 USA TODAY

The Bush administration Monday for the first time endorsed using the U.S. military to break the Serbian overland blockade of Bosnia.

If a land corridor for humanitarian aid is blocked, the United States and its allies "would seriously consider getting it through in any way that is required — air, ground or whatever," said national security adviser Brent Scowcroft.

A land convoy would supplement the Sarajevo airlift. U.N. forces opened the airport last week but it's too small to help all of Bosnia. There were 15 relief flights Monday.

"Humanitarian relief is welcome but not satisfactory," Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic told USA TODAY. "This evil cannot be suppressed or cannot be removed by anything except force. We ... do not have that strength."

Izetbegovic said Serbian forces — opposing independence of Bosnia's Muslim-dominated population — have conducted 50,000 "mass killings" in small villages as part of their "ethnic cleansing" policy.

The estimated 7,561 Bosnians "killed in shelling" in Sarajevo is the "most painful" situation in Bosnia, he said. "You didn't see the worst things."

Izetbegovic said President Bush has agreed to meet with him at a European security conference in Helsinki Thursday, where he'll request military aid.

Other developments:

► Yugoslavian Prime Minister Milan Panic wrote a letter asking for "one hundred days of grace" before the international community takes further action against Yugoslavia for its actions in Bosnia.

► Ethnic Croats living in northern and western parts of Bosnia-Herzegovina declared themselves an independent nation called Herzeg-Bosnia.

► Izetbegovic interview, 11A

Home loan rates slip below 8%

By Desiree French
 USA TODAY

Lenders across the nation are moving fast to lower mortgage interest rates.

Rates on some 30-year fixed-rate loans have been sliced to as low as 7¾% since Thursday, when the Federal Reserve lowered its key discount rate to 3% from 3½%.

The latest cuts should push this week's average rates below their 20-year low of 8.23%, set in January.

"We could see it coming down to 8.1%," says Lyle Gramley, chief economist at Mortgage Bankers Association.

According to rate tracker HSH Associates, 160 lenders were offering 30-year fixed loans at 8% or less at the end of last week — triple the number from the prior week.

Among those lenders who slashed Monday:

► Norwest Mortgage in Des Moines cut its 30-year rate to 7¾% and 2½ points from 8¼% and 2½ points.

A point is a fee equal to 1% of the loan amount.

► First National Bank of Chicago cut its rate on 30-year fixed-rate loans to 7.8% and 3 points from 8.1% and 3.

► Weyerhaeuser Mortgage in Los Angeles cut its rate to 8% from 8¼%. Its one-year adjustable-rate mortgage fell to 5¼% from 5½%.

The slow economy had nudged mortgage rates down in recent weeks, but the Fed's cut sent them tumbling.

The 10-year Treasury bond yield, which lenders use to set rates, was 6.9% Monday vs. 7.08% before the Fed cut.

► Buyers still cautious, 1B

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And Yeltsin makes it '7-plus-1'

is early to summit

By Jessica Lee
USA TODAY

MUNICH, Germany — Russian President Boris Yeltsin muscled his way today into the annual economic summit, but he won't be inducted fully into the exclusive club.

Yeltsin is looking for aid from the Group of Seven leaders from Germany, France, Italy, Japan, Great Britain, Canada and the United States.

He was scheduled to arrive Wednesday, but decided to show up a day early.

German spokesman Dieter Vogel said Yeltsin will attend tonight's state dinner. "The G-7 is a group of gentlemen. When a guest arrives the night before, he will of course be given something to eat."

Yeltsin's appearance at any summit event and, more important, in official photographs, signals that Russia has achieved a special status in the orbit of the world's most powerful nations.

But Yeltsin won't get a full seat at the G-7 table. "This is probably a bit premature," Vogel said. "I can't say how long it will take but this will stay a G-7 and a half for some time yet."

But, the White House said, the summit partners today become the "Seven-Plus-One."

Last year in London, then-Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev tried to talk his way into the summit and pleaded for an emergency bailout to resuscitate his economy. He was invited to lunch but sent home empty-handed.

Yeltsin's in the same position, but he already has one success that eluded Gorbachev: He has succeeded in persuading the G-7 to back a \$24 billion bailout financed by the International Monetary Fund after lengthy, and sometimes bitter, negotiations.

The bailout was approved, IMF Director Michel Camdessus said at a briefing in Munich, despite Yeltsin's flat refusal to agree to a requirement that he increase energy prices. Yeltsin said raising energy prices would bring turmoil.

Camdessus said the IMF would give Russia a \$1 billion down payment as the first step in a three-phase program to ease the shock of its conversion to a free market system. To get the rest of the money, Russia must comply with IMF reforms and stabilize the ruble.

Yeltsin also wants to postpone payments on about \$70 billion in debts owed to the West by the old Soviet Union.

And Yeltsin must confront an old problem with Japan before it agrees to open its banks to the Russians.

Japanese officials said they would be willing to talk with Yeltsin if he surrenders the disputed Kuril Islands to Japan.

Japan argues the Pacific islands were seized illegally by the former Soviet Union a few weeks after World War II.

Foreign ministers agreed to a Japanese request to include a call for a settlement of the territorial dispute in the summit's political report. Japan said that

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NINETEEN

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ELECTION '92

NYC police set for convention crowds

New York City police are gearing up for the almost-traditional onslaught of issue-oriented protesters and fringe groups attracted to most political conventions — particularly a gathering of Democrats in New York.



USA TODAY
SHARPTON: Has message for Clinton

Among those planning marches or demonstrations are groups representing women, the homeless, AIDS activists, and Operation Rescue, which has tried to block abortion clinics in Buffalo and elsewhere. Most demonstrations will be confined to a special area outside Madison Square Garden.

One of New York's most prominent activists, the Rev. Al Sharpton, plans to take his case directly to Bill Clinton on Sunday, one day before the convention begins. Sharpton's group plans to march directly outside the Hotel Intercontinental on East 48th Street, where Clinton plans to stay.

In all, at least seven law enforcement agencies — the Secret Service, FBI, city police, postal police and three local agencies responsible for transportation — and three private security companies will coordinate plans to protect conventiongoers and handle security.

New York police — who have budgeted \$6 million for overtime — say they plan to have at least 1,500 uniformed officers outside the Garden each day, with another 500 officers in civilian clothes in the convention area. On another front, anti-prostitution patrols will be raised from about 15 to 30 officers nightly in midtown Manhattan during the convention.

PEROT MULLS: With media attention beginning to focus squarely on the upcoming Democratic convention, and President Bush in Germany, the Ross Perot campaign plans a quiet week of strategy and what it calls "nuts-and-bolts campaign work." Today, Perot plans to meet privately in Dallas with volunteers and issues experts from across the country. Spokesman Jim Squires says the meeting will help lead to a national advisory committee on major issues. Perot also has been getting views on potential running mates, sites and timing for a political convention or conventions, and even on when to formally declare himself an independent candidate. Says Squires: "It's just a matter of starting the campaign on your timing and not someone else's." Perot has not yet decided whether he'll accept an invitation to speak to the NAACP convention in Nashville on Saturday.

POLITICAL TALK: "It's about economic development. The idea is to get people to come back. We want them to come again and again — and then again after that." — New York Mayor David Dinkins, about next week's Democratic convention.

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No. 1 IN THE

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A DAY

No. 2's main role is to 'balance the ticket' for No. 1

By Richard Wolf
USA TODAY

Running mates should be closer than cellmates, but they need not be soul mates.

That could be good news for the likes of Lee Hamilton, one of several possible Democratic vice presidential candidates who are not clones of Democratic Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas.

Experts on the process of ticket-making say differences of opinion are less important than qualifications, compatibility and geography.

For that reason, they say, it's unlikely Rep. Hamilton of Indiana or Sen. Harris Wofford of Pennsylvania will be dropped from consideration because they favor more state restrictions on abortion than Clinton.

"For a president and vice president to disagree is more of the precedent than otherwise," says James Sundquist, a Brookings Institution political scientist. "It's called balancing the ticket."

Recent historical proof:

► George Bush and Dan Quayle differed on arms control, with Quayle demanding tougher verification in the Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty with what was then the Soviet Union.

► Michael Dukakis and Lloyd Bentsen came from different wings of the Democratic Party, exemplified by their views on gun control — Dukakis pro, Bentsen con.

► Bush and Ronald Reagan clashed in 1980 on fiscal policy, with Bush labeling Reagan's supply-side theories "voodoo economics."

In most recent cases, in fact, vice presidential candidates have been chosen in part to broaden the ticket's appeal — liberal Democrats and moderate Republicans

looked right, while moderate Democrats and conservative Republicans looked left.

In Clinton's case, diversity may be less important, because he has straddled the middle of his party, appealing equally to liberals and conservatives. But it's unlikely to hurt.

The most speculation centers on Hamilton, a foreign policy expert who has gone out of his way in recent days to detail his differences with Clinton on abortion and a government-mandated family leave policy for private business, which he opposes.



HAMILTON: Foreign policy expertise

While abortion rights and women's organizations have raised red flags over Hamilton's lack of abortion rights purity, analysts say it should not disqualify him.

"The major criterion is getting the most qualified person," says Paul Bruntas, who headed Dukakis' vice presidential search in 1988. The Massachusetts governor, he said, "didn't pick a rubber stamp."

Bentsen recalls telling Dukakis, "There are some things we don't agree on, and I can't just change my position because we're going on the ticket." His conclusion: "It can be helpful to a president to have someone that can give a contrary point of view."

In the end, the choice probably comes down to damage control: Which running mate won't hurt the ticket?

In his book, *Crapshoot: Rolling the Dice on the Vice Presidency*, Baltimore Sun columnist Jules Witcover recalls a poll conducted for Richard Nixon in 1968. The result: He'd be best off running alone.

"Very seldom does a vice presidential candidate help you," Witcover says. "People vote for the top of the ticket."

'Third way' platform breaks with tradition

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

Bent on breaking a losing streak that began in 1980, Democrats have fashioned a pragmatic draft party platform that breaks sharply with past quadrennial statements of purpose.

Titled "A New Covenant with the American People," it departs from the long-held Democratic notion that the answers to most social problems lie in the creation of bigger government programs.

It also seeks to recast the party's soft-on-defense and soft-on-crime images by taking hard-line stands on the use of military force and putting more police on the streets.

And it resists the old concept of making the platform a parking place for pet peeves of the many special interests of which the party is composed. It does, however, take strong stands in favor of civil, gay, lesbian and abortion rights.

But in the main, the 8,000-word document to be voted on next Tuesday by Democratic convention delegates in New York City seeks to appeal to the mainstream of voters who have elected Republicans in five of the past six presidential elections.

At the urging of Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton it seeks a centrist course somewhere between the hands-off capitalism of the GOP and the big-government approach of liberal Democrats — Clinton's "third way."

"Democrats have allowed themselves to be put in a very narrow box by making false choices," he says. "To win, you have to broaden the base of the party."

While the platform calls for higher taxes on the wealthy to support an activist government, especially in the areas of economic growth and education, it contains several planks that could easily fit into a Republican platform:

► Supporting the encouragement of "basic American values," and calling for "greater emphasis on work, family and individual responsibility."

► Backing of a capital-gains tax cut, and praise for the virtues of business. "We cannot hamstring business and tax our way to prosperity."

► Looking to private volunteer groups to help solve social problems. "Government cannot provide a solution to every social problem."

► Toughening language on work for welfare, and the responsibilities of those who have children to care for them. "Welfare should not be a way of life."

But the document didn't entirely please two Clinton rivals for the party nomination. Former California governor Jerry Brown called the draft language "goosey" after seeing his 22 amendments in areas such as environmental protection and campaign finance reform voted down.

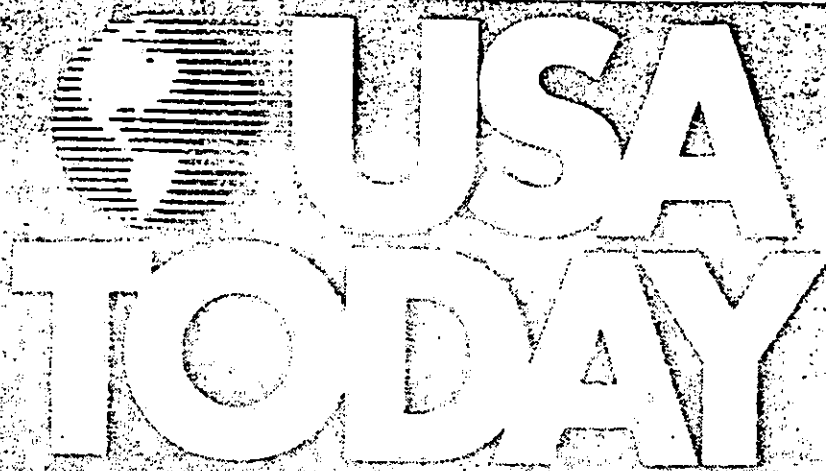
And former Massachusetts senator Paul Tsongas will introduce minority planks to reflect his calls for a broader capital-gains tax cut, caps on federal spending and an annual 5-cents-a-gallon increase in the gasoline tax. Tsongas' proposals are expected to fail.

Family values

How Democratic platforms compare on family values:

► 1988: "We believe that the strength of our families is enhanced by programs to prevent abuse and malnutrition among children, crime, drop-outs and pregnancy among teen-agers and violence in the family."

► 1992: "Governments don't raise children, people do. People who bring children into this world have a responsibility to care for them and give them values, motivation and discipline. Children should not have children."



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QUICK TAKES

LATEST ROCKY:

Laurance Rockefeller, nephew of the late Nelson Rockefeller, announces Wednesday whether he'll challenge Sen. Alfonse D'Amato in New York's Sept. 15 GOP primary. Aides say he's leaning toward a run. D'Amato

already faces a Democratic challenge from the winner of that party's primary, either state Attorney General Robert Abrams, former vice presidential candidate Geraldine Ferraro, New York City Comptroller Elizabeth Holtzman or civil rights protest leader Al Sharpton.

NO RUSH: The Bill Clinton campaign remained mum — publicly — about progress toward selecting a vice presidential running mate. Trying to turn off speculation on when Clinton will name his choice, spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers told reporters, "It's not productive, because Clinton's going to make up his mind and we're going to announce it. You're going to get a bounce out of it no matter when it happens."

Election coverage

- ▶ Bush at economic summit, 1A, 4A
- ▶ GOP targets Clinton plan, 7A
- ▶ TV scaling back convention coverage, 3D

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrat Bill Clinton: Taped interview with Bill Moyers, PBS, 10 p.m. ET; Washington, D.C., National Education Association convention; Orlando, Fla., African Methodist Episcopal convention.

Republican George Bush: Summit in Munich, Germany
Independent Ross Perot: Dallas

NATIONLINE

FROM USA TODAY'S NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK

Volcano cooled Earth by 1 degree

The Earth's average temperature has dropped 1 degree Fahrenheit since the eruption of Mount Pinatubo in the Philippines a year ago and likely will drop another degree within two years, the National Oceanic Atmospheric Administration said Monday. The Northern Hemisphere has cooled 1.5 degrees. "It is a tremendous amount of cooling. If it becomes a little more, it will essentially be equal to what is considered the global warming of the last century or so," said NOAA's Ellsworth Dutton in Boulder, Colo. Temperatures should return to normal in four or five years. The volcano spewed dust and chemicals 12 to 14 miles high, which scientists have said are reflecting 2% of sunlight back to space, reducing heat. Last winter — before the volcano's impact was felt — was the USA's warmest on record.

Furor after fatal police shooting



By Alex Brandon, AP

NEW YORK MELEE: Police remove one of 11 people arrested after a building was burned, cars overturned and police shot at during unrest attributed to Friday's fatal police shooting of Jose Garcia, 24. Two officers were hurt.

KIDNAPPING CASE: Former Exxon security adviser Arthur Seale pleaded innocent in Morristown, N.J., to murder and other state charges in the kidnapping and death of Exxon executive Sidney Reso. Seale's wife, Irene, has been cooperating with prosecutors and has agreed to plead guilty to a state kidnapping charge. The couple, both 45, also are charged in federal court. Reso, 57, was taken from his home April 29 and died in captivity.

PAN AM TRIAL: A New York jury this week will begin deliberating whether Pan Am was negligent in the 1988 terrorist bombing of Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland. Lawyers for relatives of 212 of the victims blamed lax airline security for allowing a bomb-laden suitcase on the Boeing 747. Pan Am, which went bankrupt, has said all proper precautions were taken. Today: final arguments.

PRISON RIOTS: Inmates at the U.S. maximum security prison in Leavenworth, Kan., were locked in their cells as officials probe an overnight disturbance involving 300 inmates in which one inmate was fatally stabbed and three were injured. Damage: \$400,000. Inmates at the Walpole, Mass., state prison also were locked up after a weekend melee in which 17 inmates and one guard were hurt. Prison officials said crowding wasn't a factor in either disturbance.

SHUTTLE RECORD: Columbia's crew eclipsed the shuttle endurance record — 10 days and 21 hours — at 9:13 a.m. ET. Astronaut Carl Meade said he can't wait to take a shower when he gets back to Earth. Columbia is to land Wednesday at 6:08 a.m. PT at Edwards Air Force Base, Calif.



By Daniel Portnoy, AP

PESKY CRITTER: Animal-control worker Jill Voight with lizard.

ENGINE TROUBLE:

It took an exotic-animal expert in Miami to fix Chris Hernandez's car problem. Hernandez, having trouble steering, found a 6-foot Asian water lizard had wrapped itself around the engine and blocked the steering column. "It looked like a crocodile," said Hernandez, 28. To remove the reluctant reptile, Todd Hardwick, an animal dealer who specializes in trapping exotic animals, sedated the lizard,

used dishwashing detergent to make it slippery and took part of the engine apart. "This thing grew to be monstrous eating Muscovy ducks and fish," Hardwick said.

BRUSH FIRES: California firefighters got the upper hand over two blazes, including one that had burned 1,200 acres in the San Jacinto Mountains. That fire was 60% contained. Authorities said three people were firing guns and a spark from a bullet hitting a rock may have ignited the brush. Another brush fire was contained after damaging two houses and burning 105 acres in Rancho Cucamonga.

ALSO MONDAY . . .

► **ABORTION PROTEST:** About 20 demonstrators prayed outside the only abortion clinic in Baton Rouge as the city prepares for a week of protests today. More than 200 abortion rights activists watched the demonstrators.

► **FATAL TARGET PRACTICE:** Juan Garza, 26, who said he was "just being stupid" when he tried to shoot a beer can off the head of 16-year-old Daniel Leonard, was sentenced in Milwaukee to 13 years in prison. Garza was convicted of negligent homicide in the boy's death.

Swiss nanny case to go to jurors

The lawyer for Swiss nanny Olivia Riner — accused of setting a fire that killed a 3-month-old baby — said the prosecution's case has gaps the size of the Grand Canyon. Jurors in White Plains, N.Y., today are expected to begin deliberating the fate of Riner, 20, of Wettingen, Switzerland. She is accused of second-degree murder in the death of Kristie Fischer, whose diaper was soaked in paint thinner. Prosecutors said Riner was the only one inside William and Denise Fischer's home at the time.



AP
RINER: Accused of 2nd-degree murder

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Steve Marshall, Sandra Sanchez and Robert Davis.

4A • TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 • USA TODAY

CAPITAL LINE

USA TODAY'S BRIEFING ON WASHINGTON

U.S. can't verify Iraqi coup report



USA TODAY
TUTWILER: 'On a very short leash'

The State Department said Monday it did not know for sure if rebel forces within the Iraqi military tried unsuccessfully to oust President Saddam Hussein last week. "Something appears to have happened in Iraq, but we are not sure what," said the department's Margaret Tutwiler.

"What I can say is that Saddam and his regime are unpopular, and periodically there are reports of coup attempts which do not surprise us. Nor would we be surprised if he reacted to real or rumored threats with characteristic

brutality," she said.

Asked about a *New York Times* report that the United States was involved in the reported plot against Saddam, Tutwiler said she would not discuss "intelligence matters." She added: "I'm on a very short leash on this subject."

The *Times* said Monday that Saddam began a major purge of the Iraqi military after the alleged coup attempt. In Baghdad, a government spokesman ridiculed the report as groundless and a fabrication.

STAYING HOME: Secretary of State James Baker is in Munich, Germany, for this week's economic summit without his two top assistants. Spokeswoman Margaret Tutwiler and top aide Dennis Ross both skipped the summit, presumably to get some much-needed rest during a summit not expected to break new ground.

But if all was quiet on the German front, the Ross-Tutwiler absence set tongues wagging at the department. Speculation had it that Baker will, by summer's end, have to leave the department to rescue President Bush's re-election campaign and that Tutwiler will leave with him.

IRAN-CONTRA EXHIBITS: Retired CIA official Clair George can use certain classified documents at his Iran-contra trial to support his claim that he didn't intend to lie to Congress, U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth has ruled.

But Lamberth also ordered that "vast portions of the defendant's exhibits are not relevant or that very generic substitutions are sufficient" to show normal CIA processes. The ruling was issued July 1 but wasn't released until Monday. George, whose trial is due to begin July 13, is accused of directing a cover-up of White House aide Oliver North's secret Nicaraguan rebel resupply network and lying to Congress when questioned about it after lawmakers began inquiries late in 1986.

Neither the office of independent counsel Lawrence Walsh nor defense lawyer Richard Hibey had immediate comment on Lamberth's ruling.

HOUSE APPROPRIATIONS: The House plows ahead on 1993 spending bills this week while the Senate begins a two-week recess. On tap: floor votes on the transportation and District of Columbia appropriations bills, two of 13 that must be passed by the Oct. 1 start of the fiscal year. Already, the House has passed seven spending bills; the Senate has yet to begin. Looming later this month are the two largest, each worth more than \$60 billion — one funding education, health, human services and labor programs, the other housing, environment, veterans and space programs.

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Japan admits enslaving women for sex in WWII

The Japanese government acknowledged Monday that the Imperial Army used Asian women as sex slaves during World War II, and said it was considering how to respond to demands for compensation to the victims.

After decades of denial, Japan first admitted early this year that tens of thousands of women were forced to serve as prostitutes in World War II. Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa apologized during a visit to South Korea in January — many of the women had been taken from Korea. But Tokyo had, until Monday, claimed private groups were responsible for procuring sex slaves and operating brothels.

In recent years, the government has been more forthright in apologizing for Japanese atrocities. Last week, the Education Ministry approved school textbooks that for the first time acknowledge Japan inflicted "unbearable suffering" rather than merely "causing trouble."

MOSCOW SUMMIT: Leaders of the republics that emerged from the former Soviet Union agreed at a Moscow summit to create a joint peacekeeping force to help end ethnic conflicts. But the leaders remained at odds over the future of nuclear weapons on their territories deployed by the former Soviet Union.

MITTERRAND-BOMB: A car bomb exploded near a motorcade carrying the wife of French President Francois Mitterrand in northern Iraq, missing the longtime supporter of Iraqi Kurds but killing four Iraqis in her convoy. Danielle Mitterrand's three-day trip to the Kurdish region was not arranged through President Saddam Hussein's government, which called the visit "foolish" in commentary published before the bombing. Danielle Mitterrand, 67, has campaigned to improve the plight of Kurds in Iraq.

HAITI NEGOTIATIONS: Haiti's exiled president Jean-Bertrand Aristide unveils today a new plan for negotiations with his political rivals to seek an end to the crisis triggered by his ouster last Sept. 30. The plan is being announced in Washington by pro-Aristide ambassador Jean Casimir. In Port-au-Prince, allies of Aristide said the international peace mission requested by him to oversee talks in Haiti ought to be sent before the end of July.



AP
ARISTIDE: Unveils negotiation plan

ALSO: A judicial commission cleared South African President F.W. de Klerk and senior members of his white-controlled Cabinet and security forces of direct involvement in recent outbreaks of violence. ... New scandal evidence pulled Brazilian President Fernando Collor de Mello closer to possible impeachment after lawmakers reportedly uncovered evidence linking Collor to an influence scandal. ... NATO and the former Warsaw Pact countries initialed an agreement on troop ceilings throughout Europe.

AND IN SPAIN: Pursued by bulls, hundreds of Spaniards and foreigners today race through the cobblestone streets of Pamplona, Spain. "Los San Fermes," held since 1591 and made famous by Ernest Hemingway in his 1926 novel *The Sun Also Rises*, attracts thousands of foreign visitors. Dozens are gored or otherwise injured each year in the 825-yard sprint to the bull ring; 50 runners have been killed.

Dems hope to shine with glitzy convention

By Leslie Phillips
 USA TODAY

Try as they might to project a winning image when their national convention opens in New York Monday, Democrats still will be grappling with the same hazards that have made this such a curious election.

Contempt for politicians, public restiveness and fading interest in watching windy speeches on TV have persuaded convention planners to use new — and some old — bells and whistles to make this year's spectacle in Madison Square Garden telegenic.

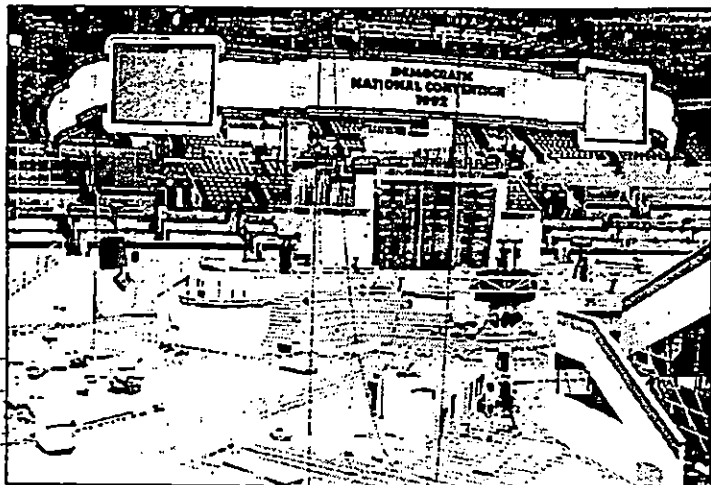
But with a candidate endorsed by just a third of the voters, combined with the major TV networks' refusal to cover more than the major speeches, party leaders face their toughest challenge in years.

"Simply to sculpt a well-crafted show isn't going to go over with the voters very well," says New York University journalism professor Jay Rosen.

But sculpting a "well-crafted show" was the party's first order of business.

The tart-tongued Texas Gov. Ann Richards was chosen to chair the convention. For variety, three keynoters will speak instead of the traditional one. And female politicians get the attention they've been denied for years.

A hit Broadway musical



By Carol Halebian

GETTING READY: Democrats have planned a 'well-crafted show' for their convention at Madison Square Garden in New York City next week.

number — with not-so-subtle references to the Great Depression — is scheduled for opening night. Pop stars and divas will sing the national anthem. And speeches are supposed to last five, ten, or fifteen minutes to pick up the pace.

"I'm trying to present a political convention that is emotionally relevant," says producer Gary Smith, "and that (has) the kind of energy... that keeps everybody interested."

So, if people are disconnected from politics, perhaps they'll feel united by steps cas-

cading from the stage to the arena floor. If they want to be heard in this year of political discontent, they will be beamed into the hall through the miracle of satellite technology. If people think politics is harsh and uninviting, the rounded, softened edges of the podium — unlike 1988's stepped right angles — may soothe them.

Perhaps the most dramatic, and cross-generational element of the convention will be a 23-foot-by-17-foot podium backdrop of 56 projection

screens — "the video wall."

"There is going to be a great feeling that this party really cares about all the people," promises party vice chair Lynn Cutler, "not some elitist, off-the-wall, let's-clip-our-coupons guys with the white shoes."

Unfortunately for presidential candidate Bill Clinton, network TV is interested in conflict and controversy, not the planned-to-within-an-inch-of-your-life production Democrats have labored to create.

"Network producers don't agree they're a nationwide ad

dress system," says former TV producer Ed Fohy, who has worked at all three major networks. "If politicians want to make speeches on television, they can buy time."

Besides, convention coverage is too expensive given the declining audience. In 1988, viewers fell off by 16% every night convention coverage followed entertainment shows, according to Nielsen Research.

This year, ABC, CBS and NBC will air the convention half as much as they did four years ago — 60 to 90 minutes a

night, longer the next evening when the nominee addresses the convention.

For the 60% of households with cable, CNN will broadcast live during most of the proceedings. C-SPAN will provide 120 hours of gavel-to-gavel coverage. PBS will air the convention from 8:30 until 10 p.m., using NBC reporters.

Gavel-to-gavel coverage is "pageantry, show biz, and old fashioned fakery," says former NBC News and PBS president Larry Grossman. "What you want to do is put on the best

possible and most intensely absorbing programming."

"It's not easy," in this political environment, says convention manager Mario Cooper. "We're all aware peoples' interest has declined over the last four conventions. We're all aware the public is angry at its institutions. So we're attempting to deal with it in a substantive way."

And so, the Democrats hope, in the end, substance will improve their ratings.

► Network plans, 3D

Mario scenario: 'Win-win situation'

By John Hanchette

New York Gov. Mario Cuomo's convention speech nominating Bill Clinton next week may pose a subtle problem for the Arkansas governor.

It's intended to create momentum and "pull the Democratic Party together in the most dramatic and fiery way possible," says political scientist John Bunzel. But the ghost of what might have been is sure to appear before those who think Cuomo would have offered their best chance at the White House.

A less-than-riveting endorsement of Clinton — with whom he's had a



USA TODAY

CUOMO

sometimes rocky relationship — would be seen as a sign there's still discord.

"I don't really see it hurting Clinton, except if Cuomo ... outshines the nominee," says political scientist James Ceaser.

Cuomo's keynote address in 1984 vaulted him to national prominence. Clinton's droning 1988 nomination of Michael Dukakis almost ruined his career.

Convention Vice Chair Lynn Cutler doesn't see Cuomo upstaging Clinton: "It's a win-win situation ... two nights of terrific Democratic values."

John Hanchette writes for Gannett News Service

Bosnian chief: 'We need military help'

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 • USA TODAY

INTERVIEW

President Alija Izetbegovic says Serbian troops cannot be removed without force and that aid is helpful, but more is needed.

Q: You're planning to meet President Bush at the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Helsinki this week. What are you going to say to him about the need for the United States to intervene?

A: I'm going to try to describe the complete situation for President Bush to make his own conclusions on what should be done. Humanitarian relief is welcome but not satisfactory. We need military help because this evil (Serbian attacks) cannot be removed, cannot be won by anything else except force. We ourselves do not have that strength.

Q: What do you want President Bush to do militarily?

A: From the very beginning, we were asking for the heavy artillery around our town to be removed. Huge amounts of heavy weaponry all over Bosnia and Herzegovina were left here by the JNA (the Yugoslavian army). That artillery is being used (by local Serbian militia) for bombing not only Sarajevo, but other towns in the republic. JNA doesn't want to withdraw its weapons. The only way to proceed with that would be to destroy (the artillery) from the air by a bombardment by the United States or by the United Nations.

Q: Is military force the only way?

A: Primarily, we don't wish to make war. That is the first option. We would like the other side to withdraw from our country. If the United States can help, it would be good.

Q: Western leaders meeting

in Munich Monday talked about expanding relief efforts. Is enough aid getting through?

A: Humanitarian relief is arriving regularly. It's very helpful. We still have those who are starving in some parts of town because the quantities which have come so far are not enough. But you know, it's related only to Sarajevo, and Sarajevo is not the worst case in Bosnia. There are much worse cases in the republic.

Q: What else will you tell the president?

A: I am afraid that President Bush and the American public are not quite aware of the difficult situation, the scale to which the destruction of this country has reached.

Q: We see it on TV every day. Is there more death that we don't know about?

A: It's much worse. Ethnic cleansing is happening on a large scale. For instance, on June 10 in a suburb of Sarajevo, they invited all citizens to come out on the street. They divided them into two groups, one side Serbs, the other side not Serbs. The non-Serbs were ordered to leave that part of the town within an hour. The same thing has happened in hundreds of places.

Q: Have many people been killed trying to resist this segregation?

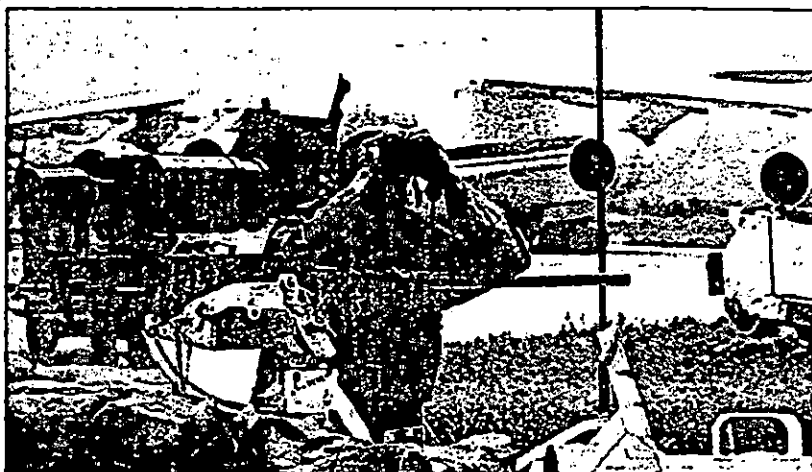
A: Thousands. People were slaughtered, literally slaughtered. I'm sure that America couldn't know that. That is the first thing I'm going to tell President Bush, and I will request an international agency to

Alija Izetbegovic, 66, is Muslim president of the war-torn former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which declared its independence on March 1. U.N. troops now control the Sarajevo airport, assuring supplies of food and medicine to the besieged and starving capital. Today's Q&A is edited from remarks he made in a telephone interview from Sarajevo with USA TODAY's Lee Michael Katz.



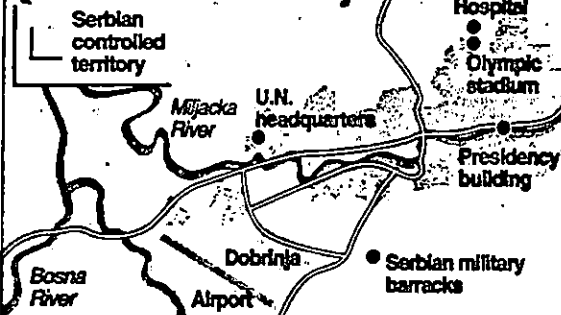
Izetbegovic

Standing guard in Sarajevo



ON DUTY: A U.N. soldier keeps watch as humanitarian aid is unloaded from a Russian plane. Reuters

The scene in Sarajevo



By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

Behind fighting in Yugoslavia

As Soviet dominance ended, Yugoslavia splintered. Slovenia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina sought independence. But the largest republic, Serbia, objected. The Serb-dominated Yugoslav army, coordinating with Serbs in the breakaway republics, began "ethnic cleansing" to drive non-Serbs from power.

Critic says Bosnia has not honored agreements

"It's difficult to have a peace settlement with a leader who does not honor agreements," says George Bogdanich, director of the Serbian-American Media Center in Chicago.

Bogdanich says Bosnian President Alija Izetbegovic has renounced numerous agreements, such as dividing Bosnia into autonomous ethnic enclaves to settle political differences between the parties.

"That's when the trouble began in earnest," he says.

Bogdanich calls media coverage of the ethnic conflict "extremely one-sided," and says the international focus on Sarajevo has kept the press from examining

the massacre of Serbian civilians in western Herzegovina and northern Bosnia.

He adds that if Izetbegovic wants to compare the conflict in Sarajevo with the Holocaust, he'd better check his history book.

"It was the Serbs who fought the Nazis in 1941, and the Muslim fundamentalists and Croatian fascists joined the Nazis to exterminate a large number of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies."

"The Serbs were a majority in Bosnia before the Holocaust. Today, they represent only a third of the population. So you can understand their fears as an embattled minority."

— Sharon Shahid

come here and verify it.

Q: Does it bring to mind parallels?

A: This situation is even worse than during the Nazi era because all of this happened within a period of three months. Only three months.

Q: What's it like to be the head of a nation that's under siege. Do you feel safe?

A: No one in this town is safe. Every day we have 10 to 15 killed and about 50 wounded civilians in the town. Everybody is leading a risky life these days because at every moment, you can expect shelling. I've changed offices because the office in which I used to work was shelled in the beginning. I'm now in an office in the middle of the building.

Q: So to sum it up, what is your message to the world?

A: We are asking the world not to forget us.



TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Planes with bogus parts

On another subject, USA TODAY says lax rules help bogus airline parts slip through.

This wasn't supposed to happen. But counterfeit and potentially hazardous airline parts slipped through safeguards set by the airlines and the Federal Aviation Administration.

Counterfeit seal spacers, hardware critical to flight safety, were ready for installation on airplanes but were intercepted by a sharp-eyed mechanic. Some FAA officials speculate that phony parts may have been put on engines.

Bogus parts — some counterfeit and non-conforming, some stolen and resold with false claims about their age — are a burgeoning problem, as today's Page One cover story details. It is so serious that the U.S. Transportation Department's inspector general calls it her No. 1 priority for the next two years.

Sensible enough. But a little late.

The air transport industry began warning government about this problem in 1978. It called for increased regulation of the parts-distribution industry.

Instead, it got government studies and insistence that regulation would be expensive and ineffective.

So the airlines added their own training programs to aid in detection, and they may put serial numbers on all parts to make them traceable. The industry also persuaded FAA to install a safety hot line for reporting unapproved parts.

More must be done: Brokers and distributors of airline parts are unlicensed. Virtually anyone with a computer and a telephone can set up shop.

That should be changed. And considering the results of anti-regulatory zeal during the '80s — notably the S&L crisis — regulation of the airline-parts industry should be reconsidered.

One bogus part in the wrong place at the wrong time is too much to tolerate.

Today's debate is on **HEALTH INSURANCE** and assuring that people don't lose protection when they need it most.

States are right to bar health-care cherry-picking

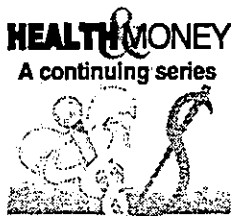
OUR VIEW States are right to discourage the practice of insuring only the healthiest.

The federal government may be stuck on what to do about health care, but there's no stopping the states. New York and Iowa are the latest to take matters into their own hands.

Last week, both states tackled a growing menace — "cherry-picking," insurance companies' questionable practice of insuring only those who need it least.

They lure the youngest and healthiest with low rates, but deny or cancel coverage or charge exorbitant fees for those who need it most — the old, the sick and those in risky occupations.

Cherry-picking is unfair and has to be stopped. It undermines the idea of insurance — spreading the risk by pooling people of all ages, occupations and states of health. If insurers cover only the healthy, the sick — which eventually includes almost everyone — have no



where to turn.

Small businesses are hurt most. With so few employees to absorb the risk, insurers refuse them policies, exclude high-risk employees, or charge impossibly high rates.

New York tackled its problem by barring insurers from cherry-picking in groups with fewer than 50 members. No one can be denied coverage or charged higher rates because of age, illness or other risk factors. And, once insured, anyone can change jobs without fear of losing health insurance.

Iowa saw a related form of cherry-picking brewing and showed great foresight by nipping it in the bud. Following Wisconsin's and Oregon's lead, it barred businesses from using genetic tests to discriminate against workers potentially most vulnerable to expensive diseases.

Both New York and Iowa have taken valuable steps in the right direction.

The reforms are likely to raise premiums for the healthiest people. That's the unavoidable price of assuring protection for the sickest.

Until the nation is of one mind about health-care reform, states like New York and Iowa are good examples to follow.

State bar will backfire

OPPOSING VIEW Expect rate hikes of 30% or more on small employers, and many will drop coverage.

Some tout New York's new health-insurance bill as reform that could help provide affordable coverage to people with small-group or individual insurance who are old, sick or have higher health risks.

But as *The New York Times* notes, "The trouble with the new law is that it can't work." It does nothing to address the more than 2 million New Yorkers without insurance, nor does it address high health-care costs, the root cause responsible for these problems. In effect, it throws the prospect of meaningful health-insurance reform in New York out of the frying pan and into the fire.

By mandating that commercial health-insurance companies accept any-

one who applies and charge everyone in one community the same rate, regardless of age, sex or health, the measure will foist premium increases — in some cases in excess of 30% — upon as many as 65% of the state's small employers covered by private insurers. The end result: Many will drop coverage, and an additional 165,000 New Yorkers will have no health insurance.

Better alternatives exist. Seventeen states already have approved laws that allow competition and provide guaranteed coverage for everyone in a small group. Under these reforms, coverage is guaranteed renewable (no one could be dropped because of bad health), "portable" (eliminating "job lock") and has limits on premium increases.

Instead, the New York Legislature has opted to bail out the state's largest insurance company, Empire Blue Cross/Blue Shield, which managed to lose \$240 million last year despite its tax exemption and a 24% discount on hospital charges — advantages commercial insurers do not have. Sadly, New York residents will be left picking up the tab for establishing a monopoly.



By Carl J. Schramm, president of the Health Insurance Association of America.

LETTERS

Following an editorial commemorating the Fourth of July, USA TODAY asked readers to compare today's leaders with the country's Founding Fathers. Some said:

Different motivation

There is no comparison. Our Founding Fathers were motivated by the principles that this country was founded on: Christianity, duty, honor and moral values. Today's leaders do not follow what the majority of the people say but are motivated by greed and by special-interest lobbying groups, such as the American Civil Liberties Union and the National Rifle Association.

Mike Roberts
Omaha, Neb.

Dependence is slavery

Comparing our current leaders with the Founding Fathers, we need only ask ourselves: Would we be prepared to yield to the former the power to rewrite our Constitution? I suspect not.

Our current leaders are as

intelligent, likely even better informed than the framers. This begs the question. Why could they not be entrusted with such a mandate?

The answer is simple: Today's leaders, on both sides of the aisle, are so consumed with winning and holding office that they lack the vision and courage necessary to pen such a document. Their personal interests and their loyalties lie in the success of their respective parties and not in the country as a whole.

Where the Founding Fathers saw independence, current leaders see dependence. And lest we need to be reminded, dependency is slavery, by mutual consent.

Larry Fields
De Soto, Texas

Uniquely conditioned

Our forefathers were uniquely conditioned in a time and place like no other period in history, when they were to be gentlemen and scholars.

The only one who might come close today to Jefferson, Washington or Adams is Mi-

TV ad sends wrong message on stuttering

The June 10 article by Martha T. Moore on stuttering and the John Hancock Financial Services TV ad neglected to note that the Stuttering Foundation of America joined the American Speech-Language-Hearing Association in its criticism of the TV commercial featuring a young girl who stutters ("Ad with stutterer ignites protest").

The Stuttering Foundation of America is not an organization of professionals but is a non-profit organization dedicated solely to the prevention, improved treatment and understanding of



Fraser

stuttering.

Our objection to the Hancock ad is based on its insinuation that young people who stutter should not work to overcome the problem but should seek alter-

native means to communicate. This is a detrimental message to the many young people who stutter who can make great strides toward overcoming the problem.

The Stuttering Foundation offers free information on stuttering through its toll-free hot line: 1-800-922-9392.

Jane Fraser, president
Stuttering Foundation
of America
Washington, D.C.

khail Gorbachev. He was schooled in the Soviet system and brought up through it to take a position.

Our forefathers were bred

for their positions; contemporary politicians are more groomed for the spotlight.

Kyle Jessee
Orlando, Fla.

JOE URSCHEL

The economics of backyard water play

For Dad's \$50 investment, the kids are back where they started.

One boring afternoon last summer, my kids took some plastic garbage bags, taped them together and created a water slide in the back yard.

This entertained them all day, in part because they constantly had to retape it as it kept breaking apart.

That was before I knew you could go to the toy store and buy a White Water Rafting Slip 'n' Slide water slide for about \$30. Is this not what capitalism is all about? Out of nowhere an entrepreneur rushes in to create a product for which there is no need. And consumers rush out and buy it.

I convinced myself the Slip 'n' Slide was a good idea. You don't have to tape it together; it hooks to the hose and sprays a gentle mist of water that keeps the slide wet; and it comes with an inflatable sliding "raft" and an inflatable pool you land in.

My enthusiasm was only slightly dampened when I realized the amount of time and lung capacity you must expend to in-

flate these things.

But, once assembled and inflated, it provided loads of entertainment for at least 10 minutes, until the water line broke and the gentle mist disappeared along with the excitement it had generated.

No problem, I explained, the toy store will gladly replace this defective slide.

My enthusiasm was only slightly dampened when I discovered that despite how hard they may be to inflate, they are even harder to deflate.

The second slide was hurriedly assembled, and the hose was turned on — only to untap a sizable geyser in the water line.

So, back again we went to the toy store. "No," said the saleslady. "We haven't had a lot of returns on these. You just must be unlucky." But not stupid.

I switched to the Super Crocodile Mile Water Slide with Boomerang Bump, Splashdown Pool, Cushioned Bodyboard and Super Drencher Hoop because, ac-



Joe Urschel's column appears on Tuesdays and Thursdays.

cording to a very official sign, it was preferred, 6-1, "in a survey of boys."

I should have known better than to trust such an unrepresentative sample.

"It's kinda short, Dad," said my daughter after I got it assembled. And besides, the Super Drencher Hoop kept getting knocked over.

I'm not sure what an hour of "dad time" is worth. But it's got to equal the minimum wage. So, factoring in inflation-deflation time, driving-back-and-forth-to-the-toy-store time, standing-in-the-return-line-at-the-toy-store time, and standing-in-the-checkout-line-at-the-toy-store time, I'd put over \$50 of cash and labor into this project.

A \$50 investment which is now receiving a customized extension in my back yard with duct tape and garbage bags.

But here is why this is really such a great country. Anticipating your needs, I am rushing in to offer you enough tape and garbage bags to allow your kids to make their own water slide for a mere \$20. A bargain that not only will save you up to \$30, but also free up five hours of precious parent time. No sale? OK. Use your own tape and bags.

And just send me \$10.

Fighting stereotypes:

'Yellow' among the white

COMMENT

I often wish that I could live in a place where yellow, red, white and black could become one. This dream has not come true.

In the land of white men, white crust and white suburban neighborhoods, I grew up as one of the few "yellow" kids in the neighborhood. Being spatters of yellow on a canvas of white made us proud.

My father always taught me to stick my chin up high and hold my head straight. Ever since early childhood, I lived by the premise: "You are Chinese. Do not disappoint your race. Always accept defeat."

Defeat in a white world came often. Almost every "white" I encountered in school, neighborhood and even church had an image of a "yellow" person.

In junior high, I was coaxed into the math club and practically forced to join the science club. When I failed miserably in the first math tournament, I endured weeks of laughter and mockery.

"What kind of Chinese person doesn't do well in math?" I heard one fellow "yellow" math genius say to her friend. I

had disappointed my face, quickly becoming the center of curiosity and then dislike.

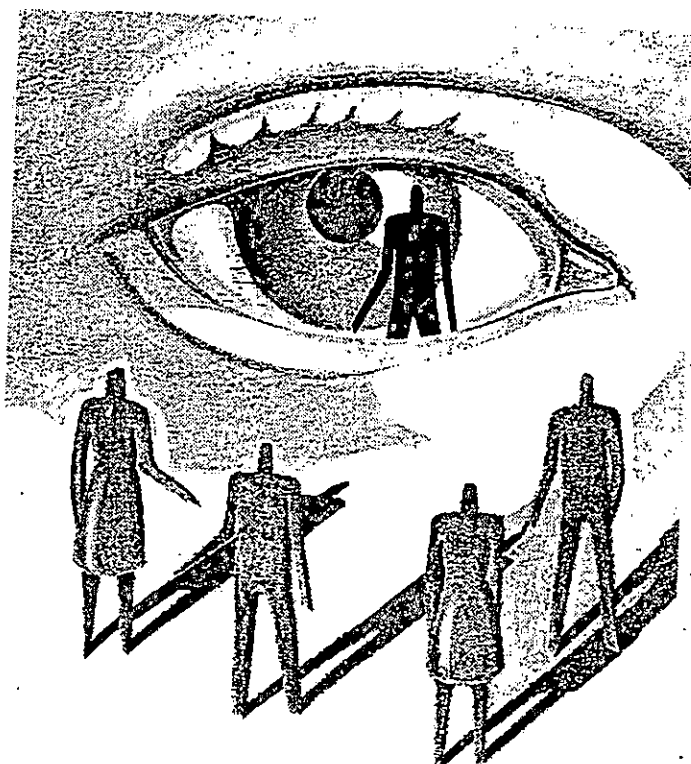
The few other "yellows" in the school seemed to satisfy everyone's expectation of what an Oriental should be — a genius, high IQ, math whiz, science star, honor roll every quarter, Harvard material. They fit the mold.

I was the only yellow person who didn't seem to excel in math or science — and my father's being a biochemist made it even worse. During a dissection of worms, I almost cut off the worm's head accidentally. Once, when I decided to pursue acting, I was met with frowns of disapproval.

"I didn't know a Chinese could act," one white slice said.



By Amy Wu, a
Thornwood,
N.Y., student.



By Elys A. McLean, USA TODAY

What many whites didn't know was that I grew up in cruelty and confusion. When I was 9, I came home to find "chink" sprayed across our newly paved driveway. I wanted to kill whoever wrote that.

From elementary school on, my very Chinese last name be-

came the center of jokes. I learned to cope with the ignorance by pretending not to hear or see it. There were times when I would fall into a world of depression, once wishing that I had been born white, another time wishing that the "yellows" outnumbered the "whites."

Some white people who decided I was "OK" would ask me questions that made me laugh inside.

"Are you Buddhist?" "Are you a communist?"

Once, in global studies, we discussed the history of Japan.

"Ask Amy, she'll know!" voices began to cry.

"I'm not Japanese!" I said, seething with anger.

Another time, a scroll filled with Chinese characters was placed before me.

"What does it mean?" they asked.

It was very difficult explaining to 26 blank faces that I could not read Chinese, and the only thing that I could write was my name.

I learned that being one of the few "yellows" in the land of white makes everything into a world of proving and explaining.

My mom once told me that I was a representative of the Chinese race and that I would have to prove to those *Mei gua yuan* (Americans) that I was more capable of doing things than they. I have not reached that goal. I often wish that I could live in a place where yellow, red, white and black could become one. This dream has not come true. For now, I am still — the yellow.

What it feels like to run for president

Author Richard Ben Cramer tells us what it takes to be president and what the campaign 'bubble' does to candidates.

By Bob Minzesheimer
USA TODAY

Richard Ben Cramer seems to be everywhere: In a pickup truck with George Bush in 1978 — when only 1 in 333 voters knew his name — and Bush tells a friend, "I've really gotta decide if I want to run for president." The friend replies: "Run. Y'don't have anything better to do."

In bed with Kitty and Michael Dukakis, on the eve of the 1988 Iowa caucus, when she wakes her husband, who grunts: "What is it, babe?" To which she confesses: "I'm afraid you're going to win. ... I mean, I don't want you to lose. ... But I'm not sure I want you to win." He tells his Jewish wife: "This must be part of your ethnic heritage."

Cramer worked six years to describe *What It Takes to run for president*, begging questions on what it takes to read 1,047 pages on the last campaign ... in the midst of another king-of-the-hill, who's-left-standing campaign! ... especially when those pages are filled with sentences like this one.

But Cramer is less interested in the campaign — our "quadrennial bloodbath" — than the candidates themselves and what the presidential and campaign "bubble" does to them. It is not a pretty picture.

As one of Joe Biden's advisers (or gurus, in Cramer-speak) warns him: "You give up everything," life, home, friends. "And you're all alone. Your relationship with your wife, your whole family, is going to suffer. ... Because you're going to want this worse than anything."

If Cramer's drama has villains, they are the journalists circling candidates with an "iron ring" of cameras and boom mikes. A former foreign correspondent, Cramer sees political reporters as a "Priesthood of the Process" who dismiss Gary Hart as an "excommunicant."

"Karacter Kops," who shoot the politically wounded, ease up on Bush after he wins primaries: "Maybe the Kops had spent themselves in the war of wimpdom. ... The Karacter query on Bush was the Wimp Factor ... and no man is a wimp to the political press corps whilst he wins."

With the cockiness of a gambler betting after the race is run, Cramer ferociously attacks the tyranny of conventional wisdom, all that stuff everyone just knows without determining how everyone knows it or who told anyone.

As for who told Cramer, he says he reconstructed each scene and quote with the help of "a person involved ... usually the person making the statement." That is remarkable, given the intimate conversations he recounts.

Cramer complains that all the books he read about previous campaigns left unanswered "the only questions" he and most voters "ever wanted to ask" about the candidates: "Who are these guys? What are they like?"

Readers will learn nothing about health care or foreign policy. But they will learn about some of the men who thought they ought to be president. Bob Dole emerges from his "opaque curtain of reserve." Dukakis is stubbornly and righteously isolated. Bush plays "net with himself ... so sensitive to the currents around him, so desirous that he not offend, so quick of mind and sense, it was almost reflex: he'd doublethink his own mouth" — with disastrous results.

At his best, Cramer is delightfully descriptive, a rarity in political writing: Bush's research director, Jim Pinkerton, "was a pale six-foot-nine tower supporting a brain strangely clarified by altitude."

At his worst, he is merely excessive: contrasting "slab-shouldered" Kansans to "pencil-necked" Harvard grads, he raises interesting anatomical possibilities for a Harvard grad out of Topeka.

But his biggest shortcoming is what he leaves out: Jesse Jackson. His excuse: "I was never able to slow him down long enough" and decided not to write "about someone I did not know well." The reporters he derides did not have that option.

Even without Jackson, Cramer has written the best book yet about what it feels like to run for president in a media age. It is not only about what it takes, but how much it takes from those would-be presidents and from us all.

Bob Minzesheimer is political editor of USA TODAY.



**What It Takes:
The Way to the
White House**
By Richard Ben
Cramer
Random House
1,047 pp, \$28

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

A DAY

THE EDITORIAL PAGE



By Mike Keefe for USA TODAY

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Democrats Are Outbidding One Another on Plans To Create Jobs by Rebuilding U.S. Infrastructure

By LAURIE MCGINLEY

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—They may disagree on Sister Souljah, but Bill Clinton and Jesse Jackson are kindred spirits on the need to spend huge amounts to rebuild the nation's deteriorating infrastructure.

Infrastructure, an issue that has been at the periphery in recent campaigns, has become a Democratic buzzword this year. Wall Street financier Felix Rohatyn is pushing a 10-year, \$500 billion "Rebuild America" plan that has been embraced by the Rev. Jackson, while Gov. Clinton wants to spend \$80 billion over four years to improve roads and bridges and install high-tech telecommunications and environmental technology.

In addition, the U.S. Conference of Mayors, with Maynard Jackson of Atlanta and Raymond Flynn of Boston in the forefront, is pushing a \$34.8 billion anti-recession plan that, among other things, would fund 7,000 projects throughout the nation that city officials say are ready to go. And House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri is working on legislation to increase infrastructure investment.

"Older voters speak frequently of putting people to work rebuilding the country, and harken back specifically to the Roosevelt model of the Civilian Conservation Corps," says Democratic pollster Geoff Garin. Younger voters, he says, are intrigued by a "21st Century infrastructure," including smart highways and advanced fiber optics.

While the plans differ, all aim to create jobs, especially for workers in the beleaguered defense sector. "When you look at the capital requirement of city and state, and of country, it's apparent we are way underinvesting," says Mr. Rohatyn, a partner in Lazard Freres & Co. and chairman of the Municipal Assistance Corp. And some of the plans have a common, controversial feature: luring the vast pool of pension funds, currently totaling \$3 trillion, into infrastructure investment.

Proponents say pension funds may be the ideal financing mechanism for such an effort. "This money, the workers' money, could be a central source of patient, long-term investment capital," says the Rev. Jackson.

Plans Called Risky

But conservative critics deride the infrastructure proposals as old-fashioned pork-barrel politics, and say the notion of investing pension funds is a terrible idea that could put people's retirement money

as well as taxpayer dollars at risk.

"It's asking pensioners to risk their retirement income to invest in make-work projects," says Edward Hudgins, deputy director for economic policy studies at the Heritage Foundation. "Why not just sell boondoggle bonds?" James Miller, chairman of the conservative Citizens for a Sound Economy, and a former head of the Office of Management and Budget, calls the idea "the height of irresponsibility."

Others say that the U.S., instead of laying more concrete, should use existing facilities more efficiently by raising highway tolls and airport landing fees during rush hours, for example. And some question whether the states, through which the bulk of any increase in infrastructure funding would flow, could even handle a massive increase of money; they have committed only about 60% of the funds available this year under the six-year \$155 billion transportation bill approved in December.

"It's foolish to put more into the pipeline if the states haven't demonstrated their ability to take it out," says Transportation Secretary Andrew Card.

Still, many economists praise the notion of spending more to rebuild the nation. They cite studies showing that the nation's infrastructure needs are vast and that improved transportation networks increase productivity.

"Expenditures of this type will have to be made sooner or later, and the longer they are postponed, the greater the cost later," says Charles Lieberman, managing director and director of financial markets research for Chemical Securities Inc. Stanley Collender, director of federal budget policy for the accounting firm of Price Waterhouse, agrees. "If you are going to run a deficit for anything, this is exactly the kind of thing you want to run a deficit for," he says. "It will have long-term benefits. It's not just consumption."

Still, with \$350 billion deficits on the horizon, the big question is: Where does the money come from?

Gov. Clinton is counting mostly on defense cuts to fund his plan, a risky strategy say critics who claim that those savings won't materialize because of congressional resistance to deep reductions that would cost constituents jobs.

Ira Magaziner, a business-strategy consultant based in Providence, R.I., who has worked closely with Gov. Clinton, says one way to overcome that problem is to require companies that receive federal grants, for example to build a high-speed rail system, to use defense facilities and retrain workers.

Under Mr. Rohatyn's much more ambitious plan, an investment trust would be created that would issue bonds, both on the

CAMPAIGN

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public market and to pension funds, to pay for the infrastructure improvements. The bonds would be secured by gasoline tax-increases that would rise a nickel a gallon every year for 10 years.

Questionable Assumption

But whether Congress would approve raising gas taxes is highly questionable; House Speaker Thomas Foley fell on his face last year trying to push through a one-time nickel-a-gallon rise to pay for the transportation bill. Rep. Gephardt has mentioned using an oil-import fee to pay part of the tab, but that, too, is a politically explosive issue.

Concocting a financial instrument that would be attractive to pension funds also could be tricky. To ease concerns about the safety of workers' pensions probably would require "some form of government sponsorship or government guarantee," says Daniel Flanagan, an Arlington, Va., political consultant. Mr. Flanagan is chairman of a new commission set up at

the behest of New York Democratic Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan to investigate creating a new security that would lure pension funds to invest in infrastructure projects. But government guarantees would create new federal liabilities at a time when the government seems unable to afford them.

Clinton aides say they are interested in the possible use of pension funds to leverage the \$80 billion he wants to spend on infrastructure. "We'd be interested in the states coming up with creative financing ideas, including some mechanism that could include use of pension funds," says Gene Sperling, Gov. Clinton's director of economic policy. But Clinton aides say they want to be careful that federal guarantees don't create a swamp akin to the savings and loan bailout. They favor backing the use of pension funds with road tolls or solid waste disposal charges to help guarantee the investments.

Wall Street, which obviously would play a crucial role in any such scheme, is divided. Francis Lilly, president of Bear Stearns Fiduciary Services Inc., a subsidiary of Bear Stearns & Co., and a member of the infrastructure-financing commission created by the 1991 transportation bill, says that "if there is a safe, sound and prudent vehicle for pension funds ...

Rebuilding America

Highlights of three proposals for a major federal effort at improving the nation's infrastructure:

SPONSORS	AMOUNT (in billions)	TIME	HOW FINANCED
Bill Clinton	\$80	Four years	Defense and other cuts; the \$80 billion could be supplemented by pension-fund investments
Felix Rohatyn/ Jesse Jackson	\$500	10 years	Gasoline tax increases, bonds sold to pension funds
U.S. Conference of Mayors	\$34.8	Immediate	Mostly defense savings

there would be plenty of pension plans that would be interested in it."

But Stephen Roach, chief economist for Morgan Stanley & Co., has his doubts. "If

you are a pension fund manager and you have an opportunity to invest in a bridge or a growth company, it doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure that one out," he says.

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THE WALL STREET JOURNAL TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Cruel Costs of the 1991 Minimum Wage

By ALAN REYNOLDS

The increase in unemployment that caused so much anxiety last week was particularly startling among teenagers. Last month the teen unemployment rate jumped to 23.6% from 20%. The disproportionately huge increase in unemployment among teens and young adults in the past two years must lead us to reconsider the mock benevolence of hiking the minimum wage in 1990 and 1991, and of Gov. Clinton's proposal to index that wage floor.

For nine years, from January 1981 until March 1990, the federal minimum wage was unchanged at \$3.35 an hour. Over that time, the percentage of teens with jobs soared to more than 48% from 41%. After the minimum wage was raised to \$3.80 in April 1990, youth employment immediately began to drop, falling below 43% by July 1990, before the recession began. The legal minimum was again raised to \$4.25 in April 1991, and youth employment, as well as employment in general, plunged again.

Damaging Legislation

Apologists for this damaging 1990-91 legislation often cite a 1982 survey in the *Journal of Economic Literature* that purported to offer proof that the effects on employment of a higher minimum wage are small. This study estimated that a 10% increase in the minimum wage would increase unemployment by less than a percentage point, although it would also slash teenage employment by somewhere between 1% and 4%. However, the two increases in the minimum wage in 1990-91 amounted to a 27% rise, not 10%. Even using the "small" employment effects estimated in the 1982 study, we should not be surprised that as many as 11% of teenage jobs would be lost.

As youth unemployment is now soaring, there is a renewed effort underway to pretend this is just a coincidence, having nothing to do with the minimum wage. A June 29 *New York Times* report claims that three working papers from the National Bureau of Economic Research show that "raising the Federal minimum wage may not prompt employers to trim jobs... and therefore may not be such a bad way to help America's working poor."

The first of these studies, by David Card of Princeton, dealt with California, where the state minimum wage was raised in late 1988 to \$4.25 for those over age 18, \$3.60 for those below that age. Since the percentage of California teens with jobs merely stopped rising between 1988 and 1989, rather than promptly falling, Mr. Card concludes there was "no adverse employment effect."

But making it illegal to offer jobs at less

than \$3.60 or \$4.25 in this high-wage state, where average teenage wages were \$5.29 in 1989, could only be expected to reduce new hiring, not to cause immediate dismissal of teens already employed at a higher wage. Reduced hiring explains why the percentage of California teens with jobs was unchanged in 1989, even though the state's overall ratio of employment to population rose by 6.4%. More important, there is no reason to expect all of the effect of reduced hiring to show up in only one year. In 1990, the proportion of California teens with jobs fell by 5.6% — twice the national average.

The adverse effect of a \$4.25 minimum wage on hiring in high-wage states like

full effects. Employers would not be expected to fire experienced people just after the minimum wage increased, but reduce new hiring. There would be reduced creation of new enterprises that rely on unskilled workers. And there would be greater investment to minimize employment, such as serve-yourself discount stores, cafeteria-style steak houses, or restaurants with food bars.

The third study cited by the *New York Times* is even more flawed in this respect, since it looked at what happened only three or four months after the minimum wage rose to \$4.25. Lawrence Katz and Alan Krueger conducted a telephone survey of three fast food chains from the Texas

Among single males, the percentage with "low-wage jobs" jumped between 1979 and 1990. Why? Because the percentage who had any job at all rose dramatically.

California was modest compared to what happened to a dozen states where the average teenage wage had been below \$4 in 1989, and starting wages were lower still. As Mr. Card points out, "an appropriate minimum wage for New Jersey... may have devastating labor market consequences in Mississippi." Even in relatively prosperous Indiana, total employment fell by 41,000 between March and July 1990, after the first minimum wage hike but before the recession, and began falling again just after the federal law prohibited hiring below \$4.25 in April 1991. A similar pattern was unmistakable in 30 states.

A second paper by Mr. Card focused on 15 states that had already raised state minimum wages above the federal minimum in 1988-89, reasoning that any loss of teenage jobs in these states after March of 1990 could not be blamed on the \$3.80 federal minimum wage, since these states already had minimum wage laws about that high. Instead, "employment losses should have been concentrated in low-wage states."

The author claims this is not what happened, but his data show otherwise. The nationwide drop in teenage employment rates was 2.6% in 1990, but the declines were more than twice that large in Alabama, Louisiana, Virginia, Indiana, Illinois and the Carolinas. All but one of those states had above-average percentages of teenagers earnings less than \$3.80 before that became the national minimum, and none had imposed state minimums above the \$3.35 federal level.

A serious defect in all of these studies is that one year is not enough time to see the

yellow pages between December of 1990 and the summer of 1991. Why Texas? "The weak labor market in Texas," say the authors, "should have magnified the impact of the minimum wage." Yet Texas employment was unusually strong in this period, thanks to exports to Mexico, with unemployment dropping to 5.8% from 6.9%.

What little effect Messrs. Katz and Krueger could discover was not helpful to their case. They found that "10.5% of firms constrained by the new minimum... responded that they had reduced the number of nonmanagement workers... since April." The authors do not find even this instant contraction "significant," but the unemployed workers surely did.

Many of the job seekers who are shut out by the minimum wage law do indeed find work. But they have to seek work at wages below the legal minimum. Retail and service companies with sales below half a million dollars a year are exempt from the federal minimum wage, while those who hope to receive tips face a minimum of only \$2.34. And many people who clean houses, do handyman chores, or pick fruit are not effectively under any minimum wage constraints.

By reducing jobs among the 70% or so of businesses affected by the minimum wage, the law thus diverts more frustrated job seekers into the exempt sectors. The effect of this increased supply of people looking for work at sub-minimum wages is to further reduce the nation's lowest incomes. This makes the whole idea of raising the minimum to fight poverty appear almost cynical.

From 1981 to 1989, the minimum wage became a smaller obstacle to students seeking summer and Christmas jobs in low-wage areas, and unskilled housewives wishing to supplement family income while the kids were in school. The ability to employ new part-time or part-year workers at entry-level wages did not mean that these workers, or anyone else, was poorer as a result.

A recent Census Bureau report showed that there was a large increase in the 1980s in the proportion of jobs that pay "less than the poverty level for a four person family." Few seemed to notice that this increase did not occur among family heads. Among wives who worked full time, for example, the percentage with low earnings dropped from 34% in 1979 to 27.8% in 1990. Instead, all of the increase in low-wage jobs occurred among "other family members" (young people living with their parents) and young single men. Neither teenagers or young men need to earn enough to support a family of four at their first or summer jobs, but they welcomed the opportunity to earn something.

Among single males, the percentage with such "low-wage jobs" jumped to 10.8% from 6.8% between 1979 and 1990. Why? Because the percentage of single males who had any job at all rose dramatically — to 61.8% in 1989 from 51.4% in 1974. Many more young people found first or temporary jobs.

Aggravated Recession

And, of course, the minimum wage only affects the initial hiring opportunity, not permanent income. Everybody gets raises. The 1990-91 increase in the minimum wage, in combination with deflated prices in many low-wage industries, has now destroyed opportunities for millions of young singles to get that first or summer job, and for young mothers to supplement family income with part-time work. The recession and slow recovery have been seriously aggravated, if not partly caused, by the resulting loss of incomes.

If people in Washington are seriously interested in reducing unemployment, they must stop making it easier and more attractive to stay on the dole. They must instead start making it easier and more attractive for young people, who have by far the highest unemployment rates, to make whatever mutually acceptable wage deals they can with prospective employers.

Mr. Reynolds is director of economic research at the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis, Ind.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

U.S., Canada, Mexico Agree on Terms Of Trade Pact to Block Certain Imports

By BOB DAVIS
And ROSE GUTFELD

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — The U.S. has reached agreement with Canada and Mexico on provisions of a proposed free-trade pact that would allow any country to block imports that don't comply with stiff environmental regulations, administration officials said.

Under the plan, for instance, the U.S., or any state in the U.S., could block imports of Mexican vegetables that contain a level of pesticides judged harmful in the U.S. — even if that level is considered safe in Mexico. Under the pact, Mexico could challenge the restriction before a resolution panel. The U.S. would have to demonstrate that the federal or state rule is based on credible science and designed to protect against a genuine risk.

The U.S. expects to sign the trade pact with Mexico and Canada this summer. It would reduce tariffs among the countries and supposedly expand trade significantly. But the pact, which must be approved by Congress, has been controversial because of fears that it would weaken U.S. health, environment and labor standards. U.S. negotiators have hoped to defuse opposition by crafting a strong environmental section.

Efforts 'to Dodge a Bullet'

Early reaction wasn't encouraging. "We don't want a trade-dispute panel to be the arbiter of measures" that already have been approved by the U.S., said Justin Ward, a policy specialist at the Natural Resources Defense Council, a Washington environmental group. Gary Hufbauer, a trade expert at the Institute for International Economics, a Washington think tank, said U.S. negotiators "are trying to dodge a bullet, and they won't succeed."

Administration officials said the environmental provisions don't directly address the concern that U.S. companies may move to Mexico because of looser environmental enforcement there and then export products to the U.S. Negotiators said they rejected a variety of proposals to subject such exports to tariffs, or so-called green taxes, because they considered the plans too complex and subject to abuse. Instead, the U.S. is planning a series of programs to help Mexico enforce its environmental laws, which are patterned after U.S. rules.

U.S. officials said they don't want environmental issues handled like disputes over "unfair" subsidies. That could lead to a surge in protectionism and send the wrong signal to U.S. companies, officials argued. The companies would be encouraged to buy the most expensive environmental equipment available, instead of the most cost-effective, in order to show a greater gap in costs. "That's a bizarre incentive," one official said.

Bush Deadline: Before the Election

Completion of the trade pact, formally called the North American Free Trade Agreement, depends on resolving contentious disputes concerning oil, automobiles,

textiles and agriculture. U.S. companies had expected the agreement to be completed by now, but Mexico has resisted pressure by the U.S. to make concessions. President Bush has urged negotiators to try to finish the pact by the end of this month so that he can sign it before the election, but it's unclear whether they can meet that deadline.

The U.S. and Mexico have already announced an \$840 million clean-up plan of the heavily polluted industrial corridor along the U.S.-Mexican border. U.S. officials said that big U.S. companies located there are rarely the source of serious pollution. Instead, officials blame overcrowding, lack of running water and sewers, and "mom-and-pop operations" that dump wastes to save money.

Environmentalists complain that the U.S. isn't moving fast enough, or spending enough money, to resolve adequately the border problems. As part of the trade pact, environmentalists want countries to establish a commission designed specifically to address health, safety and environmental concerns; the commission would include environmentalists and exclude trade lobbyists.

Dispute-Resolution Panel

But negotiators have settled only on a dispute-resolution panel backed by teams of technical and scientific experts. Laws covering agricultural products and pesticides must meet a standard of scientific credibility. Laws covering toxic substances need not meet that standard; they simply can't be a trade barrier in disguise.

If the U.S., or Canada or Mexico loses in the dispute-resolution panel, it has three choices: Repeal the law, rework it, or retain the law and in some fashion compensate the exporting country, for instance, by reducing tariffs on other products.

For Better Banks, Risk Management's Money

By TOM THEOBALD

The chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corp., William Taylor, wants higher capital ratios for banks. So does Congress. If a bank has more to lose, the argument goes, it won't take silly chances with insured deposits.

Apparently logical, but wrong. The correct formulation is this: If a bank's

**SAVING
BANKS**

managers and directors have more of their own money at risk, they will be less likely to pursue long-odds strategies. Shareholders don't manage

banks; boards and senior executives do.

Of course banks need to be substantially capitalized to absorb the risks of doing business. But no one knows precisely how much capital is required. That's where the extent of management ownership becomes critical.

The benefits of aligning the interest of owners and managers are well-documented in numerous industries. Academics and researchers studying the clash between the motivations of investors and

managers have found that the simplest way to resolve this conundrum is to have a significant ownership commitment from corporate managers. Incentive bonus programs and stock options — a once-fashionable alternative to true ownership — let managers participate in the corporation's success, but do not expose them to the risks of failure.

Harvard Business School's Michael Jensen, long a proponent of making managers owners, has amassed a considerable body of evidence on this subject. He finds that managers who have an equity stake in their companies are much more likely to make decisions based on long-term shareholder interest. In the fall 1990 *Journal of Applied Corporate Finance*, Mr. Jensen argues that the percentage of equity owned by senior management fundamentally affects the way management behaves. When it is low, corporate growth is the primary motivating factor. But when that percentage increases—to around 20%—corporate profitability and shareholder value becomes the objective instead.

In a January analysis of the chemical, high technology and insurance industries by the Kellogg Graduate School of Busi-

ness and two consulting companies, companies with a higher percentage of insider ownership were found to have a substantially better three-year average return on equity—between 3% and 7% better—than companies with a low percentage of insider ownership.

These findings shouldn't be surprising — it's only logical that people will work smarter when their own money is on the line. No leveraged buyout firm would ever back a deal where management did not risk its own money. Venture capitalists almost invariably demand that the entrepreneur mortgage his own house.

Owner-managers have an easier job because so many potential conflicts are defused. As a group, companies with large equity holdings by management can more easily resolve conflicts between short-term results and long-term investment and are better able to balance risks and returns.

Obviously, banks are capital-intensive, with equity accounts in the tens of millions and even billions of dollars, so purely private ownership is seldom feasible. But real financial commitment, real ownership, is completely practical for bank managers and directors. Indeed, every employee can

develop a meaningful ownership stake through ESOPs, profit-sharing plans and similar vehicles.

Although research has established the importance of ownership to performance in other industries, surprisingly little work has been done on it in banking. But Continental Bank's analysis of the banks in the Salomon 50 Bank Index found that the 10 banks with the highest percentage of inside ownership had an average ratio of nonperforming assets to total assets of 1.7%. The ratio of the bottom 10 was 2.8%.

Preliminary results of a Kellogg study of the 50 largest banks also bear out this relationship. The study finds that banks with a high percentage of director and officer ownership have significantly fewer nonperforming assets than banks with a low percentage. They are also more profitable.

The American economy needs stronger and more competitive banks. But simply requiring ever-higher capital ratios — a cost that will be borne by all customers — is an indirect and inferior way to get at the ultimate target: a well-informed, careful and long-term trade-off between risk and return in the nation's banking system.

I'm not suggesting that bank managers be ordered by law to own shares in the places they work — the last thing banking needs is more federal mandates. But regulators should give ownership a significant weighting when making decisions about who's well-capitalized or who's more likely to take dumb risks. Over time, ownership and capital will be a far more effective safeguard than capital alone.

Mr. Theobald is chairman of Continental Bank Corp. in Chicago. Continental has an ESOP and mandated stock ownership for senior managers and directors.

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Child Safety Bill Is Hard to Swallow

By CAROLYN LOCHHEAD

Rep. Cardiss Collins (D., Ill.) is outraged. The Consumer Product Safety Commission recently decided not to ban balloons, marbles, small balls, crayons and other toys that fail to carry labels warning that toddlers can choke on them. So from her perch as chairwoman of the House subcommittee on Commerce, Consumer Protection and Competitiveness, she has introduced a bill.

Rep. Collins's measure would make it a federal crime to sell such products — or at least those that come in packages. Her bill has already been marked up by the Energy and Commerce Committee and is on its way to a vote in the House. Sen. Christopher Dodd (D., Conn.) has introduced a companion bill in the Senate.

The commission, an independent federal agency whose mission is to protect the public from unreasonable risk of injury, had rejected the rules its staff proposed in a massive report more than two years in the making and covering nearly 500 pages. Measured by bureaucratic standards — weight, thickness, obtuseness, poor copy quality — this tome is impressive. A press release from the Nader-inspired U.S. Public Interest Research Group helpfully sums it up as a "mountain of supporting evidence."

Closer examination, however, reveals what the commission clearly saw, and what apparently escaped Rep. Collins: There is no evidence new rules will save lives. Indeed, because the effectiveness of the labels could not be demonstrated, the staff recommended that an intensive media campaign accompany them to "re-educate the public." Nonetheless, the staff asserted that labeling marbles is worthwhile if it saves just one life in 100 years.

Roughly 1.5 billion marbles are sold in the U.S. each year, with less than one "marble-related" death; about 1.2 billion balloons are sold, with an average of six "balloon-related" deaths annually. When questioned, staff members conceded that they had no idea how most of these deaths

occurred or how labels might have prevented them.

Undeterred by the dearth of hard evidence, the commission staff based its recommendation instead on a "focus group" survey of about 60 parents, a review of the label literature, and a survey of 199 mall shoppers that found that hazard labels could reduce toy sales. The focus group study warned against generalizing from its extremely limited findings, but this was one label Rep. Collins chose to ignore. Her bill would mandate a balloon warning that uses the words **CHOKE TO DEATH**, in bold capital letters, because the study said that might scare more parents.

Likewise, the label literature indicates virtually no effect for labels on familiar products whose hazards are obvious. George Priest, a professor of law and economics at Yale Law School, notes that the only group targeted by the rules is the tiny set of parents who are "careful enough to read product warnings but are so naive that they wouldn't understand that a child could choke on a marble."

Presumably, the Collins bill would hand the details of implementation back to the commission staff, which has already pondered many of the pressing legal and existentialist issues it raises. The report addressed at length such weighty issues as: What is a marble? Is a bead a small ball? Are industrial ball bearings marbles or balls or both? Are BB guns a game of skill, and so exempt from the rules? What about ellipsoids?

Such questions already plague toy-makers. Francis Olbrych, director of quality assurance for Lego Systems Inc., which makes toy construction sets, says that unless the company creates a separate U.S. package, doubling its costs, it might have to add the mandated warning label in as many as 13 languages to the front of the Lego box. "And then," Mr. Olbrych asks, "if you've got all these messages on the front of your box, is that still the front of your box?"

The commission staff decided that fish

tank marbles should be excluded from the proposed rules, although they apparently are no less dangerous than marbles unaccompanied by fish. Unpackaged balloons would also be exempt, leaving about a third of balloons unlabeled, even though there is no safety difference between packaged and unpackaged balloons.

The staff did decide, however, that multiple labels would be necessary for any product so hazardous as to contain both marbles and balloons, or balloons and small balls, or balloons and small parts and small balls. And the fearsome Division of Administrative Litigation of the commission's Office of Compliance and Enforcement declared that crayon packages cannot go unlabeled, because that "might give the consumer a false impression that the products do not contain small parts."

The Collins bill would, however, exempt the leading causes of toddler choking deaths — hot dogs, grapes, hard candy and carrots. Her bill addresses only those hazards under the commission's jurisdiction and "the commission generally doesn't go into that because we don't regulate foods," explains Debbie Tinsworth, an agency statistician.

Rep. Collins has the enthusiastic backing of the Consumer Federation of America, which petitioned for the original rulemaking; U.S. PIRG, and a passel of state attorneys general. Stuart Statler, a former agency commissioner now with the American Association of Trial Lawyers, applauds the measure too.

The bill also has garnered a full-bore media campaign by a child-safety group whose honorary chairwoman is Barbara Bush. Although her husband, the president, has decreed a regulatory moratorium that would seem at odds with the effort, the moratorium specifically exempts critical safety rules. Let's hope he hasn't lost all his marbles and he sees the Collins bill for the silliness it is.

Ms. Lochhead is Washington correspondent of the San Francisco Chronicle.

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Declare GATT Victory

When the U.S. was stuck in Vietnam, the American Senator George Aiken suggested a novel solution: Declare victory and get out. That's not a bad recipe for the GATT-minders who are meeting this week at the G-7 summit in Munich.

When the EC recently promised to reform its Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), it took a step towards overcoming a major obstacle to progress in the Uruguay Round. Though the U.S. is quick to point out the flaws in the EC's reform plan, an all-or-nothing approach could well result in nothing.

It's true that the CAP reforms didn't do as much as was originally demanded. They make no explicit promises concerning export subsidies or import restrictions, not to mention some of the U.S.'s other major criticisms. But the U.S. ought to realize that these reforms are in many ways modeled after its own 1985 farm bill, and are likely to have similar beneficial effects over the longer term.

Phasing out price supports in favor of direct compensatory payments is one of the most important features of the CAP proposals, as it was in the 1985 U.S. farm bill. Essentially, the European governments will still support farmers' incomes above what the market might provide. But such payments are preferable to price subsidies, which are enormously expensive and result in massive market distortions, including high prices to consumers. That EC governments agreed to the CAP reforms shows they recognize how burdensome it is for taxpayers and consumers when governments fiddle with market mechanisms.

Furthermore, while American critics of these reforms may find plenty of flaws, they don't have to look

across the Atlantic to find a heavily subsidized agricultural sector, complete with many import restrictions. The U.S. itself, despite its reforms, still is guilty of many of the charges that it levels against the EC. In 1990 American farm subsidies cost U.S. taxpayers over \$9 billion, and cost them even more at the supermarket in the form of artificially high prices.

In the U.S., sugar is subject to strict import quotas, as are dairy products. Support prices for dairy products, almost three times greater than those on world markets, mean high prices; guaranteed monopolies on local markets prevent any decrease in these prices. And in grain production, export subsidies cost American taxpayers \$900 million last year alone.

Even at these levels, U.S. subsidies are a marked improvement compared to those existing prior to the 1985 farm bill; the CAP reforms are a clear, albeit belated, step in that direction.

The U.S. claims that it is holding out for more radical concessions in farm trade, as well as other areas, such as restrictions on service industries. But given the long ordeal that preceded the recent CAP reforms, waiting for a better package may be like waiting for a ride on French highways — when the traffic is blocked, it's a long wait.

Even as it stands, the Uruguay round is set to deliver more than originally expected. A conservative estimate holds that the U.S. would gain \$35 billion a year in GNP, out of an increase in global income of \$120 billion. It would indeed be foolish to jeopardize these gains. It's right to criticize flaws in the package, keeping them in mind for future reforms, but there comes a time to move forward.

Asides

Choice Delay

A landmark school choice initiative in California probably will not be on the ballot this fall. A random sample of signatures found the initiative had 107% of the 616,000 needed signatures. That's enough to qualify for the June 1994 ballot but not enough of a cushion to make the deadline for this fall's ballot. Choice advocates faced an unprecedented campaign of intimidation and sabotage in collecting signatures.

Courts had to issue injunctions against seven school districts to block them from spending public funds against choice. Choice supporters are in court citing precedents in which candidates and other initiatives have gone on the ballot after being deemed in "substantial compliance" with election law. Even if the courts rule against an early vote, we have no doubt the groundswell in favor of school choice will keep building.

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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Conduct Unbecoming

What can you do with a drunken sailor? If you're a fellow sailor who happens to be a woman, saying no doesn't seem to work. At least that's what happened to 26 U.S. Navy women in the infelicitously named Tailhook scandal that has brought down a Navy Secretary and reignited a national debate about the role of women in the military.

The incident occurred at last year's convention of the Tailhook Association, a group of active and retired naval aviators who meet annually to learn about the latest aviation technology. Now, the Navy has never been a sedate institution, as a timorous Ross Perot found out in his youth and as we expect every naval woman since the World War II WAVES has known. Tailhook 1991 was a three-day bacchanalia, with strippers, porno films and a nightly gantlet of drunks who pawed and groped at the women who were unfortunate enough to walk down a hallway past them. One officer told how the men grabbed her breasts and tried to remove her panties.

In the post-Anita Hill world the definition of sexual harassment has become wildly inclusive, so that an unwelcome smile can get a guy in trouble at the office. But the events at Tailhook constituted serious sexual harassment, and the men involved should be dealt with severely.

That said, the Navy may be overreacting. Last week it announced that every officer and enlisted person will be required to take a full day's training on the Navy's sexual harassment rules. Does anyone really need a day in a classroom to learn that it's wrong to grab a woman's breasts? In fact, the Navy has always had a perfectly good standard by which to judge the offenders. It's called "conduct unbecoming an officer." This incident qualifies for punishment under that standard.

The danger is that amid the current furor, the Navy will drive its reactions well beyond the already serious boundaries of the Tailhook incident itself. It may end up setting an unrealistic and unworkable definition of sexual harassment. That may have happened at Annapolis, where, in the self-criticism that followed the hazing of a female midshipman who was chained to a urinal a few years ago, some say sexual harassment can now include merely expressing the opinion that women don't belong at the Naval Academy.

The more troubling possibility is that in reevaluating its policies on women, the Navy will rush to change its rules and lift the remaining restric-

tions on women in combat. This is a complex issue, involving not just a woman's right to a military career, but also the welfare of the children she might leave at home or the child she might be carrying, unit readiness, and military and national morale. A presidential commission is studying the issue right now and is due to make its recommendations in November.

It was during a commission hearing that last month's second chilling military sex story broke. Major Rhonda Cornum, a flight surgeon and one of the two American female POWs during the Gulf War, testified that she was sexually assaulted by an Iraqi during her captivity. The Army has said that the other American woman held captive was also sexually mistreated.

Compared with the flood of media attention that has engulfed the Tailhook incident, Major Cornum's testimony has received relatively few headlines. This may be because the fact that American military women were sexually molested by the enemy subverts the idea that women should be allowed in combat. Up to now there has been a predisposition among much of the media to support women in combat as a relatively uncomplicated women's rights issue.

The Cornum case complicates matters considerably. Under the settled rubric of modern sexual politics, rape victims, like homosexuals and AIDS sufferers, are supposed to come forward publicly so the press can publicize them and thereby sensitize the public to larger group interests.

Yet most victims of sexual assault, both women and men, prefer to keep their ordeal to themselves and their immediate family. Indeed, before an Army official inadvertently went public with the experiences of the two women POWs, Major Cornum had denied that she'd been assaulted; the other ex-POW has subsequently denied it.

While the conventional wisdom now is that distinctions in this area are irrelevant, there is in fact a world of difference between being grabbed by a bunch of conventionneering morons and being sexually assaulted by an enemy who holds you captive. Few would argue that sexual harassment can be tolerated in the modern military, but it would be a pity if reactions to it lead to hasty decisions. The issue of the combat role of women concerns the potential for treatment by the enemy, which is likely to be even more abhorrent than the treatment of 26 women at the hands of some drunken U.S. sailors.

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Yeltsin's Bluster Gains More G-7 Favor Than Gorbachev's Tact a Year Before

By PETER GUMBEL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MUNICH, Germany — Even before he sets foot at the summit of leading industrial nations here, Russian President Boris Yeltsin is succeeding with bluster where his predecessor, Mikhail Gorbachev, failed with diplomatic tact.

A year ago Mr. Gorbachev, then president of the still-existent Soviet Union, set a precedent by getting himself invited to the annual G-7 meeting. Officials say he was masterful in preparing for that summit in London, playing by all the diplomatic rules, assigning a senior aide to prepare his way, and then challenging his hosts with a powerful speech about how the world was changing.

Mr. Yeltsin, by contrast, has all but dispensed with subtlety. Officials from the G-7 nations, the U.S., Germany, Japan, France, Britain, Italy and Canada, say they have been both confounded and, at times, appalled, by Mr. Yeltsin's impromptu and rough manner.

A Supreme Irony

They were left in the dark about Mr. Yeltsin's hopes and aims until very late in the game, when he finally appointed a "sherpa" to lay the groundwork for his participation. Worse, Mr. Yeltsin has roiled protocol and raised many an eyebrow over the past few days by delivering public ultimatums to the Western participants. He has even forced himself upon a

formal G-7 banquet to be held tonight, to which he was deliberately not invited.

It is, therefore, a matter of supreme irony that Mr. Yeltsin is likely to walk away with at least some of the prizes that Mr. Gorbachev had tried and failed to win last year. European officials involved in preparing both the London and Munich summits say Gorbachev was angling for a fat check and a permanent Soviet role in the G-7. He left empty-handed.

Mr. Yeltsin, on the other hand, is now expected to win strong and concrete pledges of support, probably unlocking some aid and winning relief on Russia's foreign debt. And the issue of whether Russia should have a more permanent role at such meetings in the future has been publicly raised by no less a figure than President George Bush. The idea is being dismissed as "premature" by most other summit participants, but it is now firmly on the agenda for the future.

Change in Western Attitude

"It's hard to know whether to laugh or cry," says one European official involved in the preparations. "Yeltsin is causing quite some exasperation. But most of the politicians around here understand very well what he's doing, and sympathize."

The lesson seems to be that political expediency can be more important than diplomatic nicety. Mr. Gorbachev, darling of the West, was ousted tempo-

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Yeltsin's Bluster Wins More Favor With G-7 Than Gorbachev Did

Continued From Page A2

rarily in a coup one month after he returned from London with nothing to show. Four months later, he was out for good.

Western officials remain far less enthusiastic about Mr. Yeltsin, although their assessment of him has risen over the past few months. But, they are guilt-ridden over their treatment of Mr. Gorbachev and worried about triggering any more internal turmoil in Russia.

One indicator of this change in Western policy comes from Japan, long the most hard-line of the G-7 nations in respect to helping Russia out of its economic plight. Tokyo has made large-scale assistance to Moscow dependent on a solution to a territorial dispute over a small cluster of islands north of Hokkaido.

A year ago, Tokyo could hide behind a broadly held Western skepticism about the prospects for real economic reform in the Soviet Union. This year, the Japanese risk being isolated on the issue, and are at pains to say there is no explicit linkage between the Kurile island issue and aid. "The Japanese government entirely shares the basic perception that we have to assist Russia," a senior Japanese foreign ministry official said.

Reuter reported that French officials said the G-7 has agreed to urge a solution on the disputed islands in its main political declaration.

Mr. Yeltsin, nonetheless, has provided Western officials with an eye-opening reminder of his style of politics. Over the weekend he threatened he wouldn't leave Munich without debt relief, an ultimatum that drew a swift rebuke from the host, Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl. "If, in private life, you couch things forcefully in terms of either/or, you always fail," Mr. Kohl said.

But the Germans have, in fact, been the first to yield to Mr. Yeltsin's bluster. They are pushing hardest for a postponement of three or even five years on repayment of both interest and principal on Russia's \$65 billion foreign debt. German and other officials say they believe the Russian president's grandstanding is partly aimed at his public back home, and in part a reflection of the sort of person he is.

Russia reached initial agreement with the International Monetary Fund this weekend in an accord that will unlock \$1 billion of a \$24 billion aid package that Western nations have already agreed to in principle. Western officials insist Moscow will have to take many further economic measures before the bulk of the money — especially a \$6 billion fund to stabilize the ruble — will be released.

The IMF accord was a welcome prelude to the summit, especially for the German hosts who are anxious for other Western nations to assume more of the Russian financial burden that they have been shouldering.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

G-7 to Increase Pressure Against Serbian Forces

Nations Threaten to Tighten Sanctions Enforcement, Deploy Ground Troops

By MICHEL MCQUEEN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MUNICH — The leaders of the seven largest industrialized nations stepped up pressure on Serbian forces to suspend their siege of Sarajevo by threatening tougher enforcement of economic sanctions and the introduction of ground forces to accompany relief workers.

Officials of the seven nations said they would issue a separate declaration on the crisis in what formerly was Yugoslavia, a departure from their usual custom of preparing two catchall summaries of political and economic issues.

U.S. officials said they now agree on the need to open a land corridor to transport emergency supplies to Bosnia-Herzegovina, a former Yugoslav republic under attack by Serbian militia, in a move that could occasion the need for ground troops to protect them. But U.S. National Security Adviser Brent Scowcroft told reporters that the U.S.'s own role is likely to be limited to its current one of providing air support.

Mr. Scowcroft said that any additional military involvement, including U.S. air support for a ground convoy, would have to come under the rubric of another United Nations resolution.

But U.S. and other officials, who declined to be identified, also said that the summit nations are likely to call for tougher enforcement of economic sanctions against the Serbs. This could include expanding the embargo to Romania and Bulgaria, which have been identified by U.N. and other forces as the conduit by which Serbian forces have circumvented the U.N.-sanctioned embargo.

Mr. Scowcroft confirmed that language on expanding sanctions is being drafted, but said it is still being debated and that the summit leaders are also debating whether to offer economic assistance to Romania to offset the loss of trade resulting from the conflict.

The situation in Sarajevo was among the main topics in talks here at the 18th annual meeting of the Group of Seven, which includes the U.S., Japan, Germany, France, Canada, Italy and Britain. (The European Community is also participating.) Although the meeting is still billed as an economic summit, national security matters and even domestic issues with global importance, such as the environment, have dominated summit discussions in recent years.

According to their representatives, the leaders discussed stalled world-wide trade talks in their afternoon session, but spent at least as much time on such national security matters as nuclear proliferation in China and North Korea, nuclear safety concerns in the former Soviet Union, and the continuing crisis in what formerly was Yugoslavia.

Mr. Scowcroft made it clear in a briefing with reporters that the summit leaders continue to hold out hope that it won't be necessary to introduce ground forces, which could escalate the conflict with Serbian militia that have besieged the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo for three months, blocking food and other essential supplies from the city.

U.N. forces recently succeeded in opening the Sarajevo airport. But a senior administration official told reporters that the airport "as a physical fact is probably too small to be able to handle enough supplies to meet the needs of all the people in Sarajevo," which has 300,000 to 400,000 residents, and so ground convoys at some point will be necessary.

Speaking separately, Mr. Scowcroft said that summit leaders hope their communique will send a strong enough message to Serbian forces that they won't interfere with the relief effort, and took care to note that any new forces would be sent "with the goal of providing humanitarian assistance, not to deal with the basic conflict."

Although Mr. Scowcroft maintained that "there are other countries providing forces on the ground" and "the U.S. role has been and probably would continue to be primarily air" support, he declined to rule out further U.S. involvement, in line with President Bush's policy of refusing to publicly foreclose his options in a conflict such as this.

Mr. Bush and some of the other Western leaders will discuss the situation in Yugoslavia later this week in Helsinki, Finland, at a meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

INDUSTRIAL NATIONS EDGE TOWARD PACT ON FARM SUBSIDIES

ALL EAGER FOR A SOLUTION

But the Larger Issues, Including
Monetary and Fiscal Policy,
May Be Left Unresolved

By ROGER COHEN
Special to The New York Times

MUNICH, Germany, July 6 - Leaders of the world's seven major industrial democracies today made what they said was a last-ditch attempt to break a six-year-old deadlock and reach a world trade agreement that could reverse the global economic slowdown.

European officials said the leaders were nearer to resolving what has become an essentially French-American dispute over extensive European farm subsidies, which the United States wants to see cut back. But United States officials cautioned against expectations of a breakthrough.

The issue has been the main stumbling block to concluding the so-called Uruguay Round of trade talks, which began in 1986.

Better Than Nothing

Confronted by what President François Mitterrand called "the morose state of the world economy," the world leaders appeared to recognize that there was little they could do right now to affect interest rates, high unemployment and budget deficits. A trade accord thus emerged as the leaders' best hope to save face before their increasingly disenchanted constituents.

The summit leaders also discussed the Balkans, and the United States said tonight that it would support the use of air and naval power to get humanitarian aid into Bosnia and Herzegovina by land or by sea if Serbian forces block the United Nations-supported airlift through Sarajevo airport. [Page A6.]

Degrees of Optimism

Progress was reported to have been made on the trade issue at a dinner Sunday evening, before the summit, between President Bush and President Mitterrand. Jean Musitelli, the French Presidential spokesman, said a "better understanding has now emerged."

After further talks today between officials of the European Community and the United States, a senior British official said, "The differences are narrowing and they should be bridgeable." But other officials expressed a less hopeful view.

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d said the chances of an agreement remained "modest" and Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady said he did

Continued From Page A1

not foresee an accord "in the next three days." A European Community spokesman, Nico Wegter, stressed that no breakthrough had emerged.

The most contentious single point is a demand by Washington that the European Community cut the volume of its subsidized grain exports by 24 percent. Financed by far the largest grain exporter of the 12 nations, has balked, and the European Community is offering a smaller cut over an extended period.

The United States argues that lower trade barriers would ease several economic problems at once. It would, for example, provide Eastern European countries with greater access to Western European markets for their own farm products, strengthening their fledgling capitalist economies.

Washington also sees more competitive farm trade as an incentive to other countries, especially in the developing world, to open up their own markets to goods and services sold by the United States, like financial services and telecommunications. A trade agreement could add at least \$195 billion to world output and bolster faltering business confidence.

With the unemployment rate in the United States now at 7.8 percent and the rate in the European Community at 9.4 percent, many business executives in the United States, Japan and Europe have become impatient with the impasse over agriculture, which accounts for just 11 percent of the world's \$4.3 trillion in annual trade. They argue

that a breakthrough on trade offers the best hope for spurring economic growth and creating jobs.

Echoing this view, President Bush, his popularity at home at a low ebb, promised that the three days of talks here would produce jobs for Americans. "Absolutely, it's a yes," he said, when asked about the prospect of more jobs, adding that economic expansion "means free trade."

Treasury Secretary Brady captured the sense of urgency by summing up a growing feeling here this way: "With all the talk, how come we don't get some action?"

A second, previously unscheduled meeting between Secretary of State James Baker and the European Community's chief trade negotiator, Frans Andriessen, was set for Tuesday.

While the trade talks continued, the leaders seemed ready to approve \$1 billion in loans and credits to Russia through the International Monetary Fund and to consider postponing Russia's debt payments, after an agreement Sunday between the I.M.F. and the Russian Government. The \$1 billion would represent the start of a proposed \$24 billion Western aid program.

Yes — and No — to Yeltsin

In a further show of goodwill toward Russia, the leaders agreed to allow President Boris N. Yeltsin to attend their dinner Tuesday evening after he announced that he was arriving a day earlier than expected. But French, German and Japanese officials insisted that a proposal by President Bush to admit Russia permanently to the summit participants' group, known as the Group of 7, was premature.

Statements by participants reflected their unhappiness with the projected growth this year of a modest 1.8 percent, following a paltry eight-tenths of 1 percent last year. All of them deplored the slowdown and the accompanying surge in unemployment.

"The emphasis on growth is now unanimous," said Mr. Brady.

But in another indication of the difficulties of doing something about the problem, Germany showed no sign of lowering its high interest rates, which Bonn says are aimed at curbing the inflationary pressure stemming from the cost of unification. In addition, Japanese officials said they were already doing all they could to stimulate the sagging economy through proposed fiscal measures.

The Rising Yen

In one concession, however, Yumio Ezawa, the director general of the International Finance Bureau at the Ministry of Finance, said Tokyo was pleased by the recent surge in the value of the yen and would not be displeased if the trend continued. The yen has been hovering at about 125 to the dollar, about 4 percent stronger than three months ago.

Economists say that a stronger yen, which makes foreign products less expensive to Japanese consumers, should attract imports, helping to alleviate the country's rapidly rising trade surplus, which could reach \$135 billion this year.

Mr. Ezawa added that Tokyo did not expect the trade surplus to increase after this year.

Continued on Page A6, Column 4

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Bush Watches BMW Sign Accord

MUNICH, Germany, July 6 (AP) — Despite his busy schedule here, President Bush took the time today for a photo opportunity to observe the signing of an agreement to build a BMW automobile plant in South Carolina.

The Governor of South Carolina, Carroll A. Campbell Jr., and the BMW chairman, Eberhard von Kuenheim, shared the podium afterward to discuss the deal to build a plant in the Greenville-Spartanburg area and eventually employ 2,000 workers.

Asked if BMW was attracted to South Carolina by the promise of cheap labor, Mr. Campbell spoke out against "an effete snobbism from some people in certain parts of the country against the South." But he also noted that "South Car-

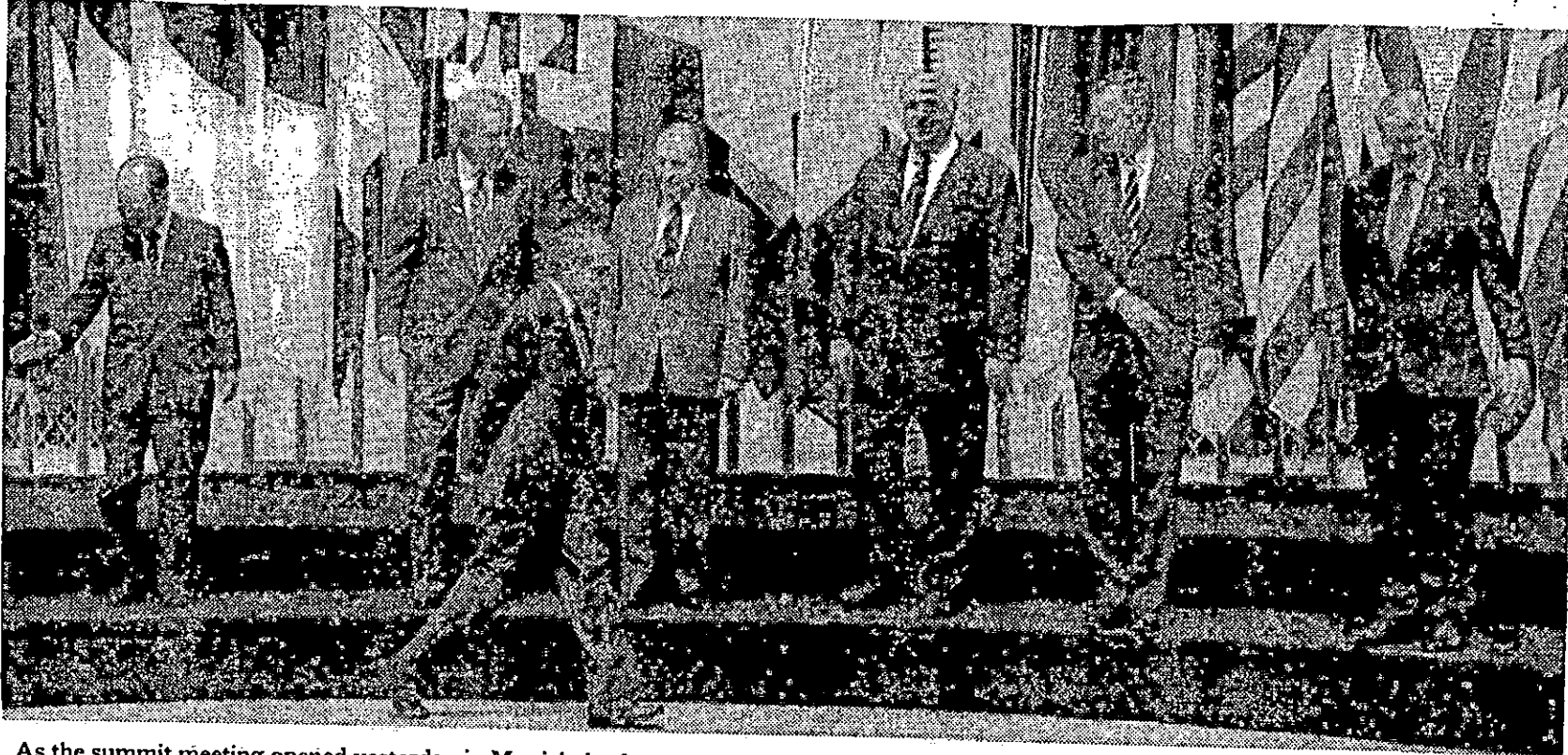
olina is a right-to-work state," meaning workers cannot be compelled to join a union as a condition of employment. BMW has said "they will work with the prevailing wage and that they will obviously be in the upper end of it," the Governor said.

"This particular area is not, as has been depicted, another Mexico," he added. "It is a very, very upscale area. The wages would be competitive there."

Mr. von Kuenheim said the company would save about 25 percent on the cars' manufacturing costs. Preparation of the site for the 1.9-million-square-foot plant is to begin this month, and it is expected to begin producing cars by 1995 for sale in the United States, Asia, Australia and Germany.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992



As the summit meeting opened yesterday in Munich, leaders prepared for a photograph. From the left were Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa of Japan, Prime Minister Brian Mulroney of Canada, President

François Mitterrand of France, Chancellor Helmut Kohl of Germany, President Bush and Prime Minister John Major of Britain. Looking for his place was Prime Minister Giuliano Amato of Italy.

Associated Press

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

China's Black Book

Long before the extermination camps, the world knew that Hitler's basic instruments of power were torture and murder.

Only shortly after the Germans elevated him to office, "black books" were published in the West — detailed reports of the flogging, genital tortures, deaths by suffocation carried out routinely in Gestapo prisons.

From then on, the nations knew their ambassadors were accredited to a regime from hell and their businessmen were buying its products.

Most people did little or nothing until the war. But some did. They too acknowledged the truth and fought it — with their voices, however lonely, with whatever economic and political strength they had, however small.

After World War II the underground writings of the Soviet freedom fighters told the world about the Soviet gulag. Most people did little or nothing. But some did. They acknowl-

without confrontation of witnesses or pleas of innocence permitted.

Prof. Peng Yuzhang, in his 70's, was sent to Changsa No. 1 jail for backing student sit-ins. He was placed on the "shackle board," a door-sized plank with shackles for hands and feet and a hole for defecation. Chained to the board, he would sing encouragement to student prisoners he could not see. Sometimes he would cry out, "I need a bath."

Professor Peng remained on the board for three months. Then he was sent to a psychiatric asylum. Is he alive?

The shackle board was just one form of punishment. Other common places:

Torture with electric prods. Public whippings to the blood. Forced boot-licking. Chaining, face on cell floor, arms around toilet buckets in use through the night by other prisoners.

A dozen kinds of hand and ankle cuffs, sometimes with iron rods between them to make movement almost impossible. Multiple fetters to shackle prisoners tightly together. "Martial arts" — guards kicking prisoners into unconsciousness.

Solitary confinement in metal boxes so small prisoners can neither lie down properly nor stand up straight. "Electric shackle treatment" — shock applied through hand and ankle cuffs, often while the victim is chained to the shackle board.

Prisoners who do not fill work quotas are punished by all these tortures, by starvation diets, and by extended sentences. By official Communist policy their work is considered an essential part of Chinese export.

So we know — no escape. What can we do? American laws against forced labor imports are sieves. But stockholders can raise the issue at company meetings. Are we selling slave labor goods, or using our pension funds, to help the torturers? Please investigate and report back fully.

Before we buy, we can ask shopkeepers to find out from their vendors what "made in China" means — made where, by whom?

President Bush has vetoed every Congressional attempt to apply mild economic sanctions to the Chinese Communists. This battle will not end, whoever is elected President.

Meantime will all the delegates at the Republican and Democratic Conventions remain mute about slavery and torture in China? Will Ross Perot? Or will they cleanse themselves of silence — at least some of them? □

Torture as national policy.

edged the truth and fought with whatever energy and power they had.

Now, black books are published again. They are about another national system of torture and murder — the Chinese Communist gulag, where every day of every year 16 to 20 million men and women labor and suffer in slavery.

They live — they exist — in a world of torture, starvation and humiliation meticulously planned to create greater profit through greater production for the Communist Government. We are the customers.

Recently I wrote about a report on China's slave laborers — "Laogai: The Chinese Gulag," by Hongda Harry Wu. He spent 19 years in the slave camps. I could not escape that book and cannot escape another on my table. It is about the hundreds of prisons in the huge province of Hunan. "Anthems of Defeat" is reported with documentation, statistical tables, notes and names by Tang Bogiao, a Chinese dissident.

Mr. Tang was moved from prison to prison and has compiled this annotated encyclopedia of evil. It is published by Asia Watch (212-972-8400).

All prisoners received trials —

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Conservatives: Beware Perot

By Pete du Pont

As a conservative who has watched low taxes and restrained Government spending and interference create the world's strongest economy, and who sought the Presidency on these principles in 1988, I urge fellow conservatives to be wary of Ross Perot's candidacy.

Pete du Pont, Governor of Delaware from 1977 to 1985, is chairman of the Committee for Republican Leadership.

I understand why Mr. Perot is receiving such attention. The Bush Administration has given most voters, those who helped the Republicans to three landslide victories in the 1980's, the impression that the principles that fueled those triumphs are open to negotiation and easy dismissal.

While conservatives may not see President Bush as the most diligent protector of Ronald Reagan's legacy, I support him for re-election because he understands the policies that made the 1980's prosperous and his goal is to re-create that prosperity. Conversely, Mr. Perot has joined the noisy anti-Reagan minority that sees the 1980's as a problem to be overcome rather than a model to be studied.

He's a fan of Big Government.

Let's take four examples of Mr. Perot's economic thinking: industrial policy, taxation, trade and his analysis of the dairy industry.

First, Mr. Perot favors an industrial policy. He wants the Government to be able to tell the private sector how to plan its future. He denies that he holds this position, but his denial is implausible given his expressions of admiration for Japan's industrial-

policy power base, the Ministry of Trade and Industry — a Government cartel that runs the country's economy. America does not need government cartels telling us what to do.

Second, he is a protectionist. USA Today reported that Mr. Perot "wants to tighten quotas and restrictions on imported goods to match those placed on American goods by other countries." He opposes the North American Free Trade Agreement, suggesting that the agreement with Mexico would virtually destroy every employer in America. But we know that trade increases the wealth of both the importer and exporter; we know that free trade increases, not decreases, our prosperity. We need more free trade agreements, not fewer.

Third, Mr. Perot will raise taxes. "You bet we've got to raise taxes," he said in 1987. Last week on ABC's "Town Meeting" he added: "Let's assume that we're just unable to pay our bills, unable to meet our obligations, we have to raise our taxes." But then again he says he wants the voters to be able to pass a tax increase by plebiscite, never mind that the Constitution gives that power to Congress. Surely, national tax referendums would be the chaotic prelude to annual debates on "deficit-reducing" taxes — all to be imposed on someone else, of course.

Finally, there is Mr. Perot's curious yet significant answer to a caller on NBC's "Today" last month who inquired about his plans to help dairy farmers. Mr. Perot began by restating the proposition that dairy farmers are a beleaguered lot. The fact is that the average net cash income of a commercial dairy farm in 1990 was \$83,000. He then went on to claim that the farmers have no clout in Washington. That must have stunned even the dairy farmers, who in the 1991-1992 election cycle have contributed more than \$1.5 million to their political-action committees — among the richest and most influential of them all, and who have seen beneficial farm bills routinely enacted.

But it is the philosophy behind the words that should scare conservatives. Regardless of the dearth of factual understanding in his answers, Mr. Perot betrayed the way he thinks. When asked to comment on the economic status of one sector of the U.S. economy, his assumption was that it was flat on its back and, worse, that the way to get it on its feet was to tell it to get some clout and go to Washington. That is a Big Government formula that should give pause to every American. But it should terrify any self-respecting conservative. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Would Rabin Go to Damascus?

By Flora Lewis

JERUSALEM
Prime Minister-designate Yitzhak Rabin is putting together a sturdy government, improving relations with the U.S. and reviving Israel's capacity to absorb large-scale immigration — difficult and immediate questions. Soon he will face a much bigger decision — whether to go on to what has long been the unthinkable.

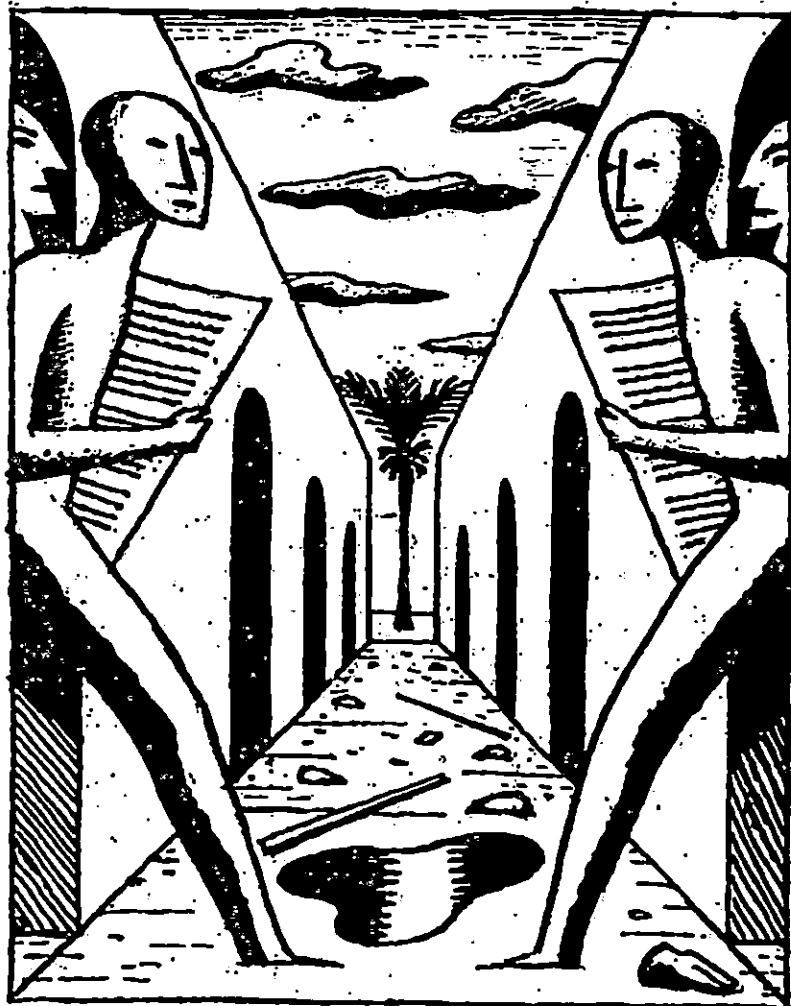
Many Israelis, including important members of his Labor Party, are convinced the time has come for a real peace initiative. It would be as audacious as Anwar el-Sadat's electrifying visit to Jerusalem in 1977. That was unthinkable until he did it, and it led to the Israeli-Egyptian pact. Fears remain intense, attitudes blocked, but as Mr. Sadat showed, they can be suddenly transformed. The cautious offer arguments for probing with minimal steps. Bold Israelis say, "We have as much room to move as we have courage."

Mr. Rabin and the Palestinian delegates to the peace talks are eager for the test. Both told Secretary of State James Baker they want the next round of their intermittent, so far fruitless, sessions to be continuous. That is important. It means the negotiators, in Rome, could at last launch serious bargaining on specifics of Palestinian autonomy, which Mr. Rabin wants to complete in nine months. That wouldn't be easy, and wouldn't be enough; authoritative Israelis and Palestinians tell me it is possible to be much more ambitious for peace.

Sporadically over more than half a century of conflict, there have been grand peace plans. They disappeared in the sand. But perceptions and circumstances have shifted. The Soviet collapse, the gulf war and now the elections form the new background.

Yitzhak Shamir, Likud's Prime Minister, says he does not consider his defeat personal but ideological, "the defeat of Eretz Israel," by which he meant eventual annexation of the West Bank. He is right. The ardent supporters of that vision have not given up, but have lost their hold on the electorate. That is a relief and a challenge for Palestinian leaders. Some express nostalgia for the good old Shamir days, like U.S. strategists looking

Flora Lewis is Senior Columnist of The New York Times.



Bob Gale

A ripe moment for the unthinkable.

back on the cold war, when the enemy was clear and choices easy. Now comes the unknown.

There is a chicken-and-egg argument among Palestinians whether to declare the principle of an ultimate confederation with Jordan so as to ease Israeli fears of an independent Palestinian state, or to insist they must first have sovereignty. They should take the plunge on confederation to advance their objective of wrenching free from occupation.

But for a real leap into a better future of inevitable co-existence, Israel must lead, with strong U.S. support. That means a regional settlement as the defined and accepted goal beyond autonomy. For that, Syrian agreement

is essential. Syria's aim is to recover the Golan Heights. It is reluctantly taking part in the "peace process" to make sure it isn't left out in a narrower settlement, and it will do what it can to torpedo a Palestinian-Israeli agreement without it. There are possibilities for compromise, in terms of territory or time — a Hong Kong-type lease that cedes sovereignty.

Could Mr. Rabin offer to go to Damascus with a generous proposal? It isn't excluded. There would have to be prospects for a larger agreement, but the framework is being established in the multinational committees on regional issues set up under the Madrid conference.

The Arab boycott should be lifted in exchange for a freeze on settlements. Then a regional development bank and development of water resources, which is the biggest issue after security, could be envisioned. That is the way out of the bloody, exhausting impasse. It could happen if the leaders dared to try to make history. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Observer

RUSSELL BAKER

The Misery's Fine

Lives of noisy desperation.

Sometimes I infuriate myself. Just the other day, for instance. On television selling a book I was, but too much the gentleman, too much the eleventh-rate salesman, alas, to look the camera dead in the eye and say:

"My book will not only make you smell better, relieve your headache, transform dingy yellow teeth to gleaming white and add five miles per gallon to your gas mileage, it will also make you live twice as long while enjoying twice as much happiness and getting twice as young every year."

Instead, with mouth rattling along completely free of brain control — television cameras always do this to me — I started talking about America's anger. Why was the country so filled with anger? What in the world did Americans have to be furious about?

It had just prevailed in the 45-year cold war. The threat of nuclear holocaust was suspended. Stores were overflowing. The choice of entertainments was infinite. There were millions of cars to carry Americans wherever whim or necessity dictated. There was easy access to deadly weapons for every temperament, be it sporting, criminal, political, entrepreneurial, suicidal, self-pitying, paranoid or just plain fun-loving.

Moreover, Americans could worship such gods as they chose, or none if they chose. And what about other people from all over the world risking everything to get here? If the place was really such a hate-filled sinkhole, why were foreigners dying to get here?

I hate to hear people talking like

this, and afterward I hated myself for having done it. It is un-American. Misery is the new American condition, and making a loud noise about your misery is now the most American thing you can do, having replaced washing your car on Saturday afternoon.

Remember when you could sing that old spiritual, "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen," and mean it? Not anymore. Nowadays everybody knows the trouble you've seen. That's because you've told them.

You probably told them at the top of your lungs, too, maybe out in the streets screaming it to television cameras or even inside a TV studio shouting it on a misery panel to some competitive booster who claims his troubles have been worse than yours. There is so much competition for the misery championship these days that you have to scream to remain a contender.

Thoreau wrote 150 years ago that most people lead "lives of quiet desperation." What an antique idea. Nowadays most people lead lives of noisy desperation, and if you're not shrieking your laments you will be dismissed as a mere flyweight in the misery department.

What we're seeing is a competition to be Number One in Pain and Suffering, to win a statuette for Most Vic-

timized, or Most Oppressed, or Most Forgotten, or Most Abused, or Most Unfairly Treated, or Most Tax-Ridden, or Most Bureaucracy-Persecuted, or Most Medically Ill Treated, or Most Telephonically Violated, or Most Supreme-Court-Deprived . . .

The fact, of course, is that contrary to the whine that everything was better in the old days, almost everything was actually much worse in the old days. True, the old days weren't afflicted with the telephone, much less the fax, but they didn't have air-conditioning either, or the electric car crank, or television, or unemployment compensation, or Social Security, or overnight dry-cleaning, or movies right there in the parlor alongside the cast-iron woodstove with the isinglass windows.

Easy now with those poisonous pens, ye angry millions: I am not saying we ought to count our blessings instead of whining, moaning and wailing it up. It's natural for each new generation of modern times to think it is born into the worst of times. This may even promote happiness. In a century that has lost its certainty about the purpose of life, it can be comforting to believe you are needed to do hero's work.

Deprived so abruptly of the cold war's "long twilight struggle" between heroes and monsters, we haven't found much in the way of a new heroic task to pick us up. Perhaps this fascination with our own troubles is a healthy omen, portending a real effort to use this quiet time to neaten up the American act. Omen or not, it beats washing the car on Saturday afternoon. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Russia Has Earned Its Reward

What a difference a year makes: Just that long ago, President Mikhail Gorbachev of the Soviet Union went to the economic summit meeting of the seven industrial democracies asking for aid, vaguely promising to launch market reforms. Now President Boris Yeltsin of Russia will go before the same group, meeting in Munich, also to ask for aid. But he comes with more than promises. Russia has adopted astonishingly radical reforms.

Until the past few days the West had reacted more with promises of its own than with cash. Last spring it promised \$24 billion as soon as Russia and the International Monetary Fund could work out a feasible reform package. But the fund dithered, unwilling to take a prudent chance on the Yeltsin Government.

Finally, on Friday, under pressure from the Bush Administration, Michel Camdessus, director of the I.M.F., flew to Russia and then announced an agreement — over the seeming objections of his staff and just in time for Mr. Yeltsin's trip to Munich.

President Bush deserves credit for turning the I.M.F. around. He understands that the West's self-interest lies in supporting Mr. Yeltsin's heroic efforts. The important task is to provide some instant relief, to get Russia through current turmoil and use the next several months to negotiate the unresolved differences over the details. This weekend, Mr. Camdessus got the message.

Just since January Mr. Yeltsin has decontrolled most prices, cut the deficit by an astonishing 75 percent and pushed through a bill that will eventually privatize most state-owned enterprises.

The fund has applauded these measures but still fears, justifiably, that Russia is printing rubles freely, at a rate that will trigger ruinous inflation. One reason for all the new rubles is the Government's continuing subsidies of oil at below-market prices.

A second reason is to pay for credits that state-owned enterprises have extended one another when they ran out of cash. Finally, the I.M.F. fears that Russia can't by itself rein in the supply of rubles because central banks in the other republics can, in effect, print their own.

These threats are grave. But the answer — as the Bush Administration understands — isn't to sit idly by as the Russian economy collapses. The answer is engagement, which the I.M.F. announcement now finally accepts.

Russia will get \$1 billion immediately, which may lead some of the Western powers meeting in Munich to release more of the promised \$24 billion in aid. The remainder will await the outcome of further negotiations over oil prices and other inducements to print money.

For all this to work, the Western governments will have to keep the heat on the I.M.F. The fund's staff seems more committed to protecting itself from criticism than to helping Russia complete its radical reforms.

The goal, as Secretary of State James Baker says, is to strike a workable, not a perfect, deal. It's still far from clear whether the I.M.F. knows the difference.

Mr. Marino's Petulant Walkout

No sooner had New York's Legislature performed the unusual feat of passing this year's state budget almost on schedule than it slid right back into its bad habit of shirking responsibility. The lawmakers actually packed up and left Albany last week without voting on several pieces of critical legislation.

Unless they return, the public won't have a chance to vote in November on an \$800 million bond act designed to create jobs and spur economic development; Nassau and Suffolk counties won't get a chance to bail themselves out of fiscal trouble, and other bills that merit attention won't get any. Lawmakers cannot allow the impasse to continue. They have an obligation to go back to work.

The chief cause of Albany's gridlock is a Republican, Ralph Marino of Long Island, the Senate majority leader. Mr. Marino, furious that Gov. Mario Cuomo was playing politics with Nassau's and Suffolk's requests for permission to borrow money, got into a shouting match with a Cuomo ally, Saul Weprin, the Assembly Speaker and a voice of legislative reason, then stalked out of Albany. The

session's sputtering close left several pieces of legislation unresolved.

Mr. Cuomo was indeed trying to horse-trade. But why would traditional political jockeying surprise and infuriate an Albany veteran like Mr. Marino? If he continues to let bitterness get in his way, Mr. Marino will wind up hurting the very people he wants to protect — Long Islanders.

The counties say they need to borrow about \$190 million combined or will have to raise taxes, lay off workers and cut services. The Governor questions the need for borrowing, and certainly it should only be a last resort. But both counties insist it is necessary, and he will likely go along if Mr. Marino agrees to independent fiscal oversight and supports the bond act and other worthy measures.

The Legislature left town without acting on such important bills as a trust fund for environmental protection and the Governor's sensible plan for state takeover of Medicaid's soaring local costs. Those and other pieces of legislation left in limbo deserve support, once Mr. Marino cools off and returns to his job.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Surprises in Ireland

While few were watching, Ireland has been redefining a once unyielding nationalist tradition. A republic whose founders exalted sovereignty above all is now leading the way to European union while politicians bred to baiting the English are seeking a new relationship with an ancient adversary.

Dublin's new Prime Minister, Albert Reynolds, can claim a major triumph in persuading the Irish electorate to endorse closer political union with Europe under the Maastricht treaty. It helped that Irish farmers have benefited generously from European subsidies.

But voters ignored cries of alarm from the nationalist fringe and overwhelmingly approved European union. Following Denmark's rejection of the Maastricht pact, the Irish outcome gave a powerful nudging to the campaign elsewhere.

That same spirit helps explain the second surprise: last week's meeting in Dublin between leaders of Northern Ireland's Protestant parties with Irish Government officials — the first in more than 18 years.

In going to Dublin, the Rev. Ian Paisley and his

deputy, Peter Robinson, are not abandoning their belief that Northern Ireland's six counties should permanently remain part of Britain. But their trip suggests a willingness to discuss grievances more openly and with less rancor.

The talks have been nurtured by Sir Patrick Mayhew of Britain, building on an initiative begun by Peter Brooke, his predecessor as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. What favored their cause was growing revulsion over killings by the Irish Republican Army and Protestant paramilitary gangs.

The North's Protestants want Dublin to withdraw a claim to speak for all of Ireland. They also demand changes in a 1985 agreement that gives Dublin a consultative role in Northern Ireland. For their part, leaders of the underdog Catholics in the north want real guarantees of their civil and human rights.

The heartening change is that the contending communities are confronting their bitter differences soberly and seriously. This process deserves the fullest support of Dublin, London and Brussels.

Topics of The Times

Tennis Speaks for Itself

NBC's "Today" show gave tennis fans a rare treat yesterday morning — championship men's doubles from Wimbledon without the endless babble of the network's regular commentators. The explanation? It wasn't NBC at all, but the civilized, non-babbling BBC broadcast that NBC tapped into.

Play had been suspended at dark Sunday, after four and a half hours. John McEnroe and Michael Stich, the eventual winners, were tied with Richey Reneberg and Jim Grabb, two sets apiece and 13-13 in the fifth.

When they resumed Monday afternoon — early morning in New York — NBC adroitly plugged into the BBC for part of the next-to-last game, and again a few minutes later for the championship point.

NBC's extensive coverage of weekend matches from Wimbledon is a video wonder but an audio bore. Its talky commentators fill every moment with unenlightening trivia, excessive analysis and advice to the players, who luckily can't hear them.

The British let the action on the court speak for itself, without intrusive comment. Having taken a feed from the BBC on Monday, NBC might now take a cue from how they do it.

Reform the School Board

New York City's Board of Education needs a major overhaul. But the State Legislature is reluctant to expand the seven-member board, and the terms of current members have yet to expire. Thus any immediate changes will have to be self-administered. The board can start to reform today when it meets to elect officers.

Carl McCall, who has served as president for the past year, has tried to focus the board's attention on setting policy, pulling it away from micromanaging day-to-day administration. That this bank executive and longtime political friend of Mayor David Dinkins has often failed results more from the narrow interests of some of his colleagues than his consensus-building abilities. He deserves re-election as president.

Less deserving is Irene Impellizzeri, who has served as vice president for half of her 12 years on the board. While she is committed to public schools and knowledgeable about teacher education, she has fomented a prolonged, strident and distracting struggle over AIDS education. And her recent suggestion that black and Hispanic youths have no "moral models" except their teachers was grossly insensitive. These actions cast doubt on her ability to continue effectively as vice president.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

Cautious thumbs on the scale

BRUCE FEIN

The 1991-92 Term of the Supreme Court marked a setback for principled constitutional and statutory interpretation. A court majority persisted in voting more by the heart than by the head in fashioning a jurisprudence of public opinion.

Three appointees of Presidents Reagan and Bush — Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy, and David Souter — fiercely resisted casting votes that might be jarring to the community. Thus, in the area of criminal justice where conservative sentiments are currently ascendant, the trio generally voted against claims by criminal defendants or inmates. For instance, they supported the ruling in *Medina vs. California* that due process permits states to require that a defendant claiming incompetency to stand trial shoulder the burden of proving his claim by a preponderance of the evidence.

In *Sawyer vs. Whitley*, the three endorsed the blocking of belated attacks on a death sentence absent a showing by clear and convincing evidence that but for a constitutional error, no reasonable juror would have found the prisoner eligible for the death penalty under pertinent state law. The three voted to relax

tion, the three agreed to lowering standards for removing formerly segregated elementary and secondary school systems from judicial oversight in *Freeman vs. R.H.s.* But in *U.S. vs. Fordice*, they backed more judicial vigilance for institutions of higher education undergoing desegregation. And, in *Georgia vs. McCollum*, two of the three voted to stretch the equal protection clause of the 14th Amendment to reach race-based peremptory challenges to prospective jurors by criminal defendants. The three seem prepared to accept some race or gender preferences in the workplace for persons unhandicapped by past discrimination, but not without some bounds.

In church-state relations, the three voted to condemn prayer at voluntary high school graduation ceremonies in *Lee vs. Wisconsin*, but left the door open for prayer at university or college commencement exercises.

In addressing free speech issues, the three generally sided with a prevailing orthodoxy that frowns on any restraints. Thus, in *Simon & Shuster, Inc. vs. Members of New York State Crimes Victims Board*, the three voted to overturn "Son-of-Sam" laws that provisionally escrow earnings of criminals who profit from writing about their misdeeds to afford their creditors an opportunity for payment. The three voted to overturn hate speech laws directed to so-called "fighting words" in *R.A.V. vs. City of St. Paul, Minn.* And in *International Society for Krishna Consciousness Inc. vs. Lee*, the troika voted to toss out a ban on leafletting in the defiles of three major air passenger terminals in New York City.

In *Planned Parenthood*, the three vividly displayed their discomfort with sharp constitutional principles that would handcuff judicial discretion to compromise essentially political or social disputes. In addressing what individual liberties qualify for constitutional protection, the three championed a standard sufficiently vague to permit any decision that seems politically opportune: "At the heart of liberty is the right to define one's own concept of existence, of meaning, of the universe, and of the mystery of human life. Beliefs about these matters could not define the attributes of personhood were they formed under compulsion of the state."

In sum, the current court is driven more by public opinion than by constitutional principle. Without a change in its membership, the court seems destined to remain so. No sharp breaks from past jurisprudence — no matter how misguided — should be expected. Decisions that provoke strong and sustained public reaction will be shunned. Public opinion now occupies the constitutional catbird seat, and thus public opinion must be successfully courted before constitutional change can be expected.

That is healthy neither for enlightened law nor democracy. Constitutional principle stands above popular opinion, an understanding that would have prevented the court's World War II sanction for the relocation of U.S. citizens because of Japanese ancestry. The whole pur-

pose of a Constitution is to place some limits on popular passions. Of course, the court should not reject a constitutional interpretation because it accords with popular sentiments; but neither should the court

resist an interpretation because it might agitate the public. If constitutional interpretation is no more principled than House-Senate compromises, then the principal purpose of judicial life tenure is defeated.

The current court is driven more by public opinion than by constitutional principle.

the standards for modifying consent decrees governing jails and prisons in *Rufo vs. Inmates of Suffolk County Jail*. And two of the three (sans O'Connor) in *U.S. vs. Alvarez-Machain* upheld the power of federal courts to try foreign nationals abducted with U.S. government complicity for violations of U.S. law.

In the area of civil rights and civil liberties, in contrast to criminal justice, where public sentiment is divided, the three generally endorsed interpretive compromises that avoided sharp agitation of either side. They envisioned their Supreme Court roles as akin to House-Senate conferees seeking to compromise legislative differences between the two chambers. The resulting decisions thus reflected more of shrewd politics than of sound constitutional law.

In *Planned Parenthood vs. Casey*, for example, the three jointly authored a plurality opinion that championed a constitutional right to abortion, but also accommodated state regulations of abortion decisions that do not prove unduly burdensome. Public opinion polls showed the majority of citizens agreed with the split verdict of the plurality opinion, and no political firestorm ensued.

In the area of racial discrimina-

Bruce Fein is a lawyer and freelance writer specializing in legal issues.

The Washington Times

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WILLIAM MURCHISON

Giving the kook what he wanted

How appropriate that the gunman who killed two and wounded three in a Fort Worth courtroom July 1 gave himself up not to police but to TV newsmen, who solemnly interviewed him while waiting for the cops to arrive.

Into living rooms, kitchens, bathrooms traveled the self-confessed murderer's pleas for understanding. Why, all he had wanted was attention, which meant he had to do "a horrible, horrible thing."

The courts, as George Lott saw it, had wronged him in a case where he was charged with child abuse and denied custody of his son; so, like any other denizen of the late 20th century, he went out and shot five total strangers. Yet still his anger needed expression. He wanted a chat with the media. He got it. Or, rather, we got it — the murderous musings of a madman playing the communications industry for all it's worth, which is plenty.

Television did not invent but has vastly encouraged the tendency to exhibitionism on the one hand, voyeurism on the other. Neither trait contributes to public peace or security. A peaceful, secure society depends on the civilized virtues of self-restraint, not to mention self-effacement. Because we can't police every courtroom, every cafeteria, every school where a gunman may turn up, ventilating both his anger and his fellow Americans, we must assume a consensus about how certain things are done. But, no, that's not television's thing. Television

hates consensus. It loves dispute. Television abhors the normal. It cherishes the fringe, the wacko, the lunatic.

The America we see on television is breeding bad Americans: the self-pitying sort who theatrically take out their frustrations on others, then stand expectantly in the glare of publicity. George Lott, the Los Angeles looter — the list is length-

What we should do . . . is start tuning out. The Constitution doesn't require that we let the exhibitionists exhibit around us. The more we do so, the better they like it.

ening. It is clear by now that TV was basically a bad idea, at best an OK idea that went wrong. We'd all be better off without it.

What I am occupied in just now is known in television circles as "shooting the messenger." We bad people who criticize TV don't like what we see, so we bash the innocent folk who, by showing it to us, no more than fulfil their duties under the First Amendment. Such is the television industry's invariable comeback to criticism.

In fact, we bad people don't aim at the messenger personally. We aim at his relish for the garish, ghoulish and grotesque. TV reasons that a

story with no pictures is no story. Conversely, wonderful pictures make the story itself wonderful. Pictures of things, and of people, going smash, literally or figuratively — what more can you want? Carnage, wonderful carnage! Murderers understand this. Nowadays they come politely calling at TV stations. Let me tell you about my anger, my rage. Have we got a new trend going here — the drop-by executioner?

I don't blame the Dallas newsmen who interviewed George Lott (whom they addressed, familiarly, as "George" throughout the interview), though I deplore the decision to broadcast the interview footage, thus gratifying Brother Lott's passion for publicity. What do we do, though? We can't legislate a multi-billion-dollar industry out of existence.

What we should do, we members of the American going public, mute dumping grounds for the world's trash, is start tuning out. The Constitution doesn't require that we let the exhibitionists exhibit around us. The more we do so, the better they like it.

Witness Los Angeles, where the networks (much more than the local stations) made Rage all the rage. TV bestowed on murderers and looters a sociological identity — the dispossessed, the downtrodden — that must return to haunt us as their example sinks in at home and elsewhere. Burn, baby, burn! — and along will come the cameras.

I repeat: Social order and peace depend urgently on self-restraint, on general willingness to hold in one's hostility or vent it in peaceful ways. Some of the unrestrained are probably beyond reach, but at a minimum we don't have to encourage imitators.

Television — yes, a bad idea indeed in a society where half our time is spent telling ourselves how wonderful we are, or how aggrieved, but that's not really our fault. No, it's the other guy's, the one over there — he did it, only I'm not taking it anymore, understand?

William Murchison, a columnist for the Dallas Morning News, is nationally syndicated.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

MIKE ROYKO

Expanding the wasteland

“Welcome to another in our series of electronic town meetings with presidential candidates. We will be taking questions from members of our studio audience and at our affiliate stations around the country. Let us begin with the first question.”

“Thank you. My name is John, and I am gay. My question is this: If you are elected president, will you become gay? And if not, why not?”

“That is a very good question, John. At the present time, I have no plans to become gay. It is not that I disapprove of gaiety. However, I believe that as president my first priority should be to get this country moving again. As you know, I am married. And I would like you to know that I have discussed this with my wife, and she has said that if I should become gay, she will be supportive of my gaiety, as well as yours.”

“The next question will come from our Chicago affiliate.”

“Uh, my name is Harriet. I have six children, and they refuse to eat their breakfasts or do their homework or clean up after themselves or take out the garbage, and they get in fights over what to watch on TV. It makes my life very difficult. If you are elected president, what will you do about this? Because I am running out of patience.”

“Yes, that is a serious problem, and I have given it a great deal of thought. When I am elected president, I will come to your home and carry out the garbage and help your children with their homework. I will also make French toast for your children. I have found that children love my French toast for breakfast. And I will try to mediate an agreement on a TV program they can all enjoy.”

Mike Royko is a nationally syndicated columnist.

“So how come weekends are only two days long, and what are you going to do about it?”

“And now to our affiliate in Tampa.”

“Hello, my name is Mary. Many of my friends have call-waiting on their telephones, and I think it is really rude that when I am talking to them and another call comes in, they put me on hold and leave me there while they talk to the other person, and I don't even know who the other call was from or what they are talking about. I don't know what's happening to this great country of ours when your own friends put you on hold like that. And what will you do about it?”

“Yes, that is an issue I have been looking at. I believe we have the technology to make it possible for you to stay on the line and listen to what is being said and even to join in the conversation, and I will propose legislation that will require the telephone companies to make this service available to everyone free of charge.”

“The next question comes from our studio audience.”

“My name is Bill, and this morning when I combed my hair, I noticed a dozen hairs in my comb and I looked close and saw a tiny bald spot starting on the top of my hair. The thought of getting bald really bothers me. What is your program for that?”

“A fine question, Bill. As president, I will make finding a cure for baldness a top priority. I believe we have the scientific know-how to make it a fundamental right that ev-

ery man, woman and child has a full head of hair, regardless of race, creed, sex or national origin, as the Founding Fathers intended, or why else would they have worn powdered wigs?”

“And we go to our affiliate in Toledo for our next question.”

“My name is Lydia, and I believe in the right of a woman to have an abortion on demand. I would like to demand an abortion, but my boyfriend and I have not been able to get me pregnant, although we have tried repeatedly, so I haven't been able to have one. If you are elected president, what will you do about this?”

“Well, I hope that you will not be offended, but I believe in straight talk, so I will not mince words. I believe very much in individuals taking responsibility for their own actions. So I think that before we pass laws regarding your situation — and I am very sympathetic — you have a responsibility to try to resolve this problem by finding a new and capable boyfriend. Remember, individual initiative is what made this country great.”

“And our final question comes from Los Angeles.”

“Yeah, I'm Bob. Well, you know, there are times when I just don't feel good. Like I get up in the morning and go to my job and I think, what a drag. And I finish work and I hang out and I think, this is a drag, too. And I notice that a lot of people don't like me, and I don't care, because I don't like them, either. And the weekend comes and it's only two days long and you can't really do nothing in two days. I mean, you spend one day unwinding and the next day getting ready to go back to the same drag. So how come weekends are only two days long, and what are you going to do about it?”

“An excellent question, Bob, and it deserves careful study. Meanwhile, would you consider being my running mate?”

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

RICHARD MCKENZIE

Flawed soak-the-rich taxation strategies

Presidential contender Bill Clinton has returned to a favored American political pastime: Bashing the "rich." He and other bash-the-rich politicians have worked hard to make the electorate believe the rich are all as decadent and shifty.

A few facts will go a long way toward putting the "soak-the-rich" tax debate in perspective.

First and foremost, very few rich people come close to the incomes of Donald Trump and Ivan Boesky. In 1990, an income of \$96,000 qualified for the top 5 percent of households. An income of \$56,000 enabled households to be part of the so-called "fortunate fifth," the 20 percent of households with the highest in-

comes. A lot of people (especially two-income families) currently parroting the "soak-the-rich" theme probably don't realize that they are talking about themselves.

Granted, the people who make the Forbes list of 400 richest Americans are very wealthy by any standard. But even most of these Americans achieved their riches in the old-fashioned way followed by Bill Gates of Microsoft and Fred Smith of Federal Express: They earned them. In the process, they increased the income and purchasing power of their fellow countrymen by offering better products and services at lower prices.

Contrary to popular impression, most people in the top income group don't sit around all day clipping coupons from bonds. There are three times as many total workers and seven times as many full-time workers in the top 11th than in the bottom 11th. How many people become rich is no mystery. One of the easiest ways a person in the middle class



can become rich is to study and work hard and to marry (and stay married to) someone else who does the same.

The rich-bashers have spread the myth that the vast majority of high-income earners got their incomes by exploiting the "poor" and "middle classes" and that high income earners aren't carrying as heavy a tax burden as the middle class — or, at



least, not shouldering their fair share of total taxes. Now, Bill Clinton proposes that anyone making more than \$200,000 — or more than he will make if he is elected president — should face significantly higher marginal tax rates. Regrettably, he has succumbed to his own campaign rhetoric that having the federal government "soak the rich" is a viable

strategy for helping the poor.

Mr. Clinton and many others don't realize that, according to the House Democrats, the rich already pay a significantly higher percentage of their income in federal taxes than do the middle class and poor. In 1992, the households in the top 11th can expect to pay out 27 percent of their incomes in federal taxes and the households in the middle 11th can expect to pay 20 percent of their income in federal taxes. The lowest 11th will pay only 9 percent of their income in federal taxes — one-third the share of the top fifth.

Granted, the top fifth's taxes as a percent of its income have fallen in the past 12 years, from 28 percent in 1980 to 27 percent in 1992. However, the total taxes collected from the top income group rose from 56 percent of all federal tax payments in 1980 to a projected 61 percent in 1992. Moreover, a full third of all federal tax payments in 1992 were collected from the top 5 percent of households, up from 27 percent in 1980.

The moral of the tax data is obvious: When the rich are given greater incentive through lower tax rates to earn and report more income, they do just that, and they take on a greater share of the federal tax burden in the process. When they are punished for their successes with higher tax rates, they find ingenious

Bill Clinton has succumbed to his own campaign rhetoric that having the federal government "soak the rich" is a viable strategy for helping the poor.

ways of avoiding taxes and reduce their share of the tax burden, thus, paradoxically, shifting the burden to less fortunate Americans. Rich people are typically far smarter than the politicians who seek to soak them.

If successful, current political drives to "soak the rich" could partially reverse the economic gains of the 1980s, suppressing people's incentives to work, to save and invest.

Given the globalization of markets, a soak-the-rich tax strategy could induce the affected capitalists to reinvest their capital in other nations with a more hospitable policy climate. When will politicians realize that we need to praise very successful people, not penalize them?

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TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

MICHAEL BENNETT

"This is terrorism." Flashes of lights in a television ad exposed the entire skeleton of a child nestled in its mother's lap.

"The frequent flashes showing us a dead child are not intended to inform, but to cause undue fear, moving people to action with the threat of death," wrote Anthony Nero of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory at Berkeley, one of the country's leading authorities on radon. "This is terrorism."

Mr. Nero was referring specifi-

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Environmental terrorism strikes home!

cally to a TV ad by the Environmental Protection Agency that encouraged families to test their homes for radon. New legislation would make radon testing of all homes and schools mandatory. Yet not one reputable scientist endorses such requirements, according to Philip Abelson, editor-emeritus of Science, the nation's leading scientific journal.

"Nearly every homeowner in the country would be adversely affected, most without benefit," Mr. Abelson wrote in "Radon Today: The Role of Flimflam in Public Policy," (Regulation, fall 1991). Such a mandatory testing program, "even if technically feasible, would be prohibitively costly, \$1 trillion [roughly estimated at \$10,000 to \$16,000 per

household times 70 million households]," according to Kevin Teichman, a top EPA official writing in Environmental Science and Technology (June 1990). By comparison, the entire federal debt is currently \$2 trillion.

Mr. Teichman, coordinator of the EPA's own indoor air quality research program, and his co-author, William Nazaroff of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory, wrote, "More than 90 percent of the lung cancer risk associated with radon could be controlled by eliminating smoking without any changes in radon concentrations."

Jonathan Samet of the University of New Mexico and Jan A.P. Stolwijk

of Yale, the only two scientists invited to the June 3 House subcommittee hearing on the mandatory radon legislation, agreed.

"Spoken like scientists," said Rep. Al Swift, Washington Democrat, chairman of the subcommittee on transportation and hazardous wastes. "Well, this is a political decision and it will be made by politicians."

However, Rep. Don Ritter, Pennsylvania Republican, the ranking minority member, urged that consideration be given to the scientific evidence. The legislation has already passed the U.S. Senate by an 80-6 margin.

Contempt, rather than consider-

ation, has thus been characteristic of the attention accorded science by the EPA and Congress. But the EPA's effort to ban asbestos, the crucial test of its theory that there can be no safe level of exposure to a carcinogen, has been decisively overthrown by the courts. The court decision vindicates the threshold axiom held by scientists that dose equals response, and exposes the EPA's own intellectual ignorance.

The agency wasn't able to prove to the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals that that expenditure could save even 13-15 lives per year, though its original projection was 30,000 lives annually. The unanimous court threw out the EPA's "unbridled latitude to act as it chooses . . . reducing

risk to zero" — and to create another \$1 trillion fiasco. EPA Administrator William K. Reilly has admitted, "Our society is being forced to make enormously costly decisions on a very small scientific base," and called for massive EPA recruitment of scientists to create a "coherent scientific agenda."

But old habits die hard, and the EPA still persists in using terror tactics. The agency's asbestos policy was best summed up as "whipping the mothers up to form vigilante mobs to storm the school committee," former EPA head William Ruckelshaus has admitted.

Homeowners who respect science and recognize the threat posed by the EPA should be concerned about this scientifically ignorant and politically arrogant bill. And if Ross Perot really respects "the best minds," some of them can help him show how \$2 trillion is being wasted.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

The task of assigning blame

"Blame America first." The accusatory refrain of Jeane Kirkpatrick's 1984 Republican national convention keynote speech rings resonantly these days. With the opening of the Soviet archives, it's now being proved beyond a reasonable doubt where the real blame lies for many of the calamities of this century. It's not with the United States.

In the hands of Russian archivists and historians led by Rudolph Pikhoia and aided by the Library of Congress and the Hoover Institution at Stanford, the documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party are gradually yielding their grim secrets. From the Ukrainian famine to the invasion of Afghanistan, from disinformation blaming the United States for spreading AIDS to the poisoning of Soviet citizens, the documents are showing the Soviet Communist Party for the "criminal organization" it was, in the words of one Russian newspaper.

Among the many things that have been blamed on American imperialism is the Korean War. For some Americans it may be the "forgotten war" but it was a horrific conflict. North Korean troops backed by Soviet tanks poured over the 38th parallel on June 25, 1950, occupying Seoul within days. The fury unleashed cost 4 million lives by the time it ended. It was stopped only by the engagement of the United States and 15 other nations working together under U.N. command.

Today, the U.S. culpability theory's most prominent proponent is Bruce Cumings of the University of Chicago, a man who enjoys a great following among radical left-wing students in Seoul. In fact, as recently as 1990, in his second volume of "The Origins of the Korean War" Mr. Cumings continued to peddle the line that it was U.S.-South Korean aggression that set off the conflict. In this, Mr. Cumings follows in the fine tradition of hard-line Stalinist polemicist and "journalist" I.F. Stone.

Mr. Stone's "Hidden History of the Korean War" — published in 1952 by the Marxist Monthly Review Press and recently reissued — accepted the North Korean propaganda that the war had its origins in U.S. determination to intervene against communism in the Pacific area. Thus it was the South that invaded the North, not the other way around, which of course is still what all North Korean schoolchildren are taught. That Mr. Stone should happen to see things that way was no accident. According to Herbert Romerstein, retired director of the Office of Counter Soviet Active

Measures and Disinformation, Mr. Stone has been identified by KGB sources as one of many American journalists on the Soviet payroll. (The publication of that list is more than eagerly awaited.)

Other American historians have been less positive. Some have suggested that perhaps both sides started the war; others that the whole affair is vastly too complex to assign guilt or innocence.

As it turns out, things were not as complex as all that. Seeing that North Korea had lost a battle of ideas in the late 1940s, Kim Il-sung decided to spread Communism and unify Korea by force. That he did so with Joseph Stalin's knowledge and blessing was indicated in the memoirs of Nikita Khrushchev, "Khrushchev Remembers" — a claim that was met with skepticism in the West by appeasers of the Soviets.

More details are now forthcoming. Last year Russian historian Nikolay Orlov-Romin revealed in the newspaper *Izvestia* that "The crux of the matter is that the Soviet Union prepared and unleashed the 1950-53 North-South war. ... In 1948-49, wide-ranging training of a one-million-strong army was mounted in North Korea with the help of Soviet instructors and advisers. Stalin was generous in his allocation of funds and equipment. ... Not until the last minute did the South Korean government and the command of the U.S. occupation forces suspect the attack that was under preparation."

This was recently confirmed at a conference in Seoul by Gavril Korotkov, a fellow at the Institute for Military History at the Russian Defense Ministry. Based on his own experiences in the war and on secret military documents now being made available, Mr. Korotkov confirmed that the former Soviet military directly helped North Korea draft detailed plans for the attack and kept troops and advisers there throughout the war.

Some might ask whether it much matters who started what and why 30 years ago. Setting the record right is important for many reasons, however. For one, the present cannot be understood without understanding the past. For another, the moral equivalency, blame-America-first crowd is still out there. They have been forced to change their tack, to be sure, impelled by the denunciations of communism and socialism in the East. But, as the Rio Summit demonstrated only too clearly, there are many people eager as ever to try to discredit the United States. It's important to remember how mendacious such efforts have been in the past.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

Opposition research

Yes, it is true, political parties have offices within them whose job is to conduct research on their opponents. Isn't that perfectly shocking? After all, how relevant can everything a person has said or written and everything he has done in public office be to the political campaign of his opponent? We certainly wouldn't want politicians making informed statements about their opponents, would we?

Such would seem to be the implications of what we might call the Perot defense. Faced with revelations about his own eccentric-billionaire hobby of launching elaborate and expensive probes of President Bush and his family — and giving a receptive hearing to every goofy conspiracy theory making the rounds (with the apparent exception of the one being peddled by his archenemy, Eliot Richardson) — Ross Perot counterattacked by depicting a dark, Republican cabal, working in the shadows day and night to spoon-feed false or misleading charges about him to an all-too-hungry press. From the sound of Mr. Perot's description of this conspiracy, the editorial page of *The Washington Times* must be in on it, so you had better take that into account as you read on.

It is, of course, a nonsensical characterization of "opposition research." But, as with all good conspiracy theories, it has a couple of tiny points of connection with reality, connections that give it a certain *prima facie* plausibility that may help prevent those hearing it from laughing long and loud in response.

Republicans and Democrats alike do indeed go to considerable lengths to find out what they can about their opponents. They try to read every word uttered

by said opponents, they go over voting records in minute detail, etc. They do this because, quite simply, they are looking for things they can use. Some of those things will wind up as points of attack in stump speeches or special-occasion salvos. Others will, in fact, be passed on to the press — which, using criteria of its own, will make a determination about how newsworthy it is.

Obviously, the information the press gets comes in this instance from an interested party. But that is an issue independent of the newsworthiness of the information itself. Mr. Perot is not wrong to raise that separate issue (however wrong his characterization of how the information about him got out). It's a legitimate one. But he is sorely misguided if he thinks that by alleging that the source of the information is hostile, it follows that the information is untrue.

The other point of connection is that opposition research departments do indeed become repositories for unsolicited (and often unsubstantiated) charges about the political enemy. Some, no question about it, get checked out. The bulk, however, never see the light of day, product as they often are of those who crawl out of the woodwork to bedevil any person of prominence. Checking them out is a perfectly normal thing for a political party to do.

It's not so normal for a guy from Texas, even one with a couple of billion dollars, to do the same. That is why press and public interest in these stories about Mr. Perot was high. His counterattack — which essentially amounts to saying, "I didn't do it, and they do it too" — has not exactly served to eliminate the sense of peculiarity surrounding Mr. Perot's behavior.

Regulatory 'science' on the brink

The people who brought you Alar and other chemical scares better get their resumes up to date and start collecting references. The scientific foundations on which they constructed their monument to regulation are crumbling, faster now than ever, and the jobs they organized around that monument won't count for much when the whole thing finally collapses.

That's not quite the way Philip H. Abelson puts it, of course. Mr. Abelson is the deputy editor of the prestigious journal *Science*, and, as such, tends to use terms you don't hear around the house to describe the regulatory state in which we live. But one needn't know exactly what a "cancer-prone B⁶C³F¹" mouse is or exactly what "hydrolase enzyme activity" does to get the gist of a recent editorial he wrote, "Exaggerated Carcinogenicity of Chemicals."

The layman does need this introduction to Mr. Abelson's remarks, though. When federal regulators or congressmen like Henry Waxman attempt to ban or restrict this or that chemical on grounds that it causes cancer, they don't do so on scientific grounds. For the most part, they can't show a statistical correlation between exposure to the chemical and the number of human cancers the way, for example, you can tie cigarette smoking to lung cancers.

They are forced to rely on an oxymoron known as regulatory science, in which agencies load up hapless rodents with enormous doses of the suspected carcinogen, then try to extrapolate the number of animal cancers at high doses to the number of cancers that might show up in humans at low doses. It is a process, as *Nature* magazine once put it, "fraught with uncertainty." A lot of people might be surprised to know that the Environmental Protection Agency has admitted

that "there is no direct evidence in humans that traces actual cancer cases to [the banned apple spray] Alar exposure." Nonetheless, it is off the market.

Mr. Abelson's editorial can only add to the doubts. Studies of the animal models used to predict human cancers suggest that metabolism has a lot to do with who gets what kind of cancer. Take butadiene, a chemical involved in the production of synthetic rubber. It turns into an alleged carcinogen when absorbed into the body. But studies show that mice retain far more inhaled butadiene than do rats or monkeys. Mice also turn out to have lower levels of an enzyme activity that allows harmless metabolism of the substance. Not surprisingly, the mice turned out to be more cancer prone than, say, rats.

Unfortunately, says Mr. Abelson, the National Institute of Occupational Safety and Health bases its "best guess" on the carcinogenicity of butadiene solely on mouse experiments. "The results of rat, monkey, and human tests showing major differences in uptake, retention, and metabolism, and far less risk of cancer, have been disregarded," he says.

Such carelessness makes the government look silly. While NIOSH has predicted that every 10,000 rubber-industry workers exposed to 2 parts per million of butadiene would suffer 597 more cancer cases than the ordinary public, the opposite has occurred. The overall cancer mortality of workers exposed to up to 1,000 parts per million of butadiene was only 75 percent of the ordinary public.

"With trillions of dollars, loss of competitiveness, and jobs at stake," writes Mr. Abelson, "a searching review of the risk assessment methodology of the regulatory agencies is overdue." Over to you, Mr. President.

MILAN PANIC

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

Commitment to end the carnage

My first priority as the new prime minister of the Yugoslav Federation will be to stop the killing in Bosnia and to help establish peace there. My government will be committed to resolving all those issues that brought the sanctions of the United Nations against Serbia and Montenegro.

We will work to lift sanctions by fully cooperating with the United Nations. I have already started several actions in that direction.

In recent days, I have been in contact with both the Muslim and Serbian leaders in Bosnia. The Serbian leader, Dr. Radovan Karadzic, told me that he has ordered his men to remove heavy artillery and anti-aircraft guns from the area around

Milan Panic, a naturalized American citizen and industrialist who emigrated to the United States from Yugoslavia in 1956, has been named prime minister of the Yugoslav Federation (which comprises Serbia and Montenegro) by the Federation's President, Dobrica Cosic. (c) 1992, New Perspectives Quarterly. Distributed by Los Angeles Times Syndicate.



Sarajevo airport and that he is ready for a cease-fire in the suburb of Dobrinja. He has also pledged that his forces will not interfere with but in fact will assist the U.N. convoy carrying relief supplies overland from the port of Split to Sarajevo, by securing the road that passes through territory under control of his forces. Dr. Karadzic also pledged to assist the movement of the U.N. troops from Canada on the road from Zagreb to Sarajevo.

I have told both leaders that I want to come to see them and begin negotiations without conditions or prejudice. Both have invited me to

Sarajevo, where I intend to go shortly after my arrival in Yugoslavia.

My contact with both Dr. Karadzic and the Bosnian president, Alija Izetbegovic, has convinced me that they are exhausted by the carnage and ready to make peace.

I believe there is blame enough on all sides of this bloody conflict to share among Serbs, Muslims and Croats. However, I will not fight the U.N. sanctions, but will seek as rapidly as possible to end Serbia's isolation by complying with the United Nations by removing the causes of the sanctions.

When it imposed sanctions against Yugoslavia on May 30, the Security Council called for compliance with specific criteria, which I am prepared to do.

As I indicated, I will seek a cease-fire immediately that will be recognized by all warring parties and will seek to ensure that the delivery of humanitarian assistance to the residents of Sarajevo is in no way impeded.

The U.N. resolution says Serbia must "cooperate with the efforts of

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PANIC

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the European Community to bring about a negotiated political solution respecting the principle that any change of borders by force is not acceptable." I will work with the European Community and the two parties in Bosnia to develop both short-term and long-term constitutional arrangements that can ensure ethnic peace.

All parties in Bosnia are required by the U.N. resolution to "ensure that the forcible expulsion of persons from the areas where they live in an attempt to change the ethnic composition of the population must cease." I pledge that my government will assist in the voluntary return of displaced persons to the homes from

which they have been displaced in Bosnia-Herzegovina.

Finally, the most difficult demand to accomplish will be disbanding and disarming all irregular forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Here it is necessary to find a way to ensure that, if the Serbs disarm and disband, so do the Croats and the Bosnian Muslims.

This will require a strong U.N. presence. Indeed, it might be feasible for the leadership of these irregular forces to be placed under the supervision of the U.N. forces.

As far as I am concerned, the settling of disputes by killing each other's families is past. Extremists on all sides who insist on pursuing violent means to achieve their ends will not be tolerated and should be imprisoned. But I will need U.N. assistance to carry out this policy vigorously and objectively.

ously and objectively.

My government will act in good faith on all these issues. It is my fervent hope then that the effort by the United States and others to unseat Yugoslavia from the United Nations and other international organizations will cease. By immediately calling for new elections, free and fair, at all levels of Yugoslavia within the next six months, my government will assure the world that a democratic Yugoslavia deserves its place in the international community.

In the meantime, I will immediately set to work with our president, the Serbian writer Dobrica Cosic, on preparing a bill of rights and a constitution modeled on that of United States. After decades under totalitarianism, Yugoslavia must start with the fundamentals of democracy that I have so dearly embraced

in America, where I am a naturalized citizen.

This ancient land of Yugoslavia must start over with the basics — pluralism, respect for diversity and opposing points of views, contending political parties within a constitutional framework, and checks and balances on executive power.

On the economic side, I will pursue a rapid policy of privatization modeled on the highly successful example of Galenika, which is now the subsidiary of my California-based corporation, ICN Pharmaceuticals. We made 5,000 new capitalists out of the workers by giving them shares in the company. Despite the present turmoil, Galenika, which produces more than 300 drugs for distribution throughout the Balkan region and Eastern Europe, operates at full capacity.

In the months ahead, my government also will pursue an initiative to bring all the newly independent states of the former Yugoslavia back into an economic union. Collectively, all the states owe \$14 billion in foreign debt. Six billion dollars is owed by Serbia and the other \$8 billion by the rest.

After Serbia reviews its assets and eliminates its debt, as a gesture of good will I intend to propose that we also pay off the debt of the others — Croatia, Slovenia and Bosnia. It is my hope that such an initiative will set the Balkan Peninsula on a new course where politically independent states recognize that their future prosperity depends on their economic interdependence.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, Yugoslavia needs to learn from America's genius for relatively

peaceful multicultural coexistence. My dream is that the whole of the Balkan Peninsula will come to share my vision of the future that resulted from the experience of emigrating to the United States.

For an immigrant to be accepted and recognized means that he is part of a tremendous vision of the future — a future in which nobody cares where others come from as long as they contribute something to the life of everyone else.

My hope for Yugoslavia, and for the whole world now so caught up in ethnic hatreds, is that we can all live like immigrants in America. That vision is the fresh angle on ancient rivalries that I believe I can bring to the deeply troubled country where I was born. It is a vision of peace that I think my countrymen are more than ready to embrace.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

ALAN DERSHOWITZ

Moderate middle

The theory underlying the life tenure of Supreme Court justices is that they will be independent of the president who appointed them, of the Senate that confirmed them and of the citizens whose rights they determine. Their own consciences, the traditions of the judiciary and peer acceptance are supposed to be the only constraints on their decision-making.

Of course, they are not entirely free to make the law suit their personal or political preferences. They are bound by the Constitution, the statutes and the prior cases that form the precedential base of our legal system. But within those loose constraints and wide bounds, there is enormous room for individual discretion.

This term of the Supreme Court illustrated both the virtues and vices of such discretion. It also illustrated the old saw that presidents can appoint justices, but they cannot control them once they have taken their seats.

Most of the high court's decisions during the 1991-1992 terms were predictable. The court has moved radically to the right, and on most issues. Especially in the criminal law area, where the rightward movement was most palpable, this is not "conservative" but rather statist, siding almost always with the prosecution and against those accused of crimes.

Consider the case of Dr. Humberto Alvarez-Machain, a Mexican doctor whom our government suspected of being involved in the torture and murder of a Drug Enforcement Administration agent. Although Mexico and the United States have an extradition treaty that provides for detailed legal procedures for bringing a Mexican citizen to our country for trial, our DEA agents arranged for gun-toting Mexican bounty hunters to kidnap Dr. Alvarez from his medical office in Guadalajara and slip him across the border. Both the trial court and the court of appeals ruled that Dr. Alvarez had to be returned to Mexico and extradited properly under the treaty. But the Supreme Court reversed, arguing that there was nothing in the extradition treaty that explicitly forbids one country from kidnapping citizens of the other country to bring them to trial.

If a first-year law student made that argument, I would recommend that he transfer to auto-repair school. Of course, the treaty doesn't specifically forbid kidnapping. Nor does it forbid murdering or torturing suspected criminals. The treaty, like all treaties, presupposes that each country will obey the law — including the law against kidnapping. It provides for how extraditions should proceed lawfully, not lawlessly.

The Alvarez case was typical of the cavalier attitude the Supreme Court majority has shown toward the rights of persons charged with crime, though even in that area there

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Alan M. Dershowitz is a professor of law at Harvard University.

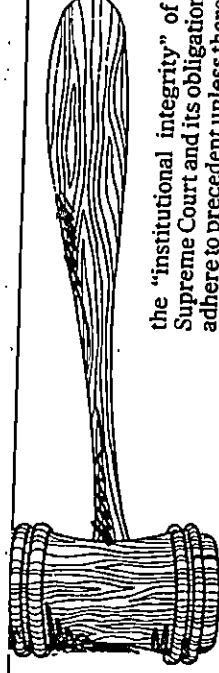
DERSHOWITZ

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were a handful of moderate decisions.

The real surprises this term came in the areas of speech, religion and abortion. The court struck down a "politically correct" hate-speech ordinance that mirrored speech codes on many university campuses. And it did so by a 9-0 vote. This unanimity was especially surprising in light of the closeness — 5-4 — of the vote striking down as unconstitutional flag-burning statutes. Surely burning a cross on a specific person's front lawn is at least as offensive as burning a flag in a public place. But the reality that flag burning is more of a liberal-conservative issue than hate speech may explain the difference in the votes.

Perhaps the most surprising decision involved a non-sectarian prayer given by a Reform rabbi at a junior high school graduation. The



high court reaffirmed the separation of church and state, ruling that even so benign a prayer could not be imposed on young students at an important public school event.

The most significant decision was, however, saved for the high court's last day. In the abortion case, a 5-4 majority reaffirmed Roe vs. Wade, while allowing the states to impose conditions on abortion, so long as they do not create an "undue burden" on a woman's right to choose. But even more profound than the substance of this decision was the remarkable opinion jointly authored by the court's emerging center — Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy and David Souter. That opinion focused on

the "institutional integrity" of the Supreme Court and its obligations to adhere to precedent unless there are compelling reasons for overruling it. This plurality opinion foreshadows the potentially moderate future of the court on issues that go beyond abortion — unless, of course, there are changes in personnel. As Justice Blackmun, the court's oldest member, lamented: "I am 83 years old. I cannot remain on this court forever, and when I do step down, the confirmation process for my successor will may focus on the issue before us today." That will almost certainly be the case — regardless of who is elected president. And it is a tragedy. The focus of any confirmation for a Supreme Court justice should be on broad issues of judicial philosophy, professional excellence and a commitment to the values of our Constitution, especially its Bill of Rights.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Supremes asleep on the bench?

In its rulings last week on abortions and real estate, the Supreme Court has revolutionized the concept of property rights, giving far more weight to rights acquired through adverse possession than through contract.

This could have far-reaching consequences for U.S. jurisprudence.

The three conservative justices who upheld Roe — Justices Sandra Day O'Connor, Anthony Kennedy and David Souter — did so on the basis that women had acquired "squatter's rights" to abortions no matter how erroneous the claim that abortion is a protected constitutional right. Women, the justices declared, have acquired abortion rights by exercising them over the past two decades.

"An entire generation has come of age free to assume Roe's concept of liberty in defining the capacity of women to act in society, and to make reproductive decisions."

The court decided that the cost of overruling Roe was too high "for people who have ordered their thinking and living around that case." The cost of overturning these acquired rights would be "profound and unnecessary damage to the court's legitimacy."

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

When the court turned to rights acquired through contract, it found a weaker basis for them.

The South Carolinian prevented from developing his beach-front property by state environmental regulations had to be compensated only because the regulations had totally deprived him of the economic use of the land. If the owner had not acquired the land with reasonable expectations of developing it like adjoining land, if restrictions had existed prior to its purchase, if the state had not taken all the value of his land or if he had inherited it, he would have had no "investment-backed expectations" to the economic value of his property.

This is an extremely narrow legal defense of the right to property, which, unlike the right to abort, is clearly in the Constitution.

The ruling does not protect any property owner who purchased property after the state environmental regulations became effective. In contrast to the newly acquired right to abortions, the court apparently does not believe that a failure to uphold the constitutional rights to property would damage the court's legitimacy and imperil "the nation's commitment to the rule of law."

It is unlikely that the court realizes the extraordinary weight it has given to rights acquired by exercise of a practice compared to the rights acquired through contract.

The abortion ruling permits states to narrowly regulate abortions as long as the regulations do

not impose an "undue burden" on abortion rights. The South Carolina ruling permits massive regulations and takings of the right to property as long as the value of the property right is not entirely expropriated without compensation.

It remains to be seen if federal pay-as-you-go schemes such as Social Security and Medicare are consistent with 1.6 million abortions per year. Adverse demographics will wreck the social consensus that makes these schemes possible. There is no obvious grounds on which the court can juggle the "rare precedential force" it has given to abortion with the equally precedential force of entitlements.

If the court is consistent, its abortion ruling has also settled the quota issue. Minorities have even longer-running rights of adverse possession to the employment and university admission privileges that were adopted as "temporary" social policy. If it is too upsetting to the Supreme Court's legitimacy and the rule of law to correct the constitutional error of Roe vs. Wade, it is also too upsetting to liberty to overturn the racial and gender privileges that have replaced equality before the law.

Everyone knows that abortion and affirmative action programs are social policy, not constitutional rights. Today the Constitution counts for little compared to "squatter's rights." The implications for our republic are dire.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

CHRISTOPHER MATTHEWS

Meet Bill Clinton, fight promoter

What an election! A Republican president, Yale-educated, finds himself in a three-way brawl for a second term: a Democrat on one side, a folk hero with bombastic Republican support on the other.

By summer's end, the campaign fits a pattern:

The third-party candidate attacks the incumbent without pity, blaming him and other professional politicians for the nation's ills.

The sitting Republican president tries riding it out, tries matching the insurgent's give 'em hell charisma. He fails at both.

Meanwhile, the Democrat accuses both rivals of fighting for the same pro-business political turf.

The voters, increasingly aware of the bad blood between the incumbent and his third-party challenger, agree with the Democrat's perception. The election results in November are shocking but predictable. The third-party candidate wins 4 million votes. The incumbent Republican follows with 3½ million. The Democrat wins 6 million votes and a sweeping victory in the Electoral College.

Christopher Matthews, Washington bureau chief for the San Francisco Examiner, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Could such a thing really happen? It already did.

Eighty years ago, Republican President William Howard Taft confronted a dual challenge for reelection. His rivals included former President Theodore Roosevelt, American folk hero; and Democrat Woodrow Wilson, governor of New Jersey.

After a bitter scrap between Roosevelt and Taft, Democrat Wilson won with 42 percent of the popular vote.

It happened in 1912. It could happen again in 1992.

The scenario? The same as before:

The American people could more and more see the Perot-Bush battle as a grudge match between two pro-business Republicans, with the Democrat grabbing the huge bloc of votes left and center.

Don't think Bill Clinton himself hasn't thought about it.

"I think the American people can see that here are two people who really intensely dislike each other," the Democrat said recently of Messrs. Perot and Bush. "It's obvious that they've got an almost obsession with each other. I'll let them play it out. I'm going to get out here and fight for the people."

For those who missed his first ringside commentary, Mr. Clinton had this to add:



Woodrow Wilson

Bill Clinton

"It's obvious that you've got two people here who just can hardly bear each other," he said with Don King fervor during a campaign day in Boston. "They can't stand each other and they've turned this thing into a kind of personal vendetta."

Mr. Clinton has made two other moves to exploit the Perot-Bush war of words. One, he put out an economic program that made his the candidacy of substance, his rivals' the candidates of "vendetta." Two, he picked a well-timed fight with Jesse Jackson.

Ask yourself this question. Mr. Bush fought the last two weeks with Ross Perot. Bill Clinton fought with Jesse Jackson.

Who won?

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

**SAMUEL
FRANCIS**



Set-up for unending chaos

It's not easy to tell whether South African President F.W. de Klerk is as stupid as he seems or whether he's just pretending. Whatever the truth, the white head of South Africa's crumbling state has now succeeded in bringing his country to the edge of ruin.

For the last two years, ever since he let Nelson Mandela out of jail, legalized Mr. Mandela's terrorist African National Congress and the South African Communist Party and began to dismantle the remains of apartheid, Mr. de Klerk has consistently allowed the most radical elements of the black opposition to his government to carry the initiative. Now, with South Africa at the lip of what many observers believe may be civil war, Mr. de Klerk and his country are drinking deep from the bitter cup of his folly.

When Mr. de Klerk pardoned Mr. Mandela in February 1990, he did it in a way that ensured that the man who was sent to prison a generation before for planning a terrorist campaign would immediately mutate into a popular hero. When Mr. de Klerk began negotiations with the black opposition to rewrite the South African constitution, he allowed the radical ANC to preen as the main representative of South Africa's black majority.

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sian revolutions. He seems to believe that if he just keeps offering compromise and good will, the revolutionaries will mutate back into liberals like himself. He appears to have not a clue to either the real mentality that motivates revolutionaries like Mr. Mandela or the realities of racial politics in South Africa and the world.

Mr. Mandela and the ANC have greeted every one of Mr. de Klerk's reforms with grousing, sneers and accusations. Mr. Mandela says abolishing racial segregation and allowing non-racial political democracy aren't enough. There must be "real equality," which he and the ANC interpret as redistribution of land, nationalization of at least some property and affirmative action programs for blacks. Mr. Mandela and the ANC don't want reform, de-

When more and more whites began to balk at Mr. de Klerk's speedy abolition of apartheid, he called a national referendum to authorize proceeding with the reforms and the talks. Now Mr. Mandela has pulled out of the talks entirely, and Mr. de Klerk finds his fine plans for "democratization" in shreds.

Last month, Mr. de Klerk thought he'd show how much he cared about the black victims of ethnic and political violence that his own policies have helped create. He went into the black township of Boipatong to offer condolences to the families of the victims, and he came pounding out again with a black mob baying at his throat. Soon after, Mr. Mandela, never one to let slip a chance for demagoguery, virtually accused Mr. de Klerk of murder.

Mr. de Klerk's problem is that he is ignorant of what happens when moderates and liberals try to negotiate with revolutionaries. He could find out easily enough by reading up on the history of the French and Rus-

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Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

mocracy, racial harmony or freedom. What they want is power, and they know exactly how to get it from weaklings like Mr. de Klerk.

The ANC strategy is a political version of the strategy for guerrilla war devised by Mao Tse-tung: When the enemy retreats, we attack. When Mr. de Klerk offers compromises and negotiates, the ANC escalates its demands. The ANC in fact has no reason to compromise. If it doesn't control a majority of blacks in South Africa, it does control a lot of them, and it's ready and able to use force to cow the others as well as intimidate the white government.

Moreover, it has the ear of the Western world, which, frightened of appearing to appease "racism" in any form, is ever prepared to side with Mr. Mandela against the white minority. That minority, meanwhile, looks at the outright confiscation of white land in neighboring Zimbabwe and understandably begins to contract a case of the willies about hand-

ing power to the ANC.

What Mr. de Klerk wants in the new constitution are mechanisms to protect the civil and property rights of the whites, mechanisms that several other black African states also established in their own constitutions. That's fine, but the mechanisms didn't work. It's symptomatic of naifs like Mr. de Klerk that they think writing a constitution down on paper means it's real.

There is nothing to be done for South Africa now. Mr. de Klerk, with a lot of help from the United States and the West in the form of sanctions, has set himself and his country up for chaos and the tyranny that follows chaos. Apartheid cannot be restored, and those most likely to come to power in a democratized South Africa don't believe in democracy. It's a textbook case of how "exporting democracy" to countries and cultures not prepared for it is a disaster for those who really have to live with it.

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

Alexander rips NEA's effort to 'control' schools



Lamar Alexander

By Carol Innerst
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

With National Education Association members camped down the street, Education Secretary Lamar Alexander yesterday unleashed his harshest criticism of the union, charging it is after "control."

Mr. Alexander, who has not previously been outspoken about the NEA's opposition to administration education programs, contended the union seeks to dominate the schools and influence the White House.

The NEA will try to take a step in that direction in its 130th annual meeting here with the endorsement tomorrow of expected Democratic presidential nominee Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton.

Speaking of Mr. Clinton, Mr. Alexander said, "In order to get the nomination, he's had to make the NEA

happy, and the NEA only likes people they can control."

The union, in its session at the Washington Convention Center on Sunday, gave President Bush an "F" on his performance as the self-proclaimed "education president."

"I've lived long enough to know that when the NEA gives you a good grade that means you don't stray very far from their agenda," Mr. Alexander said yesterday in a meeting with education reporters.

"You won't see any of their candidates coming out for giving all children choices of all schools — public, private or religious — because the NEA doesn't want that," he said.

"That's more change than they can stomach. They'll talk a good game, but when it gets down to it they won't act on it. But people know that," Mr. Alexander added.

"It's an issue of control... they're

fighting over control," he said.

"They've got it now and they don't want to lose it to the parents or to the communities or to the publicly elected leaders."

The NEA opposes choice plans, tuition tax credits and voucher plans. Their opposition dates back to 1970 and was reiterated in some fashion in 1984, 1989 and 1990.

Mr. Alexander said critics of the president's newest choice plan, the GI Bill for Children, have "missed the point that this money can go to public schools as well."

The plan would give \$1,000 scholarships to low- and middle-income children to use at the public, private or religious school of their choice.

"Most of the money will go to public schools and I predict that 75 percent of it will," he said.

Mr. Alexander denied some of the "break-the-mold" school proposals

about to be unveiled would amount to "union-busting" but said that "almost none could be operated in America because of various rules and regulations."

Many of the proposals call for longer hours and different staffing structures that are at odds with various union contracts.

"That's not union-busting," Mr. Alexander said. "But it's more change than the NEA can stomach."

The former governor of Tennessee called Gov. Clinton's competency testing of teachers a decade ago "a very primitive effort."

"We got the same result with level one of the career ladder test with much less opposition and with about as great a participation, and we also went on to add to that a career ladder so we [Tennessee] now pay 8,500 people more for teaching well," he said.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 *

Cash for POWs?

Testimony details '81 offer by Viets

By Michael Hedges
and Carleton R. Bryant
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Vietnam offered to exchange live American POWs for \$4 billion in January 1981, former National Security Adviser Richard V. Allen has told Senate investigators.

The offer was rejected at a meeting of top Reagan administration officials, according to congressional sources familiar with testimony to the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs by Mr. Allen and another official.

The proposal came through representatives of China and Canada, who said they were relaying the position of the Vietnamese government, the officials testified.

The routing of the offer through other nations was a standard practice to "create deniability" for Hanoi, congressional sources said.

But a few weeks after the meeting the Reagan administration approved a CIA-supported mission in which pro-U.S. Laotian refugees infiltrated communist-controlled Laos to search for American POWs. That mission, which was made public in mid-1981, failed.

Those present at the meeting at which the Vietnamese offer was rejected included President Reagan; James A. Baker III, then White House chief of staff; Caspar Wein-

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berger, secretary of defense; Mr. Allen; Alexander Haig, secretary of state; Edwin Meese, attorney general; and Michael Deaver.

Senate investigators have not determined if all of those officials were in the room when the POW offer was discussed, a congressional source said. Committee investigators are talking to other Reagan officials this week.

Mr. Allen, who is traveling abroad, could not be reached for comment yesterday.

Mr. Allen's testimony was generally corroborated by another government worker who spoke to Senate investigators Thursday. The testimony is believed to have been instrumental in the Senate's 96-0 vote last week to ask President Bush to release to the public all classified POW materials.

Details of the 1981 meeting first surfaced in 1986 when a government official relayed his account of the session to Rep. Robert C. Smith, New Hampshire Republican, and Rep. William "Billy" Hendon, North Carolina Republican.

Mr. Smith and Mr. Hendon reportedly met with President Reagan, Vice President Bush and others in the Oval Office on Jan. 9, 1986, and asked them about the offer from Vietnam.

In response to a question yesterday about the 1986 meeting, Mr. Smith — now New Hampshire's junior senator and vice chairman of the Senate POW committee — would neither confirm nor deny that it occurred. "I cannot comment on that at this time," he said.

But Mr. Hendon said the meeting did occur.

Mr. Reagan at first said he could not recall such a proposal from Vietnam, according to Mr. Hendon's notes.

Mr. Bush remembered hearing about such an offer but thought it involved POW remains — not live Americans, Mr. Hendon said. "At that time Vietnam had already been giving back remains with no strings attached," Mr. Hendon said.

He said Mr. Bush called him the day after the meeting and angrily denied that a POWs-for-cash proposal had been received by the administration. "He said it was categorically false and potentially damaging to the presidency," Mr. Hendon said.

In his interview with investigators, however, Mr. Allen said he remembered the offer was for live POWs, congressional sources said.

A White House spokesman had no comment on the purported 1986 meeting.

Mr. Hendon is a POW-MIA activist. He was an investigator on the staff of Mr. Smith assigned to the Senate committee until last week, when he was fired in a dispute with the chairman, Sen. John Kerry, Massachusetts Democrat.

Capitol Hill sources speculated that Reagan officials probably regarded the 1981 offer as specious because China was involved in the transmittal.

At that time China had been engaged in a fierce border war with Vietnam for two years and had sought on several occasions to discredit the Hanoi government abroad.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992 ★

Bush puts Weld on Clinton attack

LITTLE ROCK, Ark. (AP) — In a warmup for the bruising fall campaign, Republican Gov. William Weld of Massachusetts came to Little Rock yesterday to slash at Bill Clinton's record on taxes and the environment.

The Clinton camp called it a desperate attempt by the GOP to shift attention from the real issues of the campaign.

Mr. Weld, acting at the behest of President Bush's re-election campaign, held a news conference to fault the Arkansas governor for allegedly failing to go after polluters and for raising taxes and fees 128 times.

Mr. Clinton's track record looks like "the 1992 version of Mike Dukakis' 'Massachusetts' Miracle,'" Mr. Weld said, referring to his gubernatorial predecessor and the Democrats' 1988 nominee.

The Arkansas governor later called Mr. Weld "one of the attack dogs for George Bush" and noted that Mr. Weld had often praised his

record before the campaign began.

"Now he's pandering to the right wing of the Republican Party so he can run for president in 1996," Mr. Clinton told reporters.

Mr. Weld cited numerous statistics about how low Arkansas ranks on environmental quality. The state's streams and rivers are now among the nation's most polluted, he said.

"This situation is a direct result of ... his favoring of poultry interests to feather his own political nest, if you'll pardon the expression," Mr. Weld said.

On taxes, Mr. Weld said Mr. Clinton had raised fees on everything from soybeans to wine, coal, cigarettes and telephones.

"Did he ever meet a tax he didn't like?" is a fair question to ask," Mr. Weld said.

Clinton spokeswoman Dee Dee Myers said in response: "The Bush-Quayle campaign knows that if this is a debate about economic policy and about the future of this country, they're going to lose. So what they're

going to do is try to discredit their opponents any way they can. If it means trying to tie Gov. Clinton to Mike Dukakis, they'll do that."

Mr. Clinton's former chief of staff, Betsey Wright, weighed in as well, jabbing at Mr. Weld for an alleged ethics scandal involving state Republicans selling access to elected and appointed officials.

"I would be embarrassed to go into a place like Arkansas with that kind of scandal swirling," Miss Wright said.

Outside the hotel conference room where Mr. Weld unloaded on Mr. Clinton, supporters of the Arkansas governor carried signs boasting that Arkansas is No. 1 in teacher pay and No. 5 in job growth.

Miss Wright and Miss Myers said Mr. Weld had gotten several facts wrong, such as his charge that Arkansas doubled its state debt under Mr. Clinton's guidance. Mr. Clinton has balanced budgets for a decade now, Miss Wright said.

The Washington Times

TUESDAY, JULY 7, 1992

Shake, rattle & roll

In true Wright Brothers tradition, The Washington Times' White House reporter, Frank Murray, rediscovered manned flight in North Carolina this weekend, with a boost from a roaring jet engine of Air Force One.

The 10-person press pool covering the president's expedition to Faith, N.C., was dropped off by Marine helicopter on the right-hand side of Mr. Bush's huge 747. That turned out not to be a good place.

The reporters were waved toward the stairs on the other side of the plane. No one on the ground realized that the two powerful starboard engines had been powered up, as is customary, the moment Mr. Bush got aboard.

Attempting to make the dash as directed, the 6-foot-3 Mr. Murray, 54, was picked up by the jet wash and thrown 10 feet or so to the rear. Slammed to the hard tarmac without benefit of landing gear, he tumbled to a halt, losing his shirt, glasses, some skin.

White House officials and other reporters who helplessly watched the mishap weren't at all sure it would end even *that* well.

On the flight to Washington, he got presidential-level care from Dr. Connie Mariano in the Air Force One sick bay, where the pilot, Col. Danny Barr, delivered profuse apologies. Mr. Murray replied that he shared the general view that it wasn't the pilot's fault.

With hands and back bandaged, bearing sympathies from senior administration staffers — though one top official accused the bleeding reporter of stopping at nothing to ride up front in Air Force One — Mr. Murray rejoined his colleagues in the press compartment.

President Bush dropped back to make sure he was OK. Waving off questions, he told Mr. Murray: "I just want to make sure you're all right. Everyone's taking care of you OK? I'm glad you're OK."

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



President Bush inquires about the health of reporter Frank Murray aboard Air Force One while a Secret Service agent keeps an eye on things.

Tim McBride, an aide to Mr. Bush, presented Mr. Murray with a new shirt to replace the one shredded in the encounter with the tarmac. It's a golf shirt from the 1991 Paris Air Show. "I don't know whose it is," Mr. Murray said with his usual humility, "but there aren't that many people's clothes hanging on Air Force One."

Social note

Without fanfare, the wedding page of the New York Times advises that "Dr. and Mrs. Charles E. Clarke of Sewickley, Pa., have an-

nounced the engagement of their daughter Victoria Clarke to James Brian Graham of Channel Islands, Calif. A December wedding is planned."

The irrepressible Miss Clarke would hardly schedule such an event before December, as she has some other serious responsibilities through November. Torie, as she is known, is press secretary for the Bush-Quayle re-election campaign.

Bad news, Ann

Those who may be hoping to influence the Republican Party plat-

form in the pro-choice direction are likely to find the odds totally stacked against them, according to Roy C. Jones of the coalitions section of the Bush-Quayle '92 campaign. "1992 will be the year that losers like Gloria Steinem, Ellie Smeal and, yes, Ann Stone wake up from the 1960s daydream and see the real strength of our movement," Mr. Jones said in a recent speech to the National Right to Life organization. "Ann Stone's Republicans for Choice is a media-driven mirage. She won't be able to fill a telephone booth with real delegates at this year's convention."

"The Bush campaign team will use the right-to-life issue just as the Marine Corps uses a beachhead," Mr. Jones said. "It will be the core issue which sets George Bush apart from the rest of the pack. . . . The GOP will be the only party with a solid set of values."

Really good show

Rich Bond, chairman of the Republican National Committee, was asked on C-SPAN over the weekend if he expects a "tough" campaign in the fall.

"I think this will be the weirdest, strangest and maybe nastiest campaign that any of us have ever seen," Mr. Bond replied.

Winning slogan

NBC's Jay Leno had a comment about Hillary Clinton's vow that she'll quit her law practice if hubby wins: "That should be his campaign slogan, 'Vote for me and there will be one less lawyer in the world.'"

That's the ticket

Mike Kelly of Crownsville, Md., spotted this show-stopping bumper sticker: "Anyone But Billy George Ross!"

— John Elvin

Bush readies forces to help Sarajevo

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

MUNICH — President Bush is prepared to commit U.S. fighter jets and helicopter gunships to get food and medicine to the besieged capital of Sarajevo and other sites in war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina.

In a move that would carry new risks for American forces, the Bush administration is ready to help open a ground convoy route to Sarajevo that would begin in Split or Zagreb in the Croatian republic.

The administration is also consid-

ering using U.S. naval forces in the region to enforce the U.N. economic embargo against Yugoslavia, officials said.

While "no one... is looking for an excuse to use military force," a senior administration official said, "the United States stands ready to do its part."

Mr. Bush and the six other leaders of the industrialized nations meeting here plan to call for "stronger action" against Serbian forces carrying out "ethnic cleansing" in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The 18th annual economic summit will issue a

declaration tomorrow aimed at scaring Serbian forces into not firing on the airlift or truck convoys to Sarajevo, summit officials said.

Brent Scowcroft, Mr. Bush's national security adviser, said, "The heads of government are determined that humanitarian relief will be provided."

In a highly unusual move, the seven leaders met at dinner last night without their wives or aides. At the dinner, French President Francois Mitterrand called for an international summit to discuss the situation in Sarajevo and peacekeeping

measures.

In addition to expanding the military's humanitarian efforts to provide food and medicine to starving masses in Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, the seven summit members also plan to ask all international organizations to withdraw their officials from Yugoslavia.

A senior administration official, speaking on the condition of anonymity, said the United States is prepared to ask the United Nations for stronger action — including the use of military force — to clear the way for more humanitarian assistance to

Sarajevo and other cities in Bosnia.

"We're prepared to urge the U.N. Security Council to authorize other means, including the use of military force if necessary, to achieve the U.N.'s humanitarian objectives," he said.

While the administration won't rule out sending ground troops, it is reluctant to deploy them, said several senior Bush aides.

"I would not anticipate that there would be U.S. ground forces," Mr. Scowcroft said. He said that other nations, such as Canada, are providing the bulk of U.N. peacekeeping

forces.

"We have offered air and naval forces as part of a multilateral effort in order to ensure — if that's what it takes — to ensure that humanitarian relief gets through. What other role we might play to help in ground convoys I think remains open," said one administration official.

"I would think that our comparative advantage in looking at how you help provide for the security of a road convoy would be predominantly in the area of naval forces and

see SUMMIT, page A9

SUMMIT

From page A1

air forces... providing sort of aircraft or helicopters flying overhead to provide security to the road convoys," the official said.

The United States so far has committed Air Force cargo aircraft. If its role is expanded to protecting truck convoys, the force could include dozens of helicopter gunships but not Army or Marine troops, officials said.

U.S. officials who met with their counterparts here said that the airlift to Sarajevo airport is working, but not enough aid is getting in. One official said the danger to aircraft is "unacceptably high."

"Sooner or later it would have to be supplemented by ground convoys," Mr. Scowcroft said.

"You can't supply Sarajevo indefinitely by air. We want to find ways in which we can get land convoys into Sarajevo from Split or Zagreb or some other point outside the zone of conflict," said an administration official.

Another administration official,

also speaking on the condition of anonymity, said that the current humanitarian effort is "fragile in the sense that any of a number of parties could disrupt it or even scuttle it."

Mr. Scowcroft said some of the convoys are operating in a "permissive environment," meaning that no Serbs have fired on them. Some others are being shot at or delayed, officials said.

Still, said Mr. Scowcroft, "I would be a little surprised if the local forces... would want to take on a U.N. convoy."

While the annual summit was to be focused on growth in the world economy, it has been overshadowed by the events in Bosnia-Herzegovina, including attempts by Croats living in Bosnia-Herzegovina to carve out their own territory. That latest development led to a U.S. condemnation.

"We're all preoccupied with the humanitarian relief operation that's being mounted in Sarajevo," said a senior Bush official.

The situation in Sarajevo is also expected to dominate this week's Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe meeting in Helsinki. Mr. Bush plans to attend that summit Thursday and Friday.

7/7/92

Mr. President:

Ambassador Anderson called. He has met with Rich Bond about helping you with the campaign -- possibly surrogate speaking. Prior to starting, however, he would like to meet with you to give himself "creditability." He asked if your schedule could accommodate 10 minutes anytime after July 20th. Rich Bond thinks it's a nice idea, but has no recommendation one way or the other. The Ambassador is also going to call Susan Porter Rose to schedule a brief meeting with Mrs. Bush. *great*

Schedule early morning coffee (10 minutes) _____

Would you like anyone to sit in?

Ron Kaufman _____ Rich Bond _____ Other _____

Not interested in a meeting at this time X

He wants to be Ambassador

Nice fellow

But time is tough

*7/17/92 Told Anderson's office. Schedule tight
not able to commit at this time Anderson lo.
Then on 7/23 till 8/3*

daily 7/17

NAME The Honorable Robert Anderson
SAL OUT Bob
DESCR Former Ambassador to Dominican Republic (1982-1985).
NOT TO BE CONFUSED WITH Robert Bernerd Anderson of
Texas who was a Deputy Sec'y of State under Eisenhower.
CODES DB2 4Y CC5 ANDOVR PERSNL AMBASF RRADMN DCFRAQ
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GENERAL
. 12/90 From 4 to 5 per PreChrisCoding.

DATES
. FYI: He born in 1922.

PRIV COMM
. Wife dec'd.
. Children: son Mark, daughter married to French banker and
living in Abu Dhabi.
. Ofcr of Legion d'Honneur (an honor society award in France).
. He has been in foreign service since 1946.
. Andover class of 1940 (on 1939 soccer team with GB), Yale
class of 1944.