

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

FOIA Number:
2009-0166-S

FOIA MARKER

**This is not a textual record. This is used as an
administrative marker by the George Bush Presidential
Library Staff.**

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

OA/ID Number: 90699
Folder ID Number: 90699-002

Folder Title:
Wednesday, July 22, 1992 [3]

Stack:	Row:	Section:	Shelf:	Position:
G	35	2	1	0

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
01. Memo	Rose Zamaria to President Bush, Re: Visit of Tom Luce; Personal Identifiable Information redacted. (1 pp.)	07/22/92	(b)(6)	

Page 1 of 1

Collection:

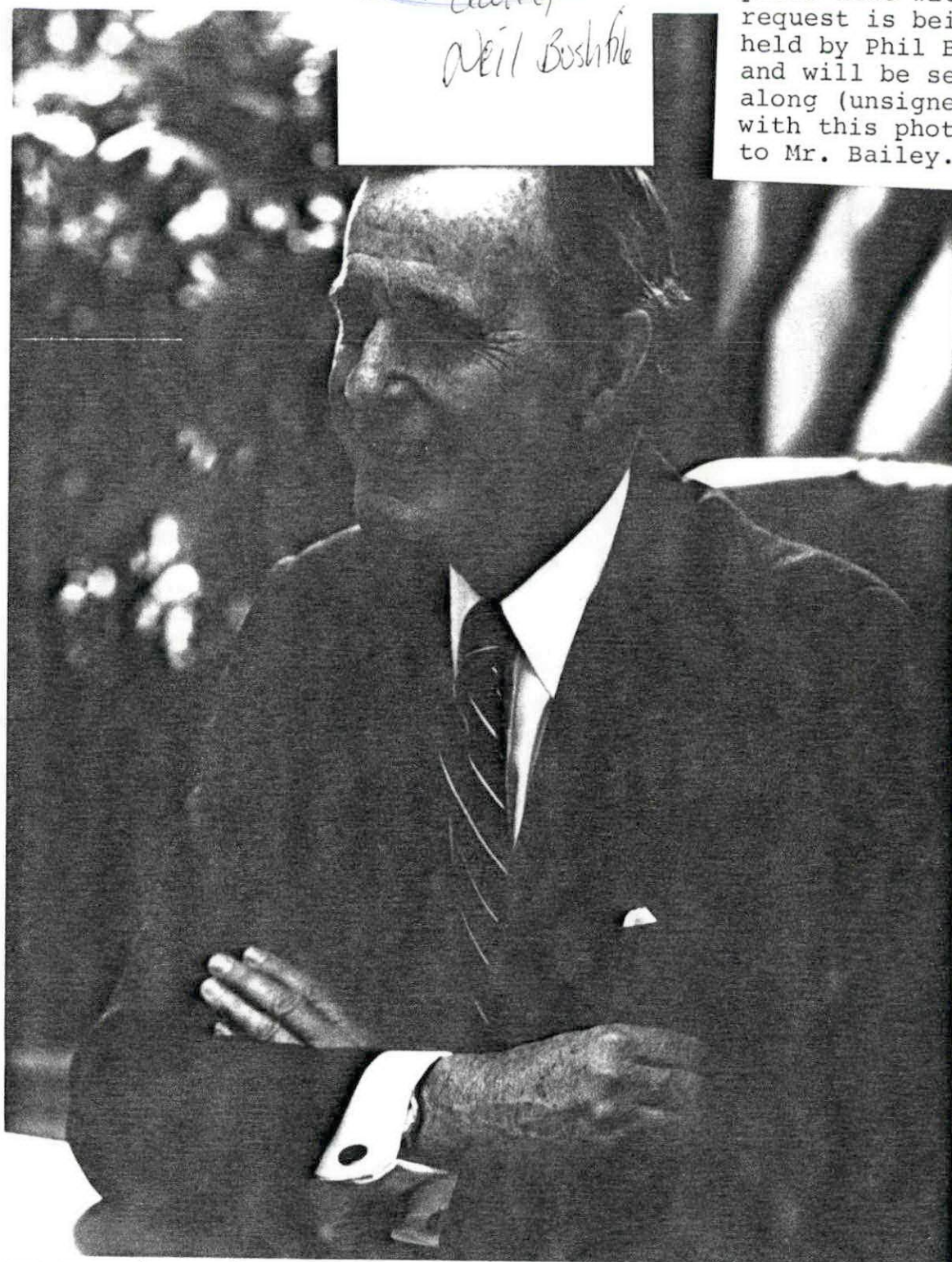
Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, July 22, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML16001
OA/ID Number: 90699-002
Date Closed: 11/15/2024
FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S
Re-review Case #:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee
Processed by:
Processed by:

cc: daily 7/22
Neil Bushfield

The Campaign/RNC
photo sent with
request is being
held by Phil Brady
and will be sent
along (unsigned)
with this photo
to Mr. Bailey.



To Paul Bailey
Congratulations and best wishes on your 73rd Birthday,

Az Bush

NEIL M. BUSH
1800 W. LOOP SOUTH, SUITE 1750
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77027

July 8, 1992

Ms. Rose Zamaria
The White House
West Wing
Washington, DC 20500

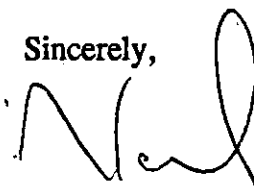
Dear Rose:

Enclosed please find a picture sent by a friend to be signed by Dad for his father's 73rd birthday on August 24th. I'm not sure if it is critical for Geoff to present his father, Paul Bailey, with this exact photo signed. Perhaps you could find something a little more original. But, if you can slip this in front of Dad for a quick "Happy Birthday", I would be deeply appreciative.

Doro's wedding was terrific. Dad's tennis is at an all time high. It was great to be with family.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Neil', with a large, stylized loop at the end.

Neil M. Bush

NMB/sdr

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Genta Hawkins Holmes, of California, a Career Member of the Senior Foreign Service, Class of Minister-Counselor, to be Director General of the Foreign Service. She would succeed Edward J. Perkins.

Ambassador Holmes currently serves as United States Ambassador to Namibia, 1990-present. She has also served as Deputy Chief of Mission in Pretoria, South Africa, 1988-1989; Port-Au-Prince, Haiti, 1986-1988; and Lilongwe, Malawi, 1984-1986. Ambassador Holmes has also served at the State Department in several other positions, including: International Affairs Officer at the Bureau of African Affairs, 1983; participated in the Senior Seminar at the State Department, 1982; and at the Agency for International Development as Assistant Administrator for Legislative Affairs and as Acting Administrator, 1979-1981.

Ambassador Holmes was graduated from the University of Southern California (A.B., 1962). She was born September 3, 1940 in Anadarko, Oklahoma. Ambassador Holmes is married and currently resides in San Fransisco, California.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

The President today signed the following legislation:

S. 2780, which removes the requirement that certain croplands must be subject to a permanent easement before they are eligible for enrollment in a Department of Agriculture (USDA) conservation program.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

The President today announced his intention to nominate Alan Greenspan, of New York, to be United States Alternate Governor of the International Monetary Fund for a term of five years. This is a reappointment.

Dr. Greenspan currently serves as Chairman and Member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System. Prior to this he served as Chairman of Townsend-Greenspan Co. & Inc., 1954-1974 and 1977-1987. Dr. Greenspan served on the Council of Economic Advisers, 1970-1974 as Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors, 1974-1977; and was a member of the President's Economic Policy Advisory Board, 1981.

Dr. Greenspan was graduated from New York University (B.S., 1948; M.A., 1950; and Ph.D., 1977). He was born March 6, 1926 in New York, New York and currently resides in Washington, D.C.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

The President today recognized the teen volunteers of Ginghamburg United Methodist Church in Tipp City, Ohio, as the 838th Daily Point of Light for the Nation. The teens, known as the Clubhouse Gang, care for children and encourage their peers to develop good character and values.

Since 1990, 100 teen volunteers have coordinated and directed an after-school program designed to assist inner-city children ages six to eleven. Five to seven teens each volunteer approximately ten hours a week at three "clubhouses" in Dayton. The "clubhouses," which serve 50 children a year, meet Monday through Thursday. The volunteers direct one-to-one and small group activities, including exercises in goal setting, role-playing, story telling, reading, and study skills development. Many teens have built lasting friendships with the children and gained insight from cross-cultural experiences.

These teen volunteers are also engaged in a variety of other community service projects. For eight years, 50 teens have planned, prepared, and served a Thanksgiving dinner for 200 individuals in the community. For six years, 75 teens have assisted volunteers from the Dayton Power and Light Company (which was recognized by the President as the 112th Daily Point of Light for the Nation) in insulating homes for families in need. During the summer of 1991, 55 teens helped the Christian Appalachian Project build two new homes for families in Appalachia and have recently completed three more houses.

The clubhouse concept has been replicated in other communities. This summer, a clubhouse modeled after those in Dayton opened in a public housing project in Cincinnati, where it has been received with enthusiasm.

The President salutes the teen volunteers of Ginghamburg United Methodist Church for exemplifying his belief that, "From now on in America, any definition of a successful life must include serving others."

#

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

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

FACT SHEET

Oregon Public Lands Wilderness Act

Today President Bush transmitted to the Congress the "Oregon Public Lands Wilderness Act." This proposal to add lands managed by the Bureau of Land Management to the National Wilderness Preservation System will substantially diversify the wilderness system. Included in the proposal are a variety of landforms ranging from coastal islands to rugged mountain ranges and deep, spectacular canyons carved by desert rivers.

The Act authorizes:

designation of 1,278,073 acres in 49 areas to be managed as wilderness by the Bureau of Land Management; and

release of 1,528,525 acres in all or part of 76 areas found not to be suitable for wilderness designation.

The legislation being proposed by President Bush is the culmination of a 15-year study by the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Land Management on the wilderness suitability of all the public lands in Oregon. The lands recommended for wilderness designation contain the highest wilderness qualities of naturalness and opportunities for solitude and primitive recreation. In addition, many of these areas include habitat for threatened and endangered species, unusual geologic features, important cultural values, and ecosystems not widely represented at this time in the wilderness system.

Wilderness designation of these areas means that they will be managed to preserve their natural character. Motorized vehicles and equipment will not normally be allowed. Established uses at the time of designation such as livestock grazing will be allowed to continue, but new development to support commercial activities in wilderness areas will not be allowed.

Enactment of the President's proposal will significantly enhance the diversity and beauty of the Nation's lands set aside for the enjoyment of both present and future generations of Americans as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

The President today announced his intention appoint Leo Melamed, of Illinois, to be a Member of the United States Holocaust Memorial Council for the remainder of the term expiring January 15, 1995. He would succeed William Alexander Scott, III.

Since 1990, Mr. Melamed has served as Chairman of Dellsher Investment Company, Incorporated in Chicago, Illinois. From 1976-1990, he served as Chairman of the Chicago Mercantile Exchange.

Mr. Melamed was graduated from the University of Illinois (B.A., 1952) and John Marshal Law School (J.D., 1955). He was born March 20, 1932 in Bialystock, Poland. Mr. Melamed is married, has three children and resides in Glencoe, Illinois.

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

TEXT OF A LETTER FROM
THE PRESIDENT TO THE SPEAKER OF
THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND
THE PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE

July 22, 1992

Dear Mr. Speaker: (Dear Mr. President:)

I am pleased to submit for congressional consideration and passage the "Oregon Public Lands Wilderness Act".

The Federal Land Policy and Management Act of 1976 (FLPMA), (43 U.S.C. 1701, et seq.), directs the Secretary of the Interior to review the wilderness potential of the public lands.

The review of the areas identified in Oregon began immediately after the enactment of FLPMA and has now been completed. Approximately 2,806,598 acres of public lands in 92 areas in Oregon met the minimum wilderness criteria and were designated as wilderness study areas (WSAs). These WSAs were studied and analyzed during the review process and the results documented in three environmental impact statements and five instant study area reports.

Based on the studies and reviews of the WSAs, the Secretary of the Interior recommends that all or part of 49 of the WSAs, totaling 1,278,073 acres of public lands, be designated as part of the National Wilderness Preservation System.

I concur with the Secretary of the Interior's recommendations and am pleased to recommend designation of the 49 areas (totaling 1,278,073 acres) identified in the enclosed draft legislation as additions to the National Wilderness Preservation System.

The proposed additions represent the diversity of wilderness values in the State of Oregon. These range from the 9,730-foot Steens Mountain peak, to the deep canyons of the Owyhee River and the John Day River, to the small islands off the Oregon coast. These areas span a wide variety of Oregon landforms, ecosystems, and other natural systems and features. Their inclusion in the wilderness system will improve the geographic distribution of wilderness areas in Oregon, and will complement existing areas of congressionally designated wilderness. They will provide new and outstanding opportunities for solitude and unconfined recreation.

The enclosed draft legislation provides that designation as wilderness shall not constitute a reservation of water or water rights for wilderness purposes. This is consistent with the fact that the Congress did not establish a Federal reserved water right for wilderness purposes. The Administration has

more

(OVER)

established the policy that, where it is necessary to obtain water rights for wilderness purposes in a specific wilderness area, water rights would be sought from the State by filing under State water laws. Furthermore, it is the policy of the Administration that the designation of wilderness areas should not interfere with the use of water rights, State water administration, or the use of a State's interstate water allocation.

The draft legislation also provides for access to wilderness areas by Indian people for traditional cultural and religious purposes. Access by the general public may be limited in order to protect the privacy of religious cultural activities taking place in specific wilderness areas. In addition, to the fullest extent practicable, the Department of the Interior will coordinate with the Department of Defense to minimize the impact of any overflights during these religious cultural activities.

I further concur with the Secretary of the Interior that all or part of 76 of the WSAs encompassing 1,528,525 acres are not suitable for preservation as wilderness.

Also enclosed are a letter and report from the Secretary of the Interior concerning the WSAs discussed above and a section-by-section analysis of the draft legislation. I urge the Congress to act expeditiously and favorably on the proposed legislation so that the natural resources of these WSAs in Oregon may be protected and preserved.

Sincerely,

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

MINORITY ENTERPRISE DEVELOPMENT WEEK, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

Adherence to the principles of independent entrepreneurship and free enterprise has long formed the bedrock of America's economic strength. By guaranteeing the freedom of individuals to engage in private industry and commerce and by permitting them to reap the fruits of their labor, the United States has provided a model of growth and progress for the world. The creative energy and genius of the American people, unfettered by excessive government intervention in the marketplace, have enabled our Nation to achieve unparalleled levels of productivity and strength.

At a time when dramatic changes in the global marketplace are presenting new challenges and opportunities for American business and industry, our Nation's continued economic progress calls for the full participation and support of all citizens, regardless of gender, race, or ethnic background. During this 10th annual observance of Minority Enterprise Development Week, we recognize that our Nation's minority business community, which includes more than 1 million minority entrepreneurs, must be part of the United States strategy to remain a leader in the increasingly competitive world economy.

Minority Americans have long recognized that freedom and equality also require economic opportunity and independence. By making the most of every opportunity and by achieving economic advancement through determination and hard work, minority business men and women have set wonderful examples for others. Such a drive to succeed offers inspiration as we strengthen our Nation's commitment to producing high quality products and services that are competitive in the global marketplace. A similar commitment to excellence underlies America 2000, our national campaign to promote learning and achievement and to ensure that every American has the knowledge and skills that are necessary to lead a full, productive life in an increasingly technological workplace.

The spirit that we celebrate during Minority Enterprise Development Week is the spirit that will lead the United States to even greater heights of prosperity and progress in the next century. It is the spirit of individuals who avail themselves of every opportunity to fulfill the American dream and who help to extend opportunities to others, thereby enriching themselves, their communities, and our country.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and laws of the United States, do hereby proclaim the week of September 27 through October 3, 1992, as Minority Enterprise Development Week. I encourage all Americans

more

(OVER)

to observe this week with appropriate programs and activities in celebration of the achievements of minority business men and women and in recognition of the successful public-private partnerships that are leading to greater educational and economic opportunities for all Americans.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord nineteen hundred and ninety-two, and of the Independence of the United States of America the two hundred and seventeenth.

GEORGE BUSH

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
TO DRUG ADVISORY COUNCIL

The Rose Garden

9:15 A.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Please be seated, and thank you very, very much. I don't know why they get such a distinguished group here so early. I would like the record to show that Jim and I are almost on time. And I saw some nervous looks up at the sky. But here we are in the Rose Garden. and I look around this audience and I am very grateful not just for your being here, but for this wonderful level of participation in the fight against drugs.

Obviously, I remain not only grateful to, but most impressed with, the work that Jim Burke is doing. Bill Moss is with us today; Michael Walsh And then other members of the President's Drug Advisory Council. Alvah Chapman, my heavens, what he's done not only on the national scene, but in the community there in Florida is remarkable. And so many other business and community leaders, I salute you all.

And I would say this: I would like to salute people who have helped achieve the improbable. You ask anyone with a teenager or a grandchild and drugs are no longer cool. And when we presented this bipartisan -- and we want to keep it that way -- bipartisan drug strategy almost three years ago, we put great emphasis on the role of prevention in the private sector. And today, I just want to thank all of you for what you've done to help curb the drug use that declares open season on the innocent.

The administration had hoped to cut the overall drug use by 10 percent. And you all helped surpass that goal. We wanted to slash occasional cocaine use by 15 percent; it went down 22. Three separate studies confirm that adolescence use of cocaine dropped 63 percent from 1988 to 1991. And America -- a lot of America, put it this way, is clearly giving up drugs, and especially the young. And therein lies an awful lot of hope.

This is an important start -- and I emphasize that word, start -- in a difficult fight. Today, according to the National Drug Control Policy, there are still up to 12 million users of illegal drugs. And that's why in November of 1989, we created the President's Drug Advisory Council to further mobilize the private sector in our antidrug strategy. And thus began a great crusade of citizen-formed community coalitions against drugs.

In January, I saw it firsthand when I met with more than 700 coalition leaders attending your National Leadership Forum. And I am told there are more than 900 of these community organizations, with more being formed daily.

I look forward to this October when they will be helped by a new organization growing out of the President's Drug Advisory Council, the Community Antidrug Coalitions of America. Now, this group is going to work with business, with labor, with community leaders to eliminate drugs.

MORE

So will another major initiative of our Council, which I'm pleased to announce today. Eight months ago, I met with the Council's Workplace Committee, and from that has come a program which seeks to make every workplace in America drug-free. And its title, a very simple one: Drugs don't work.

Today the good news is that close to 90 percent of large companies do have antidrug programs. And we know that they do work. The bad news is that we don't have programs where now they are needed the most, in small- and medium-sized businesses. And here you'll find many of the more than two million Americans who use cocaine and the 12 million overall who use drugs, it's for them that you and council members like Frank Tasco and Al Casey and David Clare, George Dillon have teamed to provide freedom from drugs in the marketplace.

And last year I went down to the Tropicana plant, to Tropicana Products in Florida and heard about their employee assistance program. And one day an employee called this program's toll-free line for help in battling addiction and alcoholism. And then, very recently, he wrote the local newspaper saying -- and here's his quote -- "The substance abuse treatment program was a godsend." Well, there's stories like this all over the country.

It's also true of the employee of New England Telephone who sent a thank-you note to Paul O'Brien. The letter described how the company's tough stand forced the woman to confront her alcohol and drug problem. And today she's back at work healthy and productive.

From coast to coast business and labor are working to drive drugs out of the workplace. And let me salute these beginnings and let me also challenge you to build upon them.

Today drugs cost the economy more than \$60 billion annually in lost productivity, health care and other expenses. And this harms the ability of our businesses to succeed and compete. By defeating drugs we will help America win in the global economy. We'll help educate our citizens for a new century and we'll open more opportunity than ever for all Americans preserving one nation under God.

Stopping drug abuse will help put America back to work, instill pride, increase productivity, improve quality, and then again heighten our competitiveness. Stopping drugs will also strengthen the family, reaffirming values like discipline and self-reliance, courtesy and belief in God.

If you ever want to understand the importance of your work do as I did yesterday when I met with the Black Mayors Association, or do what I did a couple of months before that when I met with the mayors from the National League of Cities. They talked about the decline of the American family as the major source of urban decay. And they went on to emphasize the need to win this battle against drugs as the way not just to whip the drug problem, but to reunite and strengthen the American family. They know that drug abuse costs incomes and jobs, hurts the children, destroys marriages. And we've got to end it, and we will.

We must all just pledge renewal that we're going to get this job done. And that's why we have worked with the private sector to expand and improve workplace programs. It's why our antidrug budget for '93, Fiscal '93 is up by 93 percent since I took office.

And today I would urge the Congress, once again, call on the United States Congress to fund this request to spur effective treatment prevention. Above all, I call on the Congress to pass crime legislation now up on the Hill. And I still strongly favor a death penalty for drug kingpins who kill our police officers. And let those who sow the wind of crime reap the whirlwind of punishment.

As business and community leaders, each of you is helping with a crusade. It really is as historic as Normandy and as deadly as Pork Chop Hill, as monumental as the fall of imperial communism. It's a crusade to take drugs off the streets so that Americans can take back the streets. We've got our work cut out for us, but I know that we're going to triumph.

And I am very grateful to all of you for what we've already done. I'm not sure the American -- maybe this is something I can help with -- I'm not sure the American people know that we have had some dramatic successes, thanks to the work of the private sector and dedicated individuals sitting right here. We've got our work cut out for us, but we've done a lot. And with this new initiative, I'm confident that what you'll do in the future will get the job done.

So thank you all very, very much. Thanks for coming. And may God bless our great country. Thank you. (Applause.)

END

9:25 A.M. EDT

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
IN PRESENTATION OF NATIONAL MEDALS OF THE ARTS

The East Room

12:04 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Welcome, everybody. Sorry for holding you up for a few minutes here. Welcome to the White House. May I salute Dr. Radice. And I don't see Lamar. He was to be here -- Lamar Alexander, our Secretary of Education. I think I just left him and he'll be along. Dr. Lynn Cheney, members of the Congress and so many distinguished guests, welcome.

Barbara and I are both delighted to be here, and proud to be part of an America which values arts as well as business or science or politics. President Kennedy expressed so well the importance of this ideal when he said: "Roosevelt and Lincoln understood that the life of the arts is very close to the center of a nation's purpose, and is a test of the quality of a nation's civilization."

Well, we're here to pay tribute to some extraordinary men and women -- men and women of genius and passion who enrich that quality of life in our America. "Made in the USA" has a new meaning today, for almost all these artists were born in small American towns, trained here in their own country, then turned their uniquely American vision to a wide range of artistic fields. Because of their vision, today we celebrate the sheer and priceless pleasure of being American.

For some, being American means being born into a certain regional tradition with the talent to preserve that legacy and carry it to a wider audience. Earl Scruggs brought the fast and furious banjo-pickin' "licks" of his "bluegrass revolution" from Flint Hill, North Carolina to Carnegie Hall. And down the road in Nashville, for over half a century, a sprightly cracker-barrel philosopher named Minnie Pearl has been dispensing down-home wisdom and a whole lot of down-deep laughter. Jazz pianist Billy Taylor's music, including Jazzmobile Outreach, "makes a joyful noise" and gives a special streetwise swing to this most American form of expression.

For some, being American means striving to brand the bold spirit of this land onto work that is universal and timeless. American-born and trained Marilyn Horne not only sings with the passion and precision that embody opera at its grandest, but she also introduced composers such as Handel to audiences here at home. By elevating American choral music to the highest levels of excellence, the sweep of Robert Shaw's work has proclaimed the majesty of God throughout this nation.

For some, being American means reaching from their roots to touch the nation on a larger-than-life canvas. Robert Wise brings the perspective of his Indiana childhood to the crafting of movies of imagination and humanity from The Sound of Music to West Side Story. And with the courage and sheer power of his fierce talent, Mississippi's James Earl Jones has stamped his purely American mark on classical roles and created new characters who explore a man's quest for dignity.

MORE

I might say on a very personal note, when I saw The Hunt for Red October and Patriot Games, I enjoyed his performance as Director of the CIA -- (laughter) -- a role that I played briefly myself. (Laughter.)

For some, being American means flourishing this country's impatient exuberance in the face of dusty tradition. Out of Robert Venturi's genius sprang the post-modern movement of architecture, forever altering the way we see the cities around us. And the writings of Denise Scott Brown, his wife and partner, have stimulated the American awareness of architecture as public art.

For some, being American means passionate stewards of the arts, committed to bringing theater, painting, dance, music and so much more to all kinds of Americans across this country. Millions have been stirred and moved by cultural programming like "Omnibus," part of the video trails blazed by Robert Saudek, now caretaker to television's legacy at the museum of broadcasting.

Two special companies have set the standard in corporate philanthropy. They give hundreds of grants and millions of dollars, but most importantly, they give the example of believing in the importance of arts for America.

The AT&T Foundation supports innovative projects all across the country, ranging from tours by dance companies and ethnic artists to original drama and music composition. The Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund aids American performing, visual and literary artists who have a dream -- and it also cares for the future, generously funding arts education.

And I want to take a moment for a special salute to someone whose work has intrigued me since I first met him here at the White House a couple of years ago. When you talk about being American, nothing can capture the richness and depth of that experience quite like native American art. Not only is it our oldest and proudest tradition, but in native American society art and life are strands of the same cloth. The ancient patterns on blankets and the dances and the colors -- art is an integral and time-honored part of daily life.

And so I'm very honored to salute Allan Houser. His hands transform bronze and stone to capture the true meaning of this country's unbroken spirit. His sculptures eloquently echo this nation's heritage of proud Apache chiefs and speak for the essential humanity of all Americans.

I firmly believe that our number-one goal for the 21st century must be education. The high-tech challenges of this global marketplace we're living in will be absolutely overwhelming. But as we equip our kids with the skills to compete, we also must help them develop as complete human beings. And one way to do this is through the arts. For without knowledge of the beauty and depth of the human spirit, our successes are hollow and our lives lacking.

President John Adams wrote this: "I must study politics that my sons may have liberty to study mathematics and philosophy in order to give their children a right to study painting, poetry, and music." That is why we celebrate these men and women today.

Congratulations to all. Thank you for your contributions to the great tapestry that is American art. And now I'd like to ask Dr. Radice to assist me in presenting these medals, if you would.

(The Medals are presented.)

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

The President today awarded the National Medal of Arts to the following individuals. The texts of the accompanying citations read as follows:

Marilyn Horne

"For the genius of a brilliant career which has shaped this country's view of music. American-born and -trained, she embodies opera at its grandest, bringing composers such as Rossini and Handel to audiences throughout the world."

Allan Houser

"For the eloquence of sculpture that echoes the heritage of proud Chiricahua Apaches and speaks for all Americans. His hands have captured the true meaning of this country's unbroken spirit, and his vision has enriched this land."

James Earl Jones

"For the richness of a distinguished career capturing the power of dreams. With fierce integrity he brings to life roles that explore man's quest for dignity and purpose, encouraging his audience also to look deep within themselves."

Minnie Pearl

"For the sheer American vitality of her exuberant wit and wisdom. Aided by Sarah Cannon, for a half century this irrepressible national treasure has radiated her delight in being alive, being American, and being country."

Robert Saudek

"For his pioneering work in cultural programming through shows like "Omnibus," which brought arts of quality to all Americans and for his passionate stewardship of television's legacy through the Museum of Broadcasting."

Earl E. Scruggs

"For bringing joy to the American people by launching the "bluegrass revolution." The path of this country-picking banjo virtuoso has led from Nashville to Carnegie Hall, a fast and furious "Foggy Mountain Breakdown" journey."

Robert Shaw

"For his vision of choral musical excellence which enriches this Nation. He set new standards of performance and beauty, always guided by his deep sense of religious devotion and strong commitment to the music and its people."

more

(OVER)

Billy Taylor

"For his world-class jazz artistry, which so many have experienced both live and through radio and television; his frequent service as an ambassador for American arts abroad; and his tireless advocacy of richer cultural opportunities for every American."

Robert Venturi

"For his unique declaration of independence that created Post-Modernism and for the breadth of originality of his theories and work that weave clarity and contradiction, led a generation of architects, and profoundly shape our architectural landscape."

Denise Scott Brown

"For her insights into urban planning which have shaped our understanding of the built landscape and her commitment to the teaching of architecture and design, which have helped American architects and designers to transcend the limits of modernism."

Robert Wise

"For the richness of a lifetime devoted to cinematic excellence, touching the imagination and hearts of Americans with motion pictures like "The Sound of Music" and "I Want to Live," broadening our understanding of the world through entertainment."

AT & T Foundation

"For trailblazing the path of corporate sponsorship for the arts through its support for innovative projects across this Nation, ranging from tours by dance companies and ethnic artists to original drama and music composition."

Lila Wallace-Reader's Digest Fund

"For their commitment to enhancing culture across this land by aiding American performing, visual, and literary artists who have a dream and for their vision for the future, symbolized by generously funding arts education."

#

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

July 22, 1992

EXECUTIVE ORDER

- - - - -

DECLASSIFICATION AND RELEASE OF MATERIALS
PERTAINING TO PRISONERS OF WAR AND MISSING IN ACTION

WHEREAS, the Senate, by S. Res. 324 of July 2, 1992, has asked that I "expeditiously issue an Executive order requiring all executive branch departments and agencies to declassify and publicly release without compromising United States national security all documents, files, and other materials pertaining to POWs and MIAs;" and

WHEREAS, indiscriminate release of classified material could jeopardize continuing United States Government efforts to achieve the fullest possible accounting of Vietnam-era POWs and MIAs; and

WHEREAS, I have concluded that the public interest would be served by the declassification and public release of materials pertaining to Vietnam-era POWs and MIAs as provided below;

NOW, THEREFORE, by the authority vested in me as President by the Constitution and the laws of the United States of America, I hereby order as follows:

Section 1. All executive departments and agencies shall expeditiously review all documents, files, and other materials pertaining to American POWs and MIAs lost in Southeast Asia for the purposes of declassification in accordance with the standards and procedures of Executive Order No. 12356.

Sec. 2. All executive departments and agencies shall make publicly available documents, files, and other materials declassified pursuant to section 1, except for those the disclosure of which would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy of returnees, family members of POWs and MIAs, or other persons, or would impair the deliberative processes of the executive branch.

Sec. 3. This order is not intended to create any right or benefit, substantive or procedural, enforceable by a party against the United States, its agencies or instrumentalities, its officers or employees, or any other person.

GEORGE BUSH

THE WHITE HOUSE,
July 22, 1992.

#

daily 7/22
7/20/92 - Ron has
talked with LeBoutillier
Ron is working with
Brent on devising a
good way to use John
on the subject, NSC
last grave reservation

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page



WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

July 13, 1992

Dear John:

My dear friend, Roger Ailes, has told me how much you want to help us. There are no hard feelings on this end.

I have asked Ron Kaufman to recontact you to see where we can work together on the important question of POWS.

I do appreciate your offer of assistance. Am heading West in a few hours.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "George Bush", is written below the word "Sincerely,".



John LeBoutillier
POST OFFICE BOX 230
OLD WESTBURY, NEW YORK 11568
TEL.# (516) 626-0831

July 18, 1992

Dear Mr. President,

Many, many thanks for your very kind note.

I do want to help you and your Administration on the POW issue. I will listen to Ron Kaufman.

I talk often with Roger Ailes. He is a great guy and a great friend of your's. He only wants what is best for you.

Hang in there. And thank you again for taking time to write me such a gracious note.

Sincerely,



John LeBoutillier



John LeBoutillier

POST OFFICE BOX 230
OLD WESTBURY, NEW YORK 11568
TEL.# (516) 626-0831

July 18, 1992

MEMO

TO: PATTY PRESOCK

FR: JOHN LEBOUTILLIER

PATTY, ROGER AILES RECOMMENDED THAT I SEND THIS NOTE FOR
THE PRESIDENT DIRECTLY TO YOU.

THIS IS A REPLY TO THE ATTACHED NOTE FROM THE PRESIDENT
TO ME LAST WEEK.

THANK YOU FOR GIVING THIS TO THE PRESIDENT.

SINCERELY,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "John LeBoutillier", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

JOHN LEBOUTILLIER

FEDERAL
EXPRESS

QUESTIONS? CALL 800-238-5355 TOLL FREE.

AIRBILL NUMBER

3195573791

70578N

DATE

7/18/92



Sender's Federal Express Account Number

AIRBILL NUMBER

1264-9130-1

3195573791

From (Your Name)

Your Phone Number (Very Important)

John LeBoutillier

316 6260831

To (Recipient's Name)

Recipient's Phone Number (Very Important)

Patty Presock

202 4561414

Company

Department/Floor No.

Company

Department/Floor No.

ACCOUNT FOR POW-MIA INC

The White House

Street Address

Exact Street Address (Use of P.O. Boxes or P.O. Zip Codes Will Delay Delivery And Result In Extra Charge.)

280 WHEATLEY RD

1600 Penn. Ave.

City

State

ZIP Required For Correct Invoicing

City

State

ZIP Street Address Zip Required

OLD WESTBURY

NY

1 1 5 6 8

Washington

DC

20500

YOUR BILLING REFERENCE INFORMATION (FIRST 24 CHARACTERS WILL APPEAR ON INVOICE.)

On A 1300

PAYMENT ☒ Sender ☐ Bill Recipient's FedEx Acct. No. ☐ Bill 3rd Party FedEx Acct. No. ☐ Bill Credit Card

H

HOLD FOR PICK-UP AT THIS FEDERAL EXPRESS LOCATION:

Street Address (See Service Guide or Call 800-238-5355)

Federal Express Use

Base Charges

Declared Value Charge

Origin Agent Charge

CHECK ONLY ON BOX

DELIVERY AND SPECIAL HANDLING
CHECK SERVICES REQUIRED

PACKAGES

WEIGHT

YOUR DECLARED
VALUEOFFER
RATE1 ☒ PRIORITY 1 ☒ OVERNIGHT DELIVERY2 ☐ OVERNIGHT DELIVERY ☐ USING OUR PACKAGING3 ☐ Counter-Pak Overnight Envelope* 12" x 15"4 ☐ Overnight Box 12 1/2" x 17 1/2" x 3"5 ☐ Overnight Tube 38" x 6" x 6"6 ☐ *Declared Value Limit \$1007 ☐ STANDARD AIR8 ☐ Delivery not later than second business day9 ☐ SERVICE COMMITMENT10 ☐ PRIORITY 1 - Delivery is scheduled early next business morning at most locations. It may take two or more business days if the destination is outside our primary service area.

STANDARD AIR - Delivery is generally next business day or not later than second business day. It may take three or more business days if the destination is outside our primary service area.

11 ☐ DELIVER WEEKDAY12 ☐ DELIVER SATURDAY (Extra charge)13 ☐ DANGEROUS GOODS (3-1/2" and Standard Air Packages only. Extra charge)14 ☐ CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE SERVICE (CSS) (Extra charge) (Do not Complete Section 5)15 ☐ DRY ICE (Extra charge)16 ☐ OTHER SPECIAL SERVICE17 ☐ ADDRESS CORRECTION18 ☐ SATURDAY PICK-UP (Extra charge)1 ☐ HOLD FOR PICK-UP (File in Section 11 at sight)2 ☒ DELIVER WEEKDAY3 ☐ DELIVER SATURDAY (Extra charge)4 ☐ DANGEROUS GOODS (3-1/2" and Standard Air Packages only. Extra charge)5 ☐ CONSTANT SURVEILLANCE SERVICE (CSS) (Extra charge) (Do not Complete Section 5)6 ☐ DRY ICE (Extra charge)7 ☐ OTHER SPECIAL SERVICE8 ☐ ADDRESS CORRECTION9 ☐ SATURDAY PICK-UP (Extra charge)10 ☐

LBS

LBS

LBS

LBS

Total

Total

Total

Received At:

1 ☐ Regular Stop2 ☐ On-Call Stop3 ☐ Drop Box4 ☐ B.S.C.5 ☒ Station

Federal Express Corp. Employee No.

Date/Time For Federal Express Use

ZIP * Zip Code of Street Address Required

Emp. No.

Date

☐ Cash Received☐ Return Shipment☐ Third Party☐ Chg. To Del.☐ Chg. To Recd.

Street Address

City

State

Zip

Received By:

X

Date/Time Received

FedEx Employee Number

Other

Total Charges

PART

#105001

REVISION DATE

10/88

PRINTED U.S.A. WCSE

DESTINATION COPY

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

Rose

Did I write John
Leboutlier. I think
I asked Ron
Kaufman to contact
him.

Advise please

yes

Wednesday
July 22, 1992

PHONE CALL FROM DON JOHNSON AND MELANIE GRIFFITH

In town July 29th - until August 10th. Filming
"BORN YESTERDAY" remake -- of an old movie. Both are starring in movie.
Staying at Willard Hotel.

Don has some free time when they arrive and would love to play golf with you or Marvin.

All their kids are coming with them..... Jessie (9 years old) and Alexander (7 years old), and Dakota (2 years old).

I told them I knew you and the First Lady would be pleased with this information and that I would get back to them.

contact:

Annie Casper
310-275-3565

Patty Presock

cc: Mrs. Bush
Rose Zamaria

4
Mr. President - FYI

SPR,

SPke Heminway will RON at WH Tuesday, 8/4/94
prior to his departure fro Barcelona
for Olympics.

BPB is aware, asis Rose.

Peg.

7/22/92

State will notify us with his arrival/departure

cc: Ushers.
Scheduling
Social
Rose ✓

☑ Put on Block

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. Edward L. Gaylord
1506 Dorchester Drive
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73120



THE PRESIDENT

July 22 '92

Dear Ed & Thelma

We're so sorry about
your grandson.

I wrote the Everests
but I wanted you to know
we're thinking of you, too. My respects
Ly

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria ✓
(1 cc)
Jan Burmeister
(for PRIV)

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Mr. and Mrs. James H. Everest
6608 North Pennsylvania
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma 73116



THE PRESIDENT

7-22-92

Dear Tim & Christy,

I just want you to
know that Barbara and I are
thinking of you. It must
hurt an awful lot. Our most
sincere condolences go to you

both. I'm sure your
wonderful family and your
faith will help a lot.

Sincerely,

Ly B

CC: (in & out)
Rose Zamaria
(1 cc)
Jan Burmeister
(for PRIV)

2700 Liberty Tower OKC TEL: (405) 239-7337 FAX: (405) 239-7337
JUL 22 1992

WILLIAM C. LIEDTKE, III
2700 LIBERTY TOWER
100 NORTH BROADWAY
OKLAHOMA CITY, OK 73102
(405) 239-7333
FAX (405) 239-7337

July 22, 1992

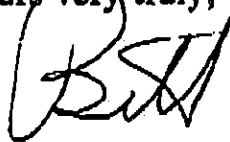
Ms. Patty Presock
Office of the President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Patty:

✓ Attached is a Fax on the passing yesterday of Jimmy Everest, the grandson of Ed and Thelma Gaylord of Oklahoma City. I know that the Gaylord's have stayed with the Bushes at Camp David here recently and have usually been at the head table when either President or Mrs. Bush have been in Oklahoma City. The President has also met Jim and Christy Everest, Jimmy's parents. Jimmy has had cancer for over a year. Ed and Thelma Gaylord's address is Edward L. Gaylord, 1506 Dorchester Drive, Oklahoma City, OK 73120. Jim and Christy Everest's address is Mr. and Mrs. James H. Everest, 6608 N. Pennsylvania, Oklahoma City, OK 73116.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to call.

Yours very truly,



William C. Liedtke, III

WCL/ma

Enclosure



EVEREST

James Christopher, age 17, died July 21, 1972. He was known as "Jimmy" to the many family members and friends whose lives he touched since his birth on May 5, 1973, to Jim and Christy Everest. Jimmy started kindergarten a few years later at Casady School and completed the 10th grade last spring. During those school years, he became known as a friend to all, amusing fellow students and teachers alike with a sense of humor that always made them laugh. At Casady, he was a member of the Community Club, the French Club and the Music Club. He also enjoyed athletics immensely, whether as a participant or as a fan. He was a member of Casady's freshman football and basketball teams. His church home was All Souls Episcopal Church. His two sisters are Tricia, a student at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, and Mary, who will be a senior this fall at Casady. Other special people in his life are his grandparents, Joan L. and Janell Everest and Edward L. and Thelma Gaylord, all of Oklahoma City. His great-aunt is Edith Gaylord Harper, of Oklahoma City. His great-uncle is Jim Law, of Oklahoma City. Also in Jimmy's family were other aunts and uncles, including Chlo and Gayle Everest, of The Woodlands, Texas; Pete and Shirley Everest, of Oklahoma City; E.K. and Natalie Gaylord, of Guthrie; Mary Gaylord, of Simpsonville, Ky.; and Clay and Louise Bannell, of Oklahoma City. Jimmy also has seven cousins. Funeral services will be at noon Thursday at All Souls Episcopal Church, under the direction of Hahn-Cook-Street & Draper Funeral Home. Burial will be in Rose Hill Cemetery. Memorials may be made to the Jimmy Everest Fund for Children's Cancer Center of Oklahoma, in care of the Oklahoma Medical Center Foundation, Inc., P.O. Box 20576, Oklahoma City, OK 73156. Jimmy valued the time he shared with his friends and family. The friendships and memories he created will be everlasting.

FAX COVER SHEET

WILLIAM C. LIEDTKE, III
2700 LIBERTY TOWER
100 N. BROADWAY
OKLAHOMA CITY, OK 73102
(405) 239-7333
FAX (405) 239-7337

NAME:

Patty Presock

COMPANY:

The White House

FAX#:

(202) 456-2397TOTAL NUMBER OF PAGES: 3 (including cover sheet)

GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

July 22, 1992

Dear Bob,

Thanks for your wonderful note about the 20/20 interview with Barbara Walters. I thought it went well, but I can't take all the credit. Barbara did her usual fantastic job.

It's nice when friends check in with encouragement. It's also good to hear that the Party will be pulling together in Lubbock.

Barbara and I are grateful for the friendship and support from both you and Marion.

Sincerely,



GEORGE BUSH
WASHINGTON

COPY
from ORM

Mr. Robert W. Blake
Post Office Box 2584
Lubbock, Texas 79408

920723

Robert W. Blake 92 JUL -7 PM 12:52
7 - 1 - 92

Dear Mr President,

You & Ben were very good last Fri Nite.
On 20/20 with Barbara Walters. Everything
was quite positive.

Watching Ross Perot on Peter Jennings' Town
Hall Meeting Monday nite, to me was an evening
of despair for Peter Jennings. He could not
pin Perot down on any subject or find out
how Perot would solve even one problem.

The Polls are Crazy at the moment.
(over)

as many, many voters are switching around.

I just had lunch with the Lubbock County
Republican Chairman & the ~~last~~ head of the
"Far Right" here in Lubbock. We all agreed
that we all need to work together to win
in November. This we will do.

Best regards & love to all of the
Family.

Sincerely,

P.S. Please exercise a lot
& stay in good health.

Bob

=====

DRAFT-Pers. Corres.

=====

INITIALS: SMG / dmt / *sg*

DOCUMENT TITLE: /pc/draft/blake.rr

DRAFT DATE / LETTER DATE: Jul 09 1992 /

CORRESPONDENCE #: 772302

CLEAR WITH:

WHCC:

CC:

CORRESPONDENCE ADDRESSED TO:

Mr. Robert W. Blake
Post Office Box 2584
Lubbock, Texas 79408

ENCLOSURES AND SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS:
GBSig, Notecard.

TO IL-PORT B-Q card

=====

Dear Bob,

Thanks for your wonderful note about the 20/20 interview with Barbara Walters.

I thought it went well, but I can't take all the credit. ^{*her usual*} Barbara did ~~a~~ fantastic job. ~~too~~.

Lots of Perot activity-- but I'm feeling good. Because these are tough time,
it's nice when friends check in with encouragement. ~~We will win and will look~~
~~back on this with amazement.~~ *It's also good to hear that ~~the~~ the*
Party in Lubbock will be pulling
together in Lubbock.

Barbara and I are grateful for the friendship and support from both you and
Marion.

Sincerely,

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Memo	Rose Zamaria to President Bush, Re: Visit of Tom Luce; Personal Identifiable Information redacted. (1 pp.)	07/22/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Wednesday, July 22, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 11/15/2024	OA/ID Number: 90699-002
FOIA/SYS Case #: 2009-0166-S	Appeal Case #:
Re-review Case #:	Appeal Disposition:
P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

RESTRICTION CODES

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

P-1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
P-2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
P-3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
P-4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
P-5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Removed as a personal record misfile.

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

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

7/22/92

Mr. President:

✓ Kathy Super has talked with Advance -- they will see about getting you back to the White House around 5 P. M. Monday night, the 27th. You can then meet with RP around 6 or 6:30 if that's what you had in mind.

2) George, Jr. called and asked me to call Tom Luce's office and let them know details on Luce coming to spend the night on the 28th. GEORGE, JR., WILL ALSO BE HERE TO SPEND THE NIGHT.

(b)(6)

(Allie) 214 716-6504 (Luce assistant)



Shenston Carl
#1284
#111
#1284
#111
#1:10 PM
28th

D.B.
Jim Brunker & wife
57 on
sent
to K/B

(11/52)

Hickler
7/22
daily

From the desk of
George Bush

7/22/92

Closed out in
Darmen Mtg w/GB.
No further action
required %

Dick
How meet ^a control
growth of mandatory
Is our econ performance
to worst? etc etc

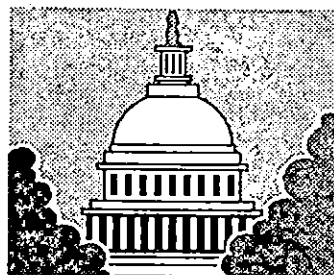
A shift of mood favours Clinton

Before his ennoblement, Mr Nigel Lawson, the former British chancellor, once explained the success of Thatcherism by referring to the tides of history. The Conservatives, he implied, had been borne aloft in the 1980s as much by powerful intellectual currents as by their own efforts. As the Democratic National Convention opens in New York, I wonder whether Governor Bill Clinton and Senator Al Gore may not benefit similarly from tidal forces of unsuspected power.

The rise of Thatcherism coincided with a global shift towards free markets. This movement continues, but, in the US, the Democrats may benefit from a powerful cross-current. Many now believe that market forces must be supplemented by more effective social and environmental policies. The Clinton/Gore ticket neatly mirrors these anxieties: Mr Clinton has expertise in education, welfare policy and health care; Mr Gore is one of the US's leading environmentalists. Together these baby-boomers can speak with authority on the critical issues of the day.

After three years of economic stagnation, economics was bound to play a decisive role in this year's election. But fresh signs that the fragile recovery is again flagging have raised the stakes. The candidate with the most convincing plan for restoring prosperity is certain to have a powerful advantage. Mr Clinton – unlike President George Bush or Mr Ross Perot, the likely independent challenger – has a bold and potentially enormously appealing economic message for the American people, if only he can articulate it properly. It goes under the rubric of "people economics".

A coterie of close advisers has convinced Mr Clinton that efforts to improve the education and skills of the workforce hold the key to American competitiveness in the next century. The argument – long familiar in Britain – was well



MICHAEL PROWSE
on America

put by Mr Robert Reich of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government in *The Work of Nations* (Knopf 1991). Mr Reich, a fellow Rhodes scholar at Oxford with Mr Clinton, argued that capital mobility and global competition rendered traditional Democratic approaches to the economy obsolete.

Rather than focusing on measures to aid industry or promote physical investment, the US had to raise the skills and productivity of the American people – the least mobile factor of production – thus raising their wages regardless of the nationality of their employers.

Now listen to Mr Clinton outlining his "putting people first" economic strategy last month. "In the emerging global economy, everything is mobile: capital, factories, even entire industries. The only resource that's really rooted in a nation – and the ultimate source of all its wealth – is its people. The only way America can compete and win in the 21st century is to have the best educated, best trained workforce in the world..."

In proposing ways of improving workforce skills, Mr Clinton has moved well beyond the usual focus on the failings of high schools. He wants to:

- make employers invest in the training of all employees (rather than just top executives) by imposing a training levy equivalent to 1.5 per cent of payroll;
- improve access to university by allowing all qualified students to borrow from the government and repay either through a low tax on subse-

quent earnings or by serving the community for a limited period – for example as police officers or teachers;

- offer new hope for the majority of Americans who do not graduate from college by setting up a national apprenticeship programme loosely based on continental European practice.

In America, such proposals are little short of revolutionary. The argument that investing in people – all the people – will secure greater economic prosperity has a good chance of resonating with the general public. Opinion polls show that voters are confused and dismayed by the stagnation of wages since the 1970s. Mr Clinton can offer both an explanation of what went wrong and a cure that sounds plausible.

By contrast, the other candidates offer shopworn economic recipes. Mr Perot is respected for his own entrepreneurial success. But on economic policy he has advanced a succession of clichés. He talks of eliminating the \$350bn budget deficit "without breaking a sweat", yet his only concrete proposal is to cut waste, fraud and abuse. He has criticised the free-trade pact being negotiated with Mexico on the grounds that US employers cannot compete with Mexican wages. Yet simply restricting US access to cheap labour will do nothing to improve US productivity.

Mr Bush is even less inspiring. Under his stewardship, the economy has grown more slowly than at any time since the 1930s. He has lost the confidence of conservative suppliers by acquiescing in minor tax increases and by allowing real federal domestic spending to rise at an annual rate of nearly 9 per cent during his presidency. Yet he has developed no strategy for channeling spending into productive investments, such as those proposed by the Democrats. If Mr Clinton can lay to rest doubts about his character and cogently articulate his vision of "people first" economics, he has every chance of winning in November.

How do we repay



THE PRESIDENT

July 22, 1992

To: Connie Horner

Re: J>J> (Jake) Simmons- now on IFC

Please invite Jake Simmons, a Democrat over to see you.

When (if) there is a vacancy he would like to be considered for a post at energy or Interior. I believe he was once Number 2 at Interior.

He is an oil man from Oklahoma. He is a supporter and friend.

Let me know when you have had a chance to see him.

GB *07*

1-22-92

And They Call This a Model School

By BARBARA BRONSON GRAY

It's sitting on my desk, this colorful cardboard crown that looks like the kind of craft a child would make in a summer park program.

But it represents two hours of public school effort by a third-grade student, my son. It shows why California schools are failing our students.

This was a project designed to unite third-graders and kindergartners in a weekly buddy program, a concept born from the hottest education fad since the new math, restructuring. The goal this week was to make thinking caps. Despite the buddy system, the kids worked independently, third-graders alongside the kindergartners, gluing these simple paper structures.

After the kindergartners left and lunch recess was over, the second hour — for these suburban third-graders — was spent voting on the thinking caps. Which is tallest? Biggest? Springiest? The students looked over all the caps and then, with their heads down, voted. The effort wasn't even turned into a how-to-measure math exercise. It was looking. And voting.

This sort of activity isn't an anomaly. A few weeks ago this same group of third-graders spent most of their school day picking up trash in a nearby creek, an Earth Day project. This suburban school is a place where 110 kindergartners spent May Day having a teddy bear picnic — during school — playing on the swings and watching parents cook hot dogs and dole out carrot sticks and chips. Two classes at this school in the past two years took field trips to Universal Studios. This is in a school district that offers the children fewer than 170 full days of school a year.

What's sad is that these kids are well-prepared for academic challenge. A majority of students have had the benefit of two to three years of pre-school, and most of the families in our community include two parents. This is a place in which the average family's income approaches \$70,000 and most of the parents have college degrees. This is a place where Cub Scouts and Brownies and soccer and baseball and karate and all kinds of after-school activities are widely available. So it's not that these kids are starved for fun or joy.

Sometimes the work the children bring home looks more like school than did the paper thinking cap. But it's often not corrected, with spelling and grammar er-

rors un-noted, even on worksheets and written exercises. Some of the teachers say that correcting children's written work inhibits the writing process and lowers their self-esteem. The principal told me that sometimes there's just too much work for the teachers to correct it all. As for grammar, all I know is that at Open House the examples on the bulletin boards looked like the first drafts my teachers used to ask me to redo.

Remember book reports? You not only had to remember what you read, but learn to summarize and analyze and get it down on paper. Not any more. At this school, the kids make mobiles and dioramas to illustrate the book's concept.

As for writing, most of what is taught is creative writing, journal writing, free expression. Learn the structure of a paragraph? How to research a topic? How to argue a point? No, that's old-fashioned. Boring. We'll teach that — someday, in context — the educators say.

Even lessons about money are distorted here. Despite the fact that these bright, four-year-old classrooms lack basics like dictionaries and encyclopedias, the principal encouraged the student council — made up of first- to fifth-graders — to have a change drive for rare cycads for the school's small planters. Cycads are expensive. And tender. The school's previous batch froze last year. But the children raised about \$1,000, and it will all be spent on this arcane greenery. As my son said, "Why not buy inexpensive impatiens? Or ferns?"

To encourage reading and to make even more money for the school, the students were challenged with a readathon to collectively read a million minutes — of anything — in a month. They fell short, and so the children never got to see their principal in tights, dressed up like William Shakespeare (who?) for the day.

The new restructuring fad has hit, funded by state grants looking for solutions to our education woes. Now we hear the teacher will no longer be the instructional leader of the classroom but, rather, a coach, to assist the team players — our children — to teach themselves. We hear we need to cut the number of school days even more, to give the teachers extra time to plan and talk together. And with the integrated curriculum — the hip word is now "framework" — we'll only read literature that relates to social studies, because

it all has to fit.

And this is considered a model, one of 35 California schools nominated for Secretary Lamar Alexander's Blue Ribbon Schools Award, a nearly \$1 million federal program designed to reward excellence.

The problem in these schools has little to do with money — either family money or state money — and a lot to do with our philosophy of education and our understanding of what it takes to be prepared to function in the 21st century. It's about complacency, and maybe about anti-intellectualism, and more subtly, the idea that if you're not poor, you're destined to rule, even without the rudiments of education.

Ms. Bronson Gray is an Oak Park, Calif., writer and a part-time lecturer at the School of Nursing at UCLA. Her two children will be attending private school in the fall.

7.22.92

A Last Resort In College Aid: The Kindness Of Strangers

By ANTHONY DePALMA

It was another turn-down day at the Andriekus home outside Lansing, Mich. In the mail was a bill for \$9,999, one semester's tuition and housing at the University of Pennsylvania, where 16-year-old Amy E. Andriekus had been, to her unanticipated delight, accepted.

Also in the mail the same day last week was a standard rejection letter from former President Ronald Reagan, one of more than 800 people to whom Miss Andriekus has written to ask for contributions after Penn told her that the only financial aid she will get is a \$2,500 loan.

Although soliciting donations was an unusual response to her financial emergency, Miss Andriekus is a good example of the middle-class squeeze that so infuriates families today.

Her father, Paul, is an assembly line electrician at General Motors. Her mother, Martha, is a paraprofessional in the local schools. Their total annual income last year was \$58,892 and her brother, Kenny, will also start college in the fall, at Lansing Community College.

"We never thought of ourselves as rich," said Miss Andriekus, who graduated from Waverly High School with a grade point average of 3.99 out of a possible 4.0. She said her family cannot afford to pay more than \$20,000 a year to put her through the Wharton School at Penn. Penn essentially disagreed. The differing views reflect a common clash that is also a continuing source of middle-class anger.

More Aid Than Ever

Penn and other expensive universities offer more financial aid than ever, but it goes to the most disadvantaged students. Amy and her parents are willing to pay a big part of the cost of a college degree, but they do not believe they should have to deplete their life savings to do so.

The situation is complicated by the fact that Amy has other choices. She has been accepted at the University of Michigan, which costs less than \$10,000 a year, and has been offered a \$6,500-a-year scholarship at Alma College in Alma, Mich., where the total annual cost is about \$16,000.

She said she is determined to go to Wharton because it is the best place to study economics, no matter the cost. Using her mother's computer, she typed out a spunky letter describing her thrill at being accepted and her disappointment about the financial obstacles.

'Beginning of a Journey'

"In the course of human events," she wrote, "unself-consciously borrowing a phrase, 'there always seems to be thrown in the path of those who endeavor to make their life eventful, rewarding, and meaningful for the betterment of others, that one rock, which blocks their way. I have hit that rock.'"

She spent the first weeks of her summer vacation writing to 800 com-



Robert Killips for The New York Times

To the dispensers of college financial aid, Amy Andriekus is from a well-off family, so the 16-year-old is writing 1,000 people asking for contributions so she can afford tuition. She has accumulated a pile of rejection letters, including one from former President Ronald Reagan.

pany executives from the Fortune 500, former United States Presidents, newspaper and magazine editors and anybody else who could give her the money to pay for her education. She plans to send a total of 1,000 letters.

So far, 85 have come back with polite rejections. The only positive response came from Harper's Magazine, which plans to publish an edited version of her letter in its September issue, and pay her a \$75 fee.

She has until Aug. 6 to pay her first semester bill if she is to attend Penn in September.

Miss Andriekus said she feels betrayed by Penn. When she visited last November, an official told her that if she got accepted Penn would make sure she could afford to be there. The problem for the Andriekus family and many others of middle income is defining what affordable means.

"What usually happens is not an income problem," said William M. Schilling, director of student financial aid at Penn. "It is a problem of family expectations."

Mrs. Andriekus said she and her husband had saved for their children's education, often spending vacations at home and doing without fancy clothes.

Last year, when interest rates dropped, they put most of the money into stocks. Along with savings, this produces about \$11,000 a year in interest and dividends.

Mr. Schilling cannot discuss an individual student's finances, but he said that universities consider stock holdings to be at least partially available for education, even if they must be sold at a loss.

Mrs. Andriekus also said that her

husband considers it his moral obligation to provide the same help to each of his children, even though Amy's bills at Penn would exceed \$20,000 a year and Kenny's bills at Lansing Community College will be just over \$5,000.

The Andriekuses are giving each child \$10,000 a year. But under the formula used by Penn and other universities, the family contribution for Kenny would be the cost of his education; the rest would go to Amy.

Father Strives to Be Fair

"My father wouldn't do that," Miss Andriekus said. "It's not fair." She said Kenny will put the unused portion of his money toward completing his last two years at a four-year college.

Mr. Schilling said that universities cannot be swayed by a family's values. "Families make a lot of choices, and we can't necessarily consider all those choices in what we're doing," he said.

Miss Andriekus has tried everything she could think of. General Motors has scholarships for minority students but not for her. Her father was born in Lithuania, but Lithuanian aid societies said she was not Lithuanian enough: her grandfather was born in the United States.

Mrs. Andriekus has even considered writing to Japanese automobile companies and offering to let them put Amy in a commercial saying the Japanese helped her when General Motors would not.

"My kids mean more to me than supporting my husband's employer," she said. "If they can't help me and a foreign company can, well, hey. You know?"

7-22-92

U.S. Students Rank Fourth In Chemistry Competition

By MALCOLM W. BROWNE

Four American high school students learned yesterday that they had earned the United States a respectable fourth-place ranking in the Chemistry Olympiad, an international competition that this year pitted top students from 34 nations against each other.

The competition, conducted in 20 languages in Pittsburgh and Washington from July 13 to 17, subjected participants to a grueling five-hour written examination and a five-hour test of practical laboratory techniques. The United States, which won one gold medal, two silver medals and a bronze, placed behind China, the top team, Hungary and Poland.

Organizers of the competition, which began in Eastern Europe in 1968 and this year was held in the United States for the first time, regard it as an opportunity to accord good students some of the prestige usually reserved for athletes.

In last year's Olympiad, held in Lodz, Poland, the American team placed fifth behind China, Romania, Hungary and Poland.

Nobel Laureate Speaks

In the Washington ceremony at which the awards were announced yesterday, Dr. William Nunn Lipscomb of Harvard University, winner of the 1976 Nobel Prize in chemistry, told participants that everyone was a winner.

"The Chemistry Olympiad is a very useful and important competition, not least because it brings together bright chemistry stu-

dents from all over the world to exchange ideas," he said in an interview after the ceremony.

At the same time, Dr. Lipscomb said, the kind of examination used in the Olympiad does not test scientific creativity, and it is possible that lower-scoring contestants may achieve great things in chemistry later in life.

American Disadvantage

Coaches of the four-person American team this year, as in past years, said American high school students are at a disadvantage in competing with their peers from many European countries because they do not receive intensive training in organic chemistry — the chemistry of carbon-based molecules. Instead, American chemical education at the high school level stresses theoretical and inorganic chemistry.

The top-scoring American in this year's Olympiad was Swain Chen from O'Fallon Township High School, in O'Fallon, Ill., who was awarded a gold medal and placed 15th among 136 competitors. Silver medals went to Logan McCarty of Amherst Central High School in Amherst, N.Y., and Jeff Chuang of Bellaire High School in Houston. A bronze medal was awarded to Chris Herzog of Highland Park High School in Highland Park, N.J.

The highest-scoring 10 percent were awarded gold medals, the next 10 percent silver, and the next 10 percent bronze.

For Inner-City Students, a Program Offers a Taste of Private-School Life

By WILLIAM CELIS 3d

Picture a private school setting, with all of the educational extras such schools can afford. Open the campus for a summer school that aims to help inner-city adolescents. Then recruit as instructors bright high school and college students considering teaching careers.

Give the students, all of whom are in middle school, rigorous instruction in math, science, history and language, combined with electives in the arts and sports. Offer hugs and support, then listen to the students who are accepted to the tuition-free, six-week program called Summerbridge.

"I wish there were public schools like this," said Manuel Billups, an 11-year-old who is enrolled in the Summerbridge program at Riverdale Country School in the Bronx and who will be a seventh grader at Intermediate School 164 in Harlem in the fall. "You have to go to a private school to get all of this, and even then privates don't offer all of this."

As educators and policymakers continue their search for ways to help students from the inner city, Summerbridge demonstrates what can be done with hard work and a spending level that corporate sponsors and other contributors call cost-effective. As a result, it has been copied in nine cities since 1990.

Two Summers of Work

Founded in 1978 by Lois Anderson Loofbourrow, a former public school teacher in San Francisco, the program seeks to lift students both academically and personally. For two summers, youngsters have class in the morning and pursue elective subjects and sports in the afternoon. In the intervening school year they receive tutoring.

Summerbridge says the approach has paid off: 92 percent of the 700 students who have gone through the San Francisco program since 1978 have enrolled in top-tier private college-preparatory high schools, most on scholarships, or won admission into competitive public high schools. Some graduates are now attending Ivy League universities or highly selective public institutions.

And it is a double success, in that 64 percent of the high school and college students who have taught in the program have gone on to pursue careers in education.

For 12 years San Francisco had the only such program, but since 1990

others like it have been established in New York; Miami; Louisville, Ky.; Providence, R.I.; Manchester, N.H.; Ross, Calif.; Cambridge, Mass.; New Orleans and Hong Kong. Six more are scheduled to open next summer in New Haven; Cincinnati; El Paso; Bethlehem, Pa.; Kansas City, Mo., and Portland, Ore.

The program's cost — about \$1,000 per student — is borne by the host private schools, which donate their campuses and supplies, and by the InterPacific Group, a San Francisco company, as well as other corporations and foundations. Salaries for teachers are \$500 for high school students and \$750 for college students, and some college students are given extra money in the form of financial aid.

Since 1988, InterPacific, which manages and owns resorts and other businesses, has contributed \$600,000

Summers of small classes and innovative teaching.

to \$750,000 to Summerbridge in San Francisco, said Charles Frankel, the company's director of community support. The company has also given \$25,000 grants to start programs in the other cities.

Class Consciousness

But the program's use of affluent private schools instead of public schools has raised concerns among some of Summerbridge's teachers.

"I don't know that by bringing them to a private school we are sending a message that says, 'See what you can have if you work hard,' or 'See what you can never have,'" said a teacher in the New York program, Michelle Celestine, who will be a senior this fall at the University of California at Berkeley, majoring in English. "That's something the national office should look into."

Mrs. Loofbourrow, however, responds that students need to learn about the economic divide. Others, like Mr. Frankel, say the program is intended to give students not only an

academic jump-start but also exposure to an economic level to which they should aspire. "That's what this program is all about," he said.

About 75 percent of Summerbridge's national enrollment of 1,000 students this summer come from poor neighborhoods in the cities in which it operates. Generally, the students the program chooses are those who perform well on standardized tests but who have difficulties in the classroom.

The response from students is usually overwhelming. Summerbridge in New York received 170 applications and enrolled about 60 students this summer. Neither the students nor the teachers receive credit for their work, but for many the experience is enough.

"It is much different from my school," said Douglas Cajas, a 14-year-old completing his second summer in the San Francisco program. "The academics are harder, but that's good."

Douglas, who will enter a private college-preparatory school this fall, came to Summerbridge last summer to work on his writing. Last year, he said, he had difficulty composing a simple paragraph, let alone writing and organizing an essay. Although he says his writing still needs work, Douglas said that he could now put together a competent essay, and that his confidence has soared as his abilities have improved.

Small Classes and Innovation

Much of the program's success stems from the small size of the classes and the innovative way lessons are taught.

At the Riverdale Country School, Nika Lee, a freshman at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, divides her six students into two teams and conducts a French class as if it were a game show. To choruses of good-natured laughter, students help each other produce the correct response as they practice greetings and basic commands in French.

"I've learned that school can be fun," said Sandra Gutara, a 12-year-old who is taking Ms. Lee's French class and who will enter the seventh grade this fall at St. Philip Neri in the Bronx. "After all we've done here, it's going to be hard to go back to regular school."

For many of the student teachers,

cont.

7-22-92

2 of 2



Darcy Padilla for The New York Times

Students attending a chemistry class that is part of the tuition-free Summerbridge program in San Francisco.

Summerbridge has been an educational nirvana. The days are long, usually 14 hours, but the experience of teaching and drawing up their own curriculums far outweighs the low pay, said many of the teachers.

Like their students, they have to apply for admission to the program, describing how they would design a course or a curriculum around that course. Their progress is monitored by teachers who work in the private schools where the program is held and who, in many cases, were once Summerbridge teachers themselves.

"The kids teach you about yourself," said Nancy Nagramada, 20, who is teaching for a second summer

at Summerbridge in New Orleans. "They teach you what your limits are and where you need to grow as a teacher."

Themselves not much older than their students, the teachers say it is easier for them to recall their own adolescence and what it was like for them in school. Most recall their middle-school years as relentlessly boring and so are determined to present invigorating lessons.

In her class this summer, for instance, Ms. Nagramada taught her students how the heart works by drawing the organ on a large piece of paper, putting it on the ground and then telling her students to walk

through the chambers of the heart pretending they were blood cells. Last year, it took two days of classroom lectures before her students learned the information; this year, using the walk-through method, she said, her young charges knew the material in 30 minutes.

"It proved to me that learning occurs more quickly by experiencing," said Ms. Nagramada, who plans to attend Hunter College in New York this fall to major in education. "The best thing you can do for these kids is don't give them any label of any sort and give them your time and your love and to let them know they matter."



By Gary Cameron, Reuters

CLASSROOM CAMPAIGN: President Bush answers questions from students and teachers at Archbishop Ryan High School in Philadelphia on Tuesday.

Undecided voters hold out for 'straight talk'

By Judy Keen
USA TODAY

GARFIELD, N.J. — Mary Szlazek, waving an American flag, nodded attentively Tuesday as President Bush vowed to fight for families that are "under liberal siege."

But Szlazek, an undecided Republican, was waiting for Bush to talk about the issue that matters most to her at a rally outside Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church.

Her vote "depends on which of these fellows persuades me he knows how bad our economy is and that he's got some ideas for fixing it," said the mother of three, a part-time legal secretary. "And by fixing it, I mean without raising my taxes."

Szlazek is ripe for the Bush campaign's first full-fledged assault on rival Bill Clinton: a blitz designed to portray the Democratic nominee's economic growth plan as a folly that would inevitably lead to higher taxes on people like her.

Clinton's plan, Bush said Monday, would be "a big mistake" because of its call for higher taxes — though it would raise income taxes only on those making more than \$200,000.

Bush's goals: Deflect attention from his own negligible success in jump-starting the economy, and reinforce the implication that Clinton doesn't have a magic solution either.

In Washington Tuesday, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan predicted a modest rebound in economic growth.

"We've been through this long, slow recession," Bush said. "In my view, we are poised for a good recovery."

If hammering at Clinton's ideas doesn't dent his popularity, the Bush campaign may raise questions about his character — a tactic considered risky because it might spark backlash. Szlazek says she wants "straight talk about jobs and my kids' future, please. I don't know if Clinton's really against taxes, and I don't know if Bush has any new ideas he hasn't tried yet."

Condemning "liberals" for endorsing distribution of birth control pills in schools, Bush said: "They even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their parents into court." That was interpreted as an attack on Hillary Clinton, who has written children should be able to sue their parents in certain cases.

The Metro Section

+ B1

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1992

The New York Times

Fired Up With a Love of the Feared Reading Tests

Koslin's Specialized Exam Wields a Powerful Influence on Millions of Students

By JOSEPH BERGER

BREWSTER, N.Y. — One thing that qualifies Dr. Bertram L. Koslin to design the reading tests dreaded by many of one million New York City students and their teachers is that he likes to read — almost anything.

The mound of papers scattered across his desk takes the rough shape of a volcano, with dozens of articles about politics, science, and history, and a few unpaid bills, spilling down the sides like lava. He is making his way through a book about winemaking. And at bedtime, he picks up one of the Seven Deadly Sins mysteries by Lawrence Sanders. "I'm up to the Fourth Deadly Sin," he says.

Dr. Koslin is, in short, not a faceless and bloodless academician but a man of varied and idiosyncratic tastes whose life has its unruly moments.

Strong Influence on Students

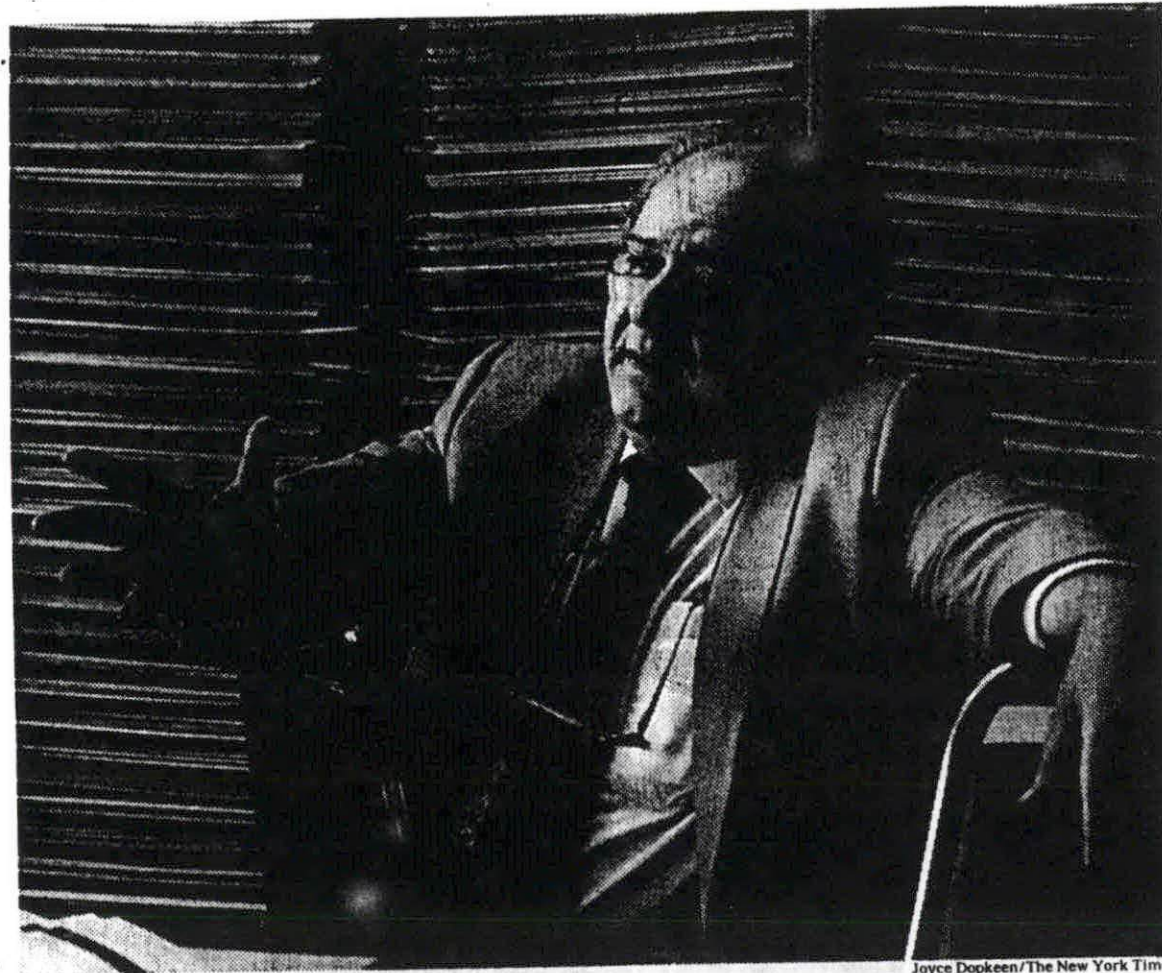
Still, he makes his living trying to place children into micrometer-precise categories of reading ability. He even believes that literature can be finely calibrated so that someone who scores 59 on his test can comfortably tackle "To Kill a Mockingbird" while someone who scores 69 will not be intimidated by "Jane Eyre."

His test, known as the Degrees of Reading Power, wields a powerful influence on not only New York City's students, but three million others in Connecticut, Virginia and New York, three states where the test is given statewide, and 1,000 school districts elsewhere.

It has become an annual rite of passage. Students first take the test in second grade and may continue to encounter it through 10th grade. Along the way it is used to determine which students must repeat a grade, which are placed in classes for gifted or slow learners, and which can qualify for Federal remedial-education money.

More informally, the tests are used to evaluate teachers, principals, even Schools Chancellor Joseph A. Fernandez and Mayor David N. Dinkins. Just last month, Mr. Fernandez and City Hall traded blame for a citywide decline in reading.

Over the years, critics have wondered whether the test is



Joyce Dopkeen/The New York Times

Dr. Bertram L. Koslin, who makes his living trying to place children into micrometer-precise categories of reading ability through the reading tests he designs for New York City students.

Continued on Page B2

cont.

1082

Millions of Students Live in Fear of This Man's Specialized Reading Tests

Continued From Page B1

as reliable as it claims, whether it is used for purposes for which it was never intended, like comparisons of school performance, and whether scores can be massaged. Many worry that teachers spend too much time preparing students for the test.

These questions have periodically drawn attention to Dr. Koslin and the testing company he heads, Touchstone Applied Science Associates, in a two-story steel and tinted glass building in the dense woods of this northern Westchester County town.

Dr. Koslin, 62 years old, is a stout native of the Bronx with a cheery, avuncular disposition and some very fixed and sometimes cranky opinions.

Philosophically, he is a supreme rationalist who believes education can be systemized with objectives

Trying to devise the exam is 'a linguistic puzzle.'

and tasks — and tests that measure how those objectives are met. Politically, he describes himself as a New Deal Democrat comfortable with Rockefeller Republicanism.

For recreation, he concocts such French dishes as duck and olives, sometimes tossing in vegetables harvested from his garden. One reason he likes meeting with educators in New York City is the chance it affords to savor an authentic corned beef sandwich.

Until recently, Touchstone was virtually a mom-and-pop business, run with his wife, Sandra, as chief editor. Both oversaw two people who write test passages and a small support staff. But the Koslins divorced recently, though his wife remains at the business. And in June, with \$2.5 million a year in sales, Touchstone went public, opening on the Nasdaq ex-

change for \$5 a share. Dr. Koslin, the company's president, is paid a salary of \$110,000 a year, and he owns 400,000 shares, or 24 percent of the business.

Robin Willner, the Board of Education's director of strategic planning, said Dr. Koslin's test, which the city has used since 1986, was chosen over others because it evaluates only reading comprehension and not discrete skills like word recognition and usage whose bearing on reading comprehension is more arguable.

"It's helpful to parents in terms of understanding what does this score correspond to," Ms. Willner added. "Does this score correspond to whether my children can read 'Goodnight Moon,' or 'Nancy Drew.'"

But Deborah Meier, a Manhattan principal, said students who can fully comprehend even intricate prose may not be deft at filling in the blank answer spaces under time pressure.

Dr. Koslin said his test is distinctive because it does not depend on the background knowledge students bring to it. The information needed for every question about a reading passage is contained within the passage itself. Therefore, he argues, civil rights groups cannot fault the test as culturally biased.

'A Linguistic Puzzle'

To write the passages that are the hallmark of his test is part fine art, part science, Dr. Koslin maintains. His writers follow an explicit manual. First, broad subject areas like bridge construction are chosen based on topics with the longest entries in the Encyclopedia Britannica. Then the writers bore in on narrower subtopics — the engineering of the Brooklyn Bridge, for example — scouring non-fiction books and magazines like National Geographic for material.

They write passages of roughly 300 words each, with seven words left blank, and invent five options for each blank, though only one makes sense in the context.

"It's a linguistic puzzle to do it," Dr. Koslin said, sympathizing with his writers. "It's unforgiving out there if you make one lousy mistake."

In one 1989 test, the 10 passages were about eskimo sleds, mosses, me-

LEARNING

Testing Reading Skills

Sample passage from a reading test used by New York City.

The first universities emerged at the end of the 11th century and beginning of the 12th. These institutions were not founded on any particular date or created by any formal action. Nobody actually 1 them. Instead, they developed gradually in places like Paris, Oxford, and Bologna, where scholars had long been teaching students. At first, these tutors had not been associated with one another. Rather, they had been 2. But, over time, they joined together to form guilds.

The guilds, which were associations or societies of tradespeople, were somewhat like modern unions. In the Middle Ages, all the crafts had such 3. The scholars' guilds built school buildings and evolved an administration which charged fees and set standards for the curriculum. The guilds set prices for members' services and fixed requirements for entering the profession.

Professors were not the only people in schools who formed groups. In Italy, students joined guilds to which teachers had to swear obedience. The students set strict rules, fining professors for beginning class a minute late. Teachers had to seek their students' permission to marry, and such permission was not always granted. Sometimes the students 4. Even if they said yes, the teacher got only one day's honeymoon.

Source: Touchstone Applied Science Associates, ©1983

- 1 a) started
b) guarded
c) blamed
d) compared
e) remembered

- 2 a) curious
b) poor
c) religious
d) ready
e) independent

- 3 a) debts
b) secrets
c) books
d) products
e) organizations

- 4 a) left
b) copied
c) refused
d) paid
e) prepared

Answers: 1a; 2e; 3e; 4c.

dieval tapestries, the Sung dynasty, infrared vision in snakes, the Brooklyn Bridge, the history of Venice, antiseptics, espionage and icebreakers.

'Voice of Exposition'

Critics claim the prose that emerges from Dr. Koslin's process is about as tasty as packaged white bread, lacking in pungency and whimsy. But Dr. Koslin defends it.

"It's good scientific writing," he says. "It has a voice in it, the voice of exposition."

He also maintains that the difficulty of the prose can be quantified according to half-century-old linguistic principles that take into account the length and rarity of the words.

Any single test is assembled from the more than 800 passages that are kept inside 300 Manila envelopes

stacked on slender Lucite shelves in a locked office. Most tests use questions that appeared on earlier tests because, like fresh bread vs. day-old bread, new questions cost more.

Dr. Koslin, who grew up on the Grand Concourse, often watched his father, an abdominal surgeon, perform operations with what he calls "Matisse-like strokes." He attended public schools and recalls that when a teacher smacked his left hand with a ruler in an effort to force him to write with his right hand, he grabbed the ruler and smacked her back. He was sent to the principal.

"School in large measure was one standing quiz and I remember nothing else," he said. "They were constant demonstrations of whether you learned something or not. But if you couldn't, it was not a God-awful disaster. Somebody helped you over the hump."

Dr. Koslin was very good at tests, but he spurned the elite Bronx High School of Science, where his brother had gone, for DeWitt Clinton High School because Bronx Science required that students take a course in mechanical drawing. "That's engineering, that's not science," he said, "and I didn't want to do engineering."

As a biochemistry major at Johns Hopkins University, he felt at a disadvantage with prep school graduates more learned in the classics. So he spent much of college filling those gaps, cultivating a lifelong affection for poets ranging from John Donne to Wallace Stevens.

"Intellectually, I range over a lot of fields," he said. "I think the wide range of backgrounds put me in good stead to listen to what it is people wanted by way of a new reading test."

He entered New York University Medical School, but quit after a year, deciding that doctors must be alert to abnormalities while he was more intrigued by "commonalities" among people. This outlook, he acknowledged, may explain his enthusiasm for grouping large numbers of children by reading levels.

During three years of travel abroad, he was fascinated by cultural

differences in behavior, and he enrolled in the doctoral program in social psychology at the University of Oklahoma.

After teaching at Bard and Princeton in the late 1960's, he got to know Dr. James E. Allen, at the time New York State's Education Commissioner, who also believed education could be rigorously systemized. Dr. Allen asked him to devise a new reading test.

Dr. Koslin concedes deficiencies with his test, but argues that all tests suffer from these flaws and little can be practically done.

For economy's sake, students who take the Degrees of Reading Power test are not measured against a true national sample but against a contrived assemblage of 25,000 New York State students whose ethnic, religious and income characteristics mirror a national cross-section.

A student who scores at the fifth-grade level is reading at the average level achieved by fifth graders in the contrived national sample, which is not the same as reading at a level educators may regard as appropriate for fifth grade.

But Dr. Koslin shrugs off critics who say test scores are mercurial and soar or plunge depending on the difficulty of reading passages in a given year. He contends that Touchstone scrupulously analyzes performance on new items to make sure students do no worse, on average, on these than they did on old ones of comparable difficulty.

He does not think it unfair that some teachers coach students for his tests, arguing that any exercises that compel children to talk or write about what they read will not only bolster test scores but also enhance the ability to read intelligently.

Given his fascination with measurement, it is surprising that Dr. Koslin cannot pinpoint his own reading level. He said he took an I.Q. test in graduate school and scored 140 — a genius level.

"What does that mean?" he asks self-effacingly. "You can't eat it and you can't drink it."

7-21-92 NEW YORK TIMES

California tries new ads to help kids say no to sex

By Carla Marinucci
SAN FRANCISCO EXAMINER

Instead of the usual sexy advertising efforts targeted at teens — selling them everything from jeans to MTV — California has launched an unusual campaign aimed at helping kids resist the pressure to have sex.

The new campaign targets 12- to 14-year-olds with ads created by ENABL, the California Department of Health and Human Services Office of Family Planning's Education Now and Babies Later program.

The three-year, \$5.7 million campaign is particularly noteworthy in an environment where, critics say, teen-agers are bombarded with sexually oriented advertisements, explicit music videos and films and TV shows that revolve around sexual themes.

The state has tapped Edelman Public Relations and the San Francisco-based ad agency Gardner Communications to lead the effort. Using ads and community outreach, the agencies will try to get out the message that "If you're not ready, you're not alone." The goal: to reduce the number of teen-age girls, now estimated at 200,000, who drop out of school because of a pregnancy.

"Today's children are bombarded with so much peer and societal pressure to experiment with sex that it is no wonder the teen pregnancy problem in California is at epidemic proportions," said state Health Director Molly Coye. Miss Coye says the program will reach some 300,000 California teens with its "Postponing Sexual Involvement" curriculum.

But the most visible and potentially influential part of the anti-pregnancy effort will be Gardner Communications' ad campaign that is scheduled to air on some of the most popular youth-oriented shows between now and September.

Those shows include "Beverly Hills 90210," "Married... With Children," "In Living Color," "The Fresh Prince of Bel Air," "Roseanne" and "Doogie Howser, M.D." Several of the shows have had plot lines concerning teen-age sex.

"These commercials actually give kids demonstrations of how to say 'no' and — if you're a boy — how to hear 'no,'" says John Coll, creative director at Gardner Communications. "The idea is to get to them before they are sexually involved."

Parents, too, will be the focus of an ENABL advertising effort that urges them to discuss sex with their kids. One print ad shows a teen-age girl in her teddy bear-laden room, sitting on a bed with her boyfriend. "These days, more kids are getting involved in after-school activities," says the headline. The message to parents: "Get involved — before they do."

Bob Gardner, head of the agency, says these ads are markedly different from health-oriented campaigns of the past. "Usually, you hear, 'Don't have sex, you'll get AIDS.' Or they'll resort to showing the pregnant 12-year-old girl with tears in her eyes," he says. "But this is not a consequence campaign. This is behavioral."

Mr. Gardner says his agency "has a lot of experience in talking with teens," having created ad campaigns to sell youth-oriented products such as Wham-O's Frisbee, Hula Hoop and Hacky Sack. "We know how they think, behave and react," he says.

But he acknowledges that special research efforts are needed to deal with such a sensitive subject so that teen-agers won't dismiss the ads as "preachy" or out of touch.

"You need to talk to kids, not talk down at them," says Karen Young, director of account management at the agency.

The ads aimed at boys are "an attempt to help them recognize the peer pressure they're under to have sex," Miss Young says. She says teen-age boys interviewed for the campaign recognized that they, too, are victims of "braggy, macho" efforts of peers to get them to have sex — even if they're not ready. Those ads will begin airing this week.

• Distributed by Scripps Howard.

OPINION USA

Teen-agers' high-risk behavior courts AIDS

COMMENT

While AIDS experts confer in Amsterdam, the USA needs to focus on curbing the spread of the virus among adolescents.

The fresh young faces of our adolescents are increasingly becoming the new faces of AIDS — and as a nation we have not yet begun to recognize that fact.

The plain truth is that today, in this country, millions of high school and college-age students may be at dire risk of contracting the human immunodeficiency virus and AIDS.

Through June, 872 cases of adolescents with AIDS were reported in the United States. This deceptively small number obscures the fact that over 44,000 young adults ages 20-29 have been reported with AIDS, many of whom may have been infected during their teen-age years. In 1989, HIV/AIDS became the sixth leading cause of death among young people ages 15-24.

AIDS cases reported among adolescent females have more than doubled — from 13% of all adolescent cases in 1987 to 34% in 1991 — and more than half are due to heterosexual contact. While the overall ratio of males to females reported with AIDS is 8 to 1 in adults, it is 2.7 to 1 among teen-agers.

Studies indicate the average age of first sexual experience among U.S. adolescents is 16. A 1990 survey of adolescents by the Centers for Disease Control reported that 54% were sexually active before finishing high school and 19% had four or more partners.

I must stress this is usually unprotected sexual activity. Of the students surveyed who had sex in the three preceding months, 45% reported using condoms. Condom use dropped significantly as age increased.

Also, 8 million cases of sexually transmitted diseases occur annually among persons under the age of 25 — the equivalent of a teen-ager contracting a sexually transmitted disease

every 30 seconds.

Young people must understand the links in the chain of alcohol and other drugs, risky sex practices, multiple sex partners, unprotected sex and sexually transmitted diseases which can lead to transmission of HIV and AIDS. Too many young people fail to recognize these risks and obtain professional guidance and support. Of the adolescents who did seek AIDS/HIV counseling and testing last year, fully 56% did not return for their test results.

As surgeon general, I cannot allow the spread of HIV in adolescents to continue unchecked. We must impress upon our young people that abstinence is the only sure way to protect themselves from acquiring a sexually transmitted disease or HIV. But being realistic, I believe we must also educate our youth about the best ways to protect themselves if they choose to be sexually active. For them, we must not fail to provide adequate instruction on correct use of condoms and alert them to their obligations and responsibilities toward their sexual partners. Above all, we must foster in them a cautious, sensible and realistic approach to sex.

As caring adults, we must empathize with youth and remember that most of them will find themselves in risky situations lasting for perhaps no more than a few minutes but having perhaps a lifetime of consequences.

Health-care providers and government officials have to



By Antonia C. Novello, surgeon general of the Public Health Service.

Who is getting AIDS

Cases by age (Through June 1992)

Age at diagnosis	Number of cases
Under 12	3,898
13-19	872
20-29	44,493
30-39	105,552
40-49	51,923
50 or older	23,471

How teens contract it

Increasing numbers of teens are at risk. Breakdown by categories in 13-19 age group. (Through June 1992)

Exposure category	Cases	Percent
Males who have sex with males	213	24%
Injecting drugs	112	13%
Males who have sex with males and inject drugs	37	4%
Hemophilia/Coagulation disorder ¹	267	31%
Heterosexual contact	124	14%
Recipient of blood transfusion, components or tissue	55	6%
Undetermined	64	7%

How teens rate AIDS

Gallup surveyed more than 500 teen-agers on the most important problems facing the teen generation. Some teens named more than one problem.

Drug abuse	49%
Peer pressure	15%
AIDS	11%
Teen pregnancy	9%
Alcohol abuse	7%
Education	7%

1 — Defined as receiving blood pooled from hundreds of blood donations.

Source: Centers for Disease Control; Gallup poll, Nov. 1991

Cliff Vancura, USA TODAY

deal with complex problems when attempting to balance parental rights with the autonomy of the young person. Issues like consent to be tested, notification of minors who test positive, and disclosure of results to parents and/or sexual and drug partners who may be at risk will have to be addressed — all while respecting confidentiality. We must ensure that adolescents have access to testing and counseling that they will feel comfortable going to.

The importance of raising adolescents' awareness of the dangers of HIV/AIDS cannot be overstated. But we must be watchful that our struggle to educate them is not rendered

hollow by failure to provide humane, respectful and confidential services to all adolescents.

The success or failure of our efforts to address HIV infection in adolescents depends less on the components of our initiatives than on the will needed to carry them out. We cannot permit the ultimately divisive issues of adolescent development to hinder our efforts. The time has come to open our eyes to the changing faces of AIDS, to do away with blame and to share, instead, in the wisdom and experience that will protect our children — and theirs — from the tragedy of AIDS.

► AIDS conference, 1A, 4D

7-21-92

1 of 2

24 Women Assaulted on Gulf Duty

Perpetrators Often Were Higher-Ranking Soldiers, Army Says

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

At least 24 U.S. Army service-women were raped or sexually assaulted while serving in the Persian Gulf region during Operations Desert Shield and Desert Storm, according to Army records.

Women were assaulted in an outdoor shower, in the Saudi Arabian desert while serving on guard duty, in their quarters inside military compounds, during a rest-and-recreation break aboard a chartered cruise ship in the Persian Gulf, in a medical clinic and at least once at knifepoint, according to records compiled by the U.S. Army Criminal Investigation Command.

In several cases, victims waited weeks or months to report the assaults, apparently because they were concerned about whether they would be believed, records indicate. Moreover, many of the assaults were committed by higher-ranking soldiers, including at least one Army captain. The incidents were first disclosed by the Army Times, an independent newspaper.

In the aftermath of the gulf war, military officials described the largest wartime deployment of U.S. servicewomen in history in glowing terms, offering few if any hints of the problems detailed in the crime reports. The revelation that any American women were raped by fellow soldiers is likely to fuel the debate over whether women should be allowed to serve in combat, a question under study by a presidential commission.

Army officials disputed the significance of the assault reports, given the size of the deployment and

See MILITARY, A4, Col. 1

cont.

At Least 24 Army Women Were Sexually Assaulted During Persian Gulf Duty

MILITARY, From A1

the length of time U.S. soldiers spent in the region. "If you took a city of 300,000, like Pittsburgh . . . how many cases of sexual assault or rape would you have in a year's period?" said a senior Army official who asked not to be identified.

"Do we make light of this? Absolutely not," the official added. "It's serious business. In every case where it was reported, no matter when, it was investigated. There was no brushing anything under the rug."

About 334,000 Army soldiers were deployed to the gulf region at the peak of the operation, roughly 26,000 of them women. Army officials said yesterday they have no way of knowing how many of the rapes or assaults resulted in prosecutions or punishments because the judicial proceedings are not complete. Women make up 11 percent of the armed forces.

The assaults were described in several thousand pages of Army investigations into crimes involving U.S. soldiers in the region between Aug. 2, 1990, when Iraq invaded Kuwait, and July 1, 1991. Among other things, the documents describe 13 incidents in which U.S.

soldiers deliberately injured themselves in order to avoid combat duty or get back home, sometimes by shooting themselves in the leg or foot.

The documents do not describe every reported crime in the gulf theater, only those that Army investigators judged worthy of prosecution, officials said. These include six rapes, four attempted rapes and 14 indecent assaults, for a total of 24. The reports also include 10 cases of sodomy, but Army officials said some of those involved consensual sex.

Assaults described in the documents occurred in a variety of places and conditions during the year-long deployment. Among the victims:

■ A 21-year-old private who was raped by a sergeant at knifepoint. The woman had been working late one night and was walking to a vehicle when "she was grabbed from behind and dragged some distance into the desert." The woman said she waited six months before reporting the rape because she "was not emotionally strong enough" to do so when it occurred, the report said.

■ A 24-year-old private who was assaulted by an Army captain in a tent. The report said the captain assaulted her by "forcibly french-kissing her and subsequently unbuttoning her uniform and fondling her breast. [He] also forcibly fondled [her] vaginal area through her trousers."

■ A 22-year-old Army specialist who was raped as she slept in her

cabin on a Cunard cruise ship anchored off Bahrain to provide rest breaks for soldiers in the region. The man who broke into her room was never identified.

■ An Army specialist who was having consensual sex with a soldier in the back of a bus when another soldier took his place. "Upon realizing the switch, [the victim] attempted to pull away . . . but was forced to continue against her will . . .," the report said.

■ A 24-year-old Army specialist who was assaulted by a man of the same rank as they shared guard duty in the Saudi desert. The woman told investigators the two had been sharing a blanket to ward off the pre-dawn chill when the man fondled her as she slept.

■ An Army private who was held down on her bed by another private and raped in her room at the port of Al-Jubail. The woman did not report the offense for more than a month because "there were several work-related problems occurring and she did not feel she could trust anyone with the information," according to the Army's investigation.

■ A 21-year-old specialist who was assaulted by a medic while being treated at an Army medical clinic at King Khalid Military City in Saudi Arabia. The medic woke her up in the early morning, fondled her breasts and climbed onto her cot with her, the report said.

Besides the sex offenses, the report describes 13 cases of "malingering," a charge leveled at those who

intentionally injured themselves. These include an Army sergeant who stabbed himself in the chest; a specialist who shot himself in the left foot with his M-16; a private who shot himself in the left leg; and a specialist who shot himself in the left shoulder "in order to be returned to Germany" from his assignment.

Maj. Pete Keating, an Army spokesman, dismissed the significance of the incidents in an operation the size of Desert Storm. "At the time of Caesar, people talked of cutting off a hand or part of a leg to keep from going into military service," he said. "I think the thing that people need to remember is that the number of incidents is extremely low and shows we've got the best quality people we can get."

TUESDAY, JULY 21, 1992

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

No. 1 IN THE USA . . . 6.6 MILLION READERS A DAY

Half of new HIV cases found in women

By Kim Painter
USA TODAY

AMSTERDAM — Someone in the world gets infected with the AIDS virus every 15 to 20 seconds — and half are women, an expert said Monday.

Men bore the brunt of the early epidemic, but the gap between sexes is narrowing, says Dr. Michael Merson of the World Health Organization. One tragic result: more infect-

ed and orphaned children.

One million of the world's 11 million to 13 million HIV-infected people have contracted the virus in just the past six months, Merson told the International Conference on AIDS. "This is just the beginning of the AIDS era, and there is no shortcut in sight."

Other global trends:

- More infections outside major cities.
- The spread of HIV outside

of high-risk groups, such as prostitutes and drug abusers.

► Many more full-blown AIDS cases as people infected over the past decade get sick. About 2 million AIDS cases have been reported already.

Merson says preventing new infections through education must be a priority.

But another researcher says some prevention efforts are futile for women, especially in developing areas where 80%

of new infections occur.

"Women have been told ... to be monogamous and to protect themselves by condom use," says Anke Ehrhardt of Columbia University. "These are goals that should be addressed to men. ... Women need to be given messages and tools they can truly control."

Says Harvard's Jonathan Mann, conference chairman: "Male-dominated societies are a threat to public health."

AIDS UPDATE

► Every 15 to 20 seconds someone in the world gets infected with the AIDS virus.
► Half of these infections are in women.
► 1 million of the world's 11 to 13 million infected people contracted HIV in the past six months.

The Call for an Aggressive New AIDS Strategy

With No Cure or Vaccine in Sight, Health Officials Struggle to Combat Spread of the Disease

By Laurie Garrett

Special to The Washington Post

AMSTERDAM

As the AIDS pandemic claims whole villages and population groups around the world, the public health community is gripped with a sense of failure. At this week's eighth international conference on AIDS here, health officials are questioning the leadership of the World Health Organization.

With no cure or vaccine in sight, and large-scale prevention campaigns failing all over the world, AIDS health care providers and policy makers are searching for a more aggressive strategy to combat the spread of the disease.

Pressure for change is coming from the Harvard University-based Global AIDS Policy Coalition. The group's leader, Jonathan Mann, is the chair of this week's meeting and prime mover in its conception and design. He was also the founder of the World Health Organization's AIDS program, and was forced to resign two years ago as a result of policy disputes with then newly elected WHO Director-General Hirochi Nakajima.

In his opening address to the conference, Mann said, "The old public health vision has become a straightjacket" confining planners' to approaches to the prevention of AIDS that are not succeeding.

In the past year, the WHO program has been attacked by a U.S. Congress subcommittee seeking performance evaluation, the General Accounting Office, a U.N.-designated external scientific review panel and top government officials in such hard-hit countries as Kenya, Uganda and India. Charges were leveled of bureaucratic inactivity, political shenanigans in WHO regional offices, mismanagement of resources and inadequate evaluation of programs the agency sponsors around the world.

Some critics charge that WHO has developed an overly bureaucratized, leisurely approach to the task that reflects the style of its parent organization, the United Nations.

The dispute is rooted in the rapid spread of the disease. WHO estimates at least a million adults were newly infected with the human immunodeficiency virus that causes AIDS during the past six months, and 13 million worldwide have been infected since the epidemic began. Most of the new infec-

tions—well over 70 percent—have involved heterosexuals in developing countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America. In the developed world, says WHO, the epidemic is shifting from a predominately homosexual male and intravenous drug users' disease to an epidemic that includes large numbers of heterosexuals.

Women are the fastest-growing group of newly infected in the industrialized world. Each week, 15,000 women contract the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV), said Michael Merson, the head of WHO's Global Program on AIDS.

cont.

10/22

WASHINGTON POST
7-21-92

20 f2
7-21-92

AIDS AROUND THE WORLD

INFECTIONS

CASES

REGIONS	TOTALS	ADULTS 1992 (est.)	WOMEN 1992 (est.)	ADULTS 1995 projection	1992 (est.)	1995 projection
		1,705,000	475,000	1,705,000	2,018,500	4,918,000
North America	1,167,000		128,500	1,495,000	257,500	534,000
Western Europe	718,000		122,000	1,186,000	99,000	279,500
Australia/Oceania	28,000		3,500	40,000	4,500	11,500
Latin America	995,000		199,000	1,407,000	173,000	417,500
Sub-Saharan Africa	7,803,000		3,901,500	11,449,000	1,367,000	3,277,500
Caribbean	310,000		124,000	474,000	43,000	121,000
Eastern Europe	27,000		2,500	44,000	2,500	9,500
Southeast Mediterranean	35,000		6,000	59,000	3,500	12,500
North East Asia	41,000		7,000	80,000	3,500	14,500
Southeast Asia	675,000*		223,000	1,220,000	65,000	240,500

* minimum estimate

SOURCE: Global AIDS Policy Commission

—THE WASHINGTON POST

WHO predicts 30 million to 40 million people will be infected with HIV by the year 2000, more than 90 percent of them in developing countries that lack the resources to mount prevention campaigns or treat the ill.

For its part, the Global AIDS Policy Coalition has developed a computer model that predicts as many as 110 million people will be infected by the year 2000.

"We have always said our estimates are conservative," said Merson. "Whether we talk 40 million, 50 million, 80 million or 100 million, it's a terrible epidemic and we need to act on it."

A consensus is growing that public health campaigns limited to promoting condom use and to blood testing for the virus are not enough to stem the spread of the disease. In most cultures, women as well as minority groups are unable to take advantage of messages from such campaigns. For example, AIDS is spread in India by prostitutes who are the property of their pimps and have no right to demand condom use. Because WHO can only take actions at the invitation of host nations, it is helpless to design campaigns that include condom use to protect such women unless India specifically requests WHO assistance in the matter. India has not done so.

In May, WHO responded to the growing criticism by reorganizing its AIDS program, releasing a summary of five local AIDS prevention efforts the agency considers successful. They include a direct marketing campaign for condoms in Kinshasa, Zaire, and a gay-community organized safe sex campaign in Australia that used extremely graphic language and illustrations to show homosexuals how to protect themselves. WHO also announced it would place greater emphasis on the relationship between the

role of women in developing countries and their inability to exercise power in sexual practices that put them at risk for the virus.

But the United States and leading European donors to WHO weren't satisfied. In June, officials from those nations met with Merson's staff and ordered the creation of a worldwide coordinating body to oversee global efforts.

Merson promised the donors he would have a plan for integrating AIDS efforts throughout all agencies of the United Nations ready for review by this November.

"Whatever we do, we need to try to do in a coordinated way," Merson said. "This is a real test of whether the U.N. can coordinate itself . . . This isn't like licking smallpox, where we had a vaccine. This is much bigger, much more complicated."

Mann is also seeking a new level of coordination.

He says a worldwide health movement can mimic the political activism and Green parties that are dedicated to environmentalism. He seeks a worldwide restructuring of medical resources to slow the disease, and he warns that, "the gap between the epidemic and the national and international response is widening rapidly and dangerously."

Mann's strategy calls for the rich nations to underwrite basic health infrastructures in poorer nations. Representatives of some Third World countries have endorsed his suggestion.

"I think we have a unique opportunity to rethink AIDS not only as a problem of health, but one of the whole limits on mankind in our environment. We should rethink the way we want this planet to be," said Marie Fernandez, of Family Planning International in Sao Paulo, Brazil. She advocated something politically akin to the recent

worldwide environmental summit in Rio de Janeiro for AIDS.

Others involved in the fight against AIDS have found fault with Mann's proposal. James Curran, AIDS director for the federal Centers for Disease Control, insisted that the thousands of different cultures on Earth will never be able to reach consensus on an international strategy for a sexual disease.

Such cultural disparity is a huge stumbling block, agreed England's top AIDS planner, Anthony Pinching. But, he said in an interview, "there's no doubt in my mind that we need to return to a sense of crisis management. Everything at the international level has become far too normalized. WHO has a system with defined lines of command. We shouldn't go out and build a whole new system. We should take that old army, revitalize it, give it decent weapons and resources and charge it up with enthusiasm."

Yet generating that enthusiasm will be difficult, delegates here said.

"There has yet to be a global consensus that this disease is a priority," said AIDS specialist Marcus Conant, of the University of California in San Francisco. He said the Western world's political leaders, particularly President Bush, have not reached that point. Without strong political support, Conant said, no entity will be able to lead the AIDS fight, "and hundreds of millions of people will die."

George Lundberg, editor of the Journal of the American Medical Association, predicted this week that no leadership will emerge and, "at the end of the next century—not just this century—AIDS will still be a serious endemic disease throughout the world."

Laurie Garrett is a reporter on leave from Newsday.

The New York Times

pyright © 1992 The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

'AIDS' Without Trace of H.I.V.: Talks in Amsterdam on 5 Cases

By LAWRENCE K. ALTMAN
Special to The New York Times

AMSTERDAM, July 21 — European and American doctors added new reports today to earlier descriptions of patients with an AIDS-like disease but no detectable evidence of infection with H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS.

The reports raised several possibilities. The new condition, reported in about 30 patients, may be caused by a third variant of H.I.V. Or it may be a deficiency of the immune system caused by some other condition or agent. The new agent might be a microbe or some environmental factor.

American health officials appealed to doctors today to report any similar cases to the Federal Centers for Disease Control. They said the case reports would be used in an intense effort to determine precisely what factors were shared by the men and women with the AIDS-like illness. They said the cases might not be linked.

5 Cases Described

Several researchers have said privately that they believe they have found evidence that patients with the mysterious condition have been infected with previously unidentified microbes or mutants of H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS. But they have not formally reported their findings.

If a new microbe is involved, a

screening test to protect the blood supply can be developed after it is isolated, the health officials said.

"We do not know of any evidence of transmissibility," Dr. James Allen, who directs the National AIDS Program Office in Washington, said at a news conference. He said that because the mysterious cases are rare and because the blood supply is subjected to rigorous testing, transfusions are safer today than ever.

But Dr. James Curran, an AIDS expert at the Centers for Disease Control in Atlanta, said here it was not clear whether the known cases represent a new syndrome or a variety of rare

Continued on Page A2, Column 3

1 of 2

Cont.

'AIDS' but Without H.I.V.: 5 New Cases Are Discussed

Continued From Page A1

medical problems that pose no threat to the nation's health. It is also possible that some longstanding, rare disease of the immune system is being identified now because doctors concerned about AIDS are giving new attention to their patients' immune systems.

The plea resulted from a special session of the meeting at which Dr. Jeffrey Laurence of Cornell University Medical Center in New York City described five such cases that are due to be reported soon in the *Lancet*, a British medical journal. He said his team had identified a possible culprit virus and had submitted a report about it to another medical journal. But he refused to discuss it.

Some Samples Tainted

He said specimens from the patients had been sent to researchers elsewhere for additional testing and checking because state of the art laboratory tests were being used to try to detect a new agent.

In an unusual plea, Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, head of the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Disease, cited the potential public health problem in urging authors of papers to demand approval from scientific journals to release their findings early. Editors of journals have said they would waive their usual embargoes on papers that relate to public health problems.

The step recommended by Dr. Fauci is intended to speed up sharing of data and samples for immediate laboratory investigation to avoid the many months of delays that can occur while the papers await publication.

Dr. Laurence said his team had shared its findings with the Centers for Disease Control, including information about the virus they are investigating. But he acknowledged that, as happens in many laboratories, some of his samples had been contaminated with pro-saic, stray viruses that happened to be in the laboratory.

Less Common Than H.I.V.

Dr. Curran emphasized that even if a microbe is identified, it might not necessarily be the cause of the condition. It might be an agent that happened to be present in the body without causing any health problems or an infection resulting from another underlying condition.

Among the other questions that researchers would have to address are:

Can such an agent be found in sexual partners of a case?

(How many cases is such an agent causing and where?

"Whatever it is, it is not as common as H.I.V. infection," Dr. Curran said.

The five patients in Dr. Laurence's study live in New York City. Four have risk factors for AIDS. The fifth is an elderly, heterosexual married man born in Italy who has lived in the United States for many years.

At the C.D.C., Dr. Thomas J. Spira has collected reports of six patients over the last 3 years. The patients range in age from 35 to 70 years and came from four states. At least four had identifiable AIDS risks but Dr. Spira saw no pattern among them.

The reports from Dr. Laurence and Dr. Curran were greeted by a parade of scientists who reported more than a dozen similar cases.

By the time the special session ended, Dr. Curran said he learned of more cases in a few minutes today than he had in the last three years.

First to the microphone was Dr. Luc Montagnier, the French researcher who was a co-discoverer of H.I.V.-1 and the discoverer of H.I.V.-2. He said he knew of cases in France, but did not cite a number. Dr. Montagnier's team from the Pasteur Institute in Paris,

A new syndrome or a variety of rare medical problems?

reported two such cases at the meeting. In one, evidence of H.I.V.-1 was found in tests of the urine, but not the blood.

Dr. Montagnier suggested that some AIDS-like cases might be caused by a defective H.I.V.-1.

Report in Florence

Then, Dr. David Ho of the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center in New York City said he had collected 11 such cases over the last three years in New York and Los Angeles, where he used to work. Most were gay men but a few did not have risk factors for AIDS, Dr. Ho said. No sign of similar illness was detected in the sexual partners of two patients, Dr. Ho said.

"As a clinical entity, I think it is real," Dr. Ho said.

Reports of additional cases from doctors in Edinburgh and the Hague followed. There were reminders that a similar case was reported at the AIDS meeting in Florence last year and that others have been reported in medical journals.

Dr. Michael Lange of St. Luke's-Roosevelt Hospital in New York City suggested that researchers go back to any stored samples of tissue from patients with AIDS-like illnesses and infections that commonly occur in AIDS patients and to use new laboratory tools to look for evidence of a new agent.

As those participants sat down, others got up and threw a barrage of criticism at the Centers for Disease Control for not having reported the six cases it knew about and for not issuing an earlier plea to doctors to report additional ones.

2 of 2

Experts downplay significance of possible new AIDS strain

By Christopher Wilson
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

AMSTERDAM — Top AIDS researchers acknowledged yesterday that there could be a new strain of the deadly virus but said there was no cause for alarm and cautioned reporters not to fuel public fears about the new disease.

But delegates at the world's biggest AIDS conference heckled the researchers for failing to make the information public earlier.

Top doctors stressed that the mysterious illness posed no additional threat to blood supplies that are screened for the human immunodeficiency virus in the United States, Canada, Western Europe and elsewhere.

"People shouldn't panic," said Dr. June Osborn of the U.S. National Commission on AIDS.

The dispute blew up after Newsweek magazine reported that U.S. doctors identified a handful of cases in which patients developed immune deficiencies but did not test positive for either of the known AIDS viruses — HIV-1 and HIV-2.

Several other scientists outside the United States also reported similar findings.

"It does look real that there are some people with moderate to severe immune deficiencies that have tested negative for HIV," Dr. James Curran of the Centers for Disease Control (CDC) told the eighth International Conference on AIDS.

"There could be a dozen or a cou-

ple of dozen cases, of which the CDC knows about six," Dr. Curran told a meeting packed with delegates.

"There are lots of questions we have to answer before we will know whether this is important," Dr. Curran replied. "That is why we decided to follow the normal scientific process before making the existence of these cases known to the American public."

Dr. Curran insisted that these cases could not be described as AIDS.

"HIV causes AIDS and something else causes the cases reported today," he said.

But other scientists said the CDC was adopting too narrow a definition of acquired immune deficiency syndrome.

Researchers said they were not sure what to make of the virus, but they doubted that it presented a widespread threat.

Luc Montagnier of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, who discovered HIV-1 in 1983, told the conference there was some evidence that the cases were caused by a defective strain of the virus that did not show up in conventional tests.

Researchers say they are keeping an open mind on a range of possible causes for the phenomenon, which acts in a similar way to the deadly HIV AIDS has killed more than 1 million people.

"From what we know so far, whatever it is, it's not as common as HIV-positive AIDS," Dr. Curran said.

Dr. Jeffrey Laurence of New



Dr. James Curran

York's Cornell University, whose research teams tracked five cases similar to those reported to the CDC, agreed.

"This is exceedingly rare. We've been looking for it for years," he said. "This information is ongoing. As soon as this information is correct, people are going to know about it."

"There's public health information that's important and is correct and there's public health scares," he added, cautioning journalists not to fuel public fears about the new disease.

Some 11,000 scientists, health workers, activists and journalists are meeting in Amsterdam this week to assess the latest developments in AIDS research.

1082

Chicago Tribune

Tuesday, July 21, 1992

AIDS growing fastest among women

From Chicago Tribune wires

AMSTERDAM—Women are becoming infected with the virus that causes AIDS about as often as men, and by the year 2000 most new infections will be in women, the World Health Organization's leading official on the disease told an international conference Monday.

Worldwide since Jan. 1, "close to half of the one million newly infected adults have been women," said Dr. Michael Merson, who heads WHO's global program on AIDS.

He added that "women's rising infection rates have been accompanied by a corresponding rise in the number of children born to them infected with HIV," the virus that causes AIDS.

Millions of infants may escape infection but are destined to become AIDS orphans when their mothers die.

The fast spread of AIDS among women, especially in the world's poorest regions, is one of the dominant themes of the Eighth International Conference on AIDS, which began Sunday.

In the first few years after the discovery of AIDS in 1981, gay men in urban areas accounted for about two-thirds of all AIDS cases in adults in the U.S., Europe and parts of Latin America.

But more recently, that proportion has fallen due to an increasing trend for heterosexual women to become infected through sexual intercourse with infected men.

During heterosexual encounters, women are biologically more likely than men to catch the virus from

See AIDS, pg. 10

Cont.

From Page 1

AIDS

Continued from page 1

infected partners. So "by the year 2000, more than half of all newly infected adults may be women," Merson said.

"With every passing year, the gap in transmission rates between the sexes has narrowed in both developed and developing countries," he added.

Dr. Anke Ehrhardt of Columbia University Medical School, a specialist in sexual behavior, said that in the U.S., "Women are now the fastest-growing subgroup among AIDS patients...with a very worrisome high proportion of adolescent girls getting ill."

Dr. Jonathan Mann, who is chairman of the conference in Amsterdam, said in an interview that the AIDS epidemic had shown that "male-dominated societies are a threat to public health" because women have less power to protect themselves from disease.

Men typically initiate sexual encounters, he said, and women

often are unable to demand that their partners use condoms.

Specialists at the conference warned that AIDS prevention efforts are too focused on men and said that women had to be empowered to have more control over their health.

Women at the meeting have urged quick licensing of female condoms and greater research efforts to develop germicides that kill HIV and other microbes that are spread by sex while still allowing the option of pregnancy.

The meeting participants, who number more than 11,000, were told of a recent study of women attending a clinic in Rwanda in Africa where one-fourth of those with only one lifetime sex partner had been infected with HIV, presumably by their steady partner.

The growing number of HIV-infected women reflects the surge in the epidemic in Third World countries. WHO estimates that from 10 million to 12 million adults and 1 million children have been infected. The overwhelming majority are in Africa and Asia.

By the year 2000, WHO estimates, up to 40 million people

will be infected. But the Global AIDS Policy Coalition, based at Harvard University, has said the number could reach 110 million.

To combat AIDS, health workers must find out what has worked in some areas and apply it on a wider basis, Merson said, echoing remarks made a month ago by Mann, the director of the International AIDS Center at Harvard.

Even though the infection rate for women is increasing, surprising new evidence from studies reported Monday shows that women do not die of AIDS faster than men, as had been thought, and that there are no gender differences in the occurrence of HIV-related illnesses.

The findings came from teams in Atlanta, Chicago, New York City and the National Institutes of Health, a federal agency in Bethesda, Md., and run counter to studies reported several years ago.

In a study involving 2,850 participants, a team headed by Dr. Linnea Capps of Columbia University and Harlem Hospital in New York found no gender differences for infected people receiving drugs to combat HIV and a deadly

form of pneumonia caused by the *Pneumocystis carinii* microbe.

In another study involving more than 4,000 participants, Dr. Renslow Sherer of Cook County Hospital in Chicago found that HIV-infected men and women did not differ significantly in the illnesses they developed or in their rates of death. The illnesses included *Pneumocystis pneumonia*, thrush of the mouth and esophagus, shingles, cytomegalovirus infection, and a tuberculosis-like infection.

Among other developments at the meeting:

■ Dr. Gerald Myers of the Los Alamos National Laboratories in New Mexico said five distinctly different strains of HIV are now spreading. That may complicate the search for a vaccine to prevent infection.

■ Dr. Helen Ward of St. Mary's Medical School in London said a five-year study of 304 prostitutes showed that 97 percent used condoms with all their clients. But two-thirds said they did not regularly use condoms with their non-paying lovers, which left them open to infection.

2
of 2

7-21-92

1 of 2

Women Worldwide Nearing Higher Rate For AIDS Than Men

International
conference also hears
of children's plight.

By LAWRENCE K. ALTMAN

Special to The New York Times

AMSTERDAM, July 20 — Women throughout the world are becoming infected with the virus that causes AIDS about as often as men, and by the year 2000 most new infections will be in women, the World Health Organization's leading official of the disease told an international meeting here today.

Worldwide since Jan. 1, "close to half of the one million newly infected adults have been women," said Dr. Michael H. Merson, who heads W.H.O.'s global program on AIDS. He added that "women's rising infection rates have been accompanied by a corresponding rise in the number of children born to them infected with H.I.V., the virus that causes AIDS."

Also, millions of infants may escape infection but are destined to become AIDS orphans when their mothers die.

In the first few years after the discovery of AIDS in 1981, gay men in urban areas accounted for about two-thirds of all AIDS cases in adults in the United States, Europe and parts of Latin America. But more recently, that proportion has fallen due to an increasing trend for heterosexual women to become infected through sexual intercourse with infected men.

"The disease is now everywhere, and we want to get home the point that the AIDS epidemic is becoming heterosexual everywhere," Dr. Merson said in an interview.

The growing number of H.I.V.-infected women reflects the surge in the epidemic in third world countries. W.H.O. estimates that from 10 million to 12 million adults and 1 million children have been infected. The overwhelming majority are in Africa and Asia. By the year 2000, W.H.O. estimates, up to 40 million people will be infected. But the Global AIDS Policy Coalition, based at Harvard University, has said the number could reach 110 million.

Invading the Countryside

"The virus is following roads and navigable rivers deeper and deeper into the countryside," Dr. Merson said. "Tomorrow we can expect little

difference between urban and rural areas."

To combat AIDS, health workers must find out what has worked in some areas and apply it on a wider basis, Dr. Merson said, echoing remarks made a month ago by Dr. Jonathan Mann, the director of the International AIDS Center at Harvard.

Dr. Merson and others said that women had to be empowered to have more control over their health. Women at the meeting have urged quick licensing of female condoms and greater research efforts to develop germicides that kill H.I.V. and other microbes that are spread by sex while still allowing the option of pregnancy.

The meeting participants, who number more than 11,000, were told of a recent study of women attending a clinic in Rwanda in Africa where one-fourth of those with only one lifetime sex partner had been infected with H.I.V., presumably by their steady partner.

Dr. Mann, who is chairman of the international AIDS meeting here, said in an interview that the AIDS epidemic had shown that "male-dominated societies are a threat to public health" because women have less power to protect themselves from disease.

Even though the infection rate for women is increasing, surprising new evidence from studies reported today shows that women do not die of AIDS faster than men, as had been thought, and that there are no gender differences in the occurrence of H.I.V.-related illnesses. The findings came from teams in Atlanta, Chicago, New York City and the National Institutes of Health, a Federal agency in Bethesda, Md., and run counter to studies reported several years ago.

No Gender Differences

In a study involving 2,850 participants, a team headed by Dr. Linnea Capps of Columbia University and Harlem Hospital in New York found no gender differences for infected people receiving drugs to combat H.I.V. and a deadly form of pneumonia caused by the *Pneumocystis carinii* microbe.

The study also found that men and women younger than 35 were less likely than older individuals to receive either treatment. The authors speculated that younger people sought medical care less often and might be less compliant with medical regimens.

In another study involving more than 4,000 participants, Dr. Renslow

cont.



Jane Perlez for The New York Times

In Amsterdam, the international conference on AIDS was told that women were being infected with the virus that causes AIDS about as often as men. Infection rates are highest in Africa and Asia. In Kigali, Rwanda, Nikuze Siyapata knew that she was infected but elected to have a second child. Her son is at rear.

Sherer of Cook County Hospital in Chicago found that H.I.V.-infected men and women did not differ significantly in the illnesses they developed or in their rates of death. The illnesses included *Pneumocystis pneumonia*, thrush of the mouth and esophagus, shingles, cytomegalovirus infection, and a tuberculosis-like infection.

Focusing on 260 H.I.V.-infected men and women, a study headed by Dr. Henry S. Sacks of Mt. Sinai Medical School in New York City found that patterns of infections, survival and disease progression were similar in both sexes. "As the epidemic

evolves, early concerns that H.I.V. infection is more severe or different in women are not being substantiated," though additional studies are needed, Dr. Sacks said.

W.H.O. has urged the wider distribution of condoms as well as campaigns to motivate behavioral change as two chief ways to combat the spread of H.I.V. infections.

Population Services International, a nonprofit organization in Washington, said it had been successful in increasing the use of condoms in Zaire in Africa, one of the countries hit hardest by AIDS, through a Madi-

son Avenue technique called social marketing. Condoms are distributed through pharmacies, grocery stores, bars, restaurants, movie theaters and clinics.

Last August, 3.6 million condoms were sold through that group's program, compared with 300,000 condoms for the entire year of 1988. Richard A. Frank, president of Population Services International, said such condom use had averted an estimated 7,200 cases of H.I.V. infection.

The program has been expanded to include 10 other African countries,

and an additional program is targeted at prostitutes in Bombay, India.

Mr. Frank cited United States Census Bureau figures estimating that a 20 percent increase in condom use in the cities of developing countries could reduce the level of H.I.V. infection in those areas in the year 2015 by approximately one-half.

Anke A. Ehrhardt of the New York State Psychiatric Institute and Columbia University criticized the meager data about sexual behavior and changes in such behavior in the United States. She said, "Efforts to assess sexual behavior, design prevention programs, and to rigorously assess their effectiveness have been hampered by a battle between social scientists and representatives of religious and moralizing groups."

She told the participants that prevention messages to women and men needed to be gender-specific. "To make condom use the norm, we must particularly target heterosexual men," she said. "At the same time, women need to be given messages and tools that they can truly control." She said condom use was not a method that women could control.

Dr. Stephen Mills of the San Francisco Department of Health reported findings from a study showing "compelling evidence that Magic Johnson's H.I.V. diagnosis had the profound behavioral effect of motivating men and women to get tested for H.I.V." The effect was most profound among women, Dr. Mills said. He suggested that the influence of publicity about celebrities was underutilized in preventing AIDS.

Dr. Samuel Broder, the head of the Federal National Cancer Institute, said improved treatment results for AIDS were more likely to come from harnessing existing knowledge to improve combinations of already licensed drugs than from the discovery of radical new drugs.

2
1
2

DATE: July 22, '92

DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

Baker reportedly to lead Bush effort



GREETING: President Bush is welcomed Tuesday as he arrives in Philadelphia. During a visit to Archbishop Ryan High School, where he ate a box lunch, Bush said he favors tuition aid for families with children in private schools. (Today's debate, 8A) By Barry Thumma, AP

DAILY NEWS CLIPS
OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS
WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

ON THE NEXT MONTEL WILLIAMS SHOW:

MEDIA AFFAIRS STAFF MEMBERS WITH PHONES GROWING OUT OF THEIR EARS. ARE THEY FREAKS OF NATURE OR PRODUCTS OF THEIR WORK ENVIRONMENT?? YOU BE THE JUDGE.

SPECIAL GUEST: MEG "I'VE GOT TOO MUCH TIME ON MY HANDS" OFFIT, WHO WILL SHARE HER RECIPE FOR HANDLING SEVEN PHONE CALLS AT ONCE.

Cool Talk



In USA, 'spoiling for a fight'

By Richard Benedetto
USA TODAY

President Bush would appear to have much to gain and little to lose if he gets tough again with Iraqi President Saddam Hussein.

Many Americans — irked by Saddam's continued defiance of U.N. arms inspectors, despite a decisive military defeat last year — would eagerly support a new chance to punch him.

"Most people are still spoiling for a fight with Saddam. There's a sense of unfinished business," says Daniel Pipes, director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

Also, use of force would give Bush, now an underdog in his re-election race, a chance to grab the spotlight and show doubting voters he's again tough and decisive.

"Running against Saddam Hussein is a lot easier than running against Bill Clinton," says Democratic consultant Brian Lunde. "As long as Saddam misbehaves, it benefits Bush."

But while military risks of showing Saddam who's boss are small, the political dangers are considerably larger.

First, Bush must make sure the American people feel his actions are justified, and not a ruse to grab headlines in the heat of the campaign. Anything that smacks of Bush picking a fight and endangering American lives for political gain could backfire.

"Cynics might begin to remind people that he said he'd do anything to get re-elected," says Brookings Institution political analyst James Sundquist.

Also, Lunde cautions that Bush can't afford to look as if he's "milking the situation for political gain" by making it appear more critical than it is.

Republican consultant Eddie Mahe Jr. adds that if Bush is forced to take action, "it paints a negative picture that Desert Storm failed the first time," and opens a new debate.

However, Pipes says ousting Saddam from power was never a U.S. or U.N. goal, and could have resulted in a much more chaotic Middle East than exists today.

"Saddam is no longer a military threat to his neighbors, there are no civil wars like the one going on in Yugoslavia and

Sending a warning to Saddam

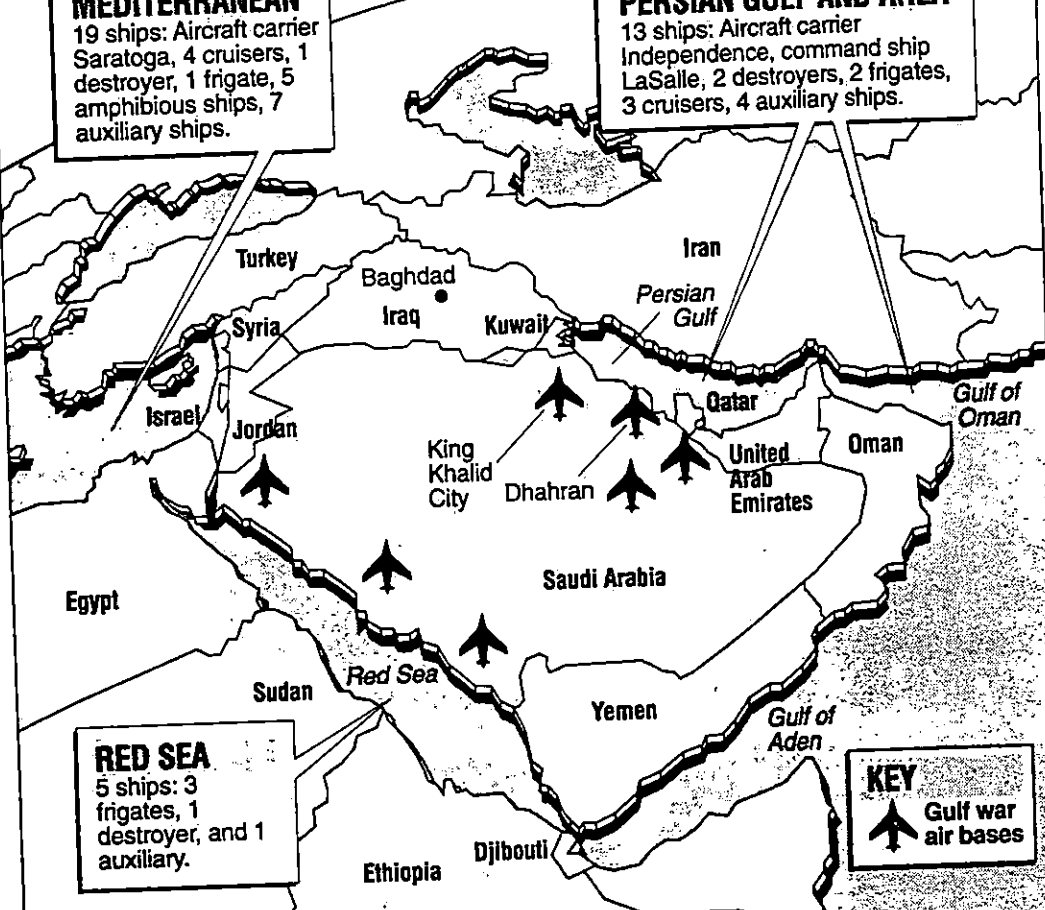
Pentagon officials say U.S. forces in the Persian Gulf region have the capability to attack Iraq — if necessary. A key target could be Iraq's agriculture ministry building, where U.N. inspectors are being prevented from entering. U.S. forces in the region:

MEDITERRANEAN

19 ships: Aircraft carrier Saratoga, 4 cruisers, 1 destroyer, 1 frigate, 5 amphibious ships, 7 auxiliary ships.

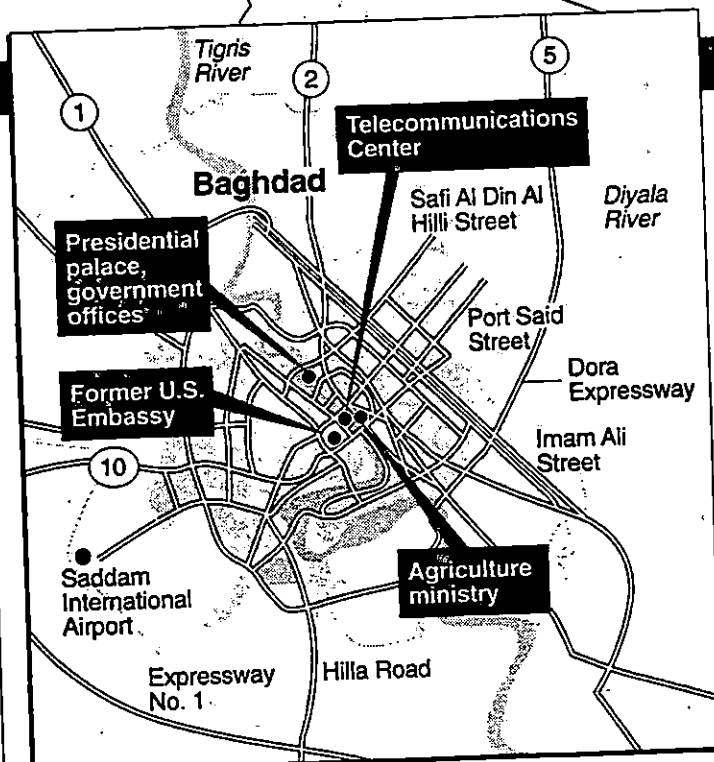
PERSIAN GULF AND AREA

13 ships: Aircraft carrier Independence, command ship LaSalle, 2 destroyers, 2 frigates, 3 cruisers, 4 auxiliary ships.



RED SEA

5 ships: 3 frigates, 1 destroyer, and 1 auxiliary.



U.S. AIRCRAFT

Stationed in the region:

AIR FORCE

F-15 attack fighters



F-117A stealth fighters



U-2 spy planes



NAVY

F-14 fighters



F/A-18 attack fighters



Radar-jamming EA-6B



By Marty Baumann, USA TODAY

Source: Defense Department, USA TODAY research

oil prices aren't going through the roof," Pipes says.

Sundquist suggests Bush may gain if Clinton appears to be "waffling" by waiting to gauge public opinion before

supporting or opposing any action Bush might take.

Bush gave no hint Tuesday how he'll react to Saddam's stubbornness, saying only, "We are insisting that they comply

with the U.N. resolutions."

David Beckwith, press secretary to Vice President Quayle, says Bush "will do what he has to do, irrespective of political considerations."

USA TODAY

NO. 1111

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

50 CENTS A DAY

Sanctions on Iraq extended

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

President Bush extended U.S. sanctions against Iraq Tuesday as allied officials begin talking of military action.

Bush's order — and an expected warning from allied officials — raises the stakes in the war of nerves with Iraq.

The warning likely will set a short deadline and hint of military action if Iraq continues to bar U.N. weapons inspectors from its Agriculture Ministry.

Diplomats believe Iraq is hiding biological weapons facilities and documents there.

And some have no doubt military action will result if the 17-day-old standoff continues.

U.N. officials fear for the in-

spectors' safety. "We are trying to prevent a tragedy," says U.N. team leader Rolf Ekeus.

Ekeus says Iraq is engaging in increasing harassment; thousands of demonstrators have encircled the team.

But Iraq's U.N. Ambassador Abdul Amir Anbari says "throwing a bomb or two ... is not going to change" Iraq's refusal to allow the inspectors in.

Allied diplomats say U.N. authorization isn't required for new military action.

Bush cited an "extraordinary threat to national security" in extending the sanctions, due to expire Aug. 2. They:

- Cut off trade.
- Froze assets in the USA.

► Inside the crisis, 4A

A 'new page' of Iraqi refusals

Baghdad refuses to budge

By Lee Michael Katz
USA TODAY

Tension between Iraq and the United Nations is escalating, prompted by a 17-day standoff between Iraq and chemical weapons inspectors.

The latest confrontation is between a U.N. team and Iraqi officials barring them from Baghdad's agriculture ministry building, where inspectors suspect chemical weapons documents may be hidden.

The friction is symptomatic of the United Nations' 16-month effort to neutralize Iraq's weapons of mass destruction as called for by gulf war cease-fire terms.

Baghdad is taking a "new page" in refusing to back down, says Iraq's U.N. Ambassador Abdul Amir Anbari:

► After months of negotiations with U.N. officials, Iraq now has seemingly rejected a plan to sell oil under strict U.N. monitoring. The plan would have raised \$1.6 billion for humanitarian aid to Iraqi civilians and war reparations.

► Iraq refused to renew an agreement allowing U.N. relief workers and civilian guards to operate within the country.

In a complicating factor, a U.N. guard was killed and two others were wounded in mysterious knife and grenade attacks this month in Kurdish-held northern Iraq. Iraq denies any responsibility.

► Iraq has refused to supply data on its nuclear suppliers to U.N. nuclear inspectors. Tuesday, a nine-member nuclear inspection team pulled out of Baghdad worried about harassment affecting the agricultural ministry U.N. team.

In a half-dozen previous weapons inspection confrontations, Iraq has bowed to the unspoken threat of U.S. and allied military action — to the point U.N. diplomats call Iraqi behavior "cheat and retreat."

In the current standoff, U.N. inspectors walked away with no hope for a resolution after weekend meetings with top Iraqi officials.

The confrontation came about inadvertently. U.N. inspectors didn't know until they arrived that the building they wanted to search was an Iraqi government building.

USA TODAY

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Shift likely after Rabin visits USA

By Johanna Neuman
and Judy Keen
USA TODAY

Secretary of State James Baker is resigning to run President Bush's beleaguered re-election campaign, *The New York Times* reported today.

The newspaper, quoting unnamed Bush officials and GOP strategists, said Baker would leave the State Department in mid-August, just after a visit to Washington by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin.

Democratic candidate Bill Clinton has surged ahead in polls, boosted by last week's convention and perceived disarray in Bush's campaign.

Bush and Baker, who headed Bush's 1988 campaign, went fishing last week at Baker's Wyoming ranch. It's believed they talked about Baker leaving his State Department job.

Bush's campaign says Baker's shift seems inevitable. It would give the president the advice of one of his oldest and politically savvy friends.

"It's smart speculation," said senior Bush campaign adviser Charles Black.

But it could also open Bush to criticism he was pulling Baker off peace-keeping efforts for the sake of his own re-election.

Baker, meanwhile, is in Damascus, Syria, today — seeking a breakthrough in Mideast peace negotiations.

Rabin, whose election victory last month over hard-liner Yitzhak Shamir, has energized the peace process:

► Visited Cairo on Tuesday to meet Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak, who accepted Rabin's invitation to visit Israel, its enemy in four wars.

► Has frozen Jewish settlements in occupied Arab lands.

► Tax issue in campaign, 5A

NATIONLINE

FROM USA TODAY'S NATIONAL NEWS NETWORK

Chicago killer had key to handcuffs

An investigation into the slaying of two law officers at Chicago's federal courthouse is focusing on how the killer, bank robbery defendant Jeffrey Erickson, got a key to his handcuffs, FBI agent Deborah Jones said Tuesday.



AP
ERICKSON: Killed himself after escape

Erickson, 34, used a widely available universal handcuff key to free himself before grabbing a guard's gun and killing a deputy U.S. marshal and a courthouse officer Monday. A wounded Erickson then killed himself. Officer Harry Belluomini, 58, a retired Chicago detective, fired four rounds after being mortally wounded by Erickson. The FBI's William Clancy called Belluomini a hero: "We can only speculate what kind of mischief Mr. Erickson may have caused had he been able to get up the ramp." Also killed: Deputy U.S. Marshal Roy Frakes, shot by Erickson at point-blank range near an elevator. Federal officials wouldn't comment on a WMAQ-TV News report that the deputy whose gun Erickson grabbed had been on the job nine months.

BIAS AWARD REJECTED: Texaco employee Janella Sue Martin, whose sex discrimination claim won her a promotion and \$20.3 million, lost the judgment on appeal. Los Angeles Judge Ronald Cappel reversed the landmark settlement Friday and ordered a new trial, saying the jury award was "so disproportionate." Martin says she'll appeal, saying it shows "the real battle that women still face."

PREP SCHOOL SCANDAL: Prestigious Phillips Exeter Academy is reeling from the arrest of 10-year teacher and department head Lane Bateman, 51, on charges of possessing child pornography after police seized 650 videotapes from his campus apartment. The New Hampshire school mailed 25,000 explanatory letters to students and parents.

FIRES CONTAINED: Firefighters surrounded more than a dozen blazes that scorched dry lands from Arizona to Idaho over the weekend. The biggest: 9,900 acres in central Oregon. A brush fire in Angeles National Forest 50 miles northwest of Los Angeles closed Interstate 5. No one was hurt.

40 hurt in bus accident



By John Gurzinski, Las Vegas Journal-Review via AP
INJURED SCOUTS: A volunteer helps two injured Girl Scouts on Tuesday after a bus carrying the troop missed a mountain curve 40 miles north of Las Vegas, rolled over and slid more than 100 yards upside down. Forty people were injured, four seriously, officials said.

EXECUTIONS: Florida electrocuted Edward Dean Kennedy, 46, who killed a state trooper and another man while a prison escapee. Also, a court-martial in Guam today sentenced former Air Force specialist Senior Airman Jose Simoy to death for the December beating death of co-worker Sgt. Stacy Levay. The last time the military executed someone was in 1952. Also, the Utah Board of Pardons denied clemency for William Andrews, to be executed July 30 for the torture-slayings of three people in a 1974 holdup. Andrews, who is black, says the all-white jury was tainted by racial bias. And Virginia Gov. Douglas Wilder rejected clemency for Edward Fitzgerald, to be executed Thursday for the 1980 rape and stabbing murder of a woman.

EARTHQUAKE OIL: Scientists say last month's powerful California earthquakes increased the flow of oil oozing from natural seeps in the Santa Susana mountains. Officials are scrambling to stop the goo from polluting rivers and killing wildlife. Dave Schmidt of the Environmental Protection Agency said the flow hit 2,300 gallons a week, but is "under control and we have a collection system for it."

BEAST UNBURDENED: A heavy-hearted hippo who wasn't the same since his brother died was buried beside him. Garth, age 8 or 9 and 7,000 pounds, was killed by lightning Monday at Octagon Animal Sanctuary in Punta Gorda, Fla. Since brother Percy was shot by vandals last August, Garth "was always walking around, making odd noises, like he was looking for something," said Octagon's Pete Caron.

ALSO TUESDAY . . .

► **OZONE STUDY:** Scientists in Atlanta launched weather balloons as part of a 5-year study of ozone in the southern USA, where high heat and humidity create dangerous levels of the colorless gas that is the chief ingredient of smog.

► **RAPE RULING:** A judge in Tavares, Fla., voided the state's statutory rape law, saying it violates privacy rights of teen-agers under 16 who consent to sexual relations with adults. Judge Jerry Lockett dismissed two criminal cases.

► **HAITIAN DROWNINGS:** As many as 91 people who were fleeing Haiti are believed to have drowned when a flimsy sailboat capsized Sunday off the country's northern coast. The Permanent Haitian Refugee Secretariat earlier reported 50 people had drowned in the craft built for 10.

Abortion foe cleared of conviction

Saying life begins at conception, a Kansas judge overturned the trespassing conviction of Elizabeth Tilson, arrested in last summer's abortion protests in Wichita. Sedgwick County District Judge Paul Clark said Tilson, 33, was justified in blockading the Wichita Family Planning Clinic because she was trying to save a life. The ruling applies only to Tilson, fined \$1,000 and sentenced to six months in jail. But Tilson said the decision will encourage others. Abortion rights leaders decried the ruling.



AP
TILSON: Arrested four times

Written by Paul Leavitt. Contributing: Steve Marshall, Robert Davis, Ron Prichard and Sandra Sanchez.

USA TODAY

NEW YORK

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

RSADAY

IN WASHINGTON

NUCLEAR ARMS FUEL: The United States is reported to be considering buying tons of weapons-grade uranium from cash-hungry Russia for possible use in U.S. nuclear power plants. *The New York Times* reports today that the Russians also have talked to France and Japan about possible sales of uranium derived from warheads. The Russians are desperately in need of hard currency, it said.

V-22 CRASH: Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, never a big fan of the hybrid helicopter-airplane V-22, believes Monday's crash of one of the aircraft has put the future of the \$30 billion V-22 program in jeopardy. Cheney's view was conveyed by his spokesman, Pete Williams, who said: "The crash raises serious questions about the V-22 program." The cause of the incident is still under investigation.

Meanwhile, the Pentagon and V-22 contractor Boeing released the names of the three Marines and four civilians who died in the crash near Quantico, Va.: Maj. Brian James, Baltimore County, Md.; Master Gunnery Sgt. Gary Leader, Milwaukee, Wis.; Gunnery Sgt. Sean Joyce, San Francisco, Calif.; Pat Sullivan, Aston, Pa.; Bob Rayburn, Newark, Del.; Tony Stecyk, Lester, Pa., and Gerry Mayan, Smyrna, Del.

CHINA TRADE: The House voted both to deny and put conditions on President Bush's continuation of China's most-favored-nation trade status. It first voted 258-135 — short the two-thirds majority needed to override a threatened veto — to overturn Bush's one-year extension of the preferential trade treatment. Lawmakers then voted 339-62 to put conditions on future renewal, to force China to improve its human rights, weapons and trade performance.

USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN THE

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

50 CENTS A DAY

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

PALERMO ATTACK: Angry mourners in Sicily, upset that Italian leaders can't stop Mafia violence, heckled and threatened Italy's president, prime minister and national police chief at a funeral for five bodyguards killed in a bomb blast along with Italy's top anti-Mafia investigator.

UKRAINIAN FLEET: Sailors in the disputed Black Sea fleet hoisted the Ukrainian flag over their warship and raced into Ukraine's port of Odessa pursued by Russian-commanded vessels, news agencies said. The incident brought Ukraine and Russia closer than ever before to an armed clash over the fleet.

CAMBODIA ULTIMATUM: The U.N. Security Council adopted a resolution cutting off aid to Cambodia's Khmer Rouge guerrillas — blamed for the deaths of 1 million people when they held power from 1975-79 — if they don't disarm as part of a U.N.-sponsored peace accord.



By Nigel Marple, AP

WAR GAMES: Children in Sarajevo play soldier Tuesday near a police checkpoint in the Bosnian capital.

Aid to Sarajevo continues

U.N. peacekeepers dodged mortar shells to keep an airlift of food and medicine going Tuesday in Sarajevo, while European Community mediator Lord Carrington pleaded with both sides in Bosnia's civil war to stop fighting. Scores of deaths were reported in and around Sarajevo. Gorazde, 30 miles outside the capital, continued to be hit hard by Serbian artillery and mortars.

USA TODAY

NO. 1

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

RS A DAY

National art awards go country

By LaCrisha Butler

Fans in high places can't hurt. Two country performers, Minnie Pearl and Earl Scruggs, are among recipients of a dozen 1992 National Medals of Art being awarded at the White House today.

Last year, Roy Acuff, who recently celebrated his 50th year with the Grand Ole Opry, was given the national medal, selected by President Bush, an avowed country music fan.

Pearl, 80, known for her down-home storytelling, is in Nashville recovering from a stroke. Her husband, Henry Cannon, will accept the award.

Bluegrass banjo player Scruggs, 68, won fame with his partner, the late Lester Flatt, and the



PEARL

Foggy Mountain Boys. He played the theme to TV's *Beverly Hillbillies*.

Other medals will go to opera singer Marilyn Horne, actor James Earl Jones, sculptor Allan Houser, TV producer and museum director Robert Saudek, choral director Robert Shaw, jazz pianist Billy Taylor, architects Robert Venturi and Denise Scott Brown, film director Robert Wise, AT&T and the Lila Wallace Reader's Digest Fund.

Nominations for the awards to artists and art patrons are solicited by the National Endowment for the Arts. The National Council on the Arts recommends artists; President Bush makes the final choices.

LaCrisha Butler writes for Gannett News Service.

ELECTION '92

A LOOK AT THE CANDIDATES AND THE ISSUES

Bush to air TV ads prior to convention

One measure of President Bush's position in the polls: He'll launch TV ads before the GOP convention next month in Houston, a strategy unheard of for an incumbent president in the past two decades.



COSTNER: May appear in Bush ad.

"The campaign is in trouble," says Don Sipple, who quit Bush's advertising team earlier this summer. "They have to get out there now and bring into focus Bush's accomplishments. They can't start Labor Day this far behind."

Among spots under consideration are testimonials from Barbara Bush, Ronald Reagan, and actor Kevin Costner.

Clayton Wilhite, a director of Bush's ad team says the spots will reflect "the commanding strengths of the presidential performance in office, the strengths of his philosophy of government and the strengths of (his) initiatives."

Bush advisers favor early ads, in part, because the campaign still has \$7 million that, by law, must be returned to the U.S. treasury once Bush is nominated. Candidates then draw on \$55 million in public funds for the general election.

Bush advisers also say ads now can help lure Perot supporters back to the fold, and dampen Bill Clinton's surge.

But the president's poor public perception is the major reason the campaign will try to dominate the airwaves early. Noting polls showing Bush trailing Clinton by a ratio of more than 2-to-1, John Sasso, who managed Michael Dukakis' campaign against Bush in 1988, says, "It's unprecedented for a sitting president to be this unpopular. He doesn't have any choice. He needs to get back in the ballgame."

Former Bush adman Robert Goodman says Bush needs to move beyond the White House. "I think George has to start going into town meetings," Goodman says. "People have to see him in human terms again." — *Leslie Phillips*

SCHOOL CHOICE: President Bush, at a Catholic high school in Philadelphia, pushed his plan to let parents choose among schools, "public, private or religious," using government tuition aid. He calls that "a distinct difference" dividing him from Bill Clinton. Clinton favors giving parents more choice within the public school system but not federal aid to help them send their children to private schools.

SCALING BACK: Ross Perot's bid for the White House sprang up seemingly in a day. Dismantling it is requiring a bit more time. At Perot headquarters in Dallas Tuesday, campaign chairman Tom Luce was packing up his desk, headed back to the financial firm he founded just months before enlisting with Perot. Movers were hauling out furniture and computers. And, today, aides are expected to pull the plug on the phone bank, which registered more than 1 million phone calls in March and just 400 on Monday.

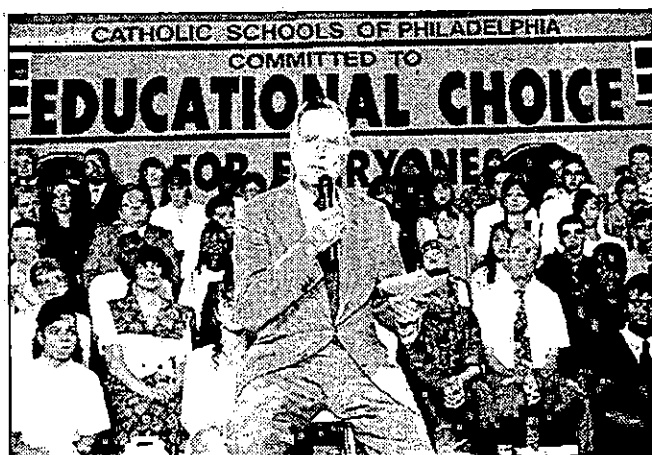
Not all is done, however. Perot will be available to meet again with state leaders, there are reports to file and staff is putting finishing touches on the platform. "There will still be a core group here," says spokeswoman Sharon Holman. "You don't shut it down overnight."

CONVENTION DYNAMITE: A bag of explosives was found outside Madison Square Garden at the Democratic National Convention, say New York police. The explosives — seized during a demonstration against police brutality Thursday night — included four half-sticks of dynamite and 27 "blockbuster" firecrackers equivalent to another quarter-stick of dynamite. No arrests have been made.

POLITICAL TALK: "Don't count on it, Father. That's not the way it appears, man." — President Bush in Philadelphia, responding to a priest's remark that the presidency makes Bush a man of power and clout.

Election coverage

- ▶ Baker to help Bush? **1A**
- ▶ Georgia primary, **3A**
- ▶ Taxes top issue, **5A**
- ▶ Bush says he'll battle liberal siege, **5A**
- ▶ School choice, **8A**
- ▶ Musicians look again at Tipper Gore, **1D**



By Gary Cameron, Reuters

CLASSROOM CAMPAIGN: President Bush answers questions from students and teachers at Archbishop Ryan High School in Philadelphia on Tuesday.

Undecided voters hold out for 'straight talk'

By Judy Keen
 USA TODAY

GARFIELD, N.J. — Mary Szlazek, waving an American flag, nodded attentively Tuesday as President Bush vowed to fight for families that are "under liberal siege."

But Szlazek, an undecided Republican, was waiting for Bush to talk about the issue that matters most to her at a rally outside Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church.

Her vote "depends on which of these fellows persuades me he knows how bad our economy is and that he's got some ideas for fixing it," said the mother of three, a part-time legal secretary. "And by fixing it, I mean without raising my taxes."

Szlazek is ripe for the Bush campaign's first full-fledged assault on rival Bill Clinton: a blitz designed to portray the Democratic nominee's economic growth plan as a folly that would inevitably lead to higher taxes on people like her.

Clinton's plan, Bush said Monday, would be "a big mistake" because of its call for higher taxes — though it would raise income taxes only on those making more than \$200,000.

Bush's goals: Deflect attention from his own negligible success in jump-starting the economy, and reinforce the implication that Clinton doesn't have a magic solution either.

In Washington Tuesday, Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan predicted a modest rebound in economic growth.

"We've been through this long, slow recession," Bush said. "In my view, we are poised for a good recovery."

If hammering at Clinton's ideas doesn't dent his popularity, the Bush campaign may raise questions about his character — a tactic considered risky because it might spark backlash. Szlazek says she wants "straight talk about jobs and my kids' future, please. I don't know if Clinton's really against taxes, and I don't know if Bush has any new ideas he hasn't tried yet."

Condemning "liberals" for endorsing distribution of birth control pills in schools, Bush said: "They even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their parents into court." That was interpreted as an attack on Hillary Clinton, who has written children should be able to sue their parents in certain cases.



By Greg Gibson, AP
KISSING BABIES: Bill Clinton tries to coax a smile out of 6-month-old Luke Ervin during a stop at Seneca High School in Louisville on Tuesday, Day 5 of his six-day bus trip.

Clinton caravan rides on November issues

By Adam Nagourney
USA TODAY

EVANSVILLE, Ind. — In the end, Bill Clinton's six-day bus trip, which concludes today in St. Louis, was about more than just pretty pictures of cheering crowds, small towns, steel mills and a caravan of vehicles snaking across rolling farmland.

The rhetoric and symbols Clinton used vividly illustrate the underlying struggle developing in the fall election.

How much will Clinton succeed in turning the debate on the economy, forcing Bush to defend his performance and his sensitivity to what Clinton calls the "forgotten middle class"?

Or how much will Clinton be forced on the defensive again, talking not about his economic plan but about his character and record as Arkansas governor?

"That is the key strategy question of this race," said Clinton campaign manager David Wilhelm.

The bus tour, which crossed Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois Tuesday, was filled with images of flags, kids, barns. More important, Clinton took advantage of this period of public attention to try to inoculate himself against attacks lying ahead.

So while Clinton warned "We are killing the hope for the future," his speeches were infected with an optimism to counter Republican descriptions of him as another in a line of "gloom and doom" Democrats.

"We can do it! We can do it! We can do it!" Clinton said at stop after stop. He stressed that his economic plan would hike taxes only on the wealthy — in anticipation of GOP attempts to paint him as another tax-and-spend Democrat.

His choice of route, through small towns where few Democratic presidential candidates have gone before, sought to rebut an image of Clinton as another Democrat from the cities, which have become alien to suburban voters Clinton needs.

And his rhetoric, a populist hybrid between Ross Perot and Harry Truman — "You're the boss," he told voters — was aimed at efforts to portray him as part of the "cultural elite."

"The Bush people are going to try to paint Bill Clinton and Al Gore as some kind of liberals from Mars — completely out of touch," said Wilhelm. "But that's going to be a difficult sell coming out of this convention and this bus trip."

To keep the momentum going, Clinton is considering such things as a boat ride down the Mississippi and a bus trip through central California.

Still, it's way too early to assess how successful Clinton has been at this; the Republicans have yet to get their shot.

But when the history of this campaign is written, these past 10 days could be remembered as the period in which Clinton won by blunting Bush's attacks before Bush got out of the gate — or as an ultimately meaningless, if joyful, summer lark.

USA TODAY

NO. 1 IN THE
NATION

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

PSA 1011

RUMOR CENTRAL

Tracking truth on campaign trail

The departure of Ross Perot — and the rise by Bill Clinton in the polls — has led to so many rumors about the Bush campaign that the media spent much of Tuesday chasing them down. First, the rumor, then the official response:



QUAYLE: Ill health rumor untrue

► **Rumor:** President Bush is seriously ill.

Response: Burton Lee, Bush's doctor, said Tuesday Bush is "in perfect health. ... He's fine. He's got nothing."

► **Rumor:** Vice President Quayle will be dumped, and replaced by Secretary of State James Baker. Or he'll be replaced by everyone from Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Colin Powell to Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole, his wife, Elizabeth, or HUD Secretary Jack Kemp.

Response: Baker on the ticket is "just all nonsense," says Bush campaign adviser Charles Black. "That stuff is wild."

Adds Quayle spokesman David Beckwith: "Yesterday after having private lunch with the president, Quayle came back and continued work on his acceptance speech."

And Bush domestic adviser Clayton Yeutter offers this: "One should never close the door 100% of the way. I'm sure the president wouldn't close it 100% of the way. But I'd say it's about 99.999% closed."

► **Rumor:** Quayle will not seek re-election because his wife, Marilyn, is ill.

Response: "Rumors that the vice president is stepping down are a perennial in presidential politics. This business of Mrs. Quayle's health is malicious and not true," says Beckwith.

► **Rumor:** Baker will leave the State Department to head up Bush's re-election campaign.

Response: "It's smart speculation," says Black. Hmmm. There's one. Maybe.

WHERE CANDIDATES ARE TODAY

Democrats Bill Clinton: Interviewed on CBS *This Morning*, 7:10 a.m. ET; St. Louis; Little Rock.
Al Gore: St. Louis; Nashville.

Republicans George Bush: At White House.
Dan Quayle: Interviewed on CNN's *Larry King Live*, 9 p.m. ET; in Washington, D.C.

Compiled by David Colton. Contributing: Richard Benedetto, Debbie Howlett, Judy Keen and Bill Nichols

WASHINGTON AND THE WORLD

Until November, 'politics only' on Capitol Hill

By Judi Hasson
USA TODAY

Democrats in Congress have one issue topping their agenda as they get back to work: how to make themselves look better than President Bush.

Forget about health care reform, tax relief for the middle class, reducing the deficit or cutting the capital gains tax.

With the presidential campaign in full swing, it is "politics only" on Capitol Hill.

"This is an election year," says Sen. Richard Shelby, D-Ala. "All the ingredients get fed into the political grist."

And that works against anything of substance happening, says Sen. Arlen Specter, R-Pa. "There's been unconscionable gridlock," he says.



“
This is an election year.
All the ingredients get
fed into the political—
grist.
”

— Sen. Richard Shelby, D-Ala.

Democrats set up the first confrontation Tuesday, putting limits on Bush's extension of China's tax break on imports.

Still, House Speaker Thomas Foley, D-Wash., and Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell, D-Maine, vowed Tuesday to

keep on the legislative track. "It's our obligation to do what's in the best interests of the country whether there's a campaign on or not," Mitchell says.

But first, Democrats face another round of political scandal. An investigative report —

coming as early as today — is expected to detail abuse of the patronage system and mismanagement of the House's loosely run postal system.

And Democrats also face Republican accusations they want only to embarrass Bush.

"They pass outrageous bills the president has to veto and then call him insensitive," says Sen. Orrin Hatch, R-Utah.

Counters Foley: "We are not trying to embarrass the White House. We are trying to get some things done."

Democratic leaders have a long list of domestic legislation for the four weeks wedged between conventions and before September's close. Bush has different views on each:

► Abortion legislation to pro-

hibit most state restrictions on abortion, certain to cause a confrontation with Bush.

► A Democratic health care plan to make health insurance more affordable and accessible — opposed by Bush, who has his own proposal.

► Spending bills to keep the government operating with cuts Bush doesn't want.

► A tax increase for the wealthiest Americans with revenue going to needy children. Bush opposes any tax increase.

Although lawmakers hope to forge some compromises, most are skeptical.

"It's a little late" for compromise with Bush, says House Majority Leader Richard Gephardt, D-Mo. "We've had 3½ years to work together."

USA TODAY

No. 1

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

15¢ A DAY

USA TODAY • WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 • 5A

CAMPAIGN '92

Clinton's armed for GOP assaults

By Bill Nichols
USA TODAY

Tax-and-spend liberal. Tax-and-spend agenda.

Get comfortable with those two phrases because you're going to hear them applied, over and over again, to Bill Clinton by President Bush and a cast of Republican allies.

But, despite decades of success with the tax-and-spend charge at the presidential level and below, Republicans face a different kind of Democrat, one whose record and platform could mute the battle cry.

"We're expecting it," says Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey. "They're trying to divert people from the important issues."

Bush and his GOP comrades wasted no time this week casting Clinton's proposed economic plan and 12-year record in Arkansas as case studies in traditional Democratic red ink.

"Smoke and mirrors," said Bush. "Why is a tax increase the centerpiece of your economic growth agenda?" asked Vice President Quayle.

Tuesday, Sen. Phil Gramm, R-Texas, added: "George McGovern's proposal in 1972 was fiscally conservative and pro-business as compared to Bill Clinton's economic proposal."

But the Arkansas governor is pushing himself as a centrist who thinks he can avoid the big-spend, big-taxer label.

How Clinton, Bush tax plans differ

CLINTON'S PLAN



USA TODAY

Increase taxes on the wealthy by \$92 billion over four years — mostly by raising the top income tax rate to between 36% and 38% on taxpayers with more than \$200,000 in adjusted gross income, and imposing 10% surtax on millionaires; a \$22.5 billion tax cut for the poor and middle class — either by lower income tax rates or an unspecified tax credit for families with children.

BUSH'S PLAN



AFP

No income tax changes; cut capital-gains tax up to 45% on real estate, stock, bond sales; give first-time home buyers \$5,000 tax credit; grant 15% investment tax credit; extend low-income housing, research, energy, jobs tax credits; repeal luxury tax on airplanes, boats; allow interest deduction on student loans; waive IRA withdrawal penalties for education, medical expenses, first-time home buyers.

Some reasons why:

► Clinton will point to the state of the economy and ridicule Bush's 1988 "Read my lips, no new taxes" pledge, which he broke in 1990.

Clinton aides say that gives sufficient cover to his plan to raise tax rates on people making over \$200,000 a year and put a 10% surtax on millionaires.

► Though the GOP will hammer Clinton's record — three major tax increases, and more than \$1.5 billion in new taxes — this is not Michael Dukakis.

Taxes collected in Arkansas

have roughly doubled since 1980, but Clinton has specifically targeted much of that toward popular education reforms. He balanced all 11 annual budgets, and Arkansas ranks 42nd among the states in tax burden.

Despite liberal critics, Clinton also offered massive tax breaks for business, enticing \$8.2 billion in new plant investment and 200,000 new jobs.

And that sounds like a resume any 12-year GOP governor would love to flaunt — making the GOP's job tougher.

Some in Arkansas have

rapped Clinton as a traditional big spender. "Raise and spend was his theme song," says Republican banker Frank White, who defeated Clinton in his 1980 re-election bid.

"He's doubled the taxes ... and the question is: Have things improved that much?"

But most of the criticism has come from Clinton's left, blasting his use of sales tax hikes.

For Bush to criticize that would have him accuse Clinton of favoring the wealthy over the middle-class and poor — precisely what Clinton says Bush

has consistently done.

Some context: Arkansas' 1874 constitution requires approval by three-quarters of the Legislature — a political miracle — to raise any tax but the sales tax.

That provision mirrors a strongly anti-tax, anti-big government state where property taxes are low and any new spending is fiercely debated.

"The really bad press (Clinton) gets is putting these regressive taxes on low- and middle-income people," says University of Arkansas at Little Rock political scientist Cal Lebetter. "But ... there's no other way to go."

Critics say Clinton should have put the full weight of his office — aides argue he did — behind a 1988 referendum to repeal the three-quarter rule.

"He didn't lift a finger," says *Arkansas Times* editor John Brummett, "until the last weekend, when some of the special interests came at him."

Clinton also has been accused of unfairly targeting lower-income residents by applying the state sales tax to food — only 17 other states do so — and raising taxes on used cars.

But Lebetter, while agreeing that many taxes Clinton raised were regressive, says he had no choice. "I think the choice in Arkansas is either sales tax or no services at all."

► Campaign index, 4A

LETTERS

Voters deserve to see George Bush and Bill Clinton debate, **USA TODAY** said Monday in an editorial. Readers respond:

Debate guidelines

There should be no less than two or more than four debates. Questioners should be balanced between liberal and conservative viewpoints. Debate judges — one conservative, one liberal — should call debaters when they skirt issues and don't answer the questions.

Questions should focus on economic issues, such as balanced budget, employment and job creation, plus foreign affairs, the environment and entitlement programs.

Carol L. Ball
Arcanum, Ohio

Voters ask questions

There should be at least five debates, one right after the Republican convention, two in September and two in October. I don't think there should be a moderator; let the two guys go at it.

There should be two or three

Memorable lines from debates

"Senator, you're no Jack Kennedy."
— Lloyd Bentsen to Dan Quayle, 1988

"There you go again."
— Ronald Reagan to Jimmy Carter, 1980

"There is no Soviet domination of Eastern Europe."
— Gerald Ford, 1976

town hall meetings via satellite, which is easy to do with modern technology. Then people all over the country could get the two men on a stage and call in to ask any question they want. We'd get a better perspective of the candidates and get a better idea how the election will go.

Barry Levine
Denver, Colo.

Fast talker wins

A debate shows who can think quickly and give a polished response. It doesn't necessarily reflect the best candidate to run the country. I'd rather see a comprehensive set of questions asked of each can-

didate and have them respond specifically, in writing.

There are very few instances where a president has to make an instantaneous decision. Rather, he has access to the best and brightest minds. I'd rather see how he addresses the problems of the country with his advisers. See how he works with people, how he comes up with an idea and formulates his plan, rather than just who can talk the best off the top of his head.

Jefferson Green
Cleveland, Ohio

Debate on TV

They should debate on TV, for instance on a show like

Larry King's, where the moderator would introduce them and chat with them a little and then take calls from the public. That way, they'd get calls from people all over the USA.

Linda Trahan
Naples, Fla.

Seems worthless

I don't think they should debate. Anything you ask George Bush he seems to avoid answering by just talking around the question. It just doesn't seem like you get anywhere; it's just worthless.

Barry Tetrick
Everett, Wash.

Speak for themselves

There should be several debates between Bill Clinton and George Bush. That would put pressure on the candidates to speak without the benefit of handlers and speechwriters and avoid the news media's 10-second sound-bite restrictions that reduce a presidential campaign from a debate of ideas to childish sloganeering.

Eric Futterman
Winter Park, Fla.

COMMENT

Reject rappers' negative moral messages

Ice-T's rage may need to be heard, but not by impressionable junior high students.

Many people, especially in the African-American community, are becoming increasingly concerned about the messages communicated by certain rap artists.

Some rap artists, such as Arrested Development and Queen Latifah, reflect a concern for humanity and offer inspiration and hope. Others, like Ice-T, are in the gutter and reflect the values of the sewer.

Psychologist Frances Cress has said, "Those who would destroy us have finally found a way to do so more efficiently than ever before. They no longer need the Klan or Skinheads — they are using our youth."

The impact of rap is profound. Young people of all backgrounds are turning on to its pounding rhythms and pointed messages. Some artists are struggling to give listeners something of value; others see about them only a world in which the law is kill or be killed. It's the negative messages, like Ice-T's rap about killing police officers, that cause concern.

Ice-T's perspective on life? "A human being is just another animal in the big jungle. And human beings are the most dangerous animals in the jungle. We are merciless. We go to war, drop nuclear bombs..."

Yes, and we also go to church, give to the poor, staff shelters for the homeless, contribute to medical research, do what we can to resolve conflict in the world around us and agonize over all of those aspects of the world that bother Ice-T.

"Just chill out and reproduce," he says. "Keep the species alive."

So that's Ice-T's reason for living: sex and reproduction. Nothing else makes sense to him. Life has no other dimension.

The mystery of life is that it can be defined only by the individual for himself or herself. Life is what the individual brings to it by way of faith and belief. The living spiritual world of our existence does not ask us to change to conform to its reality,



By Armstrong Williams, a Washington writer and public relations executive.

but instead gives us precisely the kind of world we believe in — with all its rewards and negative consequences.

The expectations and beliefs of the criminal are met in a life of crime, flight from prosecution, incarceration and guilt. Life for the criminal is a self-made hell.

The individual who seeks peace and spiritual growth may not be spared conflict, but he or she will grow spiritually. The world has never known overall peace, but many have known inner peace amid the turmoil.

Ice-T's cry of frustration and rage may need to be heard, but by the thinkers and theologians — not impressionable junior high students. It would take our best thinkers to put into Ice-T's vocabulary the message that humanity is not alone, that the supernatural exists, and that the brave always offer hope and peace, not anger and violence.

It's easy to be frustrated and angry. It's easy to hate. Killing is the course of least resistance. Mankind has been killing for millions of years. As we near the third millennium of the Christian era, it's a pity we still have among us individuals with the moral maturity of Neanderthals.

Today's debate is on **CHOICE IN EDUCATION** and what's best for the nation's schoolchildren.

Keep education 'choice' focused on public schools

OUR VIEW Letting families choose schools is a good idea, but limit choice to public schools.

There are two kinds of choices: smart ones and wrongheaded ones. On "school choice," voters have one of each to pick between in November.

The smart kind of choice is the sort Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton endorses. He urges that school districts let families select the public school their children will attend.

The wrongheaded kind is the sort President Bush devised, to be introduced in Congress today. Bush wants to include private schools among the choices, and he would help parents pay tuition with federally funded \$1,000 yearly scholarships. Other plans would

ELECTION '92 Promising ideas

An occasional series

Where choice in public schools is working:

► Minnesota: Open enrollment; high-school transfers allowed.

► Arkansas: Open enrollment, subject to space and racial balance.

► Iowa: Open enrollment; state money for courses not taught in school.

let parents apply their public-school taxes to private-school tuition.

Both plans aim to enhance education by inspiring schools to compete. Only public-school choice does that fairly.

Poorer kids and poor performers are left behind in Bush's plan. Private schools would be open only to students who can pay the remaining tuition and meet entrance requirements.

It also squanders money that Clinton's plan would more wisely spend on aid for public schools. And it encourages eager students and parents to abandon public schools that need their help.

Programs already in use show public-school choice does more with less risk. A largely black, Hispanic East Harlem, N.Y., district illustrates the results.

Students choose among 24 magnet junior high schools. Each has a curricular theme, such as environmental science, creative learning, and math and science. Results: The district's academic rank rose from last of 32 districts to 16th. Reading and math levels rose from 15% of scores at or above grade level to 65%.

The smartest choice in school choice is the one that benefits the most kids. That's public-school choice.

Give parents full choice

OPPOSING VIEW Let tax dollars go to schools that underscore, not undermine, parents' values.

The education establishment opposes public funds for private and religious schools because it fears competition from those schools that produce superior students.

Why do liberals favor "choice" on abortion but oppose education choice? Is it because groups like the National Education Association must control the minds and spirits of children and exclude competing ideas if they are to rear the next generation of liberals? Education choice would break the ideological monopoly of public schools and allow parents to affirm their moral values, which the current system too often opposes.

The education monopoly has stripped the public schools so that they fail



By Cal Thomas, a Manassas, Va., writer and lecturer.

to teach many how to make a living or how to live. The NEA once published an "American Citizens Handbook" which it allowed to go out of print in 1968 because its politics had changed. The handbook asserted, "The American concept of democracy in government had its roots in religious belief. The ideal of the brotherhood of man roots down into the fundamentals of religion. The teachings of the Hebrew prophets and of Jesus Christ inculcate the idea of brotherhood. The growth of the idea gave us the concept of democracy in government. It ennobled home life. It emphasized the sacredness of human personality."

As the USA has forgotten these principles, and suffered the predictable consequences, Russia is restructuring its public schools to include the religious ideals we have expelled.

Parents, not the state, should direct the education of children. If parents believe their values are best affirmed in private, even religious schools, their tax dollars should go to schools that underscore, not undermine, those values.

There should be "no taxation without representation."

Don't dismiss rape

On another topic, USA TODAY urges the Army to help its female soldiers fight sexual violence.

Memo to all males in the U.S. Army: Get a grip — preferably on something other than the nearest female colleague.

Then get to work creating a climate that would end outrages like those now emerging from Army files.

In the Persian Gulf, at least 24 female soldiers reported rapes, attempted rapes, assaults. Attacked on guard duty. In a tent. In a hospital bed — by a medic.

Among reactions: This will fuel the debate over allowing women in the military. Ridiculous. So was an unnamed

Army official's suggestion that the Army's assault rate really was pretty low. Wyoming had 30 rapes per 100,000 in 1990; the Army in the gulf had two.

But why dismiss even one rape? And why assume these cases — reluctantly, belatedly made public — represent anything more than a sampling of abuse?

Consider the women who waited weeks to complain. They were afraid — understandable, in a service that saves its top jobs for men. But that needn't be.

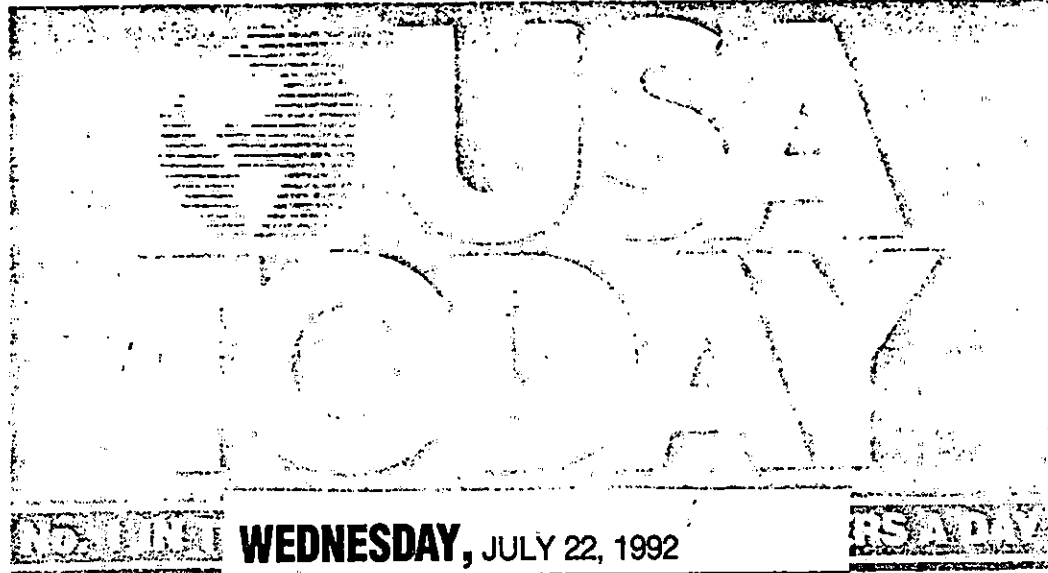
The Army has several programs for victims, but no special help for women soldiers reporting rapes. Most local governments long ago recognized the need for such an effort; so should the Army.

Most importantly, no soldier — general to recruit — should tolerate even tacit acceptance of sexual violence.

The concept is simple. But it's one with which soldiers must come to grips.

CORRECTION: Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton has agreed to all three dates for debates proposed by the Commission on Presidential Debates, contrary to an assertion made Monday in a USA TODAY editorial.

► The rape reports, 4A



WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

COMMENT

While AIDS experts confer in Amsterdam, the USA needs to focus on curbing the spread of the virus among adolescents.

The fresh young faces of our adolescents are increasingly becoming the new faces of AIDS — and as a nation we have not yet begun to recognize that fact.

The plain truth is that today, in this country, millions of high school and college-age students may be at dire risk of contracting the human immunodeficiency virus and AIDS.

Through June, 872 cases of adolescents with AIDS were reported in the United States. This deceptively small number obscures the fact that over 44,000 young adults ages 20-29 have been reported with AIDS, many of whom may have been infected during their teen-age years. In 1989, HIV/AIDS became the sixth leading cause of death among young people ages 15-24.

AIDS cases reported among adolescent females have more than doubled — from 13% of all adolescent cases in 1987 to 34% in 1991 — and more than half are due to heterosexual contact. While the overall ratio of males to females reported with AIDS is 8 to 1 in adults, it is 2.7 to 1 among teen-agers.

Studies indicate the average age of first sexual experience among U.S. adolescents is 16. A 1990 survey of adolescents by the Centers for Disease Control reported that 54% were sexually active before finishing high school and 19% had four or more partners.

I must stress this is usually unprotected sexual activity. Of the students surveyed who had sex in the three preceding months, 45% reported using condoms. Condom use dropped significantly as age increased.

Also, 8 million cases of sexually transmitted diseases occur annually among persons under the age of 25 — the equivalent of a teen-ager contracting a sexually transmitted disease

every 30 seconds.

Young people must understand the links in the chain of alcohol and other drugs, risky sex practices, multiple sex partners, unprotected sex and sexually transmitted diseases which can lead to transmission of HIV and AIDS. Too many young people fail to recognize these risks and obtain professional guidance and support. Of the adolescents who did seek AIDS/HIV counseling and testing last year, fully 56% did not return for their test results.

As surgeon general, I cannot allow the spread of HIV in adolescents to continue unchecked. We must impress upon our young people that abstinence is the only sure way to protect themselves from acquiring a sexually transmitted disease or HIV. But being realistic, I believe we must also educate our youth about the best ways to protect themselves if they choose to be sexually active. For them, we must not fail to provide adequate instruction on correct use of condoms and alert them to their obligations and responsibilities toward their sexual partners. Above all, we must foster in them a cautious, sensible and realistic approach to sex.

As caring adults, we must empathize with youth and remember that most of them will find themselves in risky situations lasting for perhaps no more than a few minutes but having perhaps a lifetime of consequences.

Health-care providers and government officials have to



By Antonia C. Novello, surgeon general of the Public Health Service.

deal with complex problems when attempting to balance parental rights with the autonomy of the young person. Issues like consent to be tested, notification of minors who test positive, and disclosure of results to parents and/or sexual and drug partners who may be at risk will have to be addressed — all while respecting confidentiality. We must ensure that adolescents have access to testing and counseling that they will feel comfortable going to.

The importance of raising adolescents' awareness of the dangers of HIV/AIDS cannot be overstated. But we must be watchful that our struggle to educate them is not rendered

hollow by failure to provide humane, respectful and confidential services to all adolescents.

The success or failure of our efforts to address HIV infection in adolescents depends less on the components of our initiatives than on the will needed to carry them out. We cannot permit the ultimately divisive issues of adolescent development to hinder our efforts. The time has come to open our eyes to the changing faces of AIDS, to do away with blame and to share, instead, in the wisdom and experience that will protect our children — and theirs — from the tragedy of AIDS.

► AIDS conference, 1A, 4D

THE EDITORIAL PAGE



By William Costello of Newspaper Enterprise Association for USA TODAY

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Who Lost Prosperity?

WHO'S TO BLAME for the uncertain state of the economy and the high unemployment? Alan Greenspan, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, gave his audience less comfort than it sought when he testified yesterday before the Senate Banking Committee. Some of the Democrats angrily suggested that perhaps Mr. Greenspan himself bears some of the responsibility, for failing to reduce interest rates faster. But as they know, even very low interest rates haven't been having as much effect as either the politicians or the economists expected.

Mr. Greenspan has been arguing for some time that the country is convalescing from the enormous boom of the 1980s, a time of much too much easy borrowing and easy spending not only by the government but by businesses and individuals. Who's to blame for the result? Just about everybody. In the past recession, people began to realize that their debts were too big. Since then they've been paying them down instead of returning to the kind of big spending that would make the economy grow faster. That has meant a slow and disappointing recovery, but Mr. Greenspan sees evidence that the process of pay-back has come a long way, and growth is likely to pick up gradually over the coming year.

Several senators sternly demanded faster action. Mr. Greenspan further exasperated them by observing that the kind of action they had in mind was dangerous. To try to push interest rates much lower could increase the widespread fears of inflation ahead, and that would perversely result in higher interest. As for the other favorite medicine, a burst of federal spending, it might provide a mild lift in the very short run. But it would increase the federal deficit and aggravate the burden that is causing much of the present poor performance. That's the nature of the jam that the country got itself into. The United States has repeatedly told countries in Latin America and Eastern Europe that they have to go through a period of readjustment that will be difficult. On a much more modest scale, the same thing is true here.

The senators wanted to know what Mr. Greenspan's monetary policy had done for the country lately. He pointed out that the 1980s were the first great speculative boom since World War II. In the past, that kind of boom generally ended in an enormous crash and—although he didn't use the word—depression. This time Americans have managed—so far—to make their way through a risky and difficult passage with nothing worse than the lingering effects of a medium-sized recession.

Mayor Kelly's Proclamation

"I PREDICT that whites will turn on the media and those who control it for having poisoned them against a man with a message from God, in the same way the Jews poisoned the masses against Jesus" (May 9, 1988).

"I told you [Mayor Barry] that when the people see you weak and afraid, bowing down to the Jews, they will hate you" (Oct. 27, 1989).

"We are not anti-anything. We are pro-black. In fact, we're not teaching hate, we're representing the victims of hate. . . . The real problem is the arrogance of Jewish leaders who think they are above criticism" (Dec. 11, 1989).

All the above are statements of Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad, minister of health and national spokesman for the Nation of Islam's leader, Minister Louis Farrakhan.

"On this day, it is, henceforth duly recognized that Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad is an individual who has admirably demonstrated his ongoing commitment to fostering betterment in the United States and in this community; . . . I, The Mayor of the District of Columbia, do hereby proclaim July 11, 1992, as 'ABDUL ALIM MUHAMMAD DAY' in Washington D.C. and call upon all the residents of this city to join me in saluting Dr. Abdul Alim Muhammad."

That is from a July 11 proclamation by Mayor Sharon Pratt Kelly.

The mayor's decision to honor Dr. Muhammad

only days after a similar move was blocked in the D.C. Council was one of the most profoundly disappointing acts of her administration. The council's agreement to set aside the proposed salute had nothing to do with the Nation of Islam's highly regarded anti-drug work in the city's Mayfair Mansions and Paradise Manor housing projects, with Dr. Muhammad's medical work or with his treatment of HIV-positive patients. The council's objection to Harry Thomas's ceremonial proposal had everything to do with the message the resolution would have sent about the city's stance on prejudice and antisemitism. That is why council Chairman John Wilson, at the suggestion of council member Jim Nathanson and with the support of several council members, referred Mr. Thomas's resolution to a committee, where it will likely die.

Less clear is Mayor Kelly's intervention or the way she did it—without a public announcement. To argue that antisemitic words can be outweighed by or compartmentalized from community deeds or that—as suggested by the mayor's spokesman—setting aside a ceremonial day in honor of Dr. Muhammad shouldn't be seen as an endorsement of his divisive remarks is self-delusion at best, or disingenuous at worst. This was a terrible gesture by Mayor Kelly that runs the risk of unnecessarily pitting one group of citizens against another for what may well have been the crassest of political reasons.

Another Murder in Sicily

AFTER THE Mafia assassinated Judge Giovanni Falcone in Palermo two months ago, the Italian government vehemently declared that it was at last going to war against the mob. The Mafia's answer, delivered on Sunday, was to assassinate the judge's successor, Paolo Borsellino, by the same method, a huge bomb, in the same city. For some years the real issue in this long struggle has been the control of Sicily and southern Italy, and whether it's the legal government that holds ultimate authority or an entrenched, very rich and very violent racketeering operation. So far the answer is at best unclear.

The war against the Mafia has been carried forward over the past decade by a small number of officials who have had, unfortunately, only weak support from a succession of weak Italian governments. The government's performance has not gone unnoticed in Sicily. The politicians from Rome who attended Judge Falcone's funeral were jeered and jostled by the large crowd. The same thing happened this week at the funeral for Mr. Borsellino's bodyguards. Mr. Borsellino was buried privately after his family bitterly refused a state funeral and told the politicians in Rome that they would not be welcome.

The Borsellino murder is more than a taunt. It scale at which it now threatens the state itself. out a criminal organization that has grown to a trigger a revolution sufficiently powerful to root Judge Falcone and now Mr. Borsellino may at last many political connections. But the murders of has much more money at its disposal and has Mafia is proving harder because it's much larger, to stamp out political terrorism. Dealing with the courage and determination, the Italians were able In the 1970s and early 1980s, with great signs that the Mafia is extending its operations in the European Community, who see disquieting Italy is also coming under pressure from its partners the parties that have ruled Italy for the past generation, and the style in which they have ruled it. last election was a landslide vote of no confidence in It's possible to hope that things are changing. The long tradition of tolerating the racketeers. final reproach to the government in Rome and its bloodshed and intimidation under control is the judges, prosecutors, police officials and a few unfriendly politicians. In the eyes of many Italians, the continuing inability to bring this reign of magistrates on the Mafia's turf. Over the years it it will not be able to protect its own police and is a warning to the government to back off—that

The JFK Assassination Files

and were given to libraries under specified conditions governing access. House leaders expect that notwithstanding the Judiciary Committee amendment, the Ford and Johnson papers will probably be made available for release, as will the Kennedy material except for matters relating to the autopsy. Access to that is now restricted to congressional investigators and other experts approved by the Kennedy family.

Nevertheless, the House bill that finally goes to the floor should not contain the loophole. The presumption should be that all material on this matter of great public concern be made available to the public without restriction or prior approval. A few valid reasons for preserving secrecy—to protect the name of an agent still at risk, for example—are spelled out in the bill, and they should be invoked only by the independent review board, which would be created by statute. The whole point of this legislation is to open up the record for examination by scholars, conspiracy theorists and any interested citizen. Allowing families or government archivists to keep a single document under wraps without explanation or cause undercuts the disclosure effort and makes the bill a sham.

CONGRESS IS now considering legislation designed to open the files on President John F. Kennedy's assassination, but one of the four House committees to which the bill has been referred has unnecessarily complicated and weakened the effort. At the request of the archivist of the United States, Don W. Wilson, the Judiciary Committee adopted an amendment that would exempt from the assassination material all records and other material that have been donated to the National Archives pursuant to a deed of gift regulating access to the material. In theory, this would allow the custodians of the Kennedy, Johnson and Ford presidential materials—and in some cases even members of presidential families—to withhold documents at will. The Senate bill has no comparable amendment, nor does the version of the bill reported by the House Government Operations Committee. Before 1981, presidential papers and even the working papers and reports of presidential commissions were considered the personal property of the chief executive to be disposed of however he wished. Almost all the records bearing on the Kennedy assassination were made during this time

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

"I THOUGHT THE ONLY ENEMY WAS THE IRAQIS"



For the Record

From an interview with New York Gov. Mario Cuomo yesterday on Fox Morning News:

Q: For a while . . . you seemed to be kind of at arms length with Governor Clinton. You weren't thoroughly happy with what you were hearing, and now you seem to just have your arm around him and you're supportive of this ticket. Where did the change come from?

Cuomo: Well, there is no change. He's the candidate of the Democratic Party. I haven't changed my view on any issues, nor has he. At one point, however, you choose a candidate and you enter a new phase. He's your candidate against the Republicans. And when it's Bill Clinton against the Republicans, then I'm 100 percent for Bill Clinton. The time for expressing your differences on issues, and we all have them—I assume Clinton and Gore have different views on some issues. Jackson and Clinton and Gore and Cuomo—Jackson and Cuomo have different views. That's true of all Democrats at the top levels, and beneath, because we represent such a wide variety of the American people. And we all try to think, and if we're all thinking at the same time we're bound to come to some different conclusions.

And so in the primaries, all of that gets aired. And you struggle to have your point of view become the accepted one to the candidate. And I've done that. I will always do it. So will Jesse, so will Clinton, so will Gore. But now that's over. It's us against the Republicans, and there you need a united front. And if you're serious about this business and you're not a hypocrite, and you think your party is better for this country than the other one, then you go at it as hard as you can. And that's what I'll be doing.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

An Unhappy Warrior

With Bill Clinton coming out of the Democratic convention with a 20-point lead or better, President Bush's campaign is still wrestling with the question of whether Housing Secretary Jack Kemp—perhaps the party's most popular figure—will even be on hand in Houston the week of Aug. 17 for the Republican Convention.

Campaign staffers blanched when they routinely asked Kemp's office how many hotel suites he would be needing in Houston. Kemp replied that he would be on his vacation that week in Vail, Colo., but that if the president "needs me" at Houston, he would be there. Up to that moment, Kemp had heard nothing about the convention, including what role, if any, he would be asked to play.

That puts the Bush campaign in a difficult posture. To get Kemp to Houston to pump up the dispirited Republican troops, the president will have to give him a major role. Campaign manager Fred Malek and senior political adviser Charles Black have been pushing Kemp as keynote speaker. But Sen. Phil Gramm wants that for himself—and certainly not for future presidential rival Kemp.

But what does Bush want? Never a member of the Jack Kemp fan club, the president ignored him after a brief

moment of glory following last spring's Los Angeles riots. "Kemp is the last person the president would like as his keynote speaker," a senior White House staffer told us.

Worrying about Kemp is no picnic for the president, who feels his burdens are heavy enough as is. George Bush is not a happy warrior. He is viewed by close friends as "anguished" at incessant media pounding over the economy, and deeply resentful that his presidency is unfairly being graded a failure.

Bush has always regarded himself as what he calls "a government guy," not a politician. He seems to have no understanding of how to come to grips with the immensity of a presidential campaign and the endless political problems needing quick solutions.

Four years ago, there was the Reagan record to run on and Ronald Reagan himself to help. Now, beset by domestic politics, in the words of a strong admirer, "he just can't wait to pick up the phone and call the pope."

Indeed, the president's procrastination and his perceived mood of something close to depression blocked for weeks what many Republicans feel is a seminal campaign decision: naming Secretary of State James A. Baker III his super counselor with command of both the White House and the campaign staffs. Baker's arrival is now inevitable. But why did it take so long?

In this vacuum, the rumor mill runs wild. Washington is filled with talk that Bush will seek salvation by abandoning Dan Quayle as vice president and replacing him with Defense Secretary Dick Cheney or, if he really wants to throw the dice, with Gen. Colin Powell. But that would cast a negative reflection on Bush's own judgment in his first big political decision four years ago.

Word filtered down from Wall Street last week that Budget Director Richard Darman was ready to return to Shearson-Lehman Brothers, but there has been no confirmation. It may have been wishful thinking by conservatives who have been urging the president to get Darman's resignation and couple it with a dramatic economic growth plan to confirm his pledge to be an "agent of change." The change program could even become a programmatic cover to explain Darman's exit.

The one solid development is the campaign's capture of Rep. Vin Weber, catalyst of House Republican conservatives, who is highly regarded as both a strategist and tactician, to come aboard as a campaign cochairman. That role was declined three weeks ago by another prominent conservative, William J. Bennett.

Weber on board is a badly needed asset for Bush. But by itself, it falls short of the meticulous political planning clearly called for by the proximity of the election and the formidable Clinton-Gore ticket. Instead of fishing vacations, the president might do well to bury the past with Jack Kemp and ask him to Houston to pump new blood into what, over the last four years, has become a moribund party.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

William Raspberry

American Medicine Man

Wouldn't it be something if it turned out that Ross Perot's presidential quest was undone by—of all things—substance?

Until the Texas billionaire dropped out of the race (without ever becoming an official candidate) the rap on him had been his refusal to talk concretely about he would do as president. He would balance the budget, tame the deficit, get the guns out of the hands of criminals, restore American manufacturing and do all manner of wondrous things.

How? He'd tell us later.

No substance, we said, wondering how otherwise sensible people could be attracted to Perot's goofy blend of smoke, mirrors and wishful thinking. I still remember my dear, politically savvy friend who called after I had written a column raising precisely these questions. Her message, left on my "voice mail": "I'm for Perot, and I don't *want* to know."

Well, I'm not yet ready to concede that the Perot backers are the smartest people in the land or that Perot would have been good for what ails America. But I am ready to make this concession:

America doesn't *want* to know.

Perot, we are now told, had pretty much completed work on his plan for restoring the American economy. Its centerpiece was to be a five-year plan to reduce the budget deficit by \$800 billion, but it also included plans to revamp the State Department and to use U.S. embassies to promote American trade.

But there was this small problem. The things that he thought necessary to get the job done would have resulted in a platform that would have had three-quarters of the electorate screaming bloody murder. He must have concluded that he could either tell us bitter truth or get elected, but not both.

A glance at some of the specifics of his economic plans reveals the dilemma. He would have cut Social Security (sure to offend the powerful senior citizen lobbies) and raised the gasoline tax by 50 cents (guaranteed to outrage the rest of us). He would have increased the so-called "sin taxes" on alcohol and tobacco, hiked fees for boaters using inland waterways and initiated new levies for timber interests using public lands. There would be a reduction in the capital gains tax.

Farm subsidies would be cut—several of them ended outright. And a number of popular but non-essential federal programs (including the space program) would be reduced.

Not even Perot would argue that he had come up with precisely the right mix of tax increases and spending reductions needed to balance the budget. That's not the point.

This is: Righting the American economy—fixing government in general—requires such strong medicine that no presidential candidate who prescribes it can hope to be elected. Perot understood this—understood that millions of Americans would rather turn their lives over to someone they trust than be stuck with the responsibility of making the hard choices for themselves. They don't *want* to know.

What Perot had managed to communicate (to his supporters, at least) was that he had the empathy to understand the pain, the savvy to know what needed to be done and the courage to do it. He

"Righting the American economy . . . requires such strong medicine that no presidential candidate who prescribes it can hope to be elected."

would force us to down his harsh remedy, and we'd be so grateful for the cure that we'd forget we ever objected to the treatment.

But even if we didn't forget and forgive, no matter. The only reason he wanted to be president in the first place was to force us to take our medicine.

On the one hand, that's very scary stuff. Probably something close to that reasoning has motivated most dictators, military strong men and coup leaders. It's not for personal gain that they seek to take over the government; they seek to take over only because they see clearly what is necessary for the country.

On the other hand, you have to wonder how we will ever do what our economic situation requires if anyone who offers a credible prescription is doomed to defeat.

The American voter is like a dental patient who, though he understands both the necessity and the pain of an extraction, would rather be told: It won't hurt a bit. He begs to be deceived.

Sensible people like you and me will vote for a candidate who'll level with us. But most of the electorate are ninnyes who don't *want* to know.

Robert J. Samuelson

Is the Election Over?

If you believe Yale University economist Ray Fair—or, more precisely, his mathematical model of presidential elections—then this campaign is just about over. All the clatter between now and November won't count for much. George Bush may trail badly in the polls (58 to 29 percent in the latest Post-ABC survey), but come Election Day, he'll overcome Bill Clinton's commanding lead and cruise home with, say, 55 percent of the vote.

You can scoff at this; but Fair's economy-based formula has proved amazingly accurate. In 1988, it predicted Bush would win 53.2 percent of the two-party vote. He got 53.9 percent. Since 1968, the formula has missed the actual vote by an average of about one percentage point. Since 1916, the error averages only about 2 percentage points. The formula says that incumbents enjoy huge advantages and that even puny economic growth virtually guarantees victory.

Between now and November, most forecasters expect the economy to grow at a 2 to 3 percent annual rate. If so—and assuming inflation of about 3 percent—Fair's formula anticipates a Bush landslide by 56 to 44 percent. Even if the economy doesn't grow at all, Bush's margin is 54 to 46.

Gulp. Fair's calculations raise a truly subversive notion. It is that our presidential elections are mainly

hoaxes. They're entertaining and occasionally enlightening. But they're rarely true contests. The outcomes are almost predetermined. Worse, they hinge mainly on one thing: the economy. Our high-minded belief that elections—at their best—create "national agendas" or settle critical "issues" are delusions.

Can it be? The idea that the election is on automatic pilot seems especially suspect in 1992. Bush's approval rating is truly dismal (53 percent disapprove). The Cold War is over, suggesting a major political shift. The fleeting success of Ross Perot reveals huge public discontent. Abortion is an incendiary issue. People surely don't feel as confident about the economy as the raw statistics of slow growth imply. In critical California (54 of the needed 270 electoral votes), unemployment is 9.5 percent.

All true. Bush is no shoo-in—and that's an understatement. But the accuracy of Fair's formula can't be dismissed as a freak coincidence. It exposes a huge gap between the mythology and reality of our elections. The mythology holds that everything is always up for grabs. The reality is that Americans are fundamentally cautious, even conservative. They dislike change, which is this year's latest political buzzword. Our politics have traveled from torchlight parades and whistle-stop trains to TV talk

shows. Yet, caution remains a constant.

In the past century, one party has always controlled the White House for long stretches. Between 1897 and 1933, only one Democrat (Woodrow Wilson, 1913-1921) won. Between 1933 and 1969, only Dwight Eisenhower (1953-1961) broke the Democratic reign. Since 1969, only Jimmy Carter (1977-1981) interrupted Republican dominance. Even these exceptions prove the rule. Wilson won only because the Republican vote was split between incumbent William Howard Taft and former president Teddy Roosevelt, who ran on the Bull Moose ticket. Eisenhower, a war hero, arrived when the country was disenchanted with the Korean War. Carter won by a mere 2 percentage points after the century's biggest political scandal (Watergate) and the harsh 1974-75 recession.

In a recently reissued 1970 book, "The Real Majority," Richard Scammon and Ben Wattenberg identified three major political upheavals in the past century. The economic depression of the early 1890s installed the Republicans. In 1896, William McKinley ran on the slogan "the advance agent of prosperity." The Great Depression of the 1930s did the same for the Democrats. By the late 1960s, the Republicans returned by exploit-

ing what Scammon and Wattenberg called the "social issue": a vague mixture of public fear over crime, racial tensions and a breakdown of traditional moral values.

"The man who works hard, pays his taxes, rears his children—the man who has always been the hero of American folk mythology—now [finds] himself living in an era . . . unconcerned with God, country, family, or tax bill," they wrote.

The explanation for the decisive power of economic conditions (crucial to Fair's formula) does not deny the importance of other issues. But these—from the environment to foreign policy—rarely affect swing voters: the minority who decide in the final weeks or months. People who feel passionately about issues on which there are big differences between parties (say, abortion) make up their minds quickly. Swing voters aren't swayed so much by ideas as by their own sense of well-being.

The typical presidential election is a referendum on the economy. If it's bad enough (or people think it is), the incumbent party gets tossed out. One guy wins, the other loses. Victory doesn't mean voters embrace all the winner's views or reject all the loser's views. But political commentators can rarely leave it at that. They need to say something novel. Likewise, win-

ning candidates must discover a larger meaning in triumph. So we are constantly inventing political "trends" whose staying power proves remarkably short.

Even economist Fair flinches at the import of his formula. It seems to deny us political free will. What spares us this fate is the fact that no election is truly typical. Special circumstances abound. Personalities can matter. In 1964, Lyndon Johnson won by seven percentage points more than Fair's formula predicted, because Barry Goldwater was seen as an "extremist." And then there are the occasional earthquakes when voters make a basic change.

Is 1992 one of these? Democrats strive to neutralize the "social issue," now reborn as "family values." They talk about "responsibility." They portray their candidates as ordinary folk who have had their share of hard knocks. In return, the White House shouts "liberal," an insult that aims to convince the public that the Democrats haven't changed. Everyone hopes for help from the economy. Democrats must pray that it falters badly. Republicans wish unemployment would drop.

The polls indicate a big Clinton victory. History favors Bush. The election may be over. All we need to know is who won.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

David S. Broder

Can't Ignore Congress

It came as a shock to discover this week that Congress is back in town. Last week, at the Democratic National Convention, the country was asked to forget that Congress even exists.

Presidential nominee Bill Clinton went to Capitol Hill to find his running mate in Sen. Albert Gore Jr. of Tennessee. But he and his managers did their best to keep voters from seeing leaders of Congress during prime-time television hours or associating Clinton in any way with the House and the Senate the Democrats have controlled for practically all of the last 40 years.

As Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole (R-Kan.) was quick to point out, the Democratic congressional leaders were treated "like a disease at their party's convention. You needed an instant replay to even spot one in the audience."

In fact, Speaker of the House Thomas S. Foley, Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell and House Majority Leader Dick Gephardt barely made it to the rostrum at all, let alone in prime time. The fourth of the quartet of top leaders, Senate Majority Whip Wendell Ford, was completely invisible.

Neither Clinton nor Gore mentioned Congress in his acceptance speech. At no point did either even attempt to make the case that Clinton's election would break the gridlock in Washington by ending the civil war between Congress and the president. Instead, Clinton implicitly indicted Congress and its members in a sweeping condemnation of "the brain-dead politics in Washington."

Maybe that is smart politics. Maybe there are more votes in humoring the public impulse to bash Congress than in resisting it. Maybe a candidate promoting "change" can't afford to defend any part of the performance of those already in office. Maybe Clinton has enough to worry about in his own record that he can't take on the burden of congressional pay raises and banking practices as well.

But I have to wonder about the wisdom of pretending that Congress does not exist. For one thing, the Republicans clearly are not going to let the Democrats get away with it.

President Bush and Vice President Quayle are out there already, running against Congress, blaming it for blocking the measures they claim would have shortened the recession and created new jobs. The Republicans are urging angry voters to take out their frustrations on the Democrats who control Congress. They promote new restrictions on the legislators' power: term limits, a balanced-budget amendment, line-item veto power for the president.

Some of these Republican claims are spurious; some of the remedies of dubious value. But the attack on Congress will be intense enough that Clinton will not be able to ignore it. He will have to take sides, and for very practical reasons, he will have to stand up with—and for—the Democratic Congress.

Why not do so, then? The concealment of Congress at the Democratic convention connotes shame. But what is it that Clinton finds so embarrassing? Congress forced Bush finally to accept bills he had vetoed to extend unemployment benefits in the recession and restore civil rights protections removed by a conservative majority on the Supreme Court. It tried to give workers time off for family and medical leaves, but was thwarted by another Bush veto. Does Clinton not think those actions have some appeal to Democratic constituencies?

If Clinton is a civil libertarian, why would he not point with pride to the fact that under Foley's leadership, the House of Representatives stopped the Bush-backed constitutional amendment to ban flag burning? If he values the federal role in combating recessions, why not a tip of the hat to the House for beating the balanced-budget amendment? Why not a word about the determined battle Mitchell and other Senate Democrats waged against the nomination of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court? Why not a mention of the fight Rep. Nancy Pelosi (D-Calif.) and Mitchell have led against Bush's policy of permissiveness toward human rights abuses in China?

Why did Clinton not make the point that Congress was right in passing—and Bush wrong in vetoing—the bill that would have ended the ban on fetal tissue research that holds promise of curing major diseases? Even Bob Dole said that real "right-to-life" advocates should support such research. Clinton is quick to condemn "brain-dead" Washington. But he forgets—or conveniently overlooks—what the leaders of his party have been trying to do here.

Maybe he can play this game, but when the poll-induced euphoria of convention week fades, Clinton will likely find he is in a very tough fight. Ross Perot's withdrawal means there will be no bargain-basement victory for Clinton, with 37 percent or 40 percent of the popular vote. It will come down to a battle for the big industrial states. Touring those states this week, Clinton was pleased to allow their Democratic senators to warm up the crowds for him. He may need their help—and that of their House and Senate colleagues around the country—even more by Election Day.

Brushing off Congress may seem smart politics in July; it may not look so smart in November.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Health Care PACs Pay \$10 Million for 'Access'

By Dana Priest
Washington Post Staff Writer

The medical and insurance industries, positioning themselves for a prolonged political fight over national health care legislation, have contributed about \$10 million to this year's House and Senate candidates, according to an election records study to be released today.

Donations from the political action committees of individual companies and trade coalitions, most of whom oppose a government-administered, "single-payer" system that theoretically would guarantee all Americans medical care, are up 22 percent compared with the same period during the 1990 election season.

The contributions outpaced those of all other PACs combined, which stepped up their giving by 13.5 percent during the period under review, the first 15 months of the 1992 election cycle compared with the first 15 months of the 1990 cycle.

PAC contributions to members of the three key committees where initial legislation dies or thrives—House Ways and Means, House Energy and Commerce and Senate Finance—were up an average of 45 percent, according to an analysis of Federal Election Commission records compiled by Citizen Action, a Washington-based consumer advocacy group.

For the \$800 billion-a-year health care industry, which includes hospitals, insurers, pharmaceutical companies, equipment manufacturers, business owners, physicians and others in every community in the country, what Congress or the next president does or does not do to overhaul the health care system may spell prosperity or extinction to some firms and entire industries.

Most PAC officials interviewed argue that their money buys access, not votes, and with so much indecision in Congress over various health care proposals, access is key. Meetings with members and their staffs are where an organization can hope to convince a lawmaker that its position is worth backing.

Access is on Michael Hogan's mind. He is the PAC director for the American Chiropractic Association, which has given about \$400,000 (\$185,249 as of the latest FEC records in the report). The association, he said, wants to be "a player" in the eventual debate over how to change a system that many believe is broken.

"It's most important we be seen as a player and get a high visibility so candidates will say we need to know where the chiropractors stand on this," said Hogan.

"Unfortunately the way the system is, candidates ... don't want to meet with me" only because they're interested in chiropractors' concerns, he said. "They care about money. This is the conduit for us to get our message across and educate legislators on this issue."

To that end the ACA intends to contribute more than \$500,000, some of it to known supporters on the Hill, some to challengers willing to take chiropractic medicine seriously and inclined to include it in any comprehensive package of affordable medical coverage.

Hogan attends up to six fund-raisers a week and meets with many candidates for congressional seats. "I wouldn't give them money unless I've talked to them," he said.

If the list of the top 50 medical and insurance PAC contributors is any indication, the players in this game are mainly the employees of huge corporations and members of trade associations who donate money to the committees.

Familiar names lead the list of health and insurance industry contributors: the American Medical Association gave away \$677,969; the American Dental Association \$531,644, and the Independent Insurance Agents of America \$358,718.

MEDICAL AND INSURANCE PACs FIRST 15 MONTHS, 1990 AND 1992 ELECTION CYCLES

LEADING PACs	1990	1992	Percent Change
1. Political Action Committee			
1. American Medical Association PAC	\$542,077	\$677,969	25%
2. American Dental PAC	\$199,316	\$531,644	167%
3. Independent Insurance Agents of America	\$400,249	\$358,718	-10%
4. American Family Corp.	\$249,650	\$272,500	9%
5. American Council of Life Insurance	\$292,325	\$240,889	-18%
6. American Academy of Ophthalmology PAC	\$185,812	\$235,612	27%
7. PAC of the American Hospital Association	\$220,794	\$223,154	1%
8. Podiatry PAC	\$142,650	\$213,750	50%
9. American Health Care Association PAC	\$87,650	\$188,800	115%
10. American Chiropractic Association PAC	\$61,450	\$185,249	201%
11. Mass. Mutual Life Insurance	\$126,450	\$185,000	46%
12. Metropolitan Life Insurance	\$134,371	\$183,156	36%
13. Prudential Insurance	\$124,645	\$166,705	34%
14. American Optometric Association PAC	\$118,500	\$156,316	32%
15. Psychologists for Legislative Action Now (PLAN)	\$99,533	\$149,205	50%
16. Travelers Corp.	\$158,750	\$144,700	-9%
17. Cigna	\$107,675	\$139,800	30%
18. American Veterinary Medical Association PAC	\$130,000	\$136,500	5%
19. National Emergency Medicine PAC	\$65,290	\$122,950	88%
20. National Association/Independent Insurers	\$159,775	\$120,250	-25%

LEADING RECIPIENTS OF CONTRIBUTIONS

Representative	1990 Cycle			1992 Cycle		
	Health	Insurance	Total	Health	Insurance	Total
1. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.)	\$9,500	\$7,500	\$17,000	\$57,000	\$105,498	\$162,498
2. Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.)	\$27,000	\$45,750	\$72,750	\$87,050	\$71,689	\$158,739
3. Henry A. Waxman (D-Calif.)	\$124,000	\$8,750	\$132,750	\$125,150	\$17,750	\$142,900
4. John D. Dingell (D-Mich.)	\$31,100	\$26,250	\$57,350	\$46,750	\$46,750	\$93,500
5. James P. Mooney (D-Wis.)	\$47,200	\$28,350	\$75,550	\$51,150	\$42,000	\$93,150
6. Martin A. Russo (D-Ill.)	\$12,450	\$53,700	\$66,150	\$51,150	\$40,650	\$91,800
7. Sander Levin (D-Mich.)	\$14,250	\$6,200	\$20,450	\$61,847	\$28,499	\$90,346
8. Fortney H. Stark (D-Calif.)	\$70,250	\$16,500	\$86,750	\$66,500	\$15,250	\$81,750
9. Charles B. Rangel (D-N.Y.)	\$25,150	\$44,810	\$69,960	\$39,275	\$31,810	\$71,085
10. Benjamin L. Cardin (D-Md.)	\$23,200	\$15,300	\$38,500	\$49,000	\$16,250	\$65,250
11. Norman F. Lent (R-N.Y.)	\$10,600	\$20,500	\$31,100	\$33,666	\$30,103	\$63,769
12. Nancy L. Johnson (R-Conn.)	\$19,144	\$14,000	\$33,144	\$27,000	\$36,305	\$63,305
13. Steny H. Hoyer (D-Md.)	\$15,750	\$5,000	\$20,750	\$45,249	\$16,000	\$61,249
14. Thomas J. Bliley (R-Va.)	\$27,650	\$5,900	\$33,550	\$34,750	\$22,188	\$56,938
15. Rod Chandler (R-Wash.)	\$5,300	\$8,400	\$13,700	\$20,000	\$34,500	\$54,500
16. Jim Bunning (R-Ky.)	\$1,100	\$14,825	\$15,925	\$18,500	\$35,641	\$54,141
17. Barbara Kennelly (D-Conn.)	\$7,800	\$26,825	\$34,625	\$17,300	\$36,300	\$53,600
18. Vic Fazio (D-Calif.)	\$6,300	\$5,000	\$11,300	\$32,075	\$19,800	\$51,875
19. Thomas J. Downey (D-N.Y.)	\$8,287	\$23,000	\$31,287	\$20,500	\$31,250	\$51,750
20. Fred Grandy (R-Ill.)	\$6,500	\$3,200	\$9,700	\$19,285	\$29,599	\$48,884

The major recipients are familiar as well, mostly members of the three key committees, the leadership of each party or candidates from states with heavy concentrations of medical-related industries who often wage the protective fight in their behalf.

House Ways and Means Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) pulled in \$162,498. PAC directors do not believe that will get very far with him, but say they would rather not take the risk.

"We would like to think if something did come up and we were in a pinch, we could get our CEO in to see him" but that's about it, said Jeff Littlehale, vice president of government relations for Glaxo Inc., the second largest pharmaceutical company in U.S. sales.

The company opposes strict cost containment measures that would affect its prices and, in general, favors a

free market approach to reforming the existing system. Glaxo has its PAC and has increased its giving by about 250 percent over last cycle, according to the report.

"It's popular for people who are one-quarter of a turn off to think they really are buying friendship and access," said Littlehale. "You really pretty much are just playing the game."

The American Dental Association, which PAC director Frank McLaughlin said "sat on" much of its PAC money during the last election cycle, is letting loose this time around, targeting open seats to find newcomers sympathetic to federally funded dental research, tax issues important to dentists who run their businesses and health care reform issues that affect the industry.

"We wanted to make inroads with people early on in their professional careers," he said.

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

CENSUS FINDINGS: SOUTH CENTRAL REGION

The eight states that make up the South Central region represent the poorest and least educated part of the country.

All eight states ranked well below the national average of \$30,055 in median household income for 1989. Within the region, household income ranged from \$27,016 in Texas to \$20,136 in Mississippi.

Measured by median household income, Mississippi is the nation's poorest state; Arkansas ranks third from the bottom of the list; Louisiana is the nation's fourth poorest; Kentucky is sixth.

Statistics on poverty rates tell much the same story. Nationwide, 13.1 percent of U.S. citizens lived in poverty in 1989. In Mississippi, 25.2 percent of residents fell below the line in 1989. In Louisiana, 23.6 percent lived in poverty. In fact, poverty rates in all eight states in the region were above the national average.

Fewer residents from the South Central region graduate from high school and college than in any other part of the country. Nationwide, 75.2 percent of individuals 25 years and older had graduated from high school as of 1989. In the South Central

This week The Washington Post looks at the Census Bureau's vital statistics for the nation's five geographic regions, including the number of government workers in each area. The following population profile is based on the most detailed statistics to be released from the 1990 census.

Today: the South Central.

region, high school graduation rates ranged from 74.6 percent in Oklahoma down to 64.3 percent in Mississippi.

Nationwide, 20.3 percent of those 25 and older had college degrees as of 1989. The South Central regional average was 15.9 percent, with Arkansas, at 13.3 percent, ranking last in the region, and second from last in

the nation.

In 1989, there were 255,881 Texas residents on the federal payroll, the fourth highest number among the nation's states. Within the South Central region, the next highest total of federal government workers was a fraction of that—80,891 in Tennessee. At the bottom of the region's list was Arkansas, with 29,621.

Within the region, Oklahoma had the largest percentage of its residents employed by the state and federal governments—3.4 percent and 2.0 percent, respectively. Tennessee had the greatest percentage of residents employed by local governments, with 3.3 percent, while Kentucky had the smallest in the region, with 2.2 percent.

—John Wagner

SOUTH-CENTRAL REGION

Median Household Income: \$23,095

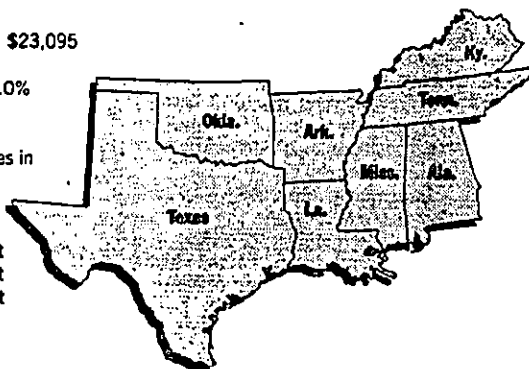
Poverty Rate: 19.4%

High School Graduates: 68.0%

College Degree: 15.9%

■ There were 47,264 homes in Tennessee with five or more bedrooms in 1989.

■ As of 1989, 12.6 percent of Mississippi homes did not have telephones, the highest percentage in the nation.



■ The poverty rate for all Alabama families was 14.3 percent in 1989; the poverty rate for families headed by single women was 40.7 percent.

■ As of 1989, there were 427 Arkansas residents with Romanian ancestors.

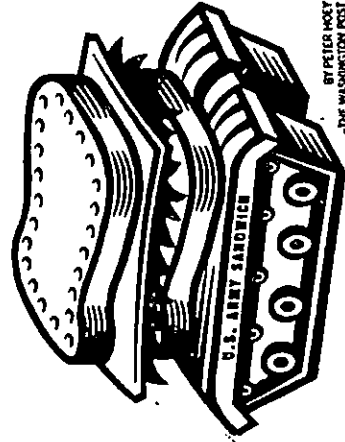
■ As of 1989, 79 percent of Louisiana residents were born in Louisiana.

State	Population	Median Household Income	Poverty Rate	% High School Graduate	% College Degree	Total Government Workers	Local	State	Federal
Texas	16,986,510	\$27,016	18.1	72.1	20.3	1,157,527	497,120	404,526	255,881
Tennessee	4,877,185	\$24,807	15.7	67.1	16.0	337,712	161,647	95,174	80,891
Louisiana	4,219,973	\$21,949	23.6	68.3	16.1	293,421	116,290	124,960	52,171
Alabama	4,040,587	\$23,597	18.3	66.9	15.7	287,688	113,209	97,924	76,555
Kentucky	3,685,296	\$22,534	19.0	64.6	13.6	230,982	79,975	100,796	50,211
Oklahoma	3,145,585	\$23,577	16.7	74.6	17.8	249,401	77,514	108,151	63,736
Mississippi	2,573,216	\$20,136	25.2	64.3	14.7	190,274	72,417	77,836	40,021
Arkansas	2,350,725	\$21,147	19.1	66.3	13.3	149,937	52,576	67,740	29,621
United States	248,709,873	\$30,056	13.1	75.2	20.3	17,567,100	8,244,755	5,381,445	3,940,900

SOURCE: U.S. Census Bureau

Tomorrow: The Midwest

THE WASHINGTON POST



Army Offers Taste Of Things to Come

By Mark Thompson
Kraft-Rader

Having won the Cold War, the Pentagon is now tackling a more persistent foe: bland, boring food. The weapon? A mouthwatering "shelf-stable sandwich," an amalgam of chemically laden foodstuffs that the Army calls "a breakthrough in the state-of-the-art technology for intermediate moisture foods."

"It's chewy, like a Slim Jim wrapped in bread," said Jack L. Briggs, who developed the sandwich over the past 18 months at the Army's food engineering directorate in Natick, Mass. "Actually, it's a little tougher than a Slim Jim."

Soldiers gave the new sandwich an 8.1 out of 9 on the Army's "hedonic rating scale." Hedonic is the Army's word for tasty.

"It's almost perfect!" exulted Tom Yang, who works at Natick with Briggs.

The Pentagon plans to use what it hopes will be a popular item to complement its Meals-Ready-to-Eat, which are prepackaged rations.

The MREs didn't thrill the troops during Operation Desert Storm. "We can't give the damn things away to the Russians, and they're hungry," Defense Secretary Richard B. Cheney said.

The 3-ounce, 300-calorie prototype of the new sandwich has a beef filling. Briggs is experimenting with poultry, ham and cheese variations.

While the sandwiches supposedly will taste like nachos, salami and other homefront favorites, keeping them edible on the battlefield, without refrigeration, takes some chemical wizardry.

For starters, the Army has invented a high-tech bread that extends the "sandwich shelf stability" by using "encapsulated acids" to keep the bacteria count down.

And the engineers use "shelf-stable fermented meats" that have been mixed into "a synergistic anti-oxidant system made up of tocopherols, ascorbyl palmitate, and BHA which greatly enhanced the lipid stability." That keeps them from going rancid, Briggs said.

The foil-sealed sandwiches have survived four weeks of storage at 125 degrees, and for six months at 100 degrees.

Yang volunteers another indicator. "Jack's had a lot of lunches with these," he reported. "And he's still alive!"

NIH Plans Joint Venture With NASA on Space Station

By Kathy Sawyer
Washington Post Staff Writer

NASA officials moved to fill a critical gap in support for the planned space station Freedom yesterday by signing an agreement with the National Institutes of Health to conduct joint biomedical research using the facility.

Sen. Barbara A. Mikulski (D-Md.), who chairs a key NASA funding subcommittee, hailed the agreement, which she and Sen. Jake Garn (R-Utah) had directed the two agencies to adopt. "This important

joint venture means that we will have twice the brainpower working for cures to many diseases," she said.

Mikulski said the move will "absolutely" increase support for the space station, which is fighting for survival in Congress. NIH is headquartered in her state and NASA has major facilities there.

The agreement, signed by NASA administrator Daniel S. Goldin and NIH director Bernadine P. Healy, calls for joint funding and management of selected projects, and increased access to space for univer-

sity-based scientists. It involves no new funding, officials said, but a more efficient use of existing money.

Critics of the space station, including some medical researchers, have faulted NASA for isolating itself from mainstream medical research and expressed skepticism as to whether the benefits of medical research aboard the orbital laboratory would justify the station's cost, which is expected to be at least \$30 billion over a decade.

Goldin called the partnership "plain common sense" that would

save taxpayer money by avoiding wasteful duplication. "We want NIH to begin to take full advantage of the unparalleled research facilities aboard space station Freedom, and the precursor flights on the shuttle, and even the experiments we're going to do on Mir," the Russian space station.

Ron White, NASA's chief life scientist, said the absence of gravity reveals clues about how certain body processes (such as those that cause osteoporosis) function, and that these insights cannot be obtained on Earth.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Madeleine Korbel Albright

True to Democracy—to the End

Vaclav Havel has been the toast of the world. His ideas have been invoked from Washington to Tokyo. His words have been quoted by practically every political figure reaching for a higher vision. And yet today he is out of a job. Havel is indeed the Biblical prophet who is not without honor save in his own country. Why?

First, because of the uncontrollable forces set loose by the fall of Communist imperialism. Second, because of the unpredictable results of democratic processes.

For almost 45 years, communism suppressed nationalism; instead of killing it, however, it strengthened it. While other major empires were decolonizing, Stalin was enlarging his and stamping out differences within it. And he was doing so in an area of the world long known for its complicated ethnic patterns and latent feuds.

For the most part, silently resentful of being homogenized by successive Soviet dictators, the people who emerged into the post-Gorbachev era are now feeling constrained by the borders of previously defined nation states. Self-identification is sought in smaller and smaller groupings. Long pent-up frustrations with centralized authority are being vented against any institutions that are seen as being not indigenous, a concept defined in an increasingly narrow way.

So today, Slovaks are only remembering the darkest parts of their 74-year cohabitation with Czechs, and in turn Czechs are being patronizing about all that they have done for their poorer, less educated partners. Both peoples seem to be conveniently forgetting their common Slav heritage, and their centuries-long entanglements, which predate the formation of the Czechoslovak state in 1918.

They are dismissing the fact that they have more in common with each other than with many of their neighbors. They are forgetting that their much-revered founder-president, Thomas G. Masaryk, was the living embodiment of the new state, as the son of a Slovak father and a Moravian mother, herself raised by a Germanized Czech family. They have not yet run into the really hard part of separating these two societies, symbolized not only by shared property but also by tens of thousands of mixed marriages.

But newly rampant nationalism is not the only reason Vaclav Havel has moved out of the Prague castle and will now hold court in his old apartment on the other side of the Vltava River or at his weekend cottage in Hradecek. Accelerated democratic processes also played a part. Two sets of free elections have been held in Czechoslovakia since the Velvet Revolution of November 1989. The first, in June 1990, brought the Czech Civic Forum with its Slovak partner, Public Against Violence, into power, and united the nation. The second set of elections, held last month, polarized the country. In the Czech lands, Vaclav Klaus's conservative Civic Democratic Party, dedicated to rapid privatization, won just over a third of the vote. In Slovakia, Vladimir Meciar's supranationalist, left-leaning, Movement for a Democratic Slovakia won the same share. Ironically, the Communists won 14 percent in both Republics. Although late attempts were made to do so, no all-national party had the strength to serve as a vehicle for those who were dedicated to the federal solution. No strong center party developed out of the divided Civic Forum. During the post-election negotiations, compromises were few and far between. Both the Czech and Slovak leaders were able to put together working coalitions within their respective republics, but on a federal level

the Czech prime minister-designate and the Slovak victor reacted against each other. Klaus, a tennis player, and Meciar, a boxer, have well-honed aggressive skills and quick reflexes—neither of these athletic activities is a team sport.

Havel, the conscience of his nation, operating from the primarily symbolic post of president, alternately tried during the past 2½ years to stay above the political fray and offered various proposals that he did not have the power to implement. As someone who for too long played down the importance of parties, he eschewed that political vehicle and depended on "personalities" to carry out his program.

As a true democrat, however, Havel has accepted the verdict of his parliamentary system. With his characteristic self-deprecating humor and his abiding sense of responsibility, which leads him to feel guilty for not having done enough, he has resigned his post as president, even while he continues to enjoy great personal popularity throughout his country.

There are those who are now rationalizing the imminent split-up of Czechoslovakia, citing different historical experiences and levels of economic development, as well as divergent political cultures.

I am not among them, although I am reassured that this divorce will take place without bloodshed. I was raised very deliberately as a Czechoslovak American. At various times in my life, such as during the Prague Spring and since the 1989 revolution, I have been especially proud of my background. Today, along with many of those who still live in Czechoslovakia, I am saddened. The Velvet Revolution has turned to sandpaper, and as a result, both parts of the country have been diminished.

As we witness the not-so-peaceful disintegration of various states, those of us who have championed self-determination must ask ourselves: for whom and for how small a group? How will the creation of micro-states affect international stability? All peoples are entitled to have their ethnic backgrounds respected, to be able to speak their own language, practice their own religion and teach their children their own history. But must they also have their own currencies, airlines and armies?

We may not have the luxury of saying that rampant nationalism is just a phase that all newly emerging democracies must experience. In Czechoslovakia it is likely to be peaceful, but "ethnic cleansing" in former Yugoslavia is in danger of spreading beyond the country's previous borders.

The time has come for the international community and the United States specifically to deal with the inherent contradictions of supporting democracy and self-determination, while calling for peaceful change, in the hope of preserving stability. Rather than creating conditions that are engendering competition among the new democracies to be the favorite partner of the Western industrialized countries, the international community should move more aggressively in helping give birth to new, larger confederal units that provide cultural respect for all minorities while providing much-needed political and economic cohesion.

What could be more appropriate than to make Vaclav Havel the philosopher-president of such a confederation—a new Europe?

The writer is president of the Center for National Policy and a professor of international relations at Georgetown University.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Navy Relieves Captain After Harassment Reports

By John Lancaster
Washington Post Staff Writer

The captain of a Navy salvage ship has been relieved of command following a Navy investigation that found widespread discrimination against female sailors assigned to combat support ships in Hawaii, Navy officials said yesterday.

Navy Lt. Cdr. Donald J. Oswald Jr. has been relieved as commander of the USS Safeguard while the Navy investigates "allegations of fraternization and sexual harassment" aboard the ship, a Navy statement said yesterday. Fraternization is a term used to describe improper relations between officers and enlisted personnel.

In January, the Navy inspector general reported the findings of an investigation into working conditions for women on a number of Navy installations and ships in Hawaii, including the Safeguard. Among other things, the report concluded, "there was a lack of strong commitment to acceptance of women in the Navy and, in particular, to women at sea." A copy of the report was obtained by The Washington Post.

Navy sources said Oswald was relieved for failing to take aggressive action to improve the treat-

ment of women on board his ship. The fraternization charge stemmed from an alleged affair between the ship's executive officer and an enlisted female sailor, who also were relieved of their duties, sources said.

This is not the first time the Safeguard has sailed into trouble over sexual harassment issues. In a widely reported incident in 1987, the ship's captain was relieved following charges that he engaged in public sex, joked about "selling" female sailors over an open radio and pressured female sailors for sex. The captain's behavior came to light when female sailors complained about it to members of a Pentagon advisory group on women's issues who were touring the ship to gather information on gender relations in the Navy.

The latest episode comes at a time when the treatment of women in the military is under intense scrutiny, mostly because of the Navy's Tailhook scandal involving

assaults on women by naval aviators at a convention in Las Vegas last year. It also follows reports this week that 24 Army women were raped or sexually assaulted while serving in the Persian Gulf region during Operations Desert Storm and Desert Shield.

The Navy inspector general's findings on sexual harassment in Hawaii stemmed from an investigation into "quality of life" issues that was conducted last November and completed on Jan. 7. The report, which never was publicly released, found that "overall quality of life in Hawaii is satisfactory."

But in terms of sexual harassment, the report said, "Female sailors and officers felt their abilities were often not respected, their capabilities were not recognized or accepted, and they were treated as second-class citizens." Moreover, the report said, "sexual harassment and fraternization definitions were not understood by the majority of Navy personnel, including women."

More CIA Papers Found Before Trial of George

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

Iran-contra prosecutors yesterday disclosed the belated discovery earlier this month of two boxes of covert CIA records under the desk of the custodian of documents for the agency's directorate of operations.

It was not clear how many of the 2,000 pages that were found may be relevant to the Iran-contra scandal, but at least some of the information, according to prosecutors, is relevant to the trial of Clair E. George, former chief of the CIA's clandestine service.

George and his lawyers received copies of the documents Sunday, prompting them yesterday to seek permission that some of the papers be declassified for use at trial. U.S. District Judge Royce Lamberth said he would convene a closed-door hearing this morning to review George's request.

Jury selection was entering its final stages when the judge was formally apprised of the discovery in open court last evening.

Associate Iran-contra prosecutor Michael Vhay told the court that at least one of the documents was relevant to George's trial on charges of lying and obstructing congressional and grand jury inquiries into the Iran-contra scandal. Prosecutors learned of the existence of the documents July 10 while conducting an interview of the official custodian of documents for the CIA's directorate of operations.

"She [the custodian] informed us that she had two boxes, uncontrolled, under her desk and not part of any CIA records system," Vhay told the court. "We had an FBI agent seize [the records] on the afternoon of July 10."

Vhay said the FBI also interviewed the custodian about the documents "she had squirreled away underneath her desk" and turned over the FBI's report of that interview to defense lawyers. While the relevance of the records to the Iran-contra affair remained unclear yesterday, Vhay's sketchy account indicated that at least some of the documents should have been disclosed five years ago, to the office of independent counsel Lawrence E. Walsh and to the House and Senate committees investigating the scandal.

The Iran-contra affair involved the Reagan administration's covert arms supply network for the contra rebels in Nicaragua, secret U.S. arms-for-hostages deals with Iran and diversion of profits from those deals to the contra cause.

Selection of 40 prospective jurors in the George trial was completed last evening after two days of questioning about their ability to reach a fair and impartial verdict. A panel of 12 jurors and six alternates is to be chosen from this pool.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

TODAY IN CONGRESS

SENATE

Meets at 9:30 a.m.

Committees:

Appropriations—9:30 a.m. Labor, HHS, Education & related agencies subc. FY93 approps. 192 Dirksen Office Bldg.

Appropriations—11 a.m. Commerce, Justice, State & judiciary subc. FY93 approps. S-146 Capitol.

Appropriations—2:30 p.m. Mark up FY93 approps. for energy & water projects. S-128 Cap.

Appropriations—3 p.m. District of Columbia subc. FY93 approps. 192 DOB.

Armed Services—9 a.m. Closed. Projection forces & regional defense subc. Mark up provisions of FY93 defense auth. 232A Russell Office Bldg.

Armed Services—10:30 a.m. Closed. Strategic forces & nuclear deterrence subc. Mark up FY93 defense auth. 222 ROB.

Armed Services—2 p.m. Closed. Mark up FY93 defense auth. 222 ROB.

Banking, Housing & Urban Affairs—10 a.m. State of U.S. economy & America's global competitive position. 538 DOB.

Environment & Public Works—9:30 a.m. Nuclear regulation subc. Aftermath of Chernobyl nuclear accident. 406 DOB.

Finance—10 a.m. U.S. trade policy & pending trade legislation. 215 DOB.

Foreign Relations—10 a.m. International economic policy, trade, oceans & the environment subc. Overseas Private Investment Corp. reauth. 419 DOB.

Foreign Relations—4 p.m. Ambassadorial nominations of Donald Ensenat to Brunei, John Huntsman to Singapore, John Wolf to Malaysia & Robert Goodwin to New Zealand & Western Samoa. 419 DOB.

Governmental Affairs—9:30 a.m. Govt. information & regulation subc. Bureaucratic & regulatory hurdles faced by homebuyers. 342 DOB.

Judiciary—9:30 a.m. Constitution subc. Proposals to amend presidential election process, including proposals for direct popular elections. 226 DOB.

Judiciary—10:30 a.m. Nominations of Francis Keating as U.S. judge for the 10th Circuit, Timothy Flanigan as asst. attorney general & Henry Hudson as director of U.S. Marshals Service. 106 DOB.

Rules & Administration—9:30 a.m. Auth. Library of Congress to provide information products & services. 301 ROB.

Veterans Affairs—10 a.m. Court of Veterans Appeals, adjudication & veterans' housing & burial benefits. 418 ROB.

Select Indian Affairs—2:30 p.m. Yavapai-Prescott Water Rights Settlement Act. 485 ROB.

Select Intelligence—2 p.m. Closed. Pending intelligence matters. 219 Hart Office Bldg.

HOUSE

Meets at 10 a.m.

Committees:

Agriculture—10 a.m. Food & agricultural situation in Russian Federation. 1300 Longworth House Office Bldg.

Agriculture—1 p.m. Forests, family farms & energy subc. Colorado Wilderness Act of '91. 1300 LHOB.

Agriculture—2 p.m. Forests, family farms & energy subc. & dept. operations, research & foreign agriculture subc. Issuance of ski area permits on National Forest System lands. 1300 LHOB.

Armed Services—10 a.m.

Investigations subc. Defense Dept. military specifications & standards. 2212 Rayburn House Office Bldg.

Banking, Finance & Urban

Affairs—10 a.m. Domestic monetary policy subc. Federal Reserve's semiannual Humphrey-Hawkins report to Congress on monetary policy. 2128 RHOB.

Banking, Finance & Urban

Affairs—10 a.m. Policy research & insurance subc. & economic stabilization subc. Role traditional & non-traditional lenders play in fostering economic development. 2222 RHOB.

District of Columbia—10 a.m. Mark up to remove gender-specific references, auth. federal payment to D.C. of additional \$30.8 million for crime & youth initiatives & waive congressional layover period for council acts auth. issuance of revenue bonds for non-profit organizations. 1310A LHOB.

Foreign Affairs—9:30 a.m. Human rights & international organizations subc. Mark up to establish Commission on Environment & Development; amend Agricultural Trade Development Assistance Act of '54 & auth. additional functions within Enterprise for the Americas Initiative, & U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act of '92. 2200 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—10 a.m. International economic policy & trade subc. Jobs & U.S. machine tool exports. Mark up U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act & cooperation between U.S. & Latin America in science & technology. 2172 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—1:30 p.m. Asian & Pacific affairs subc. North Korean nuclear program. Mark up U.S.-Hong Kong Policy Act of '92. 2172 RHOB.

Foreign Affairs—4 p.m. Consider release of dual export licenses to Iran & Syria pursuant to Section 12(c) of Export Administration Act. 2172 RHOB.

Government Operations—9:30 a.m. Commerce, consumer & monetary affairs subc. Alleged misconduct & mismanagement by senior Internal Revenue Service officials. 2247 RHOB.

Government Operations—10 a.m. Legislation & national security subc. Access assassination records of President Kennedy. 2154 RHOB.

House Administration—10 a.m. Consider report to examine operations & management of House post office. H-328 Cap.

House Administration—12:30 p.m. Elections subc. Draft legislation amendments to Uniformed & Overseas Citizens Absentee Voting Act. 340 Cannon House Office Bldg.

Interior & Insular Affairs—9:45 a.m. Consider committee resolution to release records & transcripts of portion of Nov. 4, 1991, committee meeting held in executive session. 1324 LHOB.

Judiciary—10 a.m. Mark up U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Reauth. Act of '92, extend for three years auth. of approps. for domestic refugee assistance, Chinese Student Protection Act of '92, establish three divisions of Central Judicial District of California, provide for policies concerning approval of patent term extension bills & to extend patents & Farm Animal & Research Facilities Protection Act of '91. 2141 RHOB.

Rules—11 a.m. Voting Rights Improvement Act of '92, Voting Rights Extension Act of '92 & Cable Television Consumer Protection & Competitiveness Act of '92. H-313 Cap.

Veterans' Affairs—9 a.m. Hospitals & health care subc. Eligibility reform for veterans' health care services. 334 CHOB.

Ways & Means—10 a.m. Foreign Income Tax Rationalization & Simplification Act of '92. 1100 LHOB.

Select Hunger—1:30 p.m. Humanitarian tragedy in Somalia. B-352 RHOB.

Joint Economic—10 a.m. Japan & Asia Pacific region. 2203 RHOB.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Russ Returns To Payroll Of Congress

Rep. Dymally Hires Ex-Sergeant at Arms

By John Wagner
Washington Post Staff Writer

Jack Russ, who resigned as House sergeant at arms in March amid the House Bank scandal, is back on the congressional payroll.

Rep. Mervyn M. Dymally (D-Calif.) said yesterday he has hired Russ as a "very part-time" adviser on matters related to Dymally's retirement from Congress. Russ is being paid \$100 a month in salary, but his return to the House staff allows him to receive health care benefits, Dymally said.

Two weeks before his resignation in March, Russ suffered a gunshot wound in his cheek as the result of what he said was a holdup in a Capitol Hill park. News reports at the time, which Russ termed "ludicrous," suggested the wound might have been self-inflicted.

Dymally said Russ's new job provided "an opportunity for him to get some medical benefits because of his injury." Part-time House staff members are eligible for the same health benefits as full-time employees.

Dymally, who in March said he would retire after 12 years in the House, said Russ's duties include counseling him on how to structure his retirement benefits and on what procedures he needs to follow under House rules to purchase some of his office equipment when he departs.



JACK RUSS

... working part time with benefits

Dymally would not say how many hours Russ was working. "I don't demand much of him for \$100 a month," he said. Dymally said Russ's employment would likely not continue for more than a couple of months.

Dymally said that he had enjoyed a "cordial" relationship with Russ during Russ's nine-year tenure as sergeant at arms. Dymally said he had been approached by a senator, whom he would not name, about adding Russ to his staff.

Russ did not return a phone call to his home yesterday.

As sergeant at arms, Russ served as manager of the House Bank until it was shut down. Russ was rebuked by the House ethics committee for sloppy bank administration, failure to implement reforms and writing bad checks.

Russ was making \$119,120 a year when he resigned. He had been hired as a House doorman in 1967 and was elected by the Democratic Caucus as sergeant at arms in 1983.

Staff writer Kenneth J. Cooper contributed to this report.

House Votes To Ease Way for Nuclear Dump

Associated Press

The House approved legislation last night aimed at clearing several obstacles that have prevented shipment of radioactive wastes to an underground storage site in New Mexico.

The bill, passed 382 to 10, would transfer ownership of 10,240 acres of Interior Department land near Carlsbad to the Energy Department, removing an objection cited in a recent court decision that blocked waste shipments to the facility.

The Energy Department has tried for months to send nuclear wastes from its weapons facility in Idaho to the Waste Isolation Pilot Plant, or WIPP, near Carlsbad so that a series of tests could begin to determine whether the facility is suitable for permanent storage of low-level radioactive materials.

The department was prevented from proceeding when a federal judge said, among other things, that Congress must first approve the land transfer.

But the House-approved bill also contains provisions—including one providing for extensive review by the Environmental Protection Agency—that are objectionable to the Bush administration.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

House Post Office Inquiry Deadlocked

Separate Reports Today to Differ on Whether Members Transgressed

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

A bipartisan task force created to investigate the House Post Office has deadlocked and agreed yesterday to release separate Democratic and Republican reports today that will differ on whether House members were involved in any misdeeds.

The Republican draft identifies a number of members and reports information derived from witnesses and documents about their House Post Office activities, according to Rep. Pat Roberts (R-Kan.), vice chairman of the six-member task force.

Roberts said the GOP report refrains from drawing conclusions about possible wrongdoing, but he said the report would show "what the records, the receipts and things say." He did not elaborate or say how many members are named in the GOP report.

Rep. Charlie Rose (D-N.C.), chairman of the task force and the parent House Administration Committee, said the Democratic report finds "no credible evidence" that any member violated either House rules or federal law.

Rose said the Democrats would recommend that the House ethics committee review the activities of a number of House Post Office employees. They do not include longtime postmaster Robert V. Rota, who resigned in March and, as a former employee, falls outside ethics committee jurisdiction.

The task force, established in February by a House resolution, agreed during a brief meeting yesterday to send the Democratic and Republican

reports to the House Administration Committee today, as Roberts proposed.

The task force also accepted Rose's proposal that it draft a bipartisan resolution that would transmit the panel's investigatory files to the House Committee on Standards of Official Conduct, the formal name of the ethics committee, for review. The proposed resolution would also make the files available to the office of U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens, who is leading a grand jury investigation into the House Post Office.

The resolution, because it concerns House operations, could be taken to the floor for a vote as soon as today.

It was unclear what political or ethical force the separate reports would have in prompting punishment of any wrongdoers or cleaning up an operation that has embarrassed House leaders for the last six months.

As a result of the grand jury inquiry, several employees have pleaded guilty to theft and other charges related to their work at the loosely managed post office, which operates several units under contract with the U.S. Postal Service.

The grand jury has also subpoenaed the expense account records of Reps. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.), Joe Kolter (D-Pa.) and Austin J. Murphy (D-Pa.). One House Post Office employee, James Smith, has told prosecutors that Rostenkowski's office cashed in stamps worth more than \$20,000 over a five-year period, sources said.

News accounts have also indicated that House Post Office employees picked up campaign mail for some members at the Brentwood postal

station in Northeast Washington in apparent violation of House rules and cashed personal checks, a practice that postal regulations forbid.

Sources familiar with the task force inquiry said it also found Rota maintained a three-page list of lobbyists, members and others who received a copy of each "Dear Colleague" letter that the post office distributed to lawmakers. Such letters, circulated to the membership or only certain lawmakers, are used to build support for bills, state opinions and foreshadow legislative maneuvers.

Besides the naming of members, the two reports differ in their treatment of alleged interference in the Capitol Police's initial investigation of embezzlement by postal clerks.

Roberts said the Republican report would discuss the role of "the House attorney," a reference to House Counsel Steven Ross, who negotiated the transfer of the lead role in the inquiry to the U.S. Postal Inspection Service.

Some have suggested a brief interlude needed to make the transfer permitted some postal clerks to replace stolen funds. Ross has argued the Capitol Police lacked the financial acumen to complete the inquiry and, in its preliminary audit, missed a large shortage of an employee who was later indicted.

In their report, the Democrats are also said to place greater emphasis on what they consider Justice Department interference with a task force investigation duly authorized by a separate branch of government. Several witnesses were reported to have declined to testify before the task force after federal prosecutors asked them not to.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Gingrich In Tight Primary

Defeat or Runoff For 2 Democrats

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-Ga.), the confrontational House minority whip, was in a close race with a Republican challenger in yesterday's Georgia primary election, as reapportionment brought the political trouble predicted for the state's incumbent lawmakers.

In Democratic primaries, Rep. Ben Jones trailed an experienced challenger, and Rep. Charles Hatcher, one of the top check-writing abusers of the House Bank, was forced into a runoff next month. Rep. Richard Ray appeared likely to survive without a runoff.

In the Georgia congressional race most watched in Washington, Gingrich led former legislator Herman Clark by 24 votes out of the 62,000 counted with 93 percent of precincts reported in a district north of Atlanta. Gingrich, 49, and his campaign aides kept quiet at a suburban hotel while Clark predicted a recount was likely.

"It's a squeaker," Clark, 50, said early today. "We simply can't decide which is the winner and which is the loser."

Clark ran an anti-incumbent campaign on a low budget, using unconventional tactics such as inexpensive advertisements in movie theaters and "traffic blitzes" during which he greeted rush hour com-

See GEORGIA, A14, Col. 1

GEORGIA, From A1

muters from the roadside. His most effective ad, played on radio and television to the tune of "Old McDonald Had a Farm," ridiculed Gingrich for having 22 overdrafts at the House Bank, using a chauffeured limousine until this spring and voting for congressional pay raises.

Should Clark defeat Gingrich, the second-ranking Republican in the House, the outcome would rate as the biggest upset in congressional primaries so far this year. Since 1987, Gingrich has been the only Republican representing Georgia in Congress, and his spirited attacks on the House Democratic majority have earned him the appreciation of conservative Republicans across the nation. He filed ethics charges that led to the 1989 resignation of House Speaker Jim Wright (D-Tex.).

Jones, a two-term member who played "Cooter" on television's old "Dukes of Hazzard" show, trailed state Sen. Don Johnson in a five-candidate field running in northeast Georgia. With unofficial returns reported from 77 percent of the precincts, Johnson had 50 percent to 32 percent for Jones in the redrawn congressional district.

Hatcher, a white lawmaker seeking an eighth term, appeared headed for a runoff in a majority black district in southwest Georgia, despite the peanut farmers who rallied behind him after disclosure of his 819 overdrafts at the House Bank.

With 80 percent of the precincts counted, Hatcher led with 37 percent followed by state Sen. Sanford Bishop with 23 percent. State Rep. Mary Young-Cummings and Lonzy Edwards, a lawyer and Baptist minister, were below 20 percent. All three of Hatcher's major opponents are black.

David Worley, the Democrat Gingrich narrowly defeated in the general election two years ago, was losing his bid to unseat Rep. Ray. With 74 percent of the precincts counted, Ray led 52 percent to 31 percent for Worley.

A candidate who does not receive a simple majority in the primaries must compete against the runner-up Aug. 11 in runoff elections.

Georgia held out the promise of the most competitive congressional races so far this year. A total of 76 candidates sought 11 House seats, an increase of one following the 1990 census. Another southern state, Arkansas, saw Reps. Bill Alexander and Beryl Anthony Jr. defeated in Democratic contests early this summer, while there was strong competition in both parties to succeed retiring Rep. John Paul Hammerschmidt (R-Ark.).

The heavy competition in Georgia was prompted by a reapportionment plan that left each of four incumbents with a district that was largely unfamiliar. More political opportunity was created when three Georgia Democrats joined a long line of House retirees: Reps. Doug Barnard Jr.; Ed Jenkins and Lindsay Thomas.

Under Justice Department pressure, the state legislature created two majority black districts under the Voting Rights Act, in addition to revising the one represented by Rep. John Lewis (D) in the Atlanta area. Lewis, a veteran of the civil rights movement, defeated state Rep. "Able" Mable Thomas, an ally of Jesse L. Jackson.

Three black legislators—Sen. Eugene Walker of Decatur, and Reps. Michael Thurmond of Athens and Cynthia McKinney of Lithonia—were vying for an open seat in a district that sprawled from central Georgia east to Savannah. A runoff appeared likely.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Baker Said Likely To Resign Post

Shift to Bush Campaign Called Certain

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Secretary of State James A. Baker III is likely to resign his Cabinet post rather than take a temporary leave when he goes to the White House to head President Bush's reelection effort, administration sources said yesterday.

White House, campaign and Republican sources this week said it is now a certainty that Baker will shift from directing foreign policy to become senior White House adviser to the president. Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner is expected to remain at the White House, but Baker, with a long personal relationship with the president and five campaigns behind him, is likely to be the architect of the reelection strategy.

Campaign sources said last week that Baker had hoped to take a leave of absence from the State Department if Bush asked him to return to the White House. Baker wanted to put Undersecretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger in charge of the State Department as acting secretary. But sources said Baker has determined that he and Bush would be criticized as politicizing foreign policy if they made such a move.

There appears to be no precedent for such an action, although there is a precedent for one official serving in top State Department and White House posts simultaneously. Henry A. Kissinger served as both secretary of state and national security adviser to President Richard M. Nixon.

Senate Democrats yesterday offered a hint of the criticism Bush and Baker might face when Sen. Claiborne Pell (D-R.I.), chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, issued a statement opposing Baker's involvement in politics and foreign policy.

Pell signaled that any attempt by Baker to take a leave of absence to run the Bush-Quayle reelection campaign out of the White House would face Senate opposition.

"I would regret any involvement of the secretary of state in the president's reelection campaign, which would be contrary to the bipartisan tradition of American foreign policy," Pell said in a statement. "He has been a good secretary of state

See BAKER, A12, Col. 4

BAKER, From A1

and I, for one, would regret his departure."

Key Democratic aides on the committee contended that Baker, if he chooses to help run the Bush campaign, should resign his Cabinet post. If he wants to return after the election, Baker should seek reappointment, and then reconfirmation by the Senate, they said.

State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler has refused to comment on Baker's plans, calling such speculation "hypothetical." Baker and White House officials also declined to comment.

Baker and Bush discussed the campaign on the final day of their fishing trip at Baker's ranch in Wyoming last week. Officials speculate that an announcement will come

next month, after the latest round of Middle East diplomacy that will end in the first week of August with a U.S.-Israeli meeting at Bush's summer home in Kennebunkport, Maine.

Some Republican officials, fearful that Bush's precipitous drop in the polls will continue until a more forceful campaign is launched, are pressing for an earlier announcement and Baker's involvement.

When Baker moves to the White House, he is expected to take at least some of his key aides from State, reducing the tightly knit group of politically savvy advisers he brought there. Four of his top aides have senior campaign experience: Tutwiler, counselor Robert B. Zoellick, policy planning staff director Dennis Ross and assistant secretary Janet G. Mullins.



JAMES A. BAKER III
... would become campaign architect

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Deficit Falling—in Political Stature

With Perot and Reduction Plan Out, Issue Loses Standing in Race

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

Both President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton say they want to reduce the federal budget deficit, but Ross Perot's unreleased economic plan underscores how far short the two major candidates fall in making deficit-reduction an overriding priority.

In showing the kinds of politically unpopular steps needed to reduce the deficit, Perot's plan, a bold and in many ways politically unsaleable document that tackled higher taxes and Social Security, explains why most candidates—including Perot himself—shy away from confronting the issue when trying to win elections.

House Budget Committee Chairman Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.) said

yesterday that Perot's plan as described in various news accounts is far more ambitious than anything offered by Clinton or Bush. Panetta said he hoped it would become part of the presidential debate this year, but with Perot on the sidelines, "It's difficult to see how the other two candidates will be forced to focus on these issues."

Perot aides said yesterday they expect him to formally issue a deficit-reduction proposal and attempt to keep it before the public and the candidates during the fall campaign. But they conceded that his credibility may be lessened because of his decision last week not to run for president as an independent.

"We're going to do something with this plan," said James Squires, one of Perot's top advisers. "I suspect you will hear from him a great

deal between now and the election on the whole economic issue."

Perot burst on the political scene last spring, arguing that he could balance the budget "without breaking a sweat." He was quickly disabused of that notion. Embarrassed on NBC's "Meet the Press" when he could not back up his assertions with facts, Perot retreated, saying he needed more time to assemble a more defensible proposal.

He was nearing the end of that process when he bailed out of the campaign last week. Since then, many of the most significant details of the draft proposal have been discussed by campaign aides, with articles in *The Washington Post*, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *New York Times* describing key elements.

See DEFICIT, A12, Col. 1

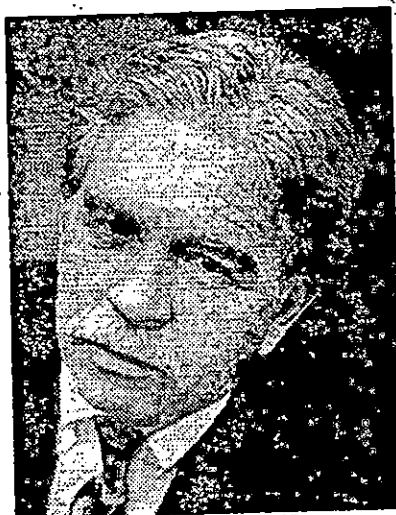
DEFICIT, From A1

Drafted by John P. White, Perot's issues adviser, the plan called for deficit reduction of about \$700 billion over five years through spending cuts, tax increases and other means.

The tax increases included a 10-cents-a-gallon rise in gasoline taxes for each of five years as well as higher taxes on alcohol and tobacco and the elimination of various tax subsidies. Although Perot has talked about the rich paying their fair share of taxes, it is not clear whether the plan would have embraced higher income taxes on wealthy taxpayers.

The Perot plan also called for higher user fees for such things as cutting timber on federal lands and the use of airports for private airplanes.

Spending cuts included a 10 percent across-the-board reduction in administrative costs of federal agencies, plus deeper cuts in select-



JAMES SQUIRES

... Perot to "do something" with plan

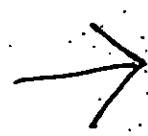
ed programs, including the space station and rural electrification, Squires said.

The draft plan would have slashed defense spending below current projections, including elimination of the V-22 Osprey "tilt-rotor" airplane, Seawolf submarine and the B-2 "stealth" bomber.

In addition, the Perot budget plan would have limited cost of living increases (COLAs) for Social Security and other government pension programs. The draft plan proposed a one-third cut in the value of the COLA for each of five years. But Squires said Perot's team was also looking at taxing Social Security benefits for wealthy Americans to cushion low-income recipients. The Perot plan also considered requiring Medicare recipients to pay higher premium costs.

The draft plan included a number of tax incentives for business to spur investment while proposing a limit to the mortgage interest deduction to the first \$200,000 in the value of the mortgage, Squires said.

Clinton's economic plan, released last month, put deficit reduction on the back burner compared with statements he made on the issue early this year. Rather than a rapid decrease in the deficit, Clinton prefers \$200 billion in new spending initiatives paid for in part by \$150 billion in new taxes on the rich and



The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992



REP. LEON E. PANETTA
... hopes candidates debate problem

on corporations. While his program calls for some spending cuts, they are modest and not well defined. His plan would do little for the deficit that usual growth in the economy would not accomplish, according to budget projections.

Bush said Monday night that deficit reduction remains a top priority,

but his administration has presided over the biggest deficits in history. Bush said he favors a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution, the line-item veto (also favored by Clinton) and a cap on expenditures for mandatory spending programs, excluding Social Security. But he has not outlined a detailed plan for eliminating the deficit and has yet to submit a budget that comes close to being balanced.

Clinton has spoken warmly about Perot since the Texas businessman balked, but his campaign is not willing to do the same with the unreleased budget plan.

"I'm sure there are positive elements in it, but there are things Governor Clinton disagrees with," said George Stephanopoulos, the campaign's communications director. "He doesn't think we can afford a 50-cent gas tax and he's against means testing Social Security."

During the Democratic primaries, Clinton savaged former Massachusetts senator Paul E. Tsongas

for recommending a 30-to-50-cent increase in gasoline taxes over 10 years.

Stephanopoulos said there are a variety of ways "to balance the budget . . . but you don't have to do it by punishing the middle class."

The Bush campaign failed to respond to requests for a reaction to Perot's plan.

Panetta said yesterday that key elements in Perot's plan had been discussed at one time or another, many during the 1990 budget summit that resulted in the president's abandonment of his "no new taxes" pledge.

"Every one of those proposals is legitimate to look at if you're serious about reducing the deficit," Panetta said. "They [the Perot campaign] were obviously trying to put together a plan that is credible. But as the administration and Congress have found out, these steps involve some political land mines."

Staff writer Eric Pianin contributed to this report.

Hill Panel Disputes Bush's Travel Costs

In Election Year, White House and Congress Battle Over Perks

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

A House subcommittee yesterday produced a detailed accounting of how much it costs for the president to travel, saying that taxpayers spent "at least" \$1.2 million to send President Bush to Europe for eight days in 1989 and \$1.5 million for a five-day political and golf outing in the West in 1990.

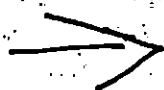
The subcommittee staff calculated that it costs an estimated \$40,243 per hour to operate the president's new Air Force One, a custom-built 747. Subcommittee Chairman Paul E. Kanjorski (D-Pa.) said the hourly rate makes the \$29,000 that Bush listed

in a recent budget document for 1991 travel costs "ludicrous."

The estimates on presidential travel, by the House Post Office and Civil Service human resources subcommittee, represented one of the first efforts by Congress to place a price tag on what has long been regarded as one of the federal government's most glamorous executive perks.

White House officials and members of Congress have engaged in an election-year quarrel over perks, and yesterday's hearing was the latest chapter in the debate. The White House has traditionally declined to discuss the costs of presidential travel.

See TRAVEL, A9, Col. 1



The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

TRAVEL, From A1

and the Bush administration refused to send witnesses to yesterday's hearing. The White House did not respond to requests for comment on the hearing.

Kanjorski conceded that he had no idea how much the White House spends on travel in a year, suggesting at one point it "could be \$150 million, \$200 million or \$300 million."

Kanjorski said yesterday that his subcommittee, which is in the process of rewriting the 14-year-old White House Personnel Authorization Act, had a right to know the total White House travel budget. Most of the costs are hidden in the budgets of various agencies, including the military departments that provide White House transportation and communications.

The two trips the subcommittee selected were "fairly representative" of the trips Bush has made since becoming president, Kanjorski said. They illustrate it is much more expensive for the president to travel

than the White House has been willing to concede, he said.

Release of the estimates provoked a sharp objection from Rep. Dan Burton (R-Ind.), who repeatedly accused the Democrats of staging "a search and destroy mission" to embarrass Bush. "This is a political year and they smell blood," Burton said.

The panel's estimates were based in large part on the costs of flying the president, his staff and support equipment in a fleet of Air Force planes, most of which are part of the 89th Military Airlift Wing at Andrews Air Force Base. Kanjorski said the wing, which also flies members of Congress, costs \$179 million a year to operate and includes 1,600 Air Force personnel.

In addition to the costs of Air Force One, the subcommittee estimated the costs of flying five other aircraft to Europe for a May 26-June 2, 1989, trip that included stops in Rome, Brussels, Bonn, Rhein-Main, and Pease Air Force Base, N.H. When those flights and accommodations are considered, Bush and an estimated 107 White

House personnel spent more than \$1.2 million, the subcommittee found.

A five-day trip to the West Coast and Hawaii Oct. 25-29, 1990, that included "political" stops in support of California Republican Pete Wilson, then a candidate for governor, cost "at least \$1.5 million," it said. The higher costs for that trip total reflected in part the sharply higher costs of flying the president's new 747 jumbo jet, according to the subcommittee. It estimated the costs of operating the new jet at \$40,243 an hour, compared with \$10,906 an hour for the older 707 jet used on the European trip.

The West Coast trip also included one stop in Honolulu, a speech at an Air Force base and a golf outing there, the subcommittee said. Although political parties are supposed to reimburse the Treasury for the costs of the political portions of such travel, the committee said in a memorandum that "it is also clear that very little, if any, was reimbursed to the U.S. Treasury by campaign organizations."

WHITE HOUSE TRAVEL

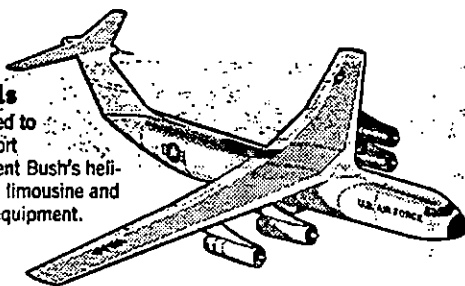
A trip by President Bush May 26-June 2, 1989, from Washington to Rome, Brussels, Bonn and London cost taxpayers more than \$1 million for the air travel alone.

AIR FORCE ONE

Date	Route	Miles	Minutes	Cost
May 26	Andrews Air Force Base, Md., to Rome	4,060	515	\$93,609.83
May 28	Rome to Brussels	750	130	23,629.67
May 30	Brussels to Cologne-Bonn	130	40	7,270.67
May 31	Cologne-Bonn to Rhein-Main Air Base	90	35	6,361.83
	Rhein-Main Air Base to London	400	150	27,265.00
June 2	London to Pease Air Force Base, N.H.	2,850	400	72,706.66
June 4	Pease to Andrews Air Force Base	380	58	10,542.47
Air Force One Subtotal:				\$241,386.13

C-141s

are used to transport President Bush's helicopter, limousine and other equipment.



OTHER AIRCRAFT

First White House advance party	\$90,721.92
Second White House advance party	241,749.66
White House support party	231,752.50
First C-141	101,628.79
Second C-141	101,628.79

Total aircraft spending \$1,089,544.37

Source: Human resources subcommittee of the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service; KRT Graphics

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Bush Touts School Choice to Catholics

President Misstates Key Feature of Voucher Plan: Its Means Test

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

PHILADELPHIA, July 21—President Bush today worked to rally Catholic voters behind his school choice proposal but misstated a key element of the program he has been promoting as a centerpiece of his domestic agenda for at least six months.

Later, in an apparent reference to Hillary Clinton, Bush criticized liberals who "even encourage kids to hire lawyers and haul their parents into court." In a law review article, Clinton, the wife of the Democratic presidential nominee, proposed giving children expanded rights to separate legal representation from their parents in some circumstances, and she has come under sharp attack by conservatives for the proposal.

Bush's mix-up on choice came in response to questions from parents at Archbishop Ryan High School here. A woman who described herself as a mother of eight asked him what Washington would do for the middle class, noting the poor were getting the bulk of the federal help and middle-class families, even ones with incomes of \$40,000 or more, should be helped. "They're the needy," she said.

"You're right," said Bush, who proceeded to describe his school choice program as one that would help a "family like yours." He added, "This program that we're talking about here, there is no means testing."

Bush repeated twice more that the program was not tied to income. The "principle of choice and no means testing will apply to this

program," he said, "so you would get some relief."

Comparing his program to the GI Bill, which was not tied to income, Bush said all families would be eligible for the program's \$1,000 stipends to parents who could use the

The proposed stipend program, pending in Congress, is open only to families with income below the state or national median income, whichever is higher.

aid to send their children to the school of their choice.

Contrary to the president's statements, a means test is integral to Bush's school choice proposal. It is based on the concept that the wealthy already have choice in education because they can afford to choose any school for their children. The program, pending in Congress, is open only to families with income below the state or national median income, whichever is higher.

The legislation Bush sent to Congress in June, plus White House fact sheets and the president's announcement of the legislation describe the means test involved.

White House deputy press secretary Laura Melillo said later that

what Bush meant was there "is no federal formula that has a means test in it, a singular federal formula. Also, the audience was medium-income and working class, people who would qualify, and he was referring to them being eligible."

With Catholic voters a fifth of the electorate and a key voting block for the GOP this year, Bush was in full campaign swing here today, nodding appreciatively when Archbishop Anthony Bevilacqua praised him for support of aid to private school parents and attacked critics of such a program, who believe it violates separation of church and state and would undermine public schools.

Democratic nominee Bill Clinton has called for greater choice in public schools for parents, but opposes providing federal funds to send children to private schools. He has been endorsed by the major teachers union, the National Education Association, which Bush attacked today as an "arm" of the Democratic Party, a "powerful union" keeping Congress from approving his choice proposal.

The audience today was friendly to the president, but even their gentle questions reflected anxiety about the economy and concern about the increasing burdens of raising families and paying for Catholic schools.

Later, in a rally in New Jersey, Bush offered a second ethnic and strongly Catholic area, Garfield, a pure campaign speech portraying the Democrats as "old-style" liberals who want to put "birth control devices" in public schools and encourage children to sue their parents.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Abortion Foes Follow Clinton's Tour

Protesters Try to Link Democratic Ticket to 'Worst Aspects' of Issue

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

EVANSVILLE, Ind., July 21—When Bill Clinton and Albert Gore Jr. rolled into this southwestern Indiana city today, the usual colorful scene of a large, friendly crowd waving signs and banners was waiting to greet them. So were Margie Dannheiser and Kathy Hale.

The two women stood on the sidewalk at the edge of Highland Field, where the Democratic presidential and vice presidential candidates addressed their supporters on a muggy, overcast afternoon, providing silent witness to the issue that has shadowed Clinton and Gore throughout their six-day campaign bus tour that ends Wednesday in St. Louis. "Stop Abortion Now," read a sign held by Dannheiser. "Clinton/Gore Support Killing Children," Hale's sign read.

"He [Clinton] says pro-choice is not pro-abortion, but we don't look at it that way," said Hale, 63, a retired factory worker, echoing a line from Clinton's acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention last week. "The choice they're taking is pro-abortion. I don't think he understands what they're doing—killing these little babies."

"This is a life and they are destroying it and that is murder," added Dannheiser, 61, a registered nurse. "This is God's law. . . . The choice should be in the sex act. That's pro-choice and that's fine."

It has been the same at virtually every stop during this 1,000-mile trip. Public opinion polls suggest that a solid majority of Americans oppose overturning *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 Supreme Court decision that legalized abortion, and that certainly was the sentiment of

CANDIDATES ON TV

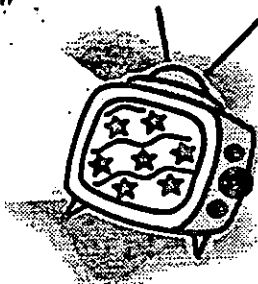
GOV. BILL CLINTON

■ NBC (Ch. 4), 7:10-7:30 a.m.
"Today"
Taped interview.

■ CBS (Ch. 9), 7:10-7:30 a.m.
"CBS This Morning"
Taped interview.

VICE PRESIDENT QUAYLE

■ CNN, 9 p.m.
"Larry King Live"
Interview



THE WASHINGTON POST

Democratic convention delegates and most people in the large crowds that have wildly cheered Clinton's declarations that the government should have no role in a woman's decision to have an abortion. But out on the fringes of the crowds, vastly outnumbered, antiabortion activists wave their "Stop Abortion Now" signs and shout angrily at the Democratic candidates.

For the most part, Clinton and Gore have ignored the protests, although Monday night, outside a television studio in Louisville, Gore offered a passionate defense of his abortion-rights stance to a man who listened attentively as edgy Secret Service agents looked on.

National Right to Life organizations have been coordinating the ef-

fort, notifying local antiabortion activists of the Clinton-Gore travel schedule.

"What about the babies?" dozens of protesters chanted throughout today's rally.

Joseph M. Scheidler, executive director of Pro-Life Action League of Chicago, who led the demonstration, bullhorn in hand, said the national organizations want the Democratic ticket to realize that "there's a national direction to this."

"These are local people, but we want them to see it's not just random," he said. "There's a concerted effort to identify Gore and Clinton with the worst aspects of abortion."

It is doubtful that Clinton or any Democrat could capture the party's presidential nomination without supporting abortion rights. But the Arkansas governor has been trying to soften the explosive issue, suggesting that he personally opposes most abortions. He began that task with his acceptance speech. "Hear me now," he told convention audience, overwhelmingly composed of abortion-rights advocates. "I am not pro-abortion. I am pro-choice."

Hale, a Democrat, said she is preparing to vote for a Republican for the first time because "the killings have multiplied." Were it not for the abortion issue, said Dannheiser, a Republican, "I'd probably tend to lean to Clinton because economically he is trying to help this country."

But Vincent Fyie, who had listened to both women, was not convinced. "I'm out here for my children and grandchildren who are going to have to pay for all this spending," said the 69-year-old semi-retired farmer from nearby Springerton, Ill. "Bush hasn't done anything."

"As for abortion," he added, "I'm a Catholic, but I'm pro-choice. I don't want to tell anyone what to do."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Republicans Step Up Attacks on Clinton Draft Record, Budget Plan

By Ruth Marcus and Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writers

President Bush's Republican surrogates, including Vice President Quayle, Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (Kan.) and Texas Sen. Phil Gramm, have intensified their attacks on Democratic nominee Bill Clinton's draft record, his economic plan and his party's "big liberal ticket."

Speaking by satellite hookup with Ohio television stations on Monday, Quayle accused Clinton of choosing Sen. Albert Gore Jr. as his running mate to make up for the fact that he did not serve in the military during the Vietnam War. Sen. Jake Garn (R-Utah) raised the issue of Clinton's draft record over the weekend.

"I am sure that Bill Clinton does not want to discuss the draft," Quayle said. "Al Gore, I think, was probably put on that [the ticket]

because he went to Vietnam. I am sure Bill Clinton does not want to talk about character and some of the other things, so I think Al Gore was put on the ticket to shore up Bill Clinton's inadequacies."

Clinton hit back in an interview with NBC, citing "the Vietnam-era record of people in the Bush administration. I mean, if Jake Garn's right, then [Defense Secretary] Dick Cheney and Dan Quayle and George Bush's sons can't hold national office."

Cheney received five draft deferments during the war. Bush's eldest son, George W. Bush, joined the Texas Air National Guard in 1968 but his commanding officer said in an interview with the New York Times in 1988 that family influence played no role. Jeb Bush seriously considered avoiding the draft by seeking conscientious objector status, Barbara Bush told United Press International in

1984. He eventually decided to submit to the draft but it ended before he could be called.

Yesterday, Quayle did satellite interviews with television stations in Indiana and Missouri, while Dole took to the Senate floor for the second day in a row to bash the "big liberal ticket," and Gramm held a news conference to critique Clinton's "very menacing" economic plan.

Bush-Quayle campaign political director Mary Matalin said the appearances are "not coincidental" but that they were precipitated by Clinton's economic plan, not by the president's sagging poll numbers. "This has . . . to do with the scam [Clinton's] trying to perpetrate on the American people with this plan," she said.

Another Republican official said, however, that the attacks on the Democratic ticket reflect the fact that "he [Clinton] is on a very good roll, and we can't wait forever."

Clinton's draft record first arose as an issue during the primary season. Clinton signed up for a ROTC program at the University of Arkansas Law School after receiving an induction notice, and then, at a time when his chances of being drafted had diminished, put himself in the draft lottery, where he drew a high number and was not called.

Quayle himself came under criticism after he was selected to be Bush's running mate in 1988 for joining the Indiana National Guard—using his family connections to make the initial contact—rather than going into the draft.

To those who question Quayle's standing to criticize Clinton on the issue, "His answer is, 'I served. Clinton didn't,'" Quayle spokesman Jeffrey Nesbit said.

Asked if Quayle is the best person to be attacking Clinton's draft record, Nesbit said, "I could ask the same question. Bill

Clinton talked a lot about family values in his campaign speech. Is he the wisest person for the Democrats to bring that up to talk about?" Nesbit declined to elaborate.

In the Senate, Dole rose for the second time in as many days to attack Clinton and Gore, saying they are a "liberal ticket that will cost working America dearly."

Dole charged that Clinton's economic plan would increase taxes by \$150 billion over four years and raise spending by \$220 billion and said Clinton's record as governor of Arkansas includes 128 tax increases and a doubling of spending and indebtedness.

Dole's attack, unanswered Monday, drew an immediate response yesterday from Sen. David Pryor (D-Ark.), who said he had watched Clinton balance 12 budgets, while Bush has never proposed a balanced budget.

Staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Broader U.S. Relief Effort Urged

By A. D. Horne
Washington Post Foreign Service

The senior diplomat of war-torn Bosnia-Herzegovina urged U.S. officials yesterday to help mount a new international relief effort to rescue civilians besieged there by Serb militia forces determined to partition the former Yugoslav republic. He received a sympathetic hearing but no promises of action.

Despite recent international rhetoric about a greater foreign effort to halt the bloody Bosnian conflict, the only result has been a nine-nation naval patrol in the Adriatic Sea, ostensibly to monitor U.N. trade sanctions against the new Serb-controlled Yugoslav state. Today, Bosnian Foreign Minister Haris Silajdzic dismissed those patrols, saying: "The smuggling is on the Danube; The ships should be there."

In meetings with Assistant Secretary of State John R. Bolton and several Senate leaders, Silajdzic pleaded for limited air strikes to break the Serb sieges and for efforts to relieve heavily shelled towns in eastern Bosnia. His proposals included airdrops of food or protected overland deliveries from Sarajevo airport—now receiving international relief shipments via a massive U.N. airlift—to Gorazde, a town 30 miles southeast of the airport that has been under siege by Serb forces for three months.

A Foreign Relations Committee spokesman said Silajdzic "received a warm and sympathetic welcome" but got no commitments. A Senate resolution, cosponsored by Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.) and Joseph Lieberman (D-Conn.), to authorize the use of U.S. forces for multinational relief operations has been introduced, but no action has been taken.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams said U.S. aid efforts continue to focus on Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, where American C-130 transports have delivered more than 400 tons of relief supplies in 38 missions this month. Defense Department officials said they prefer not to expand relief efforts beyond Sarajevo, citing risks of being drawn deeper into an intractable conflict and the lack of any logical stopping point for U.S. involvement. But the officials said that the United Nations is considering the request for relief convoys to Gorazde, and they did not rule out U.S. participation.

Silajdzic's pleas for an expanded U.S. role in Bosnia were made as other American officials met here with Milan Panic, the Serbian-American businessman who had returned to Belgrade this month as prime minister of the new two-republic Yugoslavia, an alliance of Serbia and its small satellite, Montenegro. Panic, who came to Washington yesterday after meeting Monday with U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, has promised to end Yugoslav support of Serb forces fighting in Bosnia and seeks the lifting of the U.N. sanctions.

In an interview, Silajdzic dismissed Panic's efforts, saying, "I think he has no power to do anything." He told one group of senators that Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic—widely perceived for months to have masterminded the Serb aggression in Bosnia—still controls the war there.

In London last Friday, Silajdzic—representing Bosnia's Slavic Muslim-led government—signed a European Community-sponsored agreement with leaders of the republic's Serb and Croat communities that called for a two-week cease-fire and the group-

ing of all heavy weapons at sites to be monitored by U.N. observers. The agreement, which was violated two hours after it went into effect Monday, set off a dispute at the U.N.

In a letter to the Security Council that was leaked to reporters, Boutros-Ghali criticized the council for endorsing the plan despite his "serious reservations" and EC mediator Lord Carrington for ignoring his assessment that the plan was "not realistic." He also criticized the council for not requesting a technical report on implementing the plan before endorsing it.

Silajdzic, in the interview, charged that Carrington was allowing himself to be used "to legalize the [Serbs'] aggression." During the London talks, Silajdzic said, Carrington sent a written request to Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, "asking him to stop" the siege of Gorazde. Karadzic agreed, saying, "of course, we come in peace," according to Silajdzic, but "while we were talking in London, they were bringing in reinforcements. . . ."

Silajdzic charged that 40 Yugoslav army tanks were brought across the border from Montenegro to step up the siege of Gorazde. He added that Yugoslav warplanes are using cluster bombs against the town's chiefly Muslim defenders, as well as against Gradacac, in northern Bosnia.

"The first, immediate thing that can be done," Silajdzic said, "is to escort the relief to the besieged towns, especially Gorazde," whose prewar population of 20,000 has tripled by refugees fleeing the Serbs. Bosnian defense officials said 70 civilians had died in Gorazde since Monday.

Special correspondent Trevor Rowe at the United Nations and staff writer Barton Gellman contributed to this report.

Dozens of U.S. Items Used in Iraq Arms

Exports Often Approved Despite Warnings From Pentagon, Others

First of two articles

By R. Jeffrey Smith
Washington Post Staff Writer

International inspectors discovered evidence of American commercial assistance to Iraq's nuclear weapons program while searching last October through an industrial warehouse on the southern outskirts of Baghdad.

Inside a large packing crate they pried open at the Daura complex was a sophisticated welder fitted with a special clamp for attaching end caps to the main cylinder of a centrifuge meant to enrich uranium for a nuclear weapon.

The welder, U.S. and United Nations officials say, was shipped to Iraq by the American subsidiary of a German firm—Leybold Vacuum Systems Inc. in Enfield, Conn.—along with a high-tech lathe useful in missile and nuclear applications.

Internal Commerce Department documents obtained by The Washington Post show that in 1988, the Leybold exports were approved by the department over the objections of some licensing officers who warned that the equipment might be used in an Iraqi effort to build weapons of mass destruction. Leybold said at the time that the equip-

ment was for general military repair purposes and maintains it has no reason to believe the equipment was misused.

Currently the subject of a criminal probe by three federal agencies, according to U.S. officials, the Leybold beam welder is considered to be among the most embarrassing of 34 U.S. high-tech exports to Iraq before the Persian Gulf War that the Commerce Department is examining for potential violations of U.S. law.

In addition to U.N. discovery of the welder, congressional investi-

See IRAQ, A28, Col. 1

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

IRAQ, From A1

gators here have uncovered evidence showing the United States approved dozens of exports that found their way into Iraq's missile, nuclear, poison gas and germ weapon programs.

These exports included bacteria or fungus cultures, computers and electronic instruments, chemical process control equipment, and missile navigation and communications gear, according to a formerly secret State Department document made public yesterday by House Banking Committee Chairman Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.).

About two of every seven export licenses approved between 1985 and 1990 "went either directly to the Iraqi armed forces, to Iraqi end-users engaged in weapons production, or to Iraqi enterprises suspected of diverting technology" to weapons of mass destruction, Gonzalez said in a speech on the House floor.

He and other legislators also contend that the executive branch either neglected or deliberately ignored a series of warnings about Iraq's procurement of U.S. equipment for its unconventional arsenal.

President Bush has denied that the United States slept while Iraq armed, saying at a July 1 news conference that "we did not go to enhance [Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's] nuclear, biological or chemical capability" before the gulf war. Senior officials have said that most of the U.S. exports were benign and meant primarily to help draw Iraq into a closer economic and political relationship with the United States.

U.S. and U.N. officials say, moreover, that dangerous exports to Iraq by American commercial firms were only a fraction of those by firms in other countries. A classified interagency report to Congress last year said Europeans "were key" to Iraq's immense chemical arsenal and also provided most of the foreign aid to other Iraqi weapons of mass destruction.

But evidence emerging from the U.N. and congressional inquiries demonstrates that U.S. exports played a supporting role.

Iraqi Uses Seldom Verified

Gonzalez disclosed yesterday, for example, that a dozen or so high-tech exports were approved for use at Iraq's Salah Al Din, Saddam and Nassr State Establishments, all linked by secret U.S. government reports before the gulf war to arms production or military research.

Six U.S. exports of biological material were approved for the Iraqi Atomic Energy Commission, which the CIA said in a secret report last year had acted as a "cover" for the Iraqi germ weapon program. Another 11 biological exports were sent to the University of Baghdad,

In addition, the Bush administration approved 10 U.S. exports for the Technical and Scientific Materials Division of the Iraqi Trade Ministry, tied in a classified 1990 CIA report to "biological warfare support and numerous other military activities," according to Gonzalez.

"Iraq was able to obtain ... equipment of a predominantly commercial or civilian character, such as computers, from American firms for the Sa'ad 16 facility," Iraq's principal research and development center for ballistic missiles, said last year's classified interagency report to Congress. At least two of these exports occurred after 1986, when Sa'ad 16's purpose had been described in a secret Defense Department report to Commerce officials.

Some of the exports were approved with conditions proscribing their use in nuclear or missile applications. But U.S. officials verified that Iraq was observing these conditions on only one occasion, according to Gonzalez. "Tragically, in the case of Iraq, the United States did not adopt a policy of conducting post-installation checks," Gonzalez said yesterday.

Confidential Commerce Department files also reveal that the Reagan and Bush administrations approved at least 80 direct exports to the Iraqi military. These included computers, communications equipment, and aircraft navigation and radar equipment, Gonzalez said.

Many of these exports were made before Iraq's eight-year war with Iran ended in 1988, a period in which Washington maintained an official policy of neutrality toward the combatants but vigorously worked to block foreign military purchases by Iran.

In addition, the U.N. Special Commission on Iraq secretly informed the administration six months ago that equipment from 11 American companies was found in Iraqi missile and chemical manufacturing plants. The equipment included a "filling system for projectiles," a "pressure and temperature regulator," a ballistic missile "X-ray machine" and the chemical ingredients of a deadly nerve agent, according to the report, a copy of

which was obtained by The Washington Post.

Also, a recent confidential report by the International Atomic Energy Agency has identified at least 15 American companies that inspectors believe made major machine tools used or earmarked by Iraq for its nuclear weapons program, according to U.S. officials who spoke on condition that they not be named.

Much of the equipment discovered by the U.N. and IAEA reports was not sophisticated enough to be subject to U.S. export constraints at the time it was shipped, according to U.S. and company officials. All of the American firms named in the confidential reports, including Leybold, have denied any wrongdoing.

Feuding Among Agencies

The history of U.S. high-tech exports to Iraq, as depicted in hundreds of declassified administration documents surrendered in recent months to congressional investigators, is marked by a bitter, long-running battle between the departments of Commerce, State and Defense, which uneasily shared responsibility for reviewing most license applications.

Using the time-honored bureaucratic ploy of deliberate delay, the Pentagon repeatedly tried to hold up exports it worried would help Iraq's nuclear and missile programs. "Iraq has been somewhat less than honest in regard to the intended end-use of high technology equipment" obtained from the United States, Richard N. Perle, then an assistant secretary of defense, complained in a 1985 memorandum to Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger.

The State Department responded with a steady stream of appeals for help to higher authorities at the White House. For a March 1987 meeting between then-Vice President George Bush and Iraqi Ambassador Nizar Hamdoun, for example, the proposed "talking points" for Bush from the State Department said: "From the Iraqi perspective, the long delays appear to be capricious. We agree with that assessment."

The Commerce Department found itself sometimes playing the mediator in this dispute and other times advocating commercial interests. Major disputes were occasionally settled by White House orders that freed for Iraq more than a dozen export licenses.

An early U.S. motive in expanding high-tech trade with Baghdad was to help bolster Iraq economically against Iran during the brutal war between the two countries. Even after the Iran-Iraq war, administration officials continued to promote U.S.-Iraqi trade in a failed effort to gain influence in Baghdad and moderate Iraq's behavior in the region.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Only a few of the U.S. exports to Iraq involved munitions. Virtually all the rest involved so-called "dual-use" equipment, ostensibly meant for civilian application but also capable of being used in a military program. U.S. law proscribed such exports to countries listed as supporting terrorism, a label Washington applied to Iraq before 1982 and reinstated one month after Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait.

In between those years, Iraq allowed at least three major terrorist organizations to operate from its territory, and provided refuge to Abul Abbas, a terrorist blamed for the notorious 1985 hijacking of the cruise ship Achille Lauro in which an American tourist was killed. But the Reagan and Bush administrations decided to leave Iraq off the terrorist list during this period in what officials say was a deliberate effort to avoid an interruption of trade that would jeopardize political ties and harm U.S. commercial interests.

As a result, Iraq was officially described under Commerce Department rules as a Free World nation—a designation that lumped

Iraq with Britain and France in gaining access to America's high-tech goods. Export licenses could be refused to a Free World nation only for a few reasons, such as risk of diversion to the Soviet Union, threat to regional stability or use in developing nuclear weapons.

As former undersecretary of commerce Dennis Kloske told a House Foreign Affairs subcommittee last year, without broader foreign policy controls on Iraqi exports, "we had no legal authority, I want to emphasize no legal authority, to deny an export to Iraq."

Paul Freedenberg, who served as assistant secretary of commerce for trade administration in 1988 and 1989, said the White House rejected his proposal at that time to impose such foreign policy controls in response to Iraq's use of poison gases against Iranian soldiers and ethnic Kurds. The National Security Council under President Ronald Reagan responded that "the licensing policy with regard to Iraq was . . . normal trade," he said.

Pentagon Fears Dismissed

Officials say the internal wrangling was illustrated by the executive branch's handling of a 1987 application to export roughly \$1 million worth of computers and

software to Nassr State Establishment, where the equipment was to be used in tool design.

"This system could contribute directly to increasing Iraq's military force capability," the Pentagon said in one memorandum, adding that its export would undermine America's "image of neutrality" in the Iran-Iraq war then nearing an end. It bluntly called Nassr, where officials later said key Iraqi missile work was done, a "bad end-user."

But the State Department recommended approval "because there are no foreign policy controls applied to computer exports to Iraq, nor are there any other statutory or regulatory grounds for rejecting this case," according to an Aug. 10, 1988, summary of the debate prepared by the Commerce Department.

Iain Baird, then acting director of Commerce's Office of Export Licensing, subsequently wrote a memo to the Pentagon dismissing as legally irrelevant any concerns about Nassr's military ties and pointedly referred to the "recent NSC [National Security Council] decision to more favorably review export license applications to Iraq."

The license was finally approved on Oct. 18, 1988, 14 months after the application was received.

"We should begin a major effort to free up licensing requests . . . to enable our companies . . . to participate in development projects," a secret State Department document, entitled Guidelines for U.S.-Iraq Policy, said that year. Expanding U.S. high-tech exports, "more than anything else, can result in Iraqi efforts to improve ties. To Iraq, technology is our most important asset."

A 'Suspicious' Transaction

U.N. inspectors concluded after visiting Daura last year that the Leybold Vacuum Systems export of a high-tech welder from its offices in Connecticut had been a major asset to the Iraq nuclear development program. They found the welder "with a special fixture for holding the rotor tube" of a uranium centrifuge, according to a report published late last year.

The Connecticut firm, which has since sold its welding business to another company, was then a subsidiary of Leybold AG of Hanau, Germany, one of that country's largest makers of machine tools. The German company specializes in state-of-the-art vacuum technology considered essential for precise manufacturing of centrifuges and other uranium enrichment equipment.

Leybold's American subsidiary also applied in December 1987 for a license to export a lathe to Iraq; and some Commerce Department officials questioned the application, according to internal department documents.

"The Iraqi government intends to use our system [after fitting it with a laser] for general military repair applications such as jet engines, rocket cases, etc.," the application for the lathe stated.

Chuck Guernieri, then acting chief of the department's review and referral branch, noted the reference to various military applications and promptly called for a special review "on the policy advisability" of approving the export. In a memorandum to senior technical officials, he said, "If the U.S. is serious about proliferation of the ability to manufacture ballistic missiles in Third World countries, then it is difficult to be a consenting party to a transaction like this."

Kim Marsho, the licensing officer assigned to review the application, subsequently referred it to the department's enforcement branch responsible for blocking illicit technology diversions.

"The transaction seems a bit suspicious," Marsho said in an internal memo. "They are removing the laser from the system and stating that it will be supplied by another vendor. Had the laser remained in the system, the application would require missile-tech review."

U.S. officials who spoke about the case on condition they not be named said licensing officers had ample grounds for suspicion. They said the parent company, Leybold

AG, along with Degussa AG—which was then an affiliate and now owns Leybold AG—has a long history of controversial sales of nuclear-related materials and high-tech industrial equipment to states such as Pakistan, India, North Korea, Czechoslovakia, Romania and Libya.

Jay Hatfield, the enforcement officer assigned to review the case, shared Marsho's concerns about potential diversion, according to a recent memorandum reconstructing the department's internal deliberations. Together with office director Michael Dennis, Hatfield plotted to block the export by sending it to the Defense Department for what he expected would be an interminable delay, according to the memo.

But Leybold's representative in Washington, Werner Hein, called Hatfield to complain that the government's review was taking too long, the memo states.

"I distinctly recall that he threatened on several occasions to take the matter to higher [Bureau of Export Administration, or BXA] authorities," Hatfield recalls in the memo. "Not long after my first conversation . . . Mr. Dennis called me into his office because he had received a phone call from BXA management. He told me that he was receiving pressure on this matter."

UNCLASSIFIED UP STATE		15 DEC 1998		Date: 11-1-98	
1) RELEASE	2) DECLASSIFY	No Change Copy:			
3) DISCARD	4) DECLASSIFY	NO Change			
5) Degr	6) In PAST				
7) DELETE Non-Responsive Entry					
POL: Exempted		TS Authority to			
RA: Exempted		DECLASSIFY to () or () C OADR			
		DECLASSIFY to () or () C OADR			

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

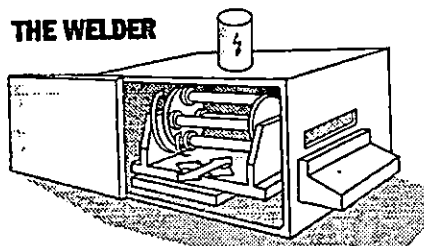
SENDING EQUIPMENT TO IRAQ ANATOMY OF A DEAL

How did a U.S.-made welder useful to nuclear weapons-making end up in Iraq?

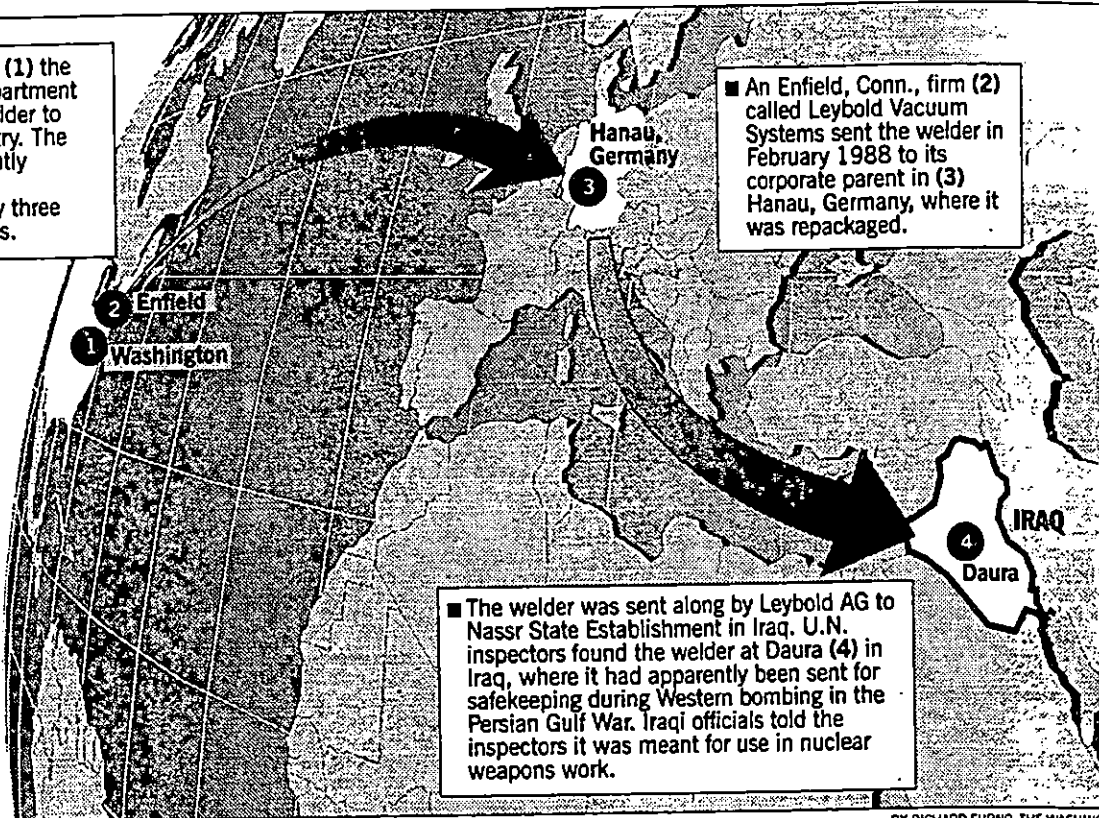
■ In Washington, (1) the Commerce Department allowed the welder to leave the country. The export is currently under criminal investigation by three federal agencies.

■ An Enfield, Conn., firm (2) called Leybold Vacuum Systems sent the welder in February 1988 to its corporate parent in (3) Hanau, Germany, where it was repackaged.

THE WELDER



This schematic shows an electron beam welding system like that exported by Leybold Vacuum Systems in Connecticut. A beam entering the chamber at the top can be used to weld materials. In Iraq, it was found with a special clamp for holding part of a centrifuge, which is used to enrich uranium for nuclear weapons.



■ The welder was sent along by Leybold AG to Nassr State Establishment in Iraq. U.N. inspectors found the welder at Daura (4) in Iraq, where it had apparently been sent for safekeeping during Western bombing in the Persian Gulf War. Iraqi officials told the inspectors it was meant for use in nuclear weapons work.

BY RICHARD FURNO—THE WASHINGTON POST

U.S. Cannot Confirm Rumors on Saddam

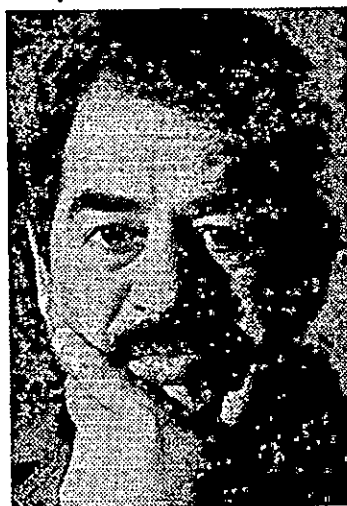
By James Rupert
Washington Post Foreign Service

Egypt's state-run news agency reported yesterday that rumors were circulating in Kuwait that Iraqi President Saddam Hussein had been assassinated, but Iraqi opposition sources and U.S. officials said they could not confirm the account.

President Bush told reporters at the White House that the U.S. government had "no confirmation . . . at all" of the dispatch by the Middle East News Agency, which was quickly reported by other news services. Iraqi media made no reference to the reports.

The ethnic Kurdish opposition movement based in northern Iraq had no word of any assassination, said Hoshiyar Zebari, a spokesman for the Kurdish Democratic Party. But "something seems to be going on," he said. Kurdish groups reported "abnormal troop movements" yesterday at an Iraqi military center near Irbil and "a huge explosion . . . at the Ghazlani military camp" Monday in Mosul.

Zebari said unusual numbers of security checkpoints had been



SADDAM HUSSEIN
... "no confirmation" of death

set up on roads leading from those northern cities to Baghdad.

Iraqi opposition groups reported this month that a military coup attempt against Saddam had been put down on June 29. While U.S. officials later questioned the coup report, suggesting that it had emerged from within Saddam's government, diplomats and Iraqi opposition figures have said some kind of confrontation within the military apparently did occur.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

King Denies Jordan Is Helping Iraq Defy Sanctions

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

AMMAN, Jordan, July 21—King Hussein of Jordan denied today that his country is moving supplies across its border into Iraq in defiance of U.N. sanctions, and Secretary of State James A. Baker III agreed that Jordan has tightened its enforcement of the sanctions in recent weeks.

The question of whether Jordan is helping Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's government evade the sanctions has taken on new urgency because of Saddam's current refusal to permit U.N. inspectors to search the

Agriculture Ministry in Baghdad for documents relating to Iraq's missile program. The United States and its allies have warned that they might use military means to force Iraqi compliance with U.N. Security Council orders.

Baker, on a five-nation Middle East tour in an effort to reinvigorate the Arab-Israeli peace process, conferred with Hussein here today.

At a news conference afterward, they were questioned about whether Jordan is covertly aiding Iraq by allowing large amounts of non-humanitarian supplies across the border between the two countries. Hussein

replied that before Iraq invaded Kuwait two years ago, starting the Persian Gulf War, his belief there should be "no Berlin Walls between Arab countries" had led him to regard the Jordan-Iraq border as though it did not exist.

"But we accept and have adhered to the U.N. sanctions," he said. "We are doing the best we can to get the Iraqi people food and medicine. But, as to non-humanitarian goods, I want to say that our credibility is very important to us, and we are not engaged in sanctions-busting."

Baker, responding to questions about past U.S. criticism of Jordan,

said, "In the past, we believe there was some leakage across the border. In recent days and weeks, we see much stronger sanctions enforcement, much less leakage."

The Jordanian economy depends on Iraq for cheap oil and substantial trading revenue. Jordan has argued it will need an alternative supplier of low-cost oil, such as Saudi Arabia, if Iraq retaliates for tighter Jordanian enforcement of sanctions.

Baker said his talks with Hussein convinced him that Jordan, which is part of a joint negotiating delegation

See JORDAN, A26, Col. 2

JORDAN, From A21

with the Palestinians, is ready to seize the chance for progress offered by Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's new government in Israel.

"I would like to think that there are opportunities now that should be taken advantage of and will be taken advantage of," said Baker, who came here after talks in Israel. "I found a sense of that in my discussions today with his majesty. I found a sense of that yesterday with Israelis and Palestinians."

Rabin's pledge to reduce Jewish settlements has come close to resolving Israel's dispute with the United States over its request for \$10 billion in U.S.-backed loan guarantees, and President Bush is likely to announce his support of the guarantees when Rabin visits the United States in early August.

One issue still to be clarified involves Rabin's distinction between what he calls "political settlements" and "security settlements." He has pledged to stop building political settlements, located in heavily populated Arab areas and designed to strengthen Israel's claim to the occupied territories, but has said Israel reserves the right to build security settlements in areas near the Golan Heights and along the Jordan River for protection from attack.

Asked today whether he accepted Rabin's distinction between political and security settlements, Baker said the United States opposes all new settlement activity. But he also hinted at what might be a formula for averting a dispute.

"Security installations are something that we view differently," Baker said. "Under our policy, settlements are settlements. But security installations are something we dis-

tinguish from what you might call security settlements."

Asked what the Arab side might do to reciprocate Rabin's moves to curb new Jewish settlements in the occupied territories, Hussein said that the Arab countries would make "decisions at the appropriate time."

However, he agreed that "we are at a historic moment," and added: "I hope this crucial moment can finally bring results to the suffering on both sides of the divide—Palestinians, Israelis, Jordanians—by establishing a just and lasting peace."

Baker's scheduled meeting tonight with Syrian President Hafez Assad in Damascus was postponed until Wednesday because of the death of Assad's mother.

U.N. Arms Inspector Says Tensions High in Baghdad

Associated Press

MANAMA, Bahrain, July 21—A team of U.N. weapons inspectors that left Baghdad today said tensions are rising there because of the stand-off over U.N. demands to search Iraq's Agriculture Ministry, said to contain missile documents.

"The security situation is growing more tense," said Richard Hooper. Iraqis have pelted U.N. cars with eggs and slashed their tires. U.N. official Rolf Ekeus said in New York that "the behavior is quite threatening. We are very . . . fearful for the safety of our persons. It won't go on. You will soon see something," said Ekeus.

In Washington, the State Department said existing Security Council resolutions provide for use of force. "We are not ruling out any options, including those of a military nature," spokesman Colin Cleary said.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

DOROTHY GILLIAM

Jesse Wasn't Only One Roughed Up

When Jesse Jackson launched his historic bid for president in 1984, he invoked a truism to help energize black Americans: "The Republicans write us off, and the Democrats take us for granted."

By telling African Americans not to sell their votes so cheaply, he led a grass-roots movement into presidential politics.

In 1992, African Americans once again find themselves in the position most politically aware blacks hate worse than castor oil: Republicans are writing us off, and the Democrats taking us for granted.

Despite balloons, unity songs and an upbeat tempo, many black delegates streaming from last week's Democratic National Convention after Bill Clinton's and Al Gore's acceptance speeches had a deep, nagging question, echoed by others across the country: "Can we *really* trust these two guys?"

That question stemmed in part from the way the Clinton-Gore group rubbed salt into that old "taking us for granted" wound by its rough treatment of Jackson. Then Jackson, in his powerful convention speech, turned around and proved that he is still the one man who best articulates the concerns of the black American electorate, rich and poor.

No matter one's opinion of Jackson, one fact is indisputable: He has demonstrated the ability to spur millions of otherwise unmotivated African Americans to the polls, particularly in the years when he was a candidate.

Those same voters will be even more important to the Democrats now that Ross Perot has dropped out of the race, leaving Southern whites more likely to support President Bush.

At the convention, Jackson was no longer the power broker he was in 1984 and 1988. Now the Democrats are taking a gigantic risk by pinning their hopes on black elected officials to register and get out the black vote for the ticket in the South and in cities.

In a presidential election in which absolutely every vote is essential, however, I'm betting the rent money that the much-touted Rep. John Lewis (D-Ga.), Mayor Michael White, of Cleveland, and Rep. Mike Espy (D-Miss.) can't make the same dent in the 8.5 million unregistered black voters that Jackson could.

Certainly, Clinton, who is about as oratorically exciting as Wonder Bread, couldn't do the job even if he wanted to.

Clinton and Gore need a large black turnout in November. At the same time, however, they feel the need to distance themselves from Jackson to appeal to the so-called forgotten Reagan Democrats.

In other words, they need Jackson, but they don't want him.

By extension, they need the electorate to whose yearnings and concerns he gives voice, but don't want to court it.

The most profound impact of Jackson's speech at the convention, his one moment in the spotlight,

See GILLIAM, B6, Col. 1

DOROTHY GILLIAM

Why Black Voters Worry

GILLIAM From B1

was that he proved he was the only person with the ability to keep the Democrats honest on the black agenda. After he spoke, explicit black concerns faded as rapidly as if they had been written in disappearing ink.

Indeed, there still is a black agenda, despite the class and income divisions within black America.

According to a recent poll sponsored by Home Box Office and the Joint Center for Political Studies, the views of African Americans are shaped by compassion for the poor and the cities, and a toughness on crime, welfare dependency and family responsibility.

For American politics in 1992, however, a position that

highlights concern for the poor is too far to the left of center for Democratic comfort. Thus, Jackson, who talked about what black Americans really care about, is too far left. And like him, most blacks find themselves out of the political mainstream.

As the tallest tree in today's forest of those speaking for the black electorate, Jackson also was an easy target for toppling at the convention. The national political press and countless television pundits, tired of the Jackson influence on Democratic Party politics, were quick to applaud Clinton's masterful "handling" of Jackson.

Leaving the convention, I could only shake my head and think: A Democratic Party without Jackson is a Democratic Party taking some cherished values for granted.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

JUDY MANN

The Bakers vs. the Policy Makers

I want to share an intimate female secret. I don't make cookies. I don't bake cakes. My one sweet potato pie is the stuff of family lore: I bit into the overcooked, overspiced final product and swiftly told my beloved family that no one else had to eat it. No one did.

The only person in my family who makes chocolate chip cookies is my daughter, the 12-year-old, and I'd not lose a wink of sleep if I knew that the only person in Hillary Clinton's family who bakes cookies is her daughter. Yet cookies have become a symbol of femininity in this campaign, a symbol of housewives vs. working women, cookie bakers vs. movers and shakers.

Hillary Clinton's dilemma is at the heart of what Betty Friedan wrote about in "The Feminine Mystique." "Our culture does not permit women to accept or gratify their basic need to grow and fulfill their potentialities as human beings," she wrote in 1963. Today, it is still the dilemma of accomplished women such as Hillary Clinton.

"She's damned if she does, damned if she doesn't," said Deborah Tannen, who wrote "You Just Don't Understand." Hillary Clinton "is the perfect example of the double bind women are in. If you don't put yourself forward, strive to get the floor and be heard and take up a lot of speaking space, you are judged negatively in terms of your competence. If you talk like a woman, you are not respected. If you talk like a man, you are not liked."

The media, which has never met a stereotype about women that it didn't like, has been sniping at Hillary Clinton like men with a buzz on discussing their first wives. The day after Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton picked Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore Jr. to be his vice presidential running mate, the Washington Times, a reliable predictor of what the Bush campaign is going to dump into the sewer of political discourse, ran a front-page story headlined: "Ticket's wives seen colliding on issues." The drop head crystallized the confrontation that the newspaper story was panting after: "Feminist Hillary, traditionalist Tipper." Meow.

Tannen said, "All the stereotypes are just waiting in the wings to be pinned onto her simply because she doesn't fit the image of self-denigration that we expect of women. 'Take a back seat. Be hesitant. Put yourself down. Apologize.' When a woman accomplishes as much as Hillary Clinton, this very act of accomplishment is not typical of women, so in

that sense she isn't 'like a woman.' And so by extrapolation from that, the thinking seems to be [that] there's a woman who has accomplished more than a woman has, so she's not like a woman, she must be a bitch."

Linda Bloodworth-Thomason, Hillary Clinton's close friend and the creator of "Designing Women," said, "It's almost as if our culture can't let go of a myth about women, the myth being that we are not multidimensional people, the myth being that we are not able to love our children and work outside the home." She describes Hillary Clinton as "very straightforward, very bright . . . a lot of fun, very warm, very friendly, very loving. That's Hillary. It makes you nuts to see her constantly misdefined."

"All women who have any power in our society experience this. I experienced this by being the creator of three television shows in Hollywood."

Bloodworth-Thomason is not new to the discussion of women, power, ambition and accomplishment. That's partly why she created "Designing Women." She wanted to show women who were "attractive and could also put their hands on their hips and be formidable." Feminists, in other words, can be sexy.

She has her own version of the dozens of stories focusing on Hillary's headband—"Are They Zippy or Dippy?" After producing 150 episodes of "Designing Women," including the classic one on the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill hearings, and after writing 75 scripts herself, many tackling tough women's issues, the show has received one Emmy: for hairdressing. "You see," she said, "how they have a way of trivializing us."

Between the Republicans and the media, we're going to see a good bit of effort to fan the ancient resentments between women who turned against each other before they understood the kind of power that together they could wield.

They say this is the year of the political woman. It's also the year in which an accomplished woman such as Hillary Clinton should be celebrated as a role model, as an example to our daughters of what they can accomplish. Let's not fall for that old female cat fight number that men love to run on us. As Bloodworth-Thomason said, all that does is keep us off balance, afraid to step forward, to dream and to try a new adventure. It keeps us in the kitchen baking cookies, instead of in the Senate dividing the pie.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Greenspan Sees Slow Pickup In Economy as Debt Declines

By John M. Berry
Washington Post Staff Writer

Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan predicted yesterday that "subnormal" U.S. economic growth will slowly speed up and unemployment will fall over the next year and a half as American households and businesses gradually shed their excessive loads of debt.

"I expect that the economic expansion will soon gain momentum, which lower inflation should help to maintain," Greenspan told a skeptical Senate Banking Committee, several members of which blamed the Fed chairman and his central bank colleagues for the economy's weak growth and high unemployment rate.

The new Fed forecast, which is similar to that of the Bush administration, suggests no economic surge is likely between now and Election Day that would provide significant help to President Bush's reelection chances.

Almost the entire first hour of the lengthy hearing was taken up by opening statements by

senators pointing election-year fingers of blame at Greenspan, Bush, the Treasury Department and, occasionally, at Congress itself for the economy's poor performance.

Chairman Donald W. Riegle Jr. (D-Mich.) complained to Greenspan, "I think the record now clearly shows that the Fed monetary policy moves have been too little and too late, and that despite reassurances that you have repeatedly given this committee, the economy remains wounded and struggling today."

Despite all the criticism, none of the 10 members present suggested that the Fed should lower interest rates further. One, Sen. John Kerry (D-Mass.), even asked, "You can't go much lower than you are today, correct?"

Greenspan sidestepped the question since it involved future Fed policy decisions and an interest rate forecast. "I will grant you that interest rates are very low," he agreed.

The Fed has lowered its target for a key short-term interest rate on 23 occasions since mid-

See GREENSPAN, D4, Col. 1

GREENSPAN, From D1

1989, most recently on July 2 after the Labor Department reported that the nation's unemployment rate rose to 7.8 percent last month. Currently, rates on short-term securities, such as three-month Treasury bills, are at the lowest level in nearly three decades.

But even if rates are finally as low as the committee members think they should be, several of them expressed doubt that the low rates would be enough to generate faster growth and bring down unemployment.

"I think the time has come for the Fed to frankly admit that monetary policy by itself is insufficient to deal with our serious economic problems and that other, more aggressive economic growth initiatives are needed now," Riegle said. Various members proposed additional federal spending on highway construction, research and development and other items, along with a number of tax cuts, to spur growth.

Greenspan disagreed, saying a reduction in the federal budget deficit is the most important thing Congress could do to aid the economy.

The recovery from the 1990-91 recession has been "subnormal" despite the rate cuts, the Fed chairman said, because too much debt had been built up acquiring homes, cars, consumer goods and business assets such as commercial office buildings.

Both consumers and businesses have been making extra payments on their debts and bringing their interest payments more in line with what their incomes can handle. This adjustment process is far along for most businesses, but only about half completed for households, he said.

For someone who over-borrowed, the Fed chairman said, "it's only when that debt is paid down significantly . . . that one feels more comfortable in going out and spending, or investing. . . ."

The continuing reduction of debt loads is the principal reason Greenspan, the other six Fed board members and the 12 regional Federal Reserve bank presidents generally believe economic growth will speed up in the second half of this year and in 1993.

As a group, the policy makers are

somewhat more optimistic than they were last winter, Greenspan said, noting that at a recent meeting they said they expect the gross domestic product to increase from 2.25 percent to 2.75 percent during 1992 after adjustment for inflation. That is about half a percentage point more than their forecast last winter. Similarly, they revised their forecast for 1993 upward to show GDP growth of 3 percent or a little less.

Greenspan, pressed hard by Riegle and several other committee members about the large increase in the unemployment rate so far this year, acknowledged that the Fed's forecast was far off the mark last winter. The reason for the error, he argued, was not that the economy has been weaker than expected but that there was an unanticipated surge in the number of workers seeking jobs in the past six months.

He said Fed officials now believe that moderately stronger growth in coming months will push unemployment down to 7.25 percent to 7.5 percent by the fourth quarter of the year and on down to between 6.5 percent and 7 percent by late next year.

Several committee members also pointed to the slow expansion of the nation's money supply as evidence that the Fed has been unwilling to supply all the cash the economy needs.

Greenspan agreed that money growth has fallen short of target ranges set by the Fed, but he argued that the shortfall had not harmed the economy.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Showdown Over Cable Clampdown

House Appears Likely to Vote Rate Curbs

By Paul Farhi
Washington Post Staff Writer

After more than three years of political stalemate, Congress appears ready to rewrite the rules governing the cable TV industry.

The House tomorrow is scheduled to consider legislation designed to clamp down on rising prices paid by the nation's 54 million cable television households—and possibly transform the \$20 billion-a-year cable industry in the process.

The last scene is largely without suspense. Even the cable industry concedes the House will follow the lead of the Senate, which overwhelmingly passed a tougher bill in January. The lingering political questions remain what form the legislation will take once House and Senate conferees meet to work out the differences in their bills, and whether it can survive an anticipated veto by President Bush.

Reregulation of the cable business would undo much of what Congress did in 1984, when it left the door open for system owners—virtually all of whom hold monopolies in their markets—to set their own prices. Under deregulation, cable TV blossomed into a powerful medium, humbling the traditional broadcast networks while making such cable channels as MTV, CNN and ESPN into household staples. But consumers and elected officials have complained that operators have taken advantage of their market power, with rate increases

averaging nearly 60 percent since price deregulation began in 1987.

Whether new regulation would actually restrain or reduce these prices remains in dispute, however.

Proponents—largely its Democratic sponsors, consumer advocates and cable's rivals—believe subscribers are about to get a break, not just from lower rates but from legislative measures designed to spur competition among all types of TV companies, such as traditional broadcasters and satellite systems.

But cable industry executives argue that complying with the regulatory regime envisioned by Congress will ultimately drive up their costs and raise prices, while simultaneously crimping their ability to offer new programming and other services.

"It is a given that rates will go up, not down," said Brian Roberts, president of Comcast Corp., the nation's fourth-largest owner of cable systems. "There will be no incentive for us to invest in our plant and equipment. People want more channels. But how are we going to pay for that?"

The House bill, authored by Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.) would grant city and county governments renewed authority to oversee cable companies' basic-service rates under a formula that will be written by the Federal Communications Commission and applied in markets where no competition exists. It also sets price limits on installation and equipment such

as remote control devices, and requires cable companies to sell any premium service, such as Home Box Office, without forcing customers to first sign up for other "tiers" of programming.

If the FCC imposes tough terms on basic service, it could compel rate rollbacks of as much as 30 percent, according to the Consumer Federation of America, which says

cable rates are that much lower in the few cities where two operators compete head-to-head.

At the lesser extreme, the CFA says the generally deregulatory FCC may hold future price increases to no more than the general rate of inflation.

Yet rate regulation of basic service
See CABLE, D8, Col. 1

CABLE, From D1

vice may be the least of the cable industry's worries. Its pique, and its considerable lobbying muscle, have been directed at two obscure but crucially important intra-industry amendments to the House bill: retransmission consent and competitive access to cable programming.

Retransmission rights, strongly opposed by cable companies and Hollywood producers, would require cable system owners to compensate local TV stations whenever the cable system retransmits the broadcaster's signal (cable operators now show broadcast stations for free). Broadcasters claim this is only fair since cable operators are getting a free ride, but the cable industry says it may be forced to drop some stations and raise prices to cover the fees it would have to pay. "The sky's not going to fall on us, it's going to fall on the consumer," said Robert Miron, president of Newhouse Broadcasting Corp., a Syracuse, N.Y.-based cable company.

The program access issue arises

from claims that the cable industry has stifled the development of alternative TV providers by insisting that programmers set exorbitant prices for cable's rivals or refuse to sell programs to them at all.

Under an amendment to be introduced by Rep. W.J. "Billy" Tauzin (D-La.), programmers could make exclusive deals with cable systems only under limited circumstances, and they would be required to sell to satellite firms and others in a "nondiscriminatory" fashion. "The cable industry may be able to get by the bureaucrats [on rate regulation] but they can't get by fair competition," said Tauzin.

The House vote comes a week after the FCC agreed to permit phone companies to enter the TV business, a step FCC Chairman Alfred Sikes said would create competition. But FCC Commissioner James Quello said yesterday that phone company entry into TV is still years away and congressional action was necessary. "Competition isn't here yet," Quello said. "We need a policy for the here and now."

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT...

- Former U.S. attorney Joe diGenova has been talking to politicians about running for governor of Maryland in '94. "I have said I'd be happy to think about it," he confirmed yesterday.
- Peter Martins, the imperious Dane who succeeded George Balanchine as head of the New York City Ballet, was arrested Sunday in Saratoga Springs, N.Y., and charged with the misdemeanor assault of his wife of seven months, principal dancer Doree Kistler. A ballet spokesman called the incident a "personal matter" but added that the two arrived for practice together at the ballet's summer home yesterday and that Kistler, who was not visibly injured, was scheduled to dance last night.
- Jennifer Flowers, the self-proclaimed Bill Clinton paramour, lives. Penthouse magazine says it's considering explicit photos of the former cabaret singer—but no decision to publish them has been made. Publisher Bob Guccione does promise "a big surprise" if they do run. We can't wait.
- Hotel magnate Leona Helmsley was allowed to leave her Danbury, Conn., jail

cell for half a day yesterday to be with husband Harry, who underwent emergency surgery at New York Hospital. Two guards accompanied her and, yes, she had to pick up the transportation tab.

■ Sylvester Stallone is taking a break from filming his latest action project, "Cliffhanger," after a cut he suffered while doing his own stunts became infected. A publicist said yesterday that he's due back on the Rome set Monday.

■ The NRA should put columnist Liz Smith on the payroll. "I happen to own two guns in the state of Vermont, where there is no registration required," she writes in her column today, in support of a proposal to charge a national gun registration fee. "But I'd be glad to pay \$200 annually for the privilege."

■ Actor James Earl Jones, mezzo-soprano Marilyn Horne and country star Minnie Pearl are among those receiving a National Medal of Arts this year. The awards will be presented today by President Bush at a White House ceremony.



From far left: DiGenova might run; Martins arrested; Flowers might bare it all.



ASSOCIATED PRESS

Mary Lou Retton in 1984 gold-medal form.

Retton: Balanced Coverage

■ After cartwheeling her way to instant stardom and five gold medals at the '84 L.A. Olympics, gymnast Mary Lou Retton will be resurfacing this weekend in Barcelona as an official observer of sorts for the '92 Summer Games.

She was in the area recently and reflected on her Sweetheart status—as

CHECKING IN WITH...

well as her plans for the future. She still looks 16. And she's still 4 feet 9.

"It was something I really had no choice about," she said of the attention lavished upon her eight years ago. "I could not stop it," she said, describing herself as just "a baby" at the time.

"Now I've turned into a woman!" she informed us. "Different parts of my body have grown that weren't there before. I didn't know whether I was ever going to get them!"

Retton is now married and is an adviser to the President's Council on Physical Fitness. "It's tough nowadays for children because celebrities and sports stars are getting into trouble," she said. "That shatters your idols."

And she's gearing up for a stint as a columnist during the Games, which start Sunday.

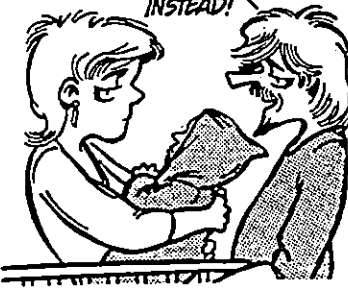
"It'll be a great challenge," she admitted with a hint of columnist angst, "but as I tell the kids I meet, you've got to believe in yourself, to take risks and not be afraid to fail."

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



WE GOT IN A CAB TO GO SEE A MOVIE, BUT THE CABBIE DIDN'T SPEAK ENGLISH, SO WE ENDED UP LOST IN BROOKLYN. SO WE PUNTED THE MOVIE, AND TOOK THE SUBWAY TO CONEY ISLAND INSTEAD!



WHAT HAPPENED TO LUNCH, NAP, DOCTOR'S APPOINTMENT, PLAY DATE AND BATH?



The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Buying the Book Without a Look

G. P. Putnam's fall catalogue definitely titillated. Under the bold "HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL PROJECT" headline, the copy read, "Because of the . . . sensitive nature of the subject and contents of the book, no additional information will be disclosed prior to publication."

And bookstores ordered: B. Dalton here signed up for at least 600 of the \$24.95 hardback for three of its stores knowing nothing. But by yesterday, Washington switchboards were lighting up with rumors that Putnam's "mystery book" was actually an "explosive" biography of Sen. Ted Kennedy by a controversial former top aide.

Publishing sources and nervous Kennedy intimates tended to believe New York magazine's report that Richard E. Burke—who once lied about being the object of an assassination attempt—was writing his own version of the Kennedy saga.

"He's crazy," offered Tim Hanan, a Kennedy pal. "How can it be close to the truth when he went off the deep end?"

On the other hand, Burke had worked closely with Kennedy since graduating from Georgetown. And at 28, he ran Kennedy's Senate staff of 60. By 1981 he was considered a political power when he hatched an elaborate tale about being pursued by shadowy hit men. He claimed, and it was avidly reported, that his car was shot, his home broken into and that he had received about eight death threats. He even hired security protection, before admitting it was a hoax and resigning. Since then, he has lived in New York, dabbled in business and worked

HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL PROJECT

On September 2, 1992, G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish one of the most controversial and revealing biographies of a public figure to appear in many years.

The explosive material in this book will create headline-making news and major publicity throughout the country. Because of the highly confidential and sensitive nature of the subject and contents of the book, no additional information will be disclosed prior to publication.



Alleged "mystery book" author Richard Burke and the publisher's titillating memo, above.

briefly for the Martha Graham Dance Company.

Putnam executives would not return calls yesterday. Burke could not be reached.

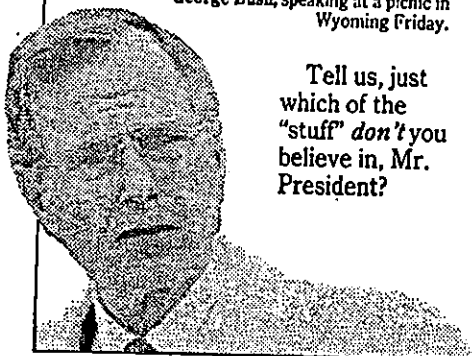
Politics & Prose owner Carla Cohen said she ordered only 10 copies and did so because the Putnam sales rep said it was a "must-have." But like others, she wondered yesterday, "What in the world could be left to say about Ted Kennedy?"

Maybe not as much as before. While Joe McGinniss is still working on his Kennedy opus for Simon & Schuster, a Turtle Bay Books project by celebrity biographer James Spada may not happen. "We may go ahead and we may not," said publisher Joni Evans, adding: "We bought the author, not Teddy Kennedy."

Whooooops . . .

"I do believe in some of the stuff that I—you know, problems that I'm faced to solve . . ."

—George Bush, speaking at a picnic in Wyoming Friday.



Tell us, just which of the "stuff" *don't* you believe in, Mr. President?

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

On the Beat

Is Tipper Changing Her Tune?

By Richard Harrington
Washington Post Staff Writer

Since Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore Jr. was chosen as Gov. Bill Clinton's running mate, the spotlight has also been shining on Gore's wife, Tipper. She, of course, was a founding member of the Parents Music Resource Center, which was instrumental in establishing in 1985 the advisories that can be found on some records containing material that might not be suitable for children. Along with Susan Baker, wife of then-Treasury Secretary James Baker, Gore and the PMRC did more to focus media attention on "porn rock" than any other group, most visibly in 1985 Senate hearings that featured testimony by Frank Zappa, John Denver and Dee Snider of Twisted Sister (a headline at the time called it "Twisted Sister Meets Big Brother").

Al Gore, then a freshman senator, was a part of those hearings, where his wife testified and was subsequently mocked for her Southern accent by Zappa, who called PMRC proposals (which then included a movielike ratings system) "the equivalent of treating dandruff with decapitation" and a "sinister kind of 'toilet training program' to housebreak all composers and performers because of the lyrics of a few."

The PMRC quickly backed away from a ratings system position, accepting the Recording Industry Association of America's voluntary warning label. In 1990, Tipper Gore and the PMRC publicly opposed mandatory labeling bills circulating in almost two dozen states and convinced legislators to drop those bills after the RIAA developed a generic warning sticker. Gore, who has spoken against censorship and opposed bans on sales of stickered albums to minors, also testified against a Louisiana labeling bill that passed, but was subsequently vetoed by the governor.

Still, Gore's been criticized for contributing to a "climate of censorship" because some chains won't carry stickered albums, or they segregate them and restrict sales to minors. So it's hardly surprising that there's probably never been a vice presidential candidate's wife so vilified in song.

Some enterprising label could easily put together "Tipper Gore's Greatest Hits," including such songs as Alice Donut's "Tipper Gore," Todd Rundgren's "Jesse Don't Like It," Warrant's "Ode to Tipper Gore" (a montage of obscenities from its shows), and Queensryche's "Operation Mindcrime." Jello Biafra could have three contributions from his spoken word albums: "No More Cocoons," "More Talk on Censorship" and "High Priest."

Ice-T, whose "Rhyme Pays" was the first record to carry a parental advisory under the RIAA plan, addressed Gore in "Freedom of Speech" on his "Iceberg" album, and does so again on his controversial "Body Count" metal album in the song "KKK Bitch" ("I fell in love with Tipper Gore's two 12-year-old nieces/ It

was wild, you know what I'm sayin'/ It got even worse you know . . .").

And there's more: Bytches With Problems invoke Gore on their upcoming "Pro Me," as do the Ramones, whose new album features the cut "Censor[expletive]":

Tipper, what's that sticker stickin' on my CD?

Is that some kind of warning to protect me?

Freedom of choice needs a stronger, stronger voice

You can stamp out the source but you can't stop creative thoughts

Ah Tipper come on, ain't you been getting it on?

Ask Ozzie, Zappa or me, we'll show you what it's like to be free.

Ironically, Al Gore actually appears on a Zappa album. Gore, who had told Zappa before his 1985 testimony that "I respect you as a true original and as a tremendously talented musician," ended up as a soundbite on the composer's subsequent album, "Frank Zappa Meets the Mothers of Prevention." The 12-minute track, "Porn Wars," also featured the voices of six other senators. Both Gores appear in "Does Humor Belong in Music?" an hour-long video of hearing highlights put together by Zappa. (Al Gore subsequently said the hearings were "not a good idea.")

Since last week's Democratic convention, Tipper Gore's been undergoing something of a rock-and-roll makeover: Entertainment Weekly reported on her adventures in high school as drummer for the all-girl rock band the Wildcats, and a recent New York Times profile prominently mentioned her purchase of the Grateful Dead's "Europe 72" album.

"When Tipper Gore apologizes to the music industry and stands up for one censored or proscribed artist, then I'll think maybe she's changed her spots," says Dave Marsh, Rock and Roll Confidential editor and Right to Rock activist. "Until then, she's a leopard."

Disputing suggestions that the PMRC is "inactive," Marsh says Gore recently told the Associated Press "how proud she is" of the PMRC, and that the organization has doubled the frequency of its newsletter and quadrupled sales of its anti-rock "Rising to the Challenge" video. "If Tipper Gore has changed her stripes, why isn't she going to bat for Ice-T? Rights erode, they don't disappear."

Along with the American Civil Liberties Union and the American Library Association, Marsh holds that labeling in any form is censorship. On the positive side, says Marsh, "Hillary [Clinton] is okay. She hasn't tried to stop anybody from listening to anything."

And what happens if George Bush dumps Dan Quayle and goes with James Baker as VP? At least one of the co-founders of the PMRC would be guaranteed a place in the vice president's house. Coincidence, or PMRC conspiracy?

The Washington Post

The TV Column

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Hockenberry Leaves NPR for ABC

By John Carmody
Washington Post Staff Writer

LOS ANGELES, July 21—John Hockenberry, a correspondent for National Public Radio for the past 12 years, has been named a reporter for ABC News's upcoming Sunday night magazine program. He is expected to join ABC after the Republican convention.

Hockenberry, who uses a wheelchair, has had an extraordinary career at NPR, includ-

ing firsthand coverage of the Persian Gulf War and the Kurdish rebellion. He has been a stringer on the West Coast, a Washington correspondent and host of the Peabody Award-winning program "Heat."

Tom Yellin, executive producer of the still-untitled ABC News hour, today called Hockenberry "a very, very bright man, relentlessly determined. There is no story we can't cover with John. He simply won't be denied."

See TV COLUMN, G8, Col. 1

...TV COLUMN, From G1

Hockenberry is the second journalist to defect from NPR in weeks. Scott Simon left to co-anchor NBC's two "Weekend Today" shows, which begin airing Aug. 1...

Hockenberry joins a staff that already includes anchor Forrest Sawyer and London-based correspondent Sheila MacVicar. The program is expected to debut in January...

American television will lose one of the remaining reasons for watching American television at the end of the year: Alistair Cooke is retiring as the only host "Masterpiece Theatre" has had in its 22 years of existence on PBS...

The man who has introduced U.S. audiences to some of the greatest (and sometimes not-so-greatest) dramas in English literature will be 84 in November. He has a book that's overdue at the publishers and a leg that's bothering him a bit...

The nearly impossible task of finding a replacement for Cooke is already underway. But how do you find someone who could hunch forward so authoritatively, so comfortably, steeple his hands so eloquently—the elegant J.J. Mouret theme still echoing in the background—and actually make Galsworthy memorable?

WGBH, the "presenting" station in the PBS system, says it already has 150 names on the short "try" list...

Rebecca Eaton, executive producer of "Theatre" for WGBH, said, "The honor of working with Alistair Cooke over the years is rivaled only by the delight in becoming his friend. His enthusiasm for good drama, history, politics and the elegant use of the English language has made him a splendid colleague and the perfect host for 'Masterpiece Theatre'..."

In a resignation letter to WGBH, Cooke said he had meant to do this after "Masterpiece Theatre's" 20th anniversary retrospective, "but I was persuaded to stay for another season..."

"I have been promising my publisher a book for the past two years and I must get to it. The rest of my declining energies I want to devote to the thing I most love doing: the weekly BBC 'Letter From America'..."

Cooke resides in New York but returns to England twice a year...

Eaton said today that although host nominations are in no way restricted, ideally the broadcast is seeking "someone who can explain the British to Americans," since the series specializes in the classics of English literature...

"We don't want to rule out Americans or Canadians or Australians or restrict it to actors, writers, men and women, journalists," she said...

Trolling the visiting network TV press here today for ideas, she got the names of Tony Randall and Charlton Heston, which is why someone like Maggie Smith should be considered an early favorite...

"We're looking for the best possible host for the role," said another station executive. "But I'm afraid his shoes are too big..."

Although the program focuses on the best of British drama, this coming season it will adapt American Edith Wharton's "The Mother's Recompense"...

Cooke will make his last appearance on "Masterpiece Theatre" in November, according to Eaton. The new season begins on PBS in October for the prize-winning series...

Well, at least we've still got that Mouret fanfare to look forward to on Sunday nights...

At NBC News in Washington, meanwhile, it was announced today that Christie Basham, senior producer of "Meet the Press," is retiring after 29 years with the network...

Basham will be replaced by producer Betty Dukert, who has been with the public affairs show for 40 of its 45 years...

Colette Rhoney, who has been an associate producer of politics at the Washington bureau, will replace Dukert as producer of "Meet the Press" and will continue to be deeply involved in political coverage. Rhoney joined the network in 1989. She was formerly a researcher for Washington Post columnist David Broder...

Basham first joined NBC in 1957. Although she defected briefly to CBS and also PBS during her career, she held several top jobs at NBC. A former deputy bureau chief in Washington, she became the top producer on "Meet the Press" in 1989...

The changes at the top of the Washington-based show, which is moderated by Tim Russert, come at a time when there is speculation in New York that the program could expand soon to a full hour, à la ABC's "This Week With David Brinkley"...

Although "Meet" trails "This Week" in the national ratings, it has been outdrawing both the ABC show and CBS's "Face the Nation" in Washington since the first of the year...

A special one-hour program preceding the Democratic convention, featuring Mario Cuomo and Jesse Jackson, did a 6.3 rating and a 19 share in D.C., and NBC plans to try the same expansion to a full hour on Aug. 16 from Houston on the eve of the Republican convention...

Su-Lin Cheng has been promoted from publicist to manager of public relations for Turner Broadcasting System Inc. in Washington, handling

...yes, the management of CBS Entertainment does plan to keep an eye on the script for that one-hour "Murphy Brown" season opener that series creator Diane English has already dubbed "Murphy's Revenge" on Vice President Quayle...

Back on May 19, the vice president, during an address to the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco, threw in one line that has taken on a life of its own—and is often, his backers charge, misinterpreted...

"It doesn't help matters," Quayle said at the time, "when primetime television has Murphy Brown—a character who supposedly epitomizes today's intelligent, highly-paid professional woman—mocking the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone, and calling it just another 'life style choice'..."

On Saturday English revealed the season-opening special, and although she was short on details it is clear the vice president will be named. She told reporters his attack had been political and insincere and that the series' response would not be subtle. In political circles, the speculation is that Murphy's baby will be named "Dan"...

Today Peter Tortorici, executive vice president, CBS Entertainment, said "we try to give [producers] as much latitude as possible to do what they do. Good taste and good judgment should be part of the process..."

"We see the scripts before they are shot. The primary goal of the show is to make people laugh, and that's what this show will ultimately do..."

Regarding "family values," Tortorici pointed out that Monday's "Murphy Brown" rerun dealt with Corky's marital problems. "Murphy talked to her about commitment, and that's about as 'family values' as any episode of 'Leave It to Beaver,'" he said...

The programming chief at CBS Entertainment also pointed out that "there are some very highly placed Republicans" at the Entertainment division, including, he said, "a registered Republican" (Entertainment president Jeff Sagansky)...

Quayle's press secretary, David Beckwith, said today that the idea of a one-hour special is "not particularly surprising. It's just clear the dominant Hollywood ethic is ratings, and they are determined to lend a hand to a society that is headed in the wrong direction, determined to exploit an issue for their short-term benefit..."

"The only thing that I object to is their trying to portray [the vice president's] remarks as an assault on single mothers. That's pretty cynical..."

"Murphy's Revenge" is scheduled for Monday evening, Sept. 19, according to Tortorici...

Which reminds us: The vice president is due to appear on CNN's "Larry King Live" Wednesday at 9...

Tribune Entertainment has canceled production of "The Dennis Miller Show" as of this Friday. But the syndicated talk show will continue with reruns until Sept. 11, when the new season starts...

In Washington, Dennis appears on Channel 20 at 12:30 a.m. They are still tinkering with the fall schedule at WDCA, but the guess is that the station will move the 1:30 late movie to his time slot...

TV Ratingzzzz

Following are the top 20 network primetime shows last week, ranked according to the percentage of the nation's 92.1 million TV households that watched, as measured by the A.C. Nielsen Co. A share represents the percentage of actual sets-in-use tuned to a particular program when it aired.

Rating	Share	Network
1 15.3	26	ABC
2 14.9	27	CBS
3 14.7	27	ABC
4 14.7	33	CBS
5 13.0	25	ABC
6 12.6	21	ABC
7 12.2	24	ABC
8 11.6	20	FOX
9 11.4	20	CBS
10 11.1	22	CBS
11 10.4	21	CBS
12 10.3	18	FOX
13 10.1	18	CBS
14 10.1	19	FOX
15 10.1	18	CBS
16 10.0	18	NBC
17 9.8	17	ABC
18 9.8	17	FOX
19 9.7	20	ABC
20 9.7	19	NBC

For the week ending July 19, CBS led with an 8.5 average Nielsen rating and a 16 share; ABC finished second, with 7.7/15; for the first time in its history, Fox finished third, with 7.3/14; NBC had 7.0/13...

Fox's two "Beverly Hills, 90210" episodes placed in the top 20. The season premiere episode placed 14th, behind a repeat that placed 11th. And the All-Star Game won two spots among the top 20, with a second for the game and an 11th place for the pregame. The highest ranking the Democratic National Convention got was a 49th place, on ABC...

"ABC World News Tonight With Peter Jennings" won the nightly news race for the 80th consecutive week with an 8.7/19 rating. "CBS News With Don Pataky" was in second place with

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Clinton and Gore, New Heartthrobs of the Heartland

On the Bus With the Boys, Rolling Through Bush Country

By Joel Achenbach
Washington Post Staff Writer

SOMEWHERE IN THE HEARTLAND

The first thing you notice is all the white people. They're everywhere, there must be millions of them out here. And so much corn! It stretches for miles and miles, the gorgeous monotony broken up only by the soybeans.

Is this Clinton Country? That's the question as the Clinton-Gore convoy heads west in the great American

tradition, through the land of Daniel Boone and Danforth Quayle. Last night it looked like the entire population of Centralia, Ill., turned out in force when the convoy rolled down Elm Street. Across West Virginia, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois, the scenes have been the same: people sitting on the scoops of little white houses, waving "Go Clinton" signs. There are people standing in the rain to see the buses as they pass. At every stop, even the ones at interstate highway rest areas in the middle of nowhere, there are beaming, giddy people chanting "We Want Bill!" Even the press buses get applause—something alarmingly cutesy has happened to American politics when there are claps for the dreaded jackals of the media.

The Democrats have labeled this trip "The First 1,000 Miles," but perhaps it should be the "I Think

We're Not in Manhattan Anymore 'Toto Tour." (A supporter's hand-held sign yesterday suggested "Bill and Al's Excellent Adventure.")

Bill Clinton and Al Gore are conducting what may be the most daring invasion of unfriendly turf since Lee crossed the Mason-Dixon line on his way to Gettysburg. Lee's desperate gamble ended in disaster; the Democrats have so far looked gloriously triumphant. Clinton and Gore are getting rousing welcomes in places that voted 2 to 1 and even 3 to 1 for George Bush over Michael Dukakis in 1988.

(The official campaign manager quote: "We are sending a message that we're ready to compete in the heartland, we're ready to compete in rural America," says campaign manager Dave Wilhelm. It's both an offensive and a defensive move: "The Bush people are

going to try to portray Al Gore and Bill Clinton liberals from Mars.")

So here they are, card-carrying Democrats through places where people have a visceral antipathy to all things cosmopolitan, who shake their heads in dismay at the idea that there are some people out there who don't go to church every Sunday.

"You got too many people living the liberal life," says Gerald Pierson, a retired farmer who showed up at a rally in Wilmington, Ohio, the seat (not coincidentally) of Clinton County. "They think, 'If I want to go to get drunk tonight and go to church tomorrow, that's fine.' Well, that's not the way it's supposed to be. This man here, he quotes Scripture and then says he's for

See BUS, G2, Col. 1

BUS, From G1

abortion. Well, if you don't believe in all of it, you don't believe in any of it."

The rally was in front of the old courthouse in this town of 10,000. The local politicians took their turn at the microphone, and thousands of people crowded the town square. "Hank Williams Jr. might get something like this," said Betty Jones of nearby Springfield, apologizing for the simplicity of her name.

A young man testified that he was converting from Republican to Democrat. Al Gore did his warm-up act, saying there were "millions of Republicans for Clinton and Gore." Tipper Gore and Hillary Clinton linked arms and did their soundless runway walk, smiling and waving (in the heartland, politicians' wives should be seen and not heard). Finally Elvis himself took the podium. He held up a 6-week-old baby—careful, support the head!—and then introduced a 101-year-old man. Such wide-ranging support! Clinton then gave his standard stump speech, which gets vaguer and more excitable as his popularity climbs. "We've got a brand-new approach to government that puts people first for a change!" That's the word people have come to hear. Change! Throw out the bums! (Uh, but make sure to reelect Sen. John Glenn, or whoever this incumbent Democrat is who's up here on the podium riding our coattails at this particular stop.)

The speech played well at the Oak Barber Shop across the street, the one with the "Proud to Be an American" sign in the window. "I like what he said, instead of having giveaway programs, you gotta work for it," said barber Greg Damron.

It may be that Clinton is coming to the conservatives more than the conservatives are coming to Clinton. People think they hear in Clinton the things they once liked to hear from Reagan and Bush.

"I think the American public is tired of foreign people coming in. Help Americans first before helping other people," suggested Charles Statler, 57, after hearing Gore and Clinton talk. He especially agreed with the get-tough approach to welfare. "I'm ready for people to get off their butt, pardon the expression, and get to work."

Another Reagan-Bush Republican for Clinton-Gore.

The second thing you notice is the star power. The passion inspired by celebrity.

It is a curious sight, to see a person quiver with excitement. But Gay Ellison, 37, a professional woman, a bank lending officer in Louisville, someone who has voted Republican in every election going back to Nixon in '72, was definitely quivering and quaking and making little bunny hops in the air yesterday morning, because right there in front of her in the Hyatt Regency Hotel was Bill Clinton, drenched in sweat, just back from his daily male-bonding jog with Gore.

The crowd surged forward. People clapped. Everyone grinned and glowed in the euphoria of being inside, for just a moment, the bubble of fame. Ellison shook Clinton's hand. A sweaty, meaty, would-be presidential hand.

"Oh, my God!" Ellison said. "I'm so excited!"

Clinton waved to her as his body levitated away in a glass elevator.

"I have never been so excited about a politician, ever," she said. "I think Clinton is the new generation." As for the new perspiration, "It makes him seem more human," she said. Then she dashed back across the street to the meeting she had missed for this.

Many of the people who saw a rescuer in Ross Perot have suddenly imagined Bill Clinton in that same role. All he has to do is show up, smile, wave, and the job is 90 percent accomplished. Clinton is saying basically the

same thing as he has all year, but now he can shout the lines, and people can shout with him, even the folks way in the back who can't actually hear what he's saying, because it's like listening to a great rock-and-roll song—it doesn't matter if you can't understand the lyrics.

Voters aren't dumb; but neither are reason and analysis the primary driving forces behind this Clinton surge. Emotions drive political decisions, and Clinton is tapping into the gut vote. It's getting frenzied out there. Ericka McIntyre, 17, of Carrollton, Ken., got a Clinton elbow smack in the nose during one of the flesh-pressings. "I met Bill Clinton and he broke my nose," she said, apparently exaggerating.

Two weeks ago this wouldn't have happened. Ever since Clinton and Gore were on prime-time television, they seem more... real to people. Which is to say, they seem more like the kind of actors you'd hire if you were casting a movie about the presidency.

"Most of it is not intellectual," says Steve Silverman, a Clinton-Gore staffer. "When you see people screaming for Bill Clinton and Al Gore, they're screaming for the image of these two men."

After Clinton worked a rope line outside a high school in Louisville yesterday, Mary Lynn Frost, 49, turned to her daughter and said, "He's just the cutest thing!"

Voters literally squeal or giggle when a candidate passes, but the second a reporter approaches, these same people adopt a measured, John Chancellorish tone.

"He's got charisma," Frost explained. "I just think he's got it. He's what we need."

Her daughter, Leigh Ann Saylor, sums it up: "Best thing since Kennedy."

The third thing you notice is that Al Gore almost never leaves Bill Clinton's side. They are Butch and Sundance. Ask Clinton a tough question (about that draft-dodging thing, for example) and Gore steps in with a retort, standing by his man.

Clinton and Gore go together like a flannel lumberjack shirt and blue jeans. They match! They fit together in a photograph the way George Bush and Dan Quayle never could.

"Their presence together says more than either one of them will be in the position to say on their own. They become the symbol of change, not just advocates of it," says Bruce Reed, Clinton's policy adviser.

The Washington Post

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

A few weeks ago it would have been hard to imagine them even occupying the same room for long, much less being buddies. They were natural rivals, Southern politicians who coveted the presidency. Both had that smartest-

guy-in-the-class attitude. What might happen if they were trapped together on the same bus in one of those lonely stretches of Interstate 64 through southern Indiana? How would they decide who would be the Smart Beatle and who would be the Cute Beatle? Would they try to one-up each other, offhandedly mentioning the molecular weight of argon or instantly solving a Rubik's Cube or correcting the other's misdating of the Diet of Worms?

The press and public have seen them together only in staged situations. There's no way to know what they are like in private, whether they have reached the level of friendship that allows them, for example, simply to shut up and read the paper, rather than be compelled to chatter lest silence erupt. But their aides say they have hit it off better than anyone could have expected. Gore was supposed to jump off the caravan Monday but decided to stay on through today's final stop in St. Louis.

"They feed off each other," says Clinton's press secretary, Dee Dee Myers. They even like jogging together, even though Gore is in better shape and can run farther. Clinton pushes himself to keep up. "They're both competitive—that's good for him. He loves running with Gore."

Gore, though not modestly endowed with ego, has adapted himself to the second-banana role. In a game of miniature golf with Clinton a few days ago he turned to an aide and said, "I lose, right?"

Gore, asked last night how he's getting along with Clinton, said, "Very well. Except for the miniature golf game."

Who won?

"The team won," he said.

The upshot seems to be that Clinton, with his affable manner and his schoolboyish I-just-got-a-gold-star smirk, can be the Cute Beatle, while Gore, the serious young man who wants to save the world, can be the Smart Beatle. Except when Bill wants to be the smart one.

TV Preview

Barbara Walters on the 'Twentysomething' Generation

By Tom Shales
Washington Post Staff Writer

When a network news department starts trying to act hip, really hip, and cool, really cool—well, oh mama, time to head for the proverbial hills. Except that the hills are so very crowded these days with people who headed for them over previous egregious grievances.

ple in their twenties and how alienated and adrift they feel.

MTV seems to have set the standard for dealing with this demographic group, so ABC's show is littered with MTV bric-a-brac, tricks with color and black-and-white and tilted cameras and mosaic effects and so on, all of it the video equivalent of empty calories.

See TV PREVIEW, G8, Col. 1

TV PREVIEW, From G1

Amid this swirl of debris, Walters conducts an engrossing and at times even enlightening discussion with eight people in their twenties about what's on their minds. "No single issue unites them," says Walters, but various worries do—worries about the future and the present, about the barren economic landscape and barren ecological landscape they expect to inherit, and well-grounded anxieties about sex and marriage in the age of AIDS and divorce.

"I think the baby boomers think we're a bunch of whiners, but we're facing a lot of things they didn't have to face," says one young man. They do sound whiny sometimes, almost as whiny as the gang on MTV's nonfiction soap opera, "The Real World." But much of what they say is outer- rather than inner-directed, and has sobering validity.

Asked to defend their generation, they say they are not apathetic, not lazy, not lacking initiative. They are "fed up with politicians and the status quo," but don't seem to care enough to work for change.

Polled by Walters, all say they are pro-choice on the abortion issue except one married young man. He's also, coincidentally or not, one of the most instantly dislikable participants, mainly for this remark about his marriage: "I fell in love with a woman who completed who I was." It would be less offensive if he said they completed who each other was.

Two of the young people stand out as unusually intelligent and telegenic, and they sit next to each other in the group: Maria and Cecil, both convincing and not self-pitying when they talk about predicaments peculiar to their age group.

There's something wrong with the way Cecil, a young black man, is introduced to us, however. The narration describes other participants in terms of their age and their job. Like: "Bob Rice is 28, a hip advertising copywriter."

Anyway, tonight ABC News offers "Twentysomething: What Happened to the American Dream?" a one-hour special at 10 on Channel 7, anchored by Barbara Walters. And the darn thing (not Barbara Walters, the special) is awash, agog, a go-go with every kind of goofball visual gimmickry you can imagine, supposedly a marriage of form to content, since the report is all about peo-

But Cecil is just Cecil from Chicago. Perhaps it is thought that his being black totally defines him.

You wonder if he's some kind of street kid or something. Only later do you learn he's rising fast in the business world. Why wasn't that mentioned earlier? And say, what is that "hip" advertising copywriter doing in there, anyway? Is he in any way representative of his generation, this overgrown kid who roller-skates to work each day along the California beach?

The producers could have done a better job of rounding up the usual suspects.

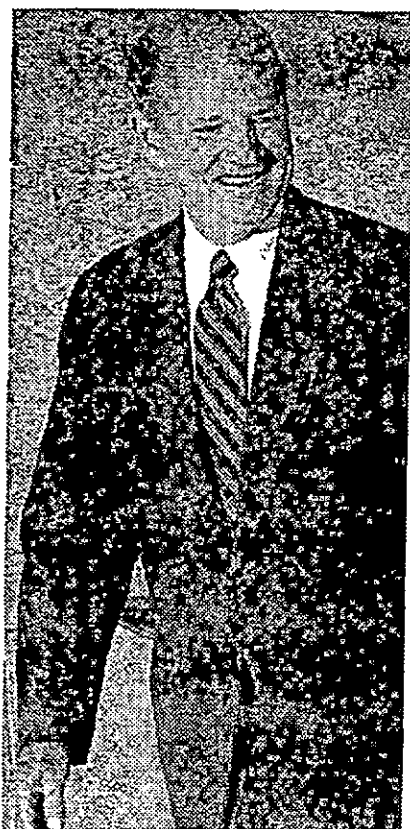
Walters proves pretty impeccable at narrating and moderating, though. The only problem is that she has a sweater draped around her shoulders, the sleeves tied in front, the way only the dorkier preppies do. It hangs there, clinging, through the whole show, as if maybe the Invisible Man, wearing a sweater, was putting the make on Babs.

There's plenty to absorb and plenty to ponder in "Twentysomething." It's too bad the editing and the camera work and the gimmick department work so hard at obscuring it.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

BAKER TO ASSUME WHITE HOUSE POST TO RUN CAMPAIGN



Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d in Jerusalem on Monday.

RESPONSE TO SLUMP

Departure From Cabinet
Seen as Key to Effort
to Gain Offensive

By MICHAEL WINES
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21 — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d will leave his post next month to return to the White House as President Bush's senior policy adviser and effective head of his re-election campaign, several Administration officials and Republican political strategists said today.

Mr. Baker, the President's closest friend, his political partner for the last 15 years and his 1988 campaign manager, is expected to resign as Secretary in mid-August, shortly after a scheduled visit to the United States by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin, those officials said.

A formal White House announcement of the move, which was apparently decided by the two men during a fishing break at Mr. Baker's Wyoming ranch last week, has been withheld to allow Mr. Baker to make a visit to the Middle East and Asia this week without diminishing his status as Secretary of State.

'Nothing New to Report'

The White House declined tonight to confirm or deny rumors of a change in Mr. Baker's status. "Nothing new to report; the President has not indicated any changes," said a deputy press secretary, Judy Smith.

In his new post, with a nondescript title like counselor to the President, Mr. Baker will be charged with placing Mr. Bush back on the political and policy offensive after months of languor, and insuring that the campaign marches to a precise beat set by the Oval Office, according to the officials who spoke of the plans.

"He'll have carte blanche" to coordinate activities at the White House and the Bush re-election operation, one strategist said.

With barely 100 days to campaign until the Nov. 3 election, Bush aides said, the move speaks of the desperation felt by some Republican political advisers, who see the President sinking in the polls and hesitant in the face of attacks by a resurgent Democratic Party enthusiastic about its ticket of Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Senator Al Gore of Tennessee.

Speculation on Quayle

That anxiety has also led to speculation that Mr. Bush will drop Vice President Dan Quayle from the ticket, a step White House officials say is highly unlikely but not out of the question. Mr. Baker is believed to have opposed the selection of Mr. Quayle, then an Indiana Senator, for the ticket in 1988.

The unease also reflects the muddled state of the White House, where a

Continued on Page A15, Column 3

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

The Republicans

Baker Is Said to Be Quitting State Dept. to Lead Bush's Campaign

Continued From Page A1

string of political and social upheavals, from Patrick J. Buchanan's renegade candidacy to the Los Angeles riots to the abortive campaign by Ross Perot, have kept policy makers off balance, constantly on the defensive and unable to take consistent positions.

"They've been getting horrible advice," said one top Republican political strategist who, like others, refused to be named. "All year, it's been ready, aim, aim, aim, aim, aim. It's just the worst possible year to be paralyzed."

At least until November, Mr. Bush is expected to replace Mr. Baker with Lawrence S. Eagleburger, the Deputy Secretary of State and a veteran diplomat. He would serve as Acting Secretary. But Mr. Eagleburger is not without political problems. He has been a magnet for criticism of the Administration's handling of the breakup of Yugoslavia, and his long association with former Secretary of State Henry

A. Kissinger has made him anathema to Republican conservatives.

Officials could not rule out the possibility that Mr. Bush might still appoint a new Secretary of State, but they said that would allow Senate Democrats to hold confirmation hearings that could become a field day for attacks on Mr. Bush's foreign policy. Under Federal law, Mr. Bush need not name a permanent successor for 120 days after Mr. Baker's resignation, a deadline that would fall after the election.

Rumors Are Rampant

Mr. Bush's campaign problems have prompted speculation for months that Mr. Baker would ride to Mr. Bush's political rescue, and while it was roundly denied for months, the President himself openly invited the speculation last week in Wyoming. There, Mr. Bush told reporters that he was not "inclined" to rule out Mr. Baker's shift to the White House and that "all options are open."

Although Mr. Baker's shift to the White House is now a certainty, officials and other advisers said today, much else about the Administration's political and personnel plans remains either tightly held or the subject of rumors.

Mr. Baker would leave the State Department at a turning point in American foreign policy, with Middle East peace talks moving toward firmer ground and the shards of the old Soviet empire peaceful for the moment.

His political plans for the period after the election could not be learned and may not even be fixed, but Administration officials have suggested that he might seek to return as Secretary of State, a job he appears to relish, in a second Bush term.

Senior Bush aides have said that Mr. Baker is considering taking a leave of absence from his State Department post instead of resigning, but the political and legal pitfalls of such a move are widely believed to rule it out. For one thing, such a move would leave the Administration vulnerable to political attacks that it was functioning with a "part-time" Secretary of State in a time of great world change. Then, too, a leave of absence by the Secretary of State might have implications for succession to the Presidency.

By returning to the top of the White House and campaign staff, Mr. Baker will replay roles he has repeatedly performed in the last dozen years for both Mr. Bush and former President Ronald Reagan: master political strategist, domestic policy czar, Presidential consigliere. But never before have the three been combined in a single job, as they now will be.

Smaller Role for Skinner

In his new post, Mr. Baker will assume many of the responsibilities for setting domestic policy and day-to-day White House management now borne by Mr. Bush's chief of staff, Samuel K. Skinner, officials said. Mr. Baker also will serve, in effect, as Mr. Bush's chief political strategist, a role now held by the campaign chairman, Robert M. Teeter.

Mr. Skinner is nevertheless expected to remain in his job, although in a diminished capacity, and may spend the next few months traveling the country on Mr. Bush's behalf, one strategist said. Mr. Teeter, a longtime friend of both Mr. Baker and the President, will continue as campaign chairman, a central adviser and day-to-day manager of the re-election effort, officials said.

Officials said today that Mr. Baker will probably bring with him to the White House a number of younger and highly regarded aides from the State and Treasury Departments. Among the candidates are his press secretary and veteran adviser, Margaret Tutwiler; Robert Zoellick, the State Department's counselor; Hollis S. McLoughlin, an assistant Treasury secretary for policy management, and Robert Grady, now a deputy director of the Office of Management and Budget and an informal political adviser to the White House.

Sharpening an Agenda

Republican strategists and Bush aides said today that the immediate task facing Mr. Baker and his advisers is to develop a clear domestic agenda that can be contrasted favorably with the platform prepared by the Democratic nominees, Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas and Senator Al Gore of Tennessee.

"There has to be a continual stream of policy initiatives, and I don't necessarily mean new initiatives, but things that have been done and that people can understand," one veteran adviser to Mr. Bush said today. "There has to

be some political framework brought to the issues. This is a contest of ideas between the Clinton campaign and the Bush campaign, and those ideas have to be represented in the sharpest terms."

Mr. Bush has frequently talked in general ways about his second-term agenda, touching on matters such as legal reform, overhauling the welfare system and allowing parents to choose their children's schools. But he often omits specifics from his positions — he has no legislative proposal for welfare reform, for example — and he so far has seldom drawn a contrast between his views and those of his opponents.

Can Speak Bluntly

"I think Jim Baker will bring a focus, a single-mindedness and an ability to fully integrate the campaign and the White House," another top Republican adviser said today, "and one uncommon ingredient in this White House and campaign. He's the one person who can tell the President straight. And even if George Bush argues back, Jim is not deterred."

In fact, Mr. Bush and Mr. Baker are said to have a relationship like rival brothers, bound in a friendship that

Bush's longtime friend may try to seize the reins.

approaches blood relations while still harboring a healthy degree of competition.

Mr. Bush has gone much further as a politician. Mr. Baker ran for office but once, in 1978, when he sought to become Attorney General of Texas, and lost. But Mr. Baker has often helped bail Mr. Bush out of political trouble, and has earned the reputation as the most astute political strategist.

Some advisers have wondered whether Mr. Bush would be willing to call on his old friend once more, a tacit admission that he needs help, and whether Mr. Baker would give up the powerful diplomatic post to become political operative once again. In August 1988, with then Vice-President George Bush trailing the Democrat nominee, Gov. Michael S. Dukakis of Massachusetts, in the polls, Mr. Baker resigned as Treasury Secretary to run the Bush campaign.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992



Keith Meyers/The New York Times

President Bush campaigning yesterday in Garfield, N.J., where he was given flowers by members of the Polish National Alliance. Page A16.

The Media

Bush Campaign Plans Ads Soon to Restore President's Image

By RICHARD L. BERKE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21 — President Bush's campaign is planning to put on the air as much as \$5 million in television advertisements before the Republican National Convention next month to revive the President's image after his battering by the Democrats last week.

Bush campaign officials said they were hoping that the barrage of advertisements could be ready to run during the Summer Olympics, which open this weekend and are usually assured of high ratings.

The Clinton campaign, meanwhile, has developed advertisements but is holding back as Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic nominee, enjoys favorable free publicity from the convention and the six-day bus tour that is heading toward St. Louis. Campaign aides have refused to discuss even the contours of their advertising plans.

What's in Script of Bush Ad

For Mr. Bush, one 30-second advertisement created weeks ago anticipated the drubbing he got at the Democratic convention from speaker after speaker. The advertisement's script calls for quick shots of luminaries like Jim Brady, Ronald Reagan's former press secretary who was injured in the 1981 assassination attempt, and ordi-

nary Americans and Russians speaking highly of Mr. Bush's leadership.

One speaker, described in the script as a "black lady," says, "If all the things they said about him at the Democratic convention were true, he'd be the most uncaring man in America."

While there have been divisions within the campaign as to whether to concentrate on upbeat advertisements about Mr. Bush or commercials that criticize Mr. Clinton, the initial decision was to go with the positive ones. Campaign aides, speaking on the condition that they not be identified, said they had tested some of the new advertisements before focus groups two weeks ago and concluded that despite his decline in the polls, Mr. Bush was credible enough to carry a positive message.

Clayton Wilhite, one of the campaign's advertisement makers, said that neither Mr. Clinton's rise in the polls since the Democratic convention nor Ross Perot's decision not to run, had affected the campaign's immediate advertising strategy.

'Sense of Stability'

"Our intention all along has been to portray the President's credentials in their most obvious light and, by our definition, a favorable light," Mr. Wilhite said. "We believe that his experience and his leadership skills and the sense of stability that comes with him in the White House are all extremely

important to be registered on his behalf in the paid media."

The Bush campaign advertisement makers spent two hours at the White House Monday filming the President for future commercials. But campaign officials said they already had completed a series of advertisements, although final decisions had not been made about when to broadcast them.

The campaign has a surplus of about \$7 million from the primaries that cannot be used once Mr. Bush has been nominated at the Republican convention, which starts on Aug. 17. Campaign officials said they expected to spend about \$5 million on advertisements before the convention.

The Clinton campaign has no surplus from the primaries and is already dipping into the \$55.2 million in Federal money that each campaign received for the general election.

'Credibility Problems'

Some Bush campaign advisers said there had been internal debates over whether to run positive advertisements of Mr. Bush along with negative advertisements about Mr. Clinton.

"It's very quiet stuff," said one party strategist. "There are no pyrotechnics. I think they feel they'll have egregious credibility problems if they try to overstate the case" for Mr. Bush in the positive advertisements.

But this strategist and others said

they had pressed for more pointed attacks on Mr. Clinton. "Things have changed," he said. "You go out and blitzkrieg people now if you win."

Another official involved in the Bush advertising campaign said he had argued that the campaign should broadcast commercials that were critical of Mr. Clinton, thus forcing the Clinton campaign to dip further into its budget by responding with its own advertisements.

In addition to the advertisement with the testimonials, the Bush media advisers have created a commercial that urges voters to re-elect the President so he could complete his foreign and domestic goals. In the advertisement's script, Mr. Bush says America has the best medical care in the world. He adds that if he is re-elected he will enlarge the system.

Don Sipple, who resigned last month as a member of the Bush advertising team, said running critical advertisements about Mr. Clinton now would be a mistake. But he questioned whether the feel-good testimonial advertisements would be effective.

"My penchant would be up close and personal stuff on Bush the person," he said. "Where his soul is, and stuff like that. You have a figure whose been President or Vice President for 12 years, and the advertising is of minimal value unless you're providing new or additional information."

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

U.S. Was Aware the Iraqis Were Buying Technology

By ELAINE SCIOLINO
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21 — A year before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, American intelligence agencies had amassed evidence of President Saddam Hussein's vast network set up to buy Western military technology, including an Iraqi-owned front company based in Cleveland, according to documents disclosed today by Representative Henry B. Gonzalez, the Texas Democrat.

Representative Gonzalez, chairman of the House Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, also released documents that illustrate the disarray within the Administration that resulted from President Bush's order on Oct. 2, 1989, to use political and economic incentives to moderate the Iraqi leader's behavior.

Among them was a declassified November 1989 State Department memo that expressed confusion about whether to approve transfers of sophisticated equipment that could be diverted to Iraq's extensive nuclear program.

"The problem is not that we lack a policy on Iraq; we have a policy," read the memo, written by an official in the Bureau of Oceans and International Environmental and Scientific Affairs. This was the State Department office responsible for insuring that American-made equipment would not be diverted into nuclear weapons projects abroad. "However, the policy has proven very hard to implement when considering proposed exports of dual-use commodities to ostensibly nonnuclear end users, particularly state enterprises."

The memo went on to recommend approval or disapproval of several export licenses. Among the items approved — with a warning that they not

be put to nuclear use — were machine tools that could be used in the Mr. Hussein's nuclear program. High-speed photography equipment was also approved because it was deemed "appropriate for conventional artillery rounds but far too slow for nuclear applications."

Throughout the Iran-Iraq war, which ended in 1988, Mr. Hussein was remarkably successful in buying weapons, primarily from the Soviet Union and France. But he also developed extraordinary complex state-run military-industrial complexes to build his own nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and ballistic missiles.

Before the new documents were made public today, little had been disclosed about what the Central Intelligence Agency and the nation's other intelligence agencies knew about Iraq's global strategy to obtain technology for its home-grown projects. Mr. Gonzalez today referred to several more still-classified United States intelligence reports in 1989 and 1990 that he said provided information about both the procurement networks in the West and the military complexes inside Iraq.

One of the documents Mr. Gonzalez discussed was a June 1989 intelligence report stating that the procurement network was so extensive that it included the Matrix Churchill Corporation, a Cleveland-based tool machine supplier bought in 1987 by a company owned by the Iraqi Government. Matrix Churchill was shut down and its assets seized after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in August 1990.

An intelligence report dated July 1990 titled "Iraq's Growing Arsenal: Programs and Facilities" captures the deception in Iraq's procurement program, saying, "We believe many entities are false end users, passing the materials acquired from foreign suppliers directly to state enterprises involved in military projects, including chemical and biological warfare programs."

C.I.A. Report Awaited

Representative Gonzalez also charged — without offering any evidence — that the intelligence community had extensive knowledge of the Banca Nazionale del Lavoro's global activities. This was the Italian bank whose Atlanta branch was under Federal investigation for a multibillion-dollar bank fraud revolving around the bank's loans to Iraq.

The disclosure of documents from intelligence agencies comes as Robert M. Gates, the Director of Central Intelligence, is preparing a report for the Senate Intelligence Committee on what the C.I.A. and the nation's other intelligence agencies knew about the unfolding Atlanta bank scandal.

The report will also address an Agricultural Department credit program that guaranteed some of the food loans extended by the bank and the relationship of both the bank and the program to Iraq's arms procurement network. Some of the loans extended by the bank were used to finance Iraq's arms programs.

The C.I.A. intends to report that it did not specifically gather intelligence on the Atlanta bank or its loans to Iraq for its arms programs before the Federal Bureau of Investigation raided the bank in August 1989, Administration officials said.

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

The Campaign in New Jersey

The President in Person Leaves Some Thrilled, but Others Chilled

By EVELYNN NIEVES
Special to The New York Times

GARFIELD, N.J., July 21 — When President Bush, grinning and waving through his limousine window, passed Janet Duffy on Sixth Street here, she held her heart and squealed like a rock fan.

"Oh my God, oh my God — I looked right at him!" she shrieked. But a minute later Ms. Duffy, a 20-year-old hairdresser, admitted that she was not sure she would vote for Mr. Bush. This is her first chance to pick a President, and the possibilities, though limited, have her baffled.

"My family all voted for Reagan and Bush," she said. "Now some of

them are voting for Clinton. I could see voting for either one. I just don't know."

It was like that this afternoon in this stolid, working-class city (population 26,727), where 5,000 to 6,000 people turned out to greet the President.

Excitement on the Streets

On the streets it felt like a parade. An excited crowd lined Route 46 at the city limits and packed the narrow sidewalks. The crowd spilled onto the front lawns of small, neat wood and brick houses, carried their young children on their shoulders and cheered, for the most part, to see the

nation's leader.

But a few interviews at random found all sorts of opinions on who should be President after Nov. 3.

"I will definitely vote for him," Sarah Penciak, of nearby Elmwood Park, said of Mr. Bush, for whom she voted the last time around. But her husband, Ralph, who also voted for him, said, "Hell, I mean, heck, no!"

Mr. Bush had come to this Bergen County city of immigrants and their children to proclaim "National Freedom Day," salute the changes in Eastern Europe, where many of Garfield's residents have ties, and unabashedly ask for votes. Many of the spectators were, indeed, the Reagan-

Bush Democrats that the Republicans are trying to hold onto this year, and some said they would remain so.

'Definitely All for Bush'

"I was a registered Democrat," said Lorraine Saravia, 36, of Clifton, who waved to the President with her 9-year-old son and 2-year-old daughter. "Even though my husband works for a defense contracting firm that's lost a lot of business, we blame it on Congress. We're both definitely all for Bush."

And Paul Imbimbo, who was waiting with his 4-month-old daughter, Sarah, said he surprised his family of Democrats by supporting Mr. Bush.

"I'm a registered Democrat, too," said Mr. Imbimbo, carrying a camcorder to tape the Bush motorcade. "But I'm excited to be here. I've never seen a President in person. I was kind of hoping to get close enough so the President could kiss my daughter."

But if this once-thriving industrial city on the Passaic River is "the heart of New Jersey," as former Gov. Thomas H. Kean said today, then the Republicans have some courting to do.

There were people like Richard Horwich, 43, of neighboring Saddle Brook, who said, "This is Clinton country," and waved a Clinton-Gore sign as the President's motorcade passed.



"I find it annoying that Bush would be close by my town," Mr. Horwich said. "I've heard Bush chose Mr. Quayle as his best choice for Vice President. To that I say, 'What would his fifth or sixth choice be?'"

Crowd Makes an Early Exit

And perhaps because of the hot, humid, hazy weather the crowd that gathered outside Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church, where the President spoke against the backdrop of gold domes, began to disperse before he had finished his speech.

"I'm leaving because all the Republicans hogged the best spots," said Elba Mendoza of Garfield, herself a Republican. "The Bush campaign people came two hours before the President's arrival. They wanted to rah-rah him."

George Hudzik, a retired Garfield cabaretmaker, stood outside the entrance to the church parking lot, watching the frenzied scene as Secret Service agents yelled at the crowds pushing out. "I came out of curiosity," he said. "I was just going to ask why he wasn't out fishing, playing golf, vacationing or paying taxes on his residence."

Mr. Hudzik, a Reagan-Bush Democrat, said he would not cross his party's line this time. "This is the sentiment of a lot of us here," he asserted, referring to Mr. Bush. "He had the chance to lead the world, and he didn't do it."

But Mr. Bush might rest assured that his status as a world-class celebrity is intact. Sadie King and Liz Dixon, who are from Scotland and are visiting relatives here, were ecstatic. "I have never met a President before," said Ms. King, who glimpsed this one. "It was fantastic. Fantastic!"

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

White House

A New Tang of Expectancy As Bush Stumps in Northeast

By ANDREW ROSENTHAL

Special to The New York Times

GARFIELD, N.J., July 21 — President Bush's campaign has always had the sense of a political operation waiting for something to happen. On the campaign trail today, waiting for James A. Baker 3d has simply added a new tang to the air of expectancy.

Months ago, the question was whether Mr. Bush would name a new chief of staff and when he would pick his campaign team. That done, Bush advisers wondered when he would announce his candidacy and answer demands for action on the economy. Then, it was whether he would mount an attack on Congress, and after that, whether he would replace his new chief of staff.

Need for a Big Play

Today the questions that campaign aides were asking focused on Mr. Baker as Mr. Bush campaigned in Philadelphia and here in Bergen County, trying to shore up two groups that help make up the Republican base: supporters of Federal subsidies for parochial schools and people of Eastern European ancestry.

Some Bush aides cautioned against seeing Mr. Baker as a solution to all their problems. Mr. Bush's campaign,

a Washington aide said, is "so far in our own end zone that we're going to have to throw something high and very risky to get back in the game."

But Mr. Baker was seen as a figure who could impose order and energy on the disorganized and desultory Bush team and, perhaps most important, act as the peer that Mr. Bush has been lacking to give advice and, when necessary, prod him to action.

The President himself did not mention Mr. Baker today. But the course of the campaign was clearly on his mind as he talked in Philadelphia of "the funny period we're in." There were times when he, too, seemed to be waiting as he went through the motions of campaigning in the weeks before the Republican National Convention, which opens on Aug. 17, in Houston.

And there were moments when his mind did not seem to be entirely on the business at hand.

At a question-and-answer session at Archbishop Ryan Catholic School in Philadelphia, Mr. Bush had to pause for a second to recollect where he was on his frenetic itinerary. "I am determined not to bring into this lovely school arena — gymnasium, or whatever lovely auditorium we are in — a lot of partisan politics," he said.

Limit on Family Income

Later, a woman who said she was concerned that middle-income Americans were not getting enough help, asked Mr. Bush if there was an income ceiling on his proposal to give families \$1,000 to spend on the school of their choice — public, private or religious.

"In this program that we're talking about here today, there is no means testing," he replied, using the bureaucratic term for a program in which people above a certain income are not eligible. "A family like yours would be covered," he added, apparently believing the woman was referring to herself when she mentioned families earning \$40,000 a year.

He was partly right. Campaign aides later acknowledged, with some embar-

Waiting for Baker to impose order and energy.

assment, that there is an income ceiling in his proposal. It is \$40,000.

Mr. Bush's campaigning recently has been aimed largely at two things: seizing back the "family" agenda that the Democrats tried to appropriate at their convention in New York last week, and dispelling the lack of resolve that haunts the Bush team.

He has taken every opportunity to reassure his supporters that he intends to fight hard for re-election, as he did on Monday night, when the President's aides arranged a satellite broadcast to 34 gatherings of supporters in 27 states. "The Democrats have had their day, and next month it's our turn," Mr. Bush said. "And we're going to come out of Houston strong."

Today, in this industrial city in northeastern New Jersey, Mr. Bush addressed an enthusiastic crowd outside the Three Saints Russian Orthodox Church to commemorate "National Freedom Day," a celebration of the crumbling of Communist power in Eastern Europe.

"The family is under siege, and the choices in this election are clear," he said. "On one side the advocates of the liberal agenda, on the other side are you and I and those values of family that we share."

He added, "They want public schools to hand out birth control pills and devices to teen-age kids."

Mr. Bush closed with a new assurance of his determination, delivered in a shout: "I will not let you down! I will fight for the faith! I will fight for the American family! We are one nation, under God, and never forget it!"

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992



President Bush being greeted by a group of young supporters yesterday upon his arrival at Northeast Philadelphia Airport.

Associated Press

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Baker's Farewell Tour

'Shalom Y'All' Says It All (But Baker Won't Say It)

By THOMAS L. FRIEDMAN
Special to The New York Times

DAMASCUS, Syria, July 21 — Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d's Middle East shuttle has turned into the Jim Baker farewell tour.

In public, when Baker aides are asked whether the Secretary will soon be leaving his job and moving to the White House to help oversee Mr. Bush's re-election campaign, they respond, poker faced: "Baker? White House? Whatever gave you that idea?"

In private, though, the same officials, not to mention American diplomats, keep sidling up to reporters traveling with the Secretary and whispering: "What do you hear? Is he going to the campaign or not?"

As Mr. Baker's plane was about to take off from Tel Aviv, reporters traveling with the Secretary presented his spokeswoman, Margaret D. Tutwiler, with what they described as a "farewell gift."

She accepted the small package warily, held it for a moment in the palm of her hand as though weighing whether to open it or not, and then pronounced, "Now, I'm not confirming anything by accepting this."

When she opened it, Miss Tutwiler, a native of Alabama with a strong Southern accent, found inside an ornate tile plaque that read: "Shalom Y'all."

Shalom is Hebrew for both hello and goodbye, but in this case the goodbye is definitely more appropriate. Only two people on this trip seem to know for sure about Mr. Baker's future status: Mr. Baker and Miss Tutwiler, a longtime aide. And both have the same answer when asked point-blank about Mr. Baker's future, "I'm shut down on that question."

The prospect of Mr. Baker's leaving has all the parties in the Middle East anxious, particularly

the Arabs, who have come to appreciate what they see as his even-handed approach. "He is the godfather of the peace process," Hanan Ashrawi, the Palestinian spokeswoman, said at a news conference in Jerusalem on Monday. When King Hussein of Jordan was asked at his news conference with Mr. Baker what effect the Secretary's apparently imminent departure might have, he became rather flustered, saying: "Well, first of all, we are talking about rumors. There are many rumors in this region, so I really can't relate to that. These are rumors."

The minute the news conference was over, though, a top aide of the King rushed over to the reporter who asked the question and inquired: "Is it true? Is Baker going?"

Mr. Baker is probably deeply torn over the idea of relinquishing the dignified world of diplomacy to oversee a messy campaign. It cannot be a very endearing prospect, particularly if Mr. Bush should lose in November.

It was somehow fitting that the last thing Mr. Baker did before leaving Jerusalem for Amman this morning was to visit the grove of trees planted in his honor. In particular, he wanted to visit the place in the hills where 96 trees were planted by former Prime Minister Yitzhak Shamir in memory of Mr. Baker's mother, who died at age 96 while Mr. Baker was in Jerusalem on a peace shuttle last year. Mr. Baker himself planted a four-foot evergreen in his mother's memory.

On the way out of the forest, Mr. Baker stopped for a moment on the hillside to gaze back at the saplings struggling in the rocky soil. It was the look of someone who thought he might not be returning soon.



Associated Press

Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d planting a tree in memory of his mother yesterday at the American Independence Park near Jerusalem. He was assisted by Foreign minister Shimon Peres.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

The State Department

Eagleburger Is Viewed As the Likely Successor

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 21 — A move by Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d to the White House would be likely to leave the State Department in the hands of Deputy Secretary of State Lawrence S. Eagleburger and the outlines of United States policy virtually unchanged, Administration officials said today.

Several officials said that to their knowledge the move, which is expected to occur in August, had not yet been discussed by Mr. Baker and Mr. Eagleburger.

In Congress, several Democrats complained that President Bush — whether he decides to leave Mr. Baker's seat vacant or fill it with a new Secretary — would be "decapitating" the department in the eyes of a world facing multiple crises, putting politics ahead of statesmanship.

Call for Resignation

At a minimum, Democratic members of Congress say, Mr. Baker should resign formally so that full authority can be given to Mr. Eagleburger or

Baker's departure would leave U.S. policy unchanged.

another appointee and the State Department, now run by a close circle of Baker confidants, is not left on hold.

Mr. Baker is expected to resign rather than take a leave.

"We are making the painful transition into a world where regional conflict in breaking out everywhere," Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan, Democrat of New York, said, adding that Mr. Eagleburger has the experience to take charge of policy operations but might not accept a caretaker role.

"There is no more important job in the United States Government than the Secretary of State and that office has to be up and running at all times," Senator Moynihan said. "We can't put off crises until December. They don't arrange crises according to our electoral calendar."

Not in Inner Circle

Administration officials and policy analysts suggested that while Mr. Baker's preference might be to go on leave from his job in the hope of easily returning as Secretary of State after the election, a leave would be unworkable, and politically unwise. But they contend that major policies are in place and functioning and could probably weather a three-month hiatus under an acting secretary. There is less certainty about how the Administration would cope with an unexpected crisis.

Mr. Eagleburger has not been a member of Mr. Bush's inner circle of

advisers, suggesting his influence would be limited. As a longtime associate of Henry A. Kissinger, the former Secretary of State, Mr. Eagleburger has never been popular with conservative Republicans.

The Middle East peace process, given a boost by the election of a new government in Israel and Mr. Baker's trip this week to the region, can move mostly of its own volition to a new round of talks between Arabs and Israelis, probably in September.

Mr. Eagleburger has already taken much of the responsibility — and been the target of Democratic criticism — for policy in other areas, such as Yugoslavia and the former Soviet Union. But the Deputy Secretary, who is directing Administration aid efforts to Russia and other republics, would have to take on the added task of persuading Congress to back the Russian aid package which has yet to clear the House of Representatives.

Beyond his involvement in policy or Yugoslavia and the former Soviet republics, Mr. Eagleburger has also taken prominent roles in areas for which Mr. Baker has had little interest. In many such areas, most notably the continuing standoff on Haiti, the Secretary of State has left assistants in charge.

Internal Policy Debates

The President, the Secretary of State and the National Security Adviser, Brent Scowcroft, long ago established a pattern of debating the most important policies among themselves, sometimes also involving Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, Gen. Colin L. Powell, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, or a few other officials.

Mr. Eagleburger has remained largely outside this circle.

In the Department, only a handful of officials — among them Margaret D. Tutwiler, the spokeswoman; Dennis B. Ross, director of Policy Planning, and Robert B. Zoellick, the department counselor and also the Under Secretary of State for Economic Affairs — have had regular access to Mr. Baker, who is widely regarded inside and outside the Administration as a hard working and skillful manager, but not a warm personality able to relax and listen to the ideas of a wide range of people. The three aides might all end up moving with Mr. Baker, Administration officials said.

His management of the Department has left many officials feeling left out in shaping policy in areas where they have expertise.

But there is wide respect for Mr. Baker's dedication and managerial skills among diplomats and foreign leaders who have dealt with the Secretary of State. Arab delegation heads to several rounds of Middle East talks said that Mr. Baker had gained the confidence of Arab leaders who had long been of the opinion that the United States would automatically back Israel in any dispute.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

After the Velvet Revolution

By Josef Skvorecky

TORONTO
Raymond Chandler's Captain Webber, in "The Lady in the Lake," tells Phillip Marlowe: "Police business... is a hell of a problem. It's a good deal like politics. It asks for the highest type of men, and there's nothing in it to attract the highest type of men. So we have to work with what we get."

What they got in Czechoslovakia, after the recent elections, was described by Respekt, the pro-Velvet Revolution weekly: a parliament "full of Gogolian little men reminiscent of the times of normalization," that is, the decades after the Russian invasion of 1968, when the "parliament" was an assembly of faceless yes men. The resignation of Vaclav Havel this week sadly underlines the ascendancy of these "little men."

Gone are the joyful exceptions to Captain Webber's gloomy view, the youngish men and women (a great number of them) of integrity and unimpeachable past, former dissidents of the Charter 77 movement. They were replaced by old hands, many of them dirtied by membership in the Communist Party or the collaborationist shop-window parties of the Communist era.

They have replaced the dissidents at the moment when the common state of the two nations, Czech and Slovak, is about to fall apart. When a Slovak woman dared to give President Havel a bunch of flowers and was almost lynched by a mob in the Slovak capital, it became clear to me that something was rotten in Slovakia.

As much as I hate to see two peoples who are so close to each other historically and linguistically torn asunder, I must say good riddance to the Slovak separatists. Owing to the ominous politics of the victorious Slovak party of Vladimir Meciar, Slovakia has become a burden to the Czech lands, economically, politically and morally. The Czechs will be better off without it.

In the past two years, while Mr. Havel's people were effecting the peaceful transition — never before tried in history — from totalitarianism to democracy, these old hands regrouped and, making the most of errors by the inexperienced parliamentarians, ousted the children of the Velvet Revolution from positions of influence.

The pattern is always the same. As Joseph Conrad wrote: "The scrupulous and the just, the noble, humane, and devoted natures; the unselfish and the intelligent may begin a movement — but it passes away from them.... Afterwards comes the turn

Josef Skvorecky, a Czech-Canadian novelist and emeritus professor at the University of Toronto, is author, most recently, of "The Miracle Game."

of all the pretentious intellectual failures of the time."

The demise of the Velvet Revolutionists was partly the democrats' own fault. Instead of pragmatically forming a democratic coalition with the liberal Civic Democratic Party, led by Vaclav Klaus, they splintered among various groups, none of which received the necessary 5 percent of votes. Mr. Klaus's party won decisively, and most of its supporters, though not Chartists, are not burdened with a Communist past. But the people who risked jail rather than live with the lie in the long years of Communist rule are mostly gone.

The Czech Communist Party, which won 14 percent of the vote, stays put. It is an unrepentant mafia of Stalinists that never apologized to the nation for 40 years of horror. The affrontery of its spokesman was demonstrated recently by its chairman, Jiri Svoboda.

He recently asserted that Mr. Klaus's democratic movement — not his own neo-Communist Party — was now representative of Bolshevik thinking, since Mr. Klaus is trying to establish a one-party rule. That, of course, is like saying that the U.S. is a one-party state because the election winner appoints his people to government. In Czechoslovakia, however, any one-party rule is firmly associated with the unlimited domination of the Communists, unhindered by a real parliament and by real elections every four years.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Though Mr. Svoboda has claimed that his party has radically changed its character, reports from Communist meetings tell another story. At one recent gathering, a comrade said that 150,000 political prisoners were not so many in a country of 14 million people. He was rewarded by thunderous applause.

It is not surprising that the anti-Havel coalition in the Czech republic consists of the extreme left (the Left Bloc, including the Communists) and the extreme right (the so-called Republican Party). Left-leaning Americans don't like to hear this but Communists and fascists are two peas in a pod, and the anti-Havel group is merely another example.

The decisive anti-Havel force, however, is Mr. Meciar's party in Slovakia. It is the tragedy of the Slovaks that the only time in history they had an "independent" state was during World War II as a Nazi satellite. With due respect to historical truth, it was fascism with a somewhat human face. Few members of the banned

opposition parties, including the Communists, were persecuted. Gustav Husak, the notorious Communist leader, even held a government job then. But the Slovak state carried out the Nuremberg laws and deported its Jewish citizens to Auschwitz. The

As Havel quits in Czechoslovakia, Communists and fascists move up.

surviving members of that state's political elite are the hard-core elements of the World Congress of Slovaks, an influential separatist organization based mainly in the U.S. and Canada.

Mr. Meciar's party, as far as I

know, does not have official links to the Slovak Congress. A smaller, wildly anti-Semitic group has. But Mr. Meciar shares that group's basic tenets, including separatism. The extremely loose "federation" he suggests has no precedent and is unacceptable to the Czechs. They must refuse it, and thus they will appear as wreckers of the common state. Mr. Meciar is a clever political wheeler-dealer, a former prizefighter who is reckless and brutal. He is also a former Communist.

It is, therefore, hardly surprising that more than one-half of the ministers he appointed are former Communists. Neither is it surprising that one of Mr. Meciar's main election promises is the abolishing of the lustration law, passed by the outgoing Parliament, which would exclude high Communist functionaries from public office for five years. Mr. Meciar has nominated for Slovak Minister of Culture Dusan Slobodnik, a translator of American fiction who has a somewhat sinister past.

In May 1944, he joined the Hlinka Guards, an SS-like organization of youth, and volunteered to be sent to an SS training camp. Cadets of this camp were involved in at least one mass atrocity in Moravia. In April 1945, Mr. Slobodnik was arrested by the N.K.V.D. (forerunner of the K.G.B.) and spent the next eight years in the Soviet Union. There, some journalists say, he became a K.G.B. agent.

Mr. Slobodnik confirms most of these allegations but asserts that he was in the SS camp involuntarily, that he took part in no massacres and that he never was a K.G.B. agent. He may be telling the truth. The point is that any American politician with similar dark spots in his past would be subject to merciless scrutiny by Senate committees. Nobody, however, seems to be scrutinizing Mr. Slobodnik.

The ultimate irony is that all these Communists and former Communists owe a debt to President Havel — and many non-Communists are holding this against him. His Velvet Revolution may have prevented a much worse revolution, one with bodies hanging from lampposts — no small achievement after four decades of terrorist rule by the Communists. The comrades owe him a debt, but they have never been famous for gratitude. The only argument most of them understand is precisely the argument of the lampposts.

It seems to me that the battle for democracy in Czechoslovakia is only beginning. □

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Silence Serbia's Big Guns

Serbia's murderous shelling of Bosnian civilians in Sarajevo and Goradze has intensified despite last Friday's cease-fire accord. The Serbs had pledged to place their artillery, mortars and other heavy weapons under United Nations supervision. Instead they have continued blasting away at Bosnia, forcing temporary suspension of food and medical relief to Sarajevo.

Thousands more will die in the heart of Europe unless the Security Council rouses itself to send the Serbs a stern warning: Let the U.N. take over Serbia's big guns or it will bomb and strafe them into submission.

That means moving beyond humanitarian assistance to armed enforcement of peace. The U.N. has the authority to do that. Now it's up to the U.S. and other members of the Security Council to supply the collective will, and collective military muscle, to end the slaughter.

Douglas Hurd, Britain's Foreign Secretary, visited stricken Sarajevo last week while the Serbs' bombardment continued without letup. He told Bosnia to put its faith in another cease-fire that neither he nor anyone else expected Serbia to honor. "No country," he said on departing, "is willing to contemplate military intervention." Now he has Serbia's reply — shelling without end.

If Britain cannot summon courage to seek

collective punishment of Serbian aggression, surely America can. It can persuade the Security Council to authorize air strikes on Serbian gun emplacements around Bosnia's cities. And it can muster the air power to carry them out.

Such military action will not only allow relief efforts to resume. It will also raise the price of aggression and bolster Bosnia's bargaining leverage at talks with Serbia and Croatia to arrange a settlement.

If the Security Council does not act soon, Goradze may succumb. The mostly Muslim Slav town of 20,000, now swelled by twice that number of refugees, could become the next victim of "ethnic cleansing" — driving out Muslims to facilitate resettlement by Serbs. That would consolidate Serbia's control over two-thirds of Bosnian territory and further isolate Sarajevo.

Failure to act now would be a disgrace for the U.N. And it would expose President Bush's new world order as an empty pretense.

Serbia's success in dismembering Bosnia is already sowing domestic instability in neighboring states. Most dangerous of all, it could inspire other petty dictators in the region to exploit nationalist resentments to seize power. Once they do, their neighbors dare not rest easy.

The blood from the Balkans is seeping under Europe's door. If Europeans won't stanch the flow, then America has to lead them in a joint rescue.

Mr. Perot's Chance for Courage

Just before Ross Perot quit the Presidential race, his campaign staff put together a courageous plan for rebuilding the nation's economy. Would that Mr. Perot had been as courageous. He has yet to release the plan or endorse it. Still, judging by published reports, the program is full of excellent ideas that challenge both Bill Clinton and George Bush, as well as the electorate.

Jimmy Carter's budget director, Charles Schultze, calls it "the best plan I've seen in a long time" for balancing the budget and moving the country forward. The plan draws freely from independent economists, liberal and conservative. It seeks, in ways both clever and fair, to distribute pain and reward.

The plan calls for higher income taxes on the wealthy. It would sharply increase gasoline taxes, a move that would raise costs for most Americans but also provide important budgetary and environmental benefits.

The plan does not propose the same level of public investment Mr. Clinton asks for, but seeks in various ways to encourage private investment. It would also limit deductions for mortgage interest and curb runaway entitlement programs like Social Security. These are sacred cows that few politicians

have been willing to challenge, even for a greater good.

Unfortunately, sensible economic ideas are often political suicide. Walter Mondale damaged himself by proposing higher taxes in 1984; news accounts suggest that Mr. Perot blanched when he saw what his advisers were asking him to do. According to his media director, James Squires, "Mr. Perot was more comfortable showing this plan to the country as a non-candidate than he could possibly be as a candidate."

The plan is certainly far more threatening to special interest groups than Mr. Perot's earlier and generally painless ideas for reducing the deficit. Mr. Perot once said that if elected, he and Congress would waltz together "like Ginger Rogers and Fred Astaire." With this new plan, what he was looking at was four years of slam-dancing.

Like many who yearn for serious discourse and truth-telling in the 1992 campaign, the economist Isabel Sawhill of the Urban Institute hopes that Mr. Perot will endorse the plan. "If Ross Perot can help get such proposals on the table," said Ms. Sawhill, "that would be a big contribution."

Mr. Perot's jilted advisers, it appears, have given him one more chance at courage.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

China Invents a Criminal

Bao Tong, sentenced to seven years in jail yesterday for "leaking state secrets" and spreading "counterrevolutionary" propaganda, is no criminal. As chief aide to the former Communist Party General Secretary, Zhao Ziyang, Mr. Bao gave substance to the reform policies then favored not only by the official hierarchy but by the real leader behind the scenes, Deng Xiaoping.

But when reform unexpectedly gave birth to a mass student democracy movement, Mr. Deng panicked and reversed course. Somebody in the reformist leadership had to take the blame, somebody just distant enough from Mr. Deng. Bao Tong proved a convenient choice.

The verdict and prison sentence were surely worked out in advance; the official proceedings took less than five hours. The outcome reflects a compromise between Mr. Deng's own "reform" faction and the hard-liners he brought back to power three years ago to crush the protests in Tiananmen Square. In the spirit of this compromise, Mr. Bao may be released in four years.

Mr. Bao was arrested in May 1989, shortly after the hard-liners deposed Zhao Ziyang. He played no role in the massacre, which didn't take place until June.

His counterrevolutionary propaganda seems to have consisted of approaching the students to urge peaceful compromise when hard-liners preferred to make a forceful example by sending in the army. The state secrets he leaked most likely concerned the imminent declaration of martial law. Yet he now takes the official fall.

A more honest appraisal of the real Bao Tong appeared on The Times's Op-Ed Page yesterday, written by his son Bao Pu. It reveals a man who tried his best to reform the Communist system from within, even as he understood the near-impossibility of his task.

To the hard-liners, his efforts increasingly came to resemble those of Mikhail Gorbachev. To almost everyone else, those hard-liners look more and more like the desperate men who vainly tried to turn back history in Moscow last August.

Topics of The Times

Mayor Benedict Koch

After suffering a minor stroke in 1987, Edward I. Koch, then Mayor of New York, shared his musings about mortality with his fellow citizens. He wanted his funeral service to be held at Temple Emanu-El in Manhattan, with John Cardinal O'Connor as guest speaker. And among the 28 words he chose for his epitaph were "He fiercely defended the City of New York. . ."

So how do you explain that commercial you just did for General Tire, Mr. Mayor?

The ad, which is scheduled to appear in movie theaters in 18 markets around the country, is set in a New York that's as ominous as Batman's Gotham City — and has streets that are death on tires. While the camera scans a hooker, a hubcap thief, a squeegee-wielder, pot-holes, broken bottles and a fruit-filled wooden crate in the center of the road, the city's former First Cheerleader advises, "Make sure you take new Genseal puncture-resistant tires on your next trip to New York."

There was a time when one couldn't touch a hair on New York City's head without Ed Koch reaching for his rapier. He was indeed this city's fierce defender. Now, having turned himself into a hired gun, he's reduced to defending himself — "Anybody that takes this seriously ought to lighten up" — and he's not doing it half as well.

Fruit and Veggie Stand

The pork industry already does it. So do the nation's beef producers. Now the fruit and vegetable industry is getting serious about promoting greater consumption of its products.

It's a healthy step toward sound nutrition.

Studies show that a diet rich in fruits and vegetables can reduce a person's cancer risk, aid weight loss and help fight heart disease. Yet most Americans — raised on the adage "an apple a day keeps the doctor away" — remain ill informed about these potential benefits. They almost always underestimate the minimum recommended for good health: five or more servings of fruits and vegetables each day.

This month the fruit and vegetable industry, in partnership with the National Cancer Institute and 200 retail food chains, launched a five-year, \$93-million nutrition education campaign, called "5-A-Day." It will use advertisements, messages on grocery bags and food labels, and programs in schools and workplaces.

This is a worthy joint venture for government and industry. Should it succeed in changing the nation's eating habits, the fruit and vegetable industry stands to gain enormously.

So does the nation's health.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Public & Private

ANNA QUINDLEN

No More Waiting

From time to time you hear complaints from people of apparent good will about how much national attention is being focused on AIDS. What about cancer? say cancer survivors. What about heart disease? And in these complaints there is usually a touch of envy. Many of us whose lives were mangled by mortal illnesses suffered privately, confident that doctors and researchers and the purveyors of government grants were doing their level best to eradicate the scourge. We waited. And waited. And waited.

Then the AIDS activists disrupted hearings and marched down city streets and agitated, agitated, agitated for better drugs, for speedier approvals, for more research money. Some people think they are too militant. If I could help give someone I loved a second chance, or even an extra year, what people think would not worry me a bit.

It's certain we women can learn from this, after all these years of waiting politely for a male medical and governmental establishment to be nice to us. When the President pandered yet again to the anti-abortion lobby by vetoing a measure that would pay for research on women's health issues because it also lifted the ban on fetal tissue research, it was clear we'd been polite too long.

And then there's RU-486, a pill that causes early abortion. Comparisons are odious, but imagine if doctors discovered a method of vasectomy that required only a handful of capsules and a drink of water. It'd be approved so fast it would make your head spin.

A pregnant social worker named Leona Benten was stopped at Kennedy Airport in New York when she flew in from Europe carrying a duly

prescribed dose of RU-486. The drug is on a special import alert list, although even some Food and Drug Administration officials say that this has nothing to do with safety. It didn't go on the list at the behest of serious scientists, but at the request of conservative members of Congress, thereby making the F.D.A. an arm of the right-to-life lobby.

But RU-486 is not just a drug that induces abortion. There is evidence that it may help fight breast cancer, a disease that leads to the deaths of 44,000 American women a year. Some doctors think the drug could prove useful in treating adult diabetes, hypertension and other cancers. But they — and you, if you suffer from any of those conditions — are stymied here in the United States by the unhappy alliance of politics, medicine and corporate caution.

The pharmaceutical company that manufactures RU-486, Roussel Uclaf, has acted as businesses tend to do. It pulled the drug off the market in its native France after protests, putting it back on only after the French Government ordered it to do so. The company has not even sought approval for RU-486 in this country, where poses of men illustrate their respect for life by thrusting fetal remains at candidates and clinic escorts. In several European countries, where there is less fetus-throwing, RU-486 is being used with success and safety.

There is a kind of resonance to all this for anyone who has read Ellen Chesler's marvelous biography of Margaret Sanger. One legal challenge described in the book is entitled — truly — *United States v. One Package Containing 120, more or less, Rubber Pessaries to Prevent Conception*. The offending devices were sent to Mrs. Sanger by a Japanese doctor, then confiscated by customs. This was not an uncommon problem; after Mrs. Sanger married the inventor of 3-In-One oil, he smuggled diaphragms in the product's containers. It all seems rather quaint, as Leona Benten's difficulties someday will, which is cold comfort to her today.

Ms. Benten brought the ban on RU-486 to the public's attention. Sadly, the attendant fuss may also have reinforced Roussel Uclaf's dedication to conflict avoidance in the United States, at least for the time being.

But contained in this episode are the seeds of a powerful lobby: women who want abortions to be performed as early and as safely as possible; women who have lost mothers to breast cancer and are at risk themselves; women who believe that health care should be separate from a political agenda.

Oh, and women who vote. Those familiar with the politics of RU-486 believe that it could be licensed in short order if the political atmosphere changed. Not in time for Leona Benten, but not a moment too soon for millions of other women who must be less patient and more militant about health care. □

Good manners
make for
bad medicine.

The New York Times

NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

My Starving Soup Kitchen

By Amy Brown

Well after the Los Angeles riots and despite passage of an urban aid bill that was hailed by Congress and the White House, our nation still is not addressing the crisis of hunger. Or maybe it is, and I just missed it. I'm too busy to pay close attention to the news. I run a soup kitchen.

There are now more than 700 food programs (soup kitchens, which serve hot meals, and food pantries, which supply carry-out food packages) in New York City, compared with just a handful 10 years ago. They serve 2.5 million meals each month. Our kitchen served 109,000 meals last year, nearly twice as many as in 1989. When our program opened in 1982, we thought the community would need us for only a couple of years.

While most people are aware that hunger and poverty are on the rise, they generally assume that churches, synagogues and nonprofit organizations will always be there to feed those in need. But the reality is that soup kitchens and food pantries routinely run out of food and turn away hungry people. Donations and other people's leftovers go only so far; emergency food programs rely on grants and contributions so they can purchase food to meet the need.

Despite this, Federal grants for food programs are threatened with a 25 percent cut next year. The Bush Administration says it wants to shift spending from short-term measures like emergency food to longer term solutions. I would be the first to applaud Government support for programs that help with permanent housing, jobs, education, child care and health care. That is what people who are hungry really need. But until the people who eat at our soup kitchen

Amy Brown is executive director of Neighbors Together Corporation, a social services agency in Brooklyn.

can afford to buy food for themselves and their families, how can we deny them a meal?

When I ask corporations and foundations for money, I find that they, too, rarely want to give their money for what they see as short-term solutions. They tell me that if they give to soup kitchens their money will just get "eaten up." Yes. That's the idea.

At our soup kitchen, like many throughout the city, we believe in helping our community beyond today's lunch. We have an advocacy project that helps clients fight evictions, get drug treatment and apply for food stamps. Yet I spend more

The poor need jobs. But they need food first.

and more of my time trying to raise funds to run our program.

The soup kitchens and food pantries in New York City are 700 points of light. But perhaps our brightness blinds our political leaders. Instead of highlighting the crisis of hunger, we seem to cover it up. By feeding those who are hungry, we allow the Government to do little for them.

So what can we do? We could go on strike — close down all the soup kitchens and food pantries until people notice what would happen without us. This idea has been suggested many times. But we are caring people who see our first responsibility as helping those in need. We just don't have the stomach to turn hungry people away.

Soup kitchens and food pantries continue to serve more and more meals, and they struggle to do it with fewer resources. Many have closed because they have run out of money and food. More will close as the crisis gets worse, and the people we serve have nowhere else to turn. How can we make someone listen? □

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

ADVERTISING / By JOANNE LIPMAN

Perot Adman Depicts Frustrating Client

When Ross Perot abruptly pulled out of the presidential race last week — before he had officially entered it — thousands of his ardent supporters were caught by surprise.

But not adman Bill Heater.

Mr. Heater, famous in ad circles for helping create Infiniti's Zen-inspired ads and the striking

"Real Life, Real Answers" campaign for John Hancock insurance, was one of several top executives tapped by adman Hal Riney to work on the Perot campaign. "Maybe it's

hindsight, but I felt as though it was coming," Mr. Heater said in an interview shortly after the Perot candidacy fizzled.

"I started with a great deal of enthusiasm," added Mr. Heater, who is a freelance creative executive. "But [the campaign] was kind of a roller coaster. It was like working with a difficult client."

On Madison Avenue, ad executives frequently grumble about tough clients, such as rigid Procter & Gamble or domineering Gallo. But as Mr. Heater and others involved in the abortive campaign describe it, few clients could beat the Perot organization in terms of sheer frustration. They tell of a campaign that lacked cohesiveness from the start, that seemed to change direction on a daily basis and that didn't seem to want or accept the ad team's advice.

Adding insult to injury, the billionaire seemed unable to part with the money it would take to create and place slickly produced commercials.

Looking back, Mr. Heater says he and other executives initially expected to be part of "a big feast of ideas and popular culture," in which each would contribute to a bold promotional campaign. Instead, the ad executives found that their ideas weren't particularly welcome. "You went from feeling like you could be an influence to more like being an expeditor," Mr. Heater says. "After a couple of weeks, you learn to hold back. I never really felt like I was really plugged into the campaign."

Ad executives couldn't even agree on a simple slogan for their candidate. Mr. Heater's favorite: "Hope Ross Wins." He was fond, too, of the slogans coined by grass-roots organizers, "Go Perot" and "Ross for Boss." But the various ideas were "all over the place," he says. "It was kind of like trying to wrestle a water bed down a stairwell."

Mr. Heater worked largely on a five-minute biographical film of the would-be candidate. Some of the film bore the unmistakable stamp of Mr. Riney, who created the powerful "Morning Again in America" campaign for President Rea-

gan and is known for folksy, emotional ads for Alamo Rent-a-Car and Saturn autos.

The film had Mr. Perot's wife chatting about what a wonderful dancer he is. His sister reminisced about their Texarkana childhood. There were interviews with Vietnam veterans, and archival footage of Mr. Perot's early life. Mr. Heater attended rallies to interview devoted fans on camera. "It was genuine and heartfelt," he says.

In typical Riney fashion, the biographical piece was recorded on film, which looks lush and costs more than the cheesy videotape common in so many political ads.

But Mr. Perot apparently balked at the personal nature of the film, and he bridled at the cost. Considering his background in the computer business, it's possible he wanted "to make advertising that was pragmatic and direct and nuts and bolts, and skip some of the gloss," Mr. Heater figures. He says he ran into similar personalities working with computer executives on ads for Wang and Digital.

It had been suggested repeatedly that Mr. Perot would spend as much as \$100 million on his candidacy, a scenario that set Madison Avenue salivating. But the won't-be candidate was furious, insiders say, over the \$80,000 or so that it cost to create the biographical film.

That might seem a piddling sum, especially considering the average 30-second Pepsi spot costs more than twice that. But Mr. Perot is said to have argued that the film shouldn't cost more than the \$15,000 or so most politicians would spend for five minutes of cheaper, more amateurish videotape.

Making matters worse, Mr. Perot didn't even set an ad budget; ad executives had to get every expenditure approved one item at a time, Mr. Heater says. "That was one of the frustrations."

Mr. Heater emerged from the campaign chastened, he says, but not bitter. After all, Mr. Perot was, in the end, just another client. "Maybe I was a little idealistic" in thinking otherwise, Mr. Heater says. "Ultimately, the candidate is the boss—no matter who it is."



Makers of Political Paraphernalia Make Hay in 1992

Unsettled Campaign Creates Interest but Also Adds Risk for Products

By JEANNE SADDLER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

"The Party's Over," reads a "Perot 92" button that pictures a drunken donkey and elephant with their arms around each other.

The slogan proved oddly prophetic for Ross Perot's undeclared presidential campaign itself — but not necessarily for the entrepreneurs who market such trinkets.

After the Texan announced his surprise withdrawal Thursday, Perot campaign buttons became the hottest item at a trade show for political memorabilia at the New York Hilton. Mort Berkowitz, president of Bold Concepts Unlimited, a major New York maker of such items, says he sold 1,500 Perot buttons by midafternoon.

"Perot's dropping out will, if anything, increase the value of his buttons," says collectibles expert Norman Whitman, president of Capitol Coin & Stamp Co. in Washington, D.C. Indeed, the New York City street price of some such buttons immediately soared to \$5 each, from \$2, lunch-time strollers there report.

Makers of political paraphernalia say this year's unsettling political turmoil has been a boon to their business. But they are still as vulnerable as Dan Quayle at a recent spelling bee. Like many entrepreneurs in high-risk businesses, they must bet the bank on factors largely beyond their control. Success largely depends on how well they manage the risk — and on luck itself.

The stakes are higher than one might think. Martin Elfant, president of Be-In Buttons of Houston, estimates that national sales of campaign buttons in a U.S. presidential election year typically range between \$10 million and \$15 million. In such years the market for all political items, including T-shirts, is about \$30 million, he says.

Perot Factor

While nobody keeps exact industry figures, most marketers agree that sales of political merchandise are running sharply higher than normal in this eventful presidential campaign — and should continue

strong throughout the fall.

"The Perot factor piqued the Democrats' and Republicans' interest in promoting their candidates more than usual, so we expect a good increase in sales," says Bob Levine, president of MartLine Advertising of St. Louis, which produces buttons for presidential campaigns. The company expects button sales of about \$150,000 this year, he says, up from \$80,000 in 1988.

Since Democratic nominee Bill Clinton chose Tennessee Sen. Al Gore as his running mate, Clinton-Gore buttons have become the hottest sellers. Another popular button shows Mr. Clinton playing the saxophone. Then there's the button picturing Vice President Quayle, of spelling-bee notoriety, as "Mr. Potatoe."

In addition, "women's buttons went extremely well at the Democratic convention," says Mr. Berkowitz of Bold Concepts. With such slogans as "Vote for Hillary's Husband," and "I Believe Anita Hill," they usually sold out, he says.

Makers of campaign items expect another boost next month when the Republicans hold their convention in Houston. Besides a variety of Bush-Quayle buttons, anti-Clinton designs are expected to be popular with GOP voters. Attempting to exploit allegations that Mr. Clinton had an extramarital affair, one button in a feminine pink reads: "I Have/Have Not Had an Affair with Bill Clinton" and has boxes to be checked off.

Collectors add to the demand. "Mr. Perot definitely spurred the interest. Over the last few months, his were outselling Bush and Clinton buttons by four-to-one," says Mr. Whitman, whose coin and stamp outlet in Washington also sells political collectibles. Mr. Whitman says his sales of campaign buttons and memorabilia are up 35% from the 1988 level; such items make up about half of his store's annual sales of about \$500,000.

The appeal is that today's Perot button might be tomorrow's equivalent of a Mickey Mantle baseball card. Dated items, and those with the names or pictures of



Political turmoil provides a boon for button makers.

both the presidential and vice-presidential candidates are most valued. Collectors say the most valuable political trinket in the country currently is a 1920 pin commemorating Franklin Roosevelt's run as the vice-presidential candidate with James Cox of Ohio; it's valued at about \$60,000.

Element of Risk

Though collectors are zealous, banking on the shifting political winds adds to the risk and the work of marketers. Tony Baltes, whose Creative PhotoCraft of Toledo, Ohio, is the official seller of items carrying the Democratic Convention logo, had to scramble at the last minute to get the right vice-presidential candidate on his buttons. The company prepared photographic negatives and went to the first stage of production for each of five possible choices. Fortunately, Mr. Baltes, says, he bet that Sen. Gore would be the choice and went even further ahead in the production

process for Gore paraphernalia. The firm was ready with Gore buttons and T-shirts the day after Mr. Clinton announced his running mate.

The official connection with the convention "is a potential bonus, but it costs a lot to get in here and do business," Mr. Baltes says.

The political parties and campaign organizations design and order their own official buttons. But the market is dominated by so-called vendor buttons, designed and made by small companies. MartLine has sold about 100,000 Clinton buttons so far this year, as well as about 20,000 Perot buttons and 35,000 Bush buttons.

Much of the Perot merchandise was sold to help fund the grass-roots drive to get Mr. Perot on state presidential ballots. Robert Bell, president of Sign of the Times in Huntington, Calif., says his company helped the petition drives raise about \$200,000 during the last two months. The company sold T-shirts for \$4 each to the petition committees, which retailed them for \$12 each.

Even though the Perot buttons, such as "Ross for Boss," have become instant collector's items, there's a downside to the Perot withdrawal. Mr. Bell says he has about \$45,000 in unsold inventory and unpaid bills for Perot merchandise. "It will be harder to sell T-shirts, which are \$12 to \$14 items, than buttons, an impulse buy of \$1 or \$2," he says.

Some entrepreneurs, who were inspired to start their businesses because of their support for Mr. Perot, now are distraught about his withdrawal. "He asked us to 'put some skin in the game,' and we did that," says Bruce Levine, vice president of Ad Club, a division of KL&P Inc. in San Mateo, Calif. But now the company must figure out what to do with a \$50,000 inventory of Perot items, for which Mr. Levine seems to have lost his enthusiasm for selling, despite the rising street prices for some Perot items. "He left us high and dry spiritually and financially," Mr. Levine says of the billionaire.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Bush Ignored Data on Iraq, Gonzalez Says

By JOHN J. FIALKA

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — House Banking Committee Chairman Henry Gonzalez said the Bush administration continued to promote trade with Iraq in 1989 despite considerable intelligence information showing that Baghdad had set up an elaborate military procurement network in the U.S.

Rep. Gonzalez said newly declassified documents show that of 771 export licenses granted for Iraq during the Reagan and Bush administrations, the U.S. only checked one to make sure that it wasn't going to Iraqi agencies developing weapons of mass destruction.

"So when the president claims 'we did not enhance Iraq's nuclear, biological or chemical weapons and missile capability,' he simply does not know," said the Texas lawmaker, referring to a previous statement by President Bush. The president has blamed most of the flow of technology into Iraq on European companies.

Citing a newly declassified Central Intelligence Agency report naming Iraqi facilities being used as fronts for the Iraqi military, Rep. Gonzalez said he believes President Bush knowingly allowed Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein "to get U.S. technology for his weapons programs, and take the risk that he could be controlled."

According to Rep. Gonzalez, two Iraqi front companies — the Matrix-Churchill Corp., of Cleveland, and Bay Industries

Inc., of Los Angeles — were allowed to continue operating for months after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. He asserted that U.S. intelligence knew of their operations, as well as the operations of dozens of front companies receiving military-related technology in Iraq.

For example, despite an intelligence report and a State Department report identifying the "Salah Al Din" as a missile research facility in 1990, a later application to export a high-powered computer to it was approved.

"The administration policy was to appease Iraq, and it allowed Iraq to evade export controls in the process," charged Rep. Gonzalez.

While President Bush had no immediate comment on the congressman's latest charges, he recently has complained of "revisionist" theories that he helped arm Iraq. The effort to promote trade with Iraq was intended, according to the president, "to encourage Saddam Hussein to join the family of nations."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Clinton Studies Dukakis's Campaign And Stays Far Away From Its Tactics

By JEFFREY H. BIENBAUM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ST. LOUIS—In 1988, Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton was so concerned about Republican attacks on Michael Dukakis that he wrote advertising copy for the then-presidential nominee and flew to Boston to help him prepare for debates. Mr. Dukakis ignored the advice.

In 1992, Mr. Clinton is determined to follow his own counsel. His campaign has laid elaborate plans to counterpunch GOP assaults and avoid the pitfalls that befell the 1988 nominee.

He is the Anti-Duke, with a strategy conceived to be as far as possible from Mr. Dukakis's plan four years ago. "Not to study history," says Clinton aide Mark Gearan, "is to be ignorant."

The strategy is already in evidence. Yesterday, Gov. Clinton displayed his willingness to strike back when hit. Responding to weekend remarks by Utah Republican Sen. Jake Garn, who criticized his avoidance of the Vietnam-era draft, Mr. Clinton told NBC News: "If Jake Garn is right, then Dick Cheney and Dan Quayle and George Bush's sons can't hold national office." The vice president, Defense Secretary Cheney and Mr. Bush's three sons all managed to avoid serving in Vietnam.

In 1988, Gov. Dukakis took a three-day victory trip after the Democratic convention, but then took time off to run the Massachusetts government and take a vacation. Mr. Clinton, by contrast, has been traveling around the industrial heartland in a bus since the convention ended, and he promises virtually no letup in campaigning until Election Day.

During his trip, Mr. Dukakis appeared stiff and formal, even suggesting to the residents of Minot, N.D., that they were mispronouncing their own town's name. Mr. Clinton is forever shaking hands; in rural Ohio, he talked sympathetically with farmers while sitting on a hay bale arranged for the cameras by the producer of "Smokey and the Bandit."



Bill Clinton

As promising as its start has been, the Clinton-Gore campaign has yet to face the tough tests sure to arise. Even some Democrats wonder whether the campaign is ready to face those tests — especially against a Bush campaign that is increasingly likely to be led by master politician James Baker. The Democratic nominee has a number of smart political operatives working for him, but there's no Baker-like figure who can make tough, quick decisions in a political crisis.

CAMPAIGN
★ 92

"There are a lot of good halfbacks, but no quarterback," suggests one Democratic analyst.

The most visible change from the Democratic campaign of four years ago is the Clinton camp's willingness to immediately—and sharply—retaliate for any GOP assaults.

One tactic the Democrats have adopted is to use the Republicans' own words against them. Earlier this week, Mr. Clinton answered an attack on taxes by Vice President Dan Quayle by invoking President Bush's "read my lips" line from 1988. And after Senate Republican leader Bob Dole attacked Mr. Clinton on the tax issue, deputy Clinton campaign manager Bruce Reed shot back: "As Bob Dole himself once said, stop lying about our plan." Mr. Reed's remark was a paraphrase of one of Mr. Dole's own lines — "stop lying about my record"—that he hurled at Mr. Bush in the 1988 primaries.

Appearing on CBS's "Face the Nation" program Sunday, Sen. Dole charged that Gov. Clinton wants to impose taxes of \$30 billion to pay for more job training, \$38 billion to \$40 billion for health care and about \$90 billion on small business and individuals.

Mr. Reed says those figures are over four years, not one; though the senator didn't say so at the time, his office concedes the fact. Further, Mr. Reed asserts, Sen. Dole's numbers were misleading because they don't take into account such things as the cost savings to businesses from having a national health system and the amount of money companies already spend on job training that would simply be "reallocated and redistributed" under Mr. Clinton's proposal.

The only new taxes Mr. Clinton would raise at the federal level, his aides insist, would burden wealthy people and foreign corporations, not middle-class citizens and small businesses.

The Democrats' effort to prevent the missteps of the past started early. Long before this year's campaign, Richard Moe, a former aide to Vice President Walter Mondale, and Anne Wexler, a former aide to President Carter, solicited memos from other ex-Democratic staffers about how better to run almost every aspect of a presidential campaign. Clinton hands have been reading them thoroughly, and applying what they can.

The week before Tennessee Sen. Albert Gore was chosen to be Mr. Clinton's running mate, Clinton aides Gearan and Eli Segal met in Washington with former Dukakis strategist John Sasso and with Joseph O'Neill and Peter Scher, two top

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

operatives of 1988 vice presidential candidate Lloyd Bentsen's, to discuss how to mesh presidential and vice presidential campaigns.

Homier Message

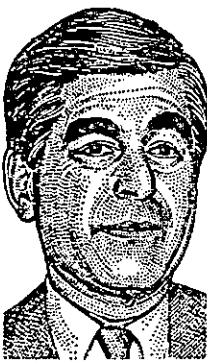
The lessons learned from such consultations are especially evident in the development of themes. "Our campaign is the opposite of 'competence,'" says Mr. Segal, in reference to Mr. Dukakis's ill-fated attempt to center his campaign not on ideology but on his own ability to get things done. Instead, the Clinton slogan is "Putting People First," a much warmer and homier message that is buttressed by a wide-ranging plan of action.

Another lesson Mr. Clinton's forces learned from the Dukakis experience is to anticipate attacks on the candidate's record back home. Mr. Dukakis trumpeted the "Massachusetts Miracle," a tactic that backfired when his state's economy began to sour. But Mr. Clinton in his acceptance speech avoided extravagant claims for his state. "It's not a miracle," Sen. Gore insisted at a rally in rural Wilmington, Ohio, this week. "It's just progress and common sense."

Clinton aides say they are braced for much more virulent attacks as the campaign progresses. The campaign's Little Rock, Ark., headquarters boasts a dozen-person "Department of Defense" headed by Betsey Wright, one of the governor's most trusted aides. She maintains an entire room of boxes filled with Gov. Clinton's papers so that almost any assault on the governor's record can be rebutted with fresh facts. She also commands a ready network of surrogates, including

Democratic chairmen in all 50 states who can be activated and briefed with the flick of a fax or the blip of a computer message.

In some ways, Mr. Clinton is striving to be positively Republican-like. Borrowing



Michael Dukakis

from past Reagan-Bush strategies, the Democrats are trying to coordinate their daily message. On days in which Mr. Clinton hits one of his main themes — jobs, health care, education — party officials at almost every level will be informed of it by fax and will be asked to repeat it in their

own public utterances. Congressional lawmakers in particular will echo this message during one-minute speeches on the House floor designed for the purpose.

Clinton aides concede that many of these efforts are in their formative stages, and some skeptical outsiders wonder whether the hydra-headed Clinton organization can make decisions rapidly enough to put their hard-learned lessons into effect.

Also, Mr. Clinton, though a much more natural campaigner than Mr. Dukakis, has his weaknesses. His campaign has a strong message in theory, but his delivery of it sometimes is unfocused and almost always verbose. When a question-and-answer session in McKeesport, Pa., continued for more than half an hour, top Clinton aide Bruce Lindsey paced impatiently near the waiting buses urging people to "pray for rain."

While Mr. Segal vows not to repeat the mistakes of past campaigns, he also acknowledges the inevitable: "We will make our own mistakes."

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

A14 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

As Campaign Turns to Baker, Quayle May Go

Secretary of State Expected To Wield Broad Power Over Bush Organization

By MICHEL MCQUEEN
And JAMES M. PERRY

Staff Reporters of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Secretary of State James Baker, soon to take command of President Bush's re-election effort, is expected to reorganize the president's political team, and talk is already turning to ways of replacing Vice President Dan Quayle on the ticket.

Mr. Baker, who ran Mr. Bush's campaign four years ago, will become a kind of political czar, ending what has been an unsatisfactory committee system with no one in charge.

"He will be No. 1, with everyone reporting to him and no one going around anyone's back to talk to the president," says one Republican strategist. "He will be the steady hand this campaign has needed," says GOP consultant Bob Goodman.

The most delicate question confronting the president and Mr. Baker is whether Vice President Quayle should leave the ticket. During the past week, individuals familiar with the situation say, consideration was given for the first time to such a move. It is, they insist, a possibility, though not a likelihood.

These individuals say the only plausible scenario would be for Mr. Quayle himself to step down voluntarily, something that both top Quayle aides and Bush officials insist won't happen.

But other individuals say a number of top Republicans, including some close to the vice president, have been stunned by post-Democratic convention polls showing that the public by an overwhelming margin disapproves of Mr. Quayle and by similar margins approves of the Democratic vice presidential nominee, Sen. Albert Gore of Tennessee.

Thus, even some Quayle allies are nearing the conclusion that it may be better not only for the party but for Mr. Quayle personally to step aside rather than stay on the ticket and be blamed for helping drag it down.

A conservative sympathetic to Mr. Quayle acknowledges that a number of conservatives have approached the vice president and "made the case to him that he should step down." Their argument is that he should "get off the ticket, which is probably going to lose and on which he has become a lightning rod."

But Mr. Quayle has rejected such advice out of "loyalty to the president" and because of his own belief that he is helping rather than hurting the ticket, this conservative says. He agrees with the vice president: "The American people are mad at Bush, and getting rid of Quayle isn't going to make them less mad at Bush."

If Mr. Quayle were to leave the ticket, the most likely replacement is thought to be Defense Secretary Dick Cheney. The former Ford White House chief of staff and Wyoming congressman would be acceptable to conservatives whose favorite candidate, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp, has had a difficult personal relationship with Mr. Bush. Other Bush potential running mates, such as Mr. Baker, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell and Senate GOP leader Bob Dole, probably would be unacceptable to many of these conservatives.

Mr. Quayle is widely seen as the strongest voice for conservatives in the administration, and many of them would be unhappy to see him go. He has close ties to evangelical Christians and has taken vigorous stands on conservative cultural issues.

"He would have to go gracefully," says Mr. Goodman. Some GOP strategists think one way would be for Mr. Quayle to accept another job, perhaps one in the cabinet. Such a move would be facilitated if Mr. Cheney were to be his successor on the ticket; the two men could then swap jobs.

In any event, such a course would be a high-risk strategy, and some Republicans worry that replacing Mr. Quayle would do more harm than good. "Instead of getting credit for it, it would be seen as a horribly cynical move," says GOP pollster William McInturff, who worked for the ticket four years ago.

Most observers expect Mr. Baker will turn to such veteran political professionals as Republican Party Chairman Rich Bond and Mary Matalin, a deputy Bush campaign manager, to run the campaign on a day-to-day basis, sharply diminishing the role of White House Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner. Robert Teeter, who has been uncomfortable as campaign chairman, would once again become the campaign's chief pollster and targeting strategist.

Mr. Baker is reported to be unhappy with the campaign's advertising strategy and the size of its payroll. He is expected to bring his personal team with him from the State Department to help run the campaign and White House machinery.

Whether Mr. Baker will take a leave of absence as secretary of state or resign is still unclear. If he resigns, he would need to undergo Senate confirmation to get his State Department job back.

Mr. Baker's strengths include his ability to focus on a few clear themes and issues, and, once he has set his course, to enforce discipline in pursuing those goals. He likes clear challenges and if he could pull this one off, it would cement his position in the party and further his own presidential ambitions. "If he gives Bush the victory, he becomes a Republican icon," says one GOP strategist.

In a city abuzz with rumor, there was also talk of a reshuffling of Mr. Bush's economic team, including the replacement of Budget Director Richard Darman. But top White House sources insist that won't happen.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

And They Call This a Model School

By BARBARA BRONSON GRAY

It's sitting on my desk, this colorful cardboard crown that looks like the kind of craft a child would make in a summer park program.

But it represents two hours of public school effort by a third-grade student, my son. It shows why California schools are failing our students.

This was a project designed to unite third-graders and kindergartners in a weekly buddy program, a concept born from the hottest education fad since the new math, restructuring. The goal this week was to make thinking caps. Despite the buddy system, the kids worked independently, third-graders alongside the kindergartners, gluing these simple paper structures.

After the kindergartners left and lunch recess was over, the second hour — for these suburban third-graders — was spent voting on the thinking caps. Which is tallest? Biggest? Springiest? The students looked over all the caps and then, with their heads down, voted. The effort wasn't even turned into a how-to-measure math exercise. It was looking. And voting.

This sort of activity isn't an anomaly. A few weeks ago this same group of third-graders spent most of their school day picking up trash in a nearby creek, an Earth Day project. This suburban school is a place where 110 kindergartners spent May Day having a teddy bear picnic — during school — playing on the swings and watching parents cook hot dogs and dole out carrot sticks and chips. Two classes at this school in the past two years took field trips to Universal Studios. This is in a school district that offers the children fewer than 170 full days of school a year.

What's sad is that these kids are well-prepared for academic challenge. A majority of students have had the benefit of two to three years of pre-school, and most of the families in our community include two parents. This is a place in which the average family's income approaches \$70,000 and most of the parents have college degrees. This is a place where Cub Scouts and Brownies and soccer and baseball and karate and all kinds of after-school activities are widely available. So it's not that these kids are starved for fun or joy.

Sometimes the work the children bring home looks more like school than did the paper thinking cap. But it's often not corrected, with spelling and grammar er-

rors un-noted, even on worksheets and written exercises. Some of the teachers say that correcting children's written work inhibits the writing process and lowers their self-esteem. The principal told me that sometimes there's just too much work for the teachers to correct it all. As for grammar, all I know is that at Open House the examples on the bulletin boards looked like the first drafts my teachers used to ask me to redo.

Remember book reports? You not only had to remember what you read, but learn to summarize and analyze and get it down on paper. Not any more. At this school, the kids make mobiles and dioramas to illustrate the book's concept.

As for writing, most of what is taught is creative writing, journal writing, free expression. Learn the structure of a paragraph? How to research a topic? How to argue a point? No, that's old-fashioned. Boring. We'll teach that — someday, in context — the educators say.

Even lessons about money are distorted here. Despite the fact that these bright, four-year-old classrooms lack basics like dictionaries and encyclopedias, the principal encouraged the student council — made up of first- to fifth-graders — to have a change drive for rare cypads for the school's small planters. Cypads are expensive. And tender. The school's previous batch froze last year. But the children raised about \$1,000, and it will all be spent on this arcane greenery. As my son said, "Why not buy inexpensive impatiens? Or ferns?"

To encourage reading and to make even more money for the school, the students were challenged with a readathon to collectively read a million minutes — of anything — in a month. They fell short, and so the children never got to see their principal in tights, dressed up like William Shakespeare (who?) for the day.

The new restructuring fad has hit, funded by state grants looking for solutions to our education woes. Now we hear the teacher will no longer be the instructional leader of the classroom but, rather, a coach, to assist the team players — our children — to teach themselves. We hear we need to cut the number of school days even more, to give the teachers extra time to plan and talk together. And with the integrated curriculum — the hip word is now "framework" — we'll only read literature that relates to social studies, because

it all has to fit.

And this is considered a model, one of 35 California schools nominated for Secretary Lamar Alexander's Blue Ribbon Schools Award, a nearly \$1 million federal program designed to reward excellence.

The problem in these schools has little to do with money — either family money or state money — and a lot to do with our philosophy of education and our understanding of what it takes to be prepared to function in the 21st century. It's about complacency, and maybe about anti-intellectualism, and more subtly, the idea that if you're not poor, you're destined to rule, even without the rudiments of education.

Ms. Bronson Gray is an Oak Park, Calif., writer and a part-time lecturer at the School of Nursing at UCLA. Her two children will be attending private school in the fall.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

U.S. Won't Decide Soon On Steel Trade Complaints

By a WALL STREET JOURNAL Staff Reporter

WASHINGTON — The Commerce Department said it won't reach a preliminary decision on the 84 trade complaints filed by the U.S. steel industry until after the November election.

The department said it has begun investigating the complaints, which accuse foreign competitors of a variety of unfair trade practices. Ordinarily, it completes initial investigations in 25 days, but it said that because of the complexity and huge number of the cases, it won't reach a decision until Nov. 27 on countervailing-duty complaints, which allege unfair subsidies, and Jan. 23 on anti-dumping complaints, which allege sales at less than fair value.

The delay allows the Bush administration to avoid a politically volatile issue during the election campaign.

If the department rules against the imports, it would be up to the U.S. International Trade Commission to determine if U.S. companies were hurt. Both findings must be affirmative for penalties to be imposed on the imports.

The U.S. steel industry filed the complaints in late June after months of rumblings about unfair trade practices, largely involving flat steel products.

Some of the main targets are Japan, South Korea, Brazil, Canada and the European Community. Roughly 6.2 million metric tons of flat carbon steel products were shipped to the U.S. in 1991, valued at \$2.8 billion.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Business and Finance

GREENSPAN PREDICTED the economic expansion will soon gain momentum, but he wouldn't say when growth will pick up. The Fed chief, speaking at a contentious Senate hearing, said he can't be sure how long it will take consumers and businesses to decide they have paid off enough debt to begin spending again.

(Article on Page A2)

British Airways agreed to pay \$750 million for a 44% stake in USAir, including at least 21% of its voting stock. USAir shares jumped \$1.125 to \$14.125. The alliance will sharply increase British Air's U.S. presence and help USAir become a major competitor.

(Article on Page A3)

Stocks climbed on major world markets after two days of sharp drops, while the dollar resumed its downward direction. The Dow Jones industrials edged up 5.41 points to 3308.41.

(Article on Page C1)

The North American trade pact that the U.S., Mexico and Canada will try to hammer out this weekend includes, for now, many provisions to protect politically powerful industries from Japanese and European rivals.

(Article in Column 6)

Citicorp, Chemical Banking and three other big banks posted healthy second-quarter earnings. But Wells Fargo's results were weaker than expected. Its shares slid \$2.50 to \$70.75.

(Article on Page A3)

Sears posted a 16% jump in second-quarter profit as strong gains in financial services offset a loss in the company's store and catalog operations.

(Article on Page A4)

Four major drug and health products companies reported double-digit increases in quarterly profits, driven by strong pharmaceutical sales.

(Article on Page A4)

Rockwell agreed to pay \$1.4 million under an accord that will lead to the dismissal of criminal charges for alleged overbilling on work for NASA.

(Article on Page A4)

The Treasury opposed legislation that would require foreign-owned companies operating in the U.S. to pay a minimum amount of federal taxes. A Treasury official said the measure could lead other nations to retaliate.

(Article on Page A2)

Goldman Sachs co-chairmen Robert Rubin and Stephen Friedman earned more than \$15 million each last year, say executives close to the firm. The pay of each man tops that of any other head of a big Wall Street firm.

(Article on Page C1)

McKesson's PCS unit was picked by a group of health insurers to set up an electronic information network to reduce the costs of processing claims.

(Article on Page B1)

Short interest climbed 7.3% to a record on the Big Board in the latest month and rose 5.7% on the Amex.

(Article on Page C22)

National Australia Bank offered to buy Bank of New Zealand for \$813.1 million. New Zealand's government, which owns 58% of BNZ, the nation's largest bank, accepted the bid.

(Article on Page A7)

Markets—

Stocks: Volume 173,800,000 shares. Dow Jones industrials 3308.41, up 5.41; transportation 1291.77, up 6.90; utilities 218.20, off 0.69.

Bonds: Lehman Brothers Treasury index 4452.79, up 4.85.

Commodities: Oil \$21.78 a barrel, off one cent. Dow Jones futures index 119.03, up 0.06; spot index 118.20, up 0.16.

Dollar: 125.13 yen, off 0.34; 1.4860 marks, off 0.0075.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

World-Wide

BAKER IS SET to head Bush's campaign amid talk Quayle may leave the ticket.

With the secretary of state expected to get broad powers over the president's re-election campaign, consideration is being given to whether the vice president should step down. Such a move is a possibility, though not a likelihood, GOP sources say. Top Republicans have been stunned by polls showing overwhelming public disapproval of Quayle. Even some Quayle allies are nearing the conclusion it may be better for him to leave rather than be blamed for helping drag the ticket down. (Article on Page A14)

The most likely replacement for Quayle is thought to be Defense Secretary Cheney, who would be acceptable to the party's conservatives.

MIDEAST PEACE EFFORTS GAINED momentum on several fronts.

The first summit between Egypt and Israel in six years ended in Cairo with Egypt's Mubarak accepting an invitation from Rabin to visit Israel. Though no date was set, the gesture represented a breakthrough, as Mubarak hasn't been in Israel since assuming the presidency in 1981. Meanwhile, Secretary of State Baker held talks in Amman with King Hussein and is flying to Syria for discussions today.

Diplomats said Egypt was ready to try to use its influence to sway Arab states at a meeting Friday if Rabin demonstrated his desire for peace.

Iraq vowed never to allow U.N. arms inspectors to search the Agriculture Ministry in Baghdad. Western nations warned of serious consequences, and the Pentagon said it has the military capability to take action against Iraq if necessary. Oil prices fell briefly on unsubstantiated rumors that Iraq's Saddam Hussein had been slain.

The Clinton campaign has drawn up plans to counterpunch GOP assaults and avoid pitfalls that befell Dukakis in 1988. The Democrats are mapping a strategy that would be as far away as possible from the Dukakis battle plan. (Article on Page A14)

A Chinese reformer was sentenced to seven years in jail for his role in the 1989 Tiananmen Square democracy movement. A three-judge panel convicted Bao Tong, 59, of leaking state secrets and "counterrevolutionary incitement," referring to efforts aimed at undermining the Beijing government.

A Security Council panel said individual Yugoslavs could participate in the Barcelona Olympics, but banned Yugoslavia from team events. In Bosnia, U.N. peacekeepers allowed relief flights to resume in Sarajevo, where heavy fighting later erupted. A European Community mediator blamed all factions in Bosnia for breaking a truce accord.

The Piper Malibu was exonerated by the National Transportation Safety Board in its report on in-flight breakups of the high-performance single-engine propeller plane. The board blamed the crashes on mistakes made by the pilots and urged the FAA to require special high-altitude training for some pilots. (Article on Page A4)

The AIDS epidemic is spreading so fast that world AIDS researchers must begin planning how to launch large-scale vaccine trials now, even though vaccines are still experimental, a U.S. health official warned in Amsterdam. (Article on Page B6)

Mourners in Palermo, Sicily, heckled and mobbed Italy's President Scalfaro and the national police chief at a funeral for five bodyguards killed in a bomb blast with the country's top anti-Mafia judge. The assassination of Paolo Borsellino, and the slaying in May of another judge, Giovanni Falcone, have sparked public outrage.

U.N. special envoy Vance arrived in South Africa at the start of a mission to promote peace and forge a compromise on deadlocked democracy talks. Vance said he would meet with all parties, starting with President de Klerk today.

A Michigan judge dismissed double murder charges against retired pathologist Jack Kevorkian for helping chronically ill people commit suicide, saying the state has no law against assisted suicide. The prosecutor said he would appeal.

Georgia Rep. Gingrich battled in a close primary race in a redrawn congressional district. With 32% of precincts reporting, the House minority whip had 52% of the vote. Challenger Herman Clark had 48%.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Bush Comeback: Get Economics Back From Detour

By ROBERT L. BARTLEY

I think that in reaching compromise with Congress in 1990 on the Budget Act, that was a mistake because it . . . undermined, to some degree, my credibility with the American people. . . . But, in the final analysis, I made one compromise on taxes and it, in itself, wasn't destructive to the economy. There was a five-cent gas tax and gas prices were down after that was passed, so it didn't have a deleterious effect on the economy, but I think it caused a credibility problem

—George Bush to Barbara Walters
June 26, 1992

It's a dog-eat-dog fight, and I will do what I have to do to get re-elected.

—George Bush to David Frost
Jan. 3, 1992

Anything, it seems, except recognize that Ronald Reagan was right after all on "voodoo economics."

It's not entirely fair to blame President Bush for the current economic doldrums, of course, since George Mitchell's Congress stonewalled his economic proposals. But with the president some 25 points behind Bill Clinton in the polls and drawing disapproval ratings near 60%, it's clear enough that the public does blame him. The economic issue is the key to salvaging his campaign and his presidency, and he's going to have to throw the long ball.

What this means, essentially, is summoning "the vision thing." Between now and November, nothing much can be done with fiscal policy. With the dollar in trouble and long-term interest rates staying high despite cuts in short rates, the Federal Reserve has done as much as it can with monetary policy. We can only hope Chairman Greenspan was right in yesterday's forecast of slow but steady recovery.

* * *

The one instrument that does remain is rhetoric. The president can rescue his campaign, and probably even steady the economy, if he and his aides can provide a cogent explanation of our current economic problems. How did we get here? Why are we in such a sour mood? What is the promise for the future? What do we need to do, and what stands in our way?

The Bush administration has been notably pathetic in trying to articulate a cogent economic policy. Among conservatives and in the business community in general, the fashion has been to blame Treasury Secretary Brady and Budget Director Darman. This is beside the point; the problem starts at the top, as Mr. Bush's critique of the 1990 budget deal makes painfully clear. Of course it hurts the economy to boost taxes when a recession is starting, and the worst of the budget deal was not the gasoline tax but the increases in income tax rates — the marginal rates that bear most directly on economic incentives. If George Bush is going to be the real "comeback kid" of this election, he'll need to start by rethinking his own view of economics.

The winning vision—it won three presidential elections in a row — still lies in Reaganomics. Or more properly, in the classical formula for economic growth: low taxes, sound money and deregulation. The economy is in its present condition because national policy slipped away from this formula as the 1990s dawned. Sound money remained, though now somewhat jeopardized by the faltering dollar and a rising gold price. But the government stopped cutting taxes as early as 1989, when Mr. Mitchell won his filibuster against the capital gains cut. In 1990 it started raising them. Reacting to the savings and loan debacle, it swung to over-regulation of credit. It piled new costs on the economy with the Clean Air Act and the Americans With Disabilities Act. No surprise that the recovery is tepid.

The message the president needs to deliver is that to restore the economy we should get off this detour and back to policies that worked. For the detour he can certainly blame Congress, which in some recess of its heart didn't really want a healthy economy before this election. As for the president's own culpability in the 1990 budget deal, he did not need to confront Congress while preparing for war. He has a credibility problem, but has not yet burned bridges behind him.

The danger is that the president who needs a long ball will listen to tacticians who understand only three-yards-and-a-cloud of dust. To reestablish the Reagan message he has to risk some battles. He has to win the fairness issue and reestablish the capital gains issue. Pollsters and their ilk will tell him to avoid both, of course. Even now there's talk of throwing capital gains off the back of the sled in one final attempt to appease the Congress.

It's true that capital gains and fairness have been demagogued to death; that is precisely why the battles have to be fought. On the merits, there is plenty of ammunition. "The poor," if by that you mean the bottom 20% of the income distribution, suffer the most from a weak economy, and did gain during the 1983-1990 expansion. They gained even more if you consider social mobility, people rising out of the bottom 20% for example. Capital gains are especially important to entrepreneurs and the venture capitalists who finance them, and are taxed more heavily by the U.S. than by Japan, Germany or other developed nations.

To win the economic issue, the president has to establish that the test of a good tax proposal is whether it promotes growth, not whether it soaks the rich. Making the latter the test will be fatal to any incentive policy, whether on capital gains, investment income or whatever. This is precisely where the Bush administration lost its economic thrust, and in no small measure explains why the economy is in the doldrums today.

* * *

The back-from-the-detour message is internally consistent, and corresponds with our economic experience. Politically, it won three times. It is the kind of long ball the president needs. But to make it work, first he has to believe it himself.

Mr. Bartley is editor of The Wall Street Journal.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Chips Ahoy

One of the pleasures of a rapidly changing world is the speed with which the hypotheses of political economists can meet their maker. Last week a popular theory of the global technocrats went kerblooey with the announcement of the IBM-Siemens-Toshiba deal.

The now-defunct theory held that the world marketplace was a kind of sumo wrestling ring into which each country sent its biggest private companies, now glorified with the title "competitive industries," to grunt and joust for technological leadership and global bragging rights. By heaving their competitors out of the ring, the winners presumably would gain a monopoly in some vital piece of gadgetry, and the loser nations would be reduced to economic vassals.

With artfully applied gobs of PR money a few years back, the semiconductor industry convinced Washington to apply just this reasoning to memory chips, or D-RAMs. These chips go into computers and all kinds of "smart" modern appliances. Because of their many uses, and because there's a lot to be learned from mass-producing them, D-RAMs were declared the new "industrial rice."

In practice, of course, what it meant was taxpayer handouts to Sematech, a consortium of the industry's fat cats, to the tune of half a billion dollars. And it meant a costly price-rigging arrangement with the Japanese chip makers that mainly victimized America's world-beating computer makers and software designers and anyone who paid for their products.

Now it seems that memory chips are not a case of techno-national do-or-die after all. IBM, an American champion, has announced that it will team up with Germany's Siemens and Japan's Toshiba, and together they will produce the next generation of memo-

ries, the 256 megabit chip. Given an expected up-front investment of \$1 billion, all three agree that the costs and risks are too much for any one "champion" to hog.

The same motive lies behind a deal, also unveiled last week, between Advanced Micro Devices, a Silicon Valley chip maker, and Japan's Fujitsu. The pact is a strategic alliance to develop "flash" memory chips and trade stakes in each other's business. AMD's W.J. Sanders III, once a leading pugilist of the nationalist school, now says, "The world has changed."

Global companies, global capital, global markets—it doesn't leave much room for national governments, whose views are more parochial. It's not surprising, given last week's headlines, that some of the noisiest advocates of industrial policy are publicly rethinking. Many, after all, cut their political teeth on the chip wars of the mid-1980s.

Perhaps this will even spur some second thoughts on the Democratic Winnebago as it wends west. Bill Clinton may preach the need for targeted subsidies for "cutting edge products and technologies," but we doubt that American taxpayers (or French or Japanese taxpayers, for that matter) would look kindly on giveaways to companies whose identities and interests are increasingly rooted in transnational alliances.

We suspect this is genuinely healthy evolution, though it may pain some who view multinational corporations as the focus of evil. It means that governments can stop pretending to play entrepreneur and get back to the job of providing taxpayers with decent services. And if business sees less chance for hiding behind governments' skirts, maybe it will concentrate more on keeping its customers happy.

Asides

Tiananmen Fall Guy

Communists may be on trial in Moscow, but in Beijing the Communists are still in the business of putting people in jail. Yesterday, after a secret "trial," reformer Bao Tong was sentenced to seven years in prison for his role in the 1989 Tiananmen Square democracy movement. As the highest-ranking official to be prosecuted for a role in the pro-democracy uprising, Mr. Bao is a political scapegoat for

Zhao Ziyang. Mr. Zhao is the ex-Communist Party Secretary General who hasn't been heard from since the hardliners deposed him for being sympathetic to the Tiananmen Square demonstrators. The Communists don't dare risk Western ire by trying the well-known Mr. Zhao, but they expect the West to pay little heed to their treatment of the lesser-known Mr. Bao. Unfortunately, they may well be right.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Rethinking Iraq

By defying a U.N. weapons inspection team, Saddam Hussein is once again pushing his luck, as he did in 1990 when he left the civilized nations little choice but to slap him down. He does not operate by the logic of caution and compromise that governs other nations. His threat to global order is relentless.

The nations of the civilized world have had a lot of trouble understanding and dealing with this pirate mentality. Since his stunning defeat in the Gulf War, the community of nations has tried economic embargo, diplomatic pressure and threat of force to persuade him to abide by the cease-fire accords. None of these measures have cowed him. All these actions would hurt Iraqis, and Saddam puts no value on Iraqis or any other human life.

Now, Security Council diplomats are saying that an air strike against Saddam is "inevitable." What can this mean? It is hard to see how a limited attack could really strike fear into Saddam in his bunker when a full-scale war doesn't seem to have altered his character.

Putting Saddam in a position to say "I dare you" was not the smartest thing the West could have done. The Iraqi has managed to make a farce out of the U.N. weapons inspection team camping outside what the Iraqis call their Agriculture Ministry, with a Saddam clique shouting at them to go home while the CNN cameras record it all. "Saddam is staying forever," his boosters shout on cue.

Meanwhile, in northern Iraq, diplomatic and aid workers believe that Saddam is waging a systematic terror campaign against those providing relief to the Kurds. In the past few weeks, a Fijian U.N. guard was shot to death while he slept. A vehicle belonging to a U.N. agency was destroyed in a grenade attack that seriously wounded two Austrian guards. A car bomb attack killed seven Iraqi Kurds and nearly killed Danielle Mitterrand, wife of the French president. Other relief agencies have found bombs planted in their vehicles.

In Baghdad, charitable groups have found their requests for visas delayed or rejected. Baghdad is refusing to renew the U.N. Memorandum of Understanding with Iraq, which is the legal basis for relief work.

The Western response thus far has led to the humiliating Baghdad Shuffe. First, the Iraqis evade or rebuff U.N. demands that they live up to the

cease-fire agreements. Then, Western governments step up diplomatic pressures, sometimes threatening military action. Saddam, who like the Serbs realizes that the West's threats are hollow, takes the opportunity to galvanize Iraqi public opinion. In the end the Iraqis usually relent, but Saddam has bought time, further strengthened his hold on power and enjoyed the thrill of engineering momentary standoffs with the world community.

Over the past year, Saddam has been refurbishing his military machine. U.S. officials estimate that, at least until recently, 6,000 tons of goods a day have been crossing from Jordan into Iraq. A third of all material is said to be military. Having apparently squashed an attempted coup a few weeks ago, he must feel invulnerable.

For all these reasons, the West needs to rethink its strategy. It should abandon the farce at the agricultural ministry. Since Saddam is abusing efforts to provide the Iraqi people with "humanitarian" relief, these should be suspended as well. The Iraqi people will survive without it.

Heavy pressure should be brought to bear on Jordan to close Saddam's resupply route through that country. Efforts in that direction so far have been less than effective in part because American officials have feared angering King Hussein and thereby endangering what they refer to as the "Middle East Peace Process." If the U.S. could take its eyes off that Holy Grail for but a second, it would see that any process that leads to genuine peace in the Middle East puts first priority on neutralizing Saddam.

The best way to neutralize Saddam is to take him out of the limelight, cut off his access to the outside world to the extent possible and prepare for the day when it may be necessary to slap him down again if he continues his military buildup.

As to that threatened air strike, U.S. State Department employees should be cautioned not to make threats against Saddam unless there really is some sound military plan for carrying them out and unless the will exists this time to see the matter through to its obvious conclusion.

This talk from the West about an air strike against Saddam comes in the wake of Europe's feckless handling of the Serbs' increasingly horrifying predations. What is mainly being lost here is the West's credibility. The people who would destroy any New World Order seem to have noticed.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992

Planning for Uncertainty

By PETER F. DRUCKER

Uncertainty — in the economy, society, politics — has become so great as to render futile, if not counterproductive, the kind of planning most companies still practice: forecasting based on probabilities.

Unique events, such as the dissolution of the Soviet empire or the Perot phenomenon, have no probability. Yet executives have to make decisions that commit to the future current resources of time and money. Worse, they have to make decisions *not* to commit resources — to forgo the future. The lengths of such commitments are steadily growing: in strategy and technology, marketing, manufacturing, employee development, in the time it takes to bring a new plant on stream or in the years until a commitment to a store location pays for itself. Every such commitment is based on assumptions about the future. To arrive at them, traditional planning asks, "What is most likely to happen?" Planning for uncertainty asks, instead, "What has already happened that will create the future?"

The first place to look is in demographics. Nearly everybody who will be in the labor force of the developed countries in the year 2010 is already alive today. There have been two revolutionary changes in the work force of developed countries: the explosion of advanced education and the rush of women into careers outside the home. Both are accomplished facts. The shift from blue-collar labor to knowledge and service workers as the centers of population gravity is irrevocable. But so is the aging of both the work force and population.

Exploiting Changes

Business people need to ask: "What do these accomplished facts mean for our business? What opportunities do they create? What threats? What changes do they demand—in the way the business is organized and run, in our goals, in our products, in our services, in our policies? And what changes do they make possible and likely to be advantageous?"

The next question is: "What changes in industry and market structure, in basic values (e.g., the emphasis on the environment), and in science and technology have already occurred but have yet to have full impact?" It is commonly believed that innovations create changes — but very few do. Successful innovations exploit changes that have already happened. They exploit the time lag — in science, often 25 or 30 years — between the change itself and its perception and acceptance. During that time the exploiter of the change rarely faces much, if any, competition. The other people in the industry still operate on the basis of yesterday's reality. And once such a change has happened, it usually survives even extreme turbulence.

World War I, the Depression and World War II had no impact on such trends except to accelerate them. Examples are the shift of freight traffic from railroads to trucks, the shift to the telephone as primary carrier of communications over distance, and the shift to the hospital as the center of sickness care.

Closely related are the next questions: "What are the trends in economic and societal structure? And how do they affect our business?" Since 1900, the unit of labor needed for an additional unit of manufacturing output has been going down steadily at a compound rate of about 1% a year. Since the end of World War II, the unit of raw materials needed for an additional unit of manufacturing output has

been decreasing at the same rate. Since around 1950, the unit of energy needed for an additional unit of manufacturing output has also been going down steadily at that rate too. But from the 1880s, since the telephone and Frederick Winslow Taylor's "Scientific Management," the amounts of information and knowledge needed for each additional unit of output have been going up steadily at a compound rate of 1% a year — the rate at which businesses have added educated people to their payrolls.

Indeed, the computer may well have been a response to this information explosion, rather than its cause. Similar struc-

Drucker on Management

The most important structural trends are those that many executives have never heard of: in the distribution of consumers' disposable income. They are particularly important in times of uncertainty.

tural trends can be found in most industries and markets. They do not make the "weather" for an industry or a company — they create the "climate." Over any short-term period their effects are slight. But in the not-so-long run these structural trends are of far greater importance than the short-term fluctuations to which economists, politicians and executives give all their attention.

Whoever exploits structural trends is almost certain to succeed. It is hard, however, to fight them in the short run and almost hopeless in the long run. When such a structural trend peters out or when it reverses itself (which is fairly rare), there is both tremendous threat to those who continue as before and tremendous opportunity for those who change fast.

The most important structural trends are those that many executives have never heard of: in the distribution of consumers' disposable income. They are particularly important in a time of uncertainty like today's. At such a time, these trends tend to change—and to change fast.

For the past 100 years most of the tremendous increase in wealth-producing capacity and personal incomes—a fiftyfold increase in the developed countries — has been spent on greater leisure, on health care, and on education. These three, in other words, were the dominant growth areas of the 20th century.

Will they continue in that role? For leisure the answer is almost certainly "no." Health-care spending as a percentage of consumer income is more than likely to be capped in the next decade despite the increase in the number of old people and the advances in medicine. Education should continue its growth—but primarily as education of already well-educated adults, while changing from the most labor-intensive of major industries to one of the most highly capital-intensive ones. What challenges—to a company's policies, products, markets, goals—do such changes present? What opportunities?

These are macro-economic trends. But

similar structural trends shape the micro-economies of individual industries and markets; they are equally important. For 300 years, since colonial days, the floor space per family, and with it the percentage of consumers' income spent on housing, has steadily grown in the U.S. (in contrast to Europe and Japan). Has this trend now come to an end with the drastic changes in family size and composition?

Since World War II, the share of consumers' disposable income spent on entertainment electronics — radio, TV, audio cassettes, video cassettes, and so on — has grown steadily, a trend the Japanese understood and exploited. Has it plateaued? The share of consumers' disposable income spent on telecommunications has been growing for a century. It may be poised to explode.

Economic wisdom has it that older people do not save. Is this still true? The growth of mutual funds would argue the opposite. And what would such a shift in the distribution of disposable income by people over 50 or 55 — the fastest-growing segment of the developing countries' population — mean for financial institutions, their products, services, and marketing?

These are not particularly arcane matters. Most executives know the answers or how to get them. They just rarely ask the questions.

The answers to the question "What has already happened that will make the future?" define the potential of opportunities for a given company or industry. To convert this potential into reality requires matching the opportunities with the company's strengths and competence. It requires what I first (in my 1964 book "Managing for Results") presented as "strength analysis" and what now—thanks mainly to the work of Profs. C.K. Prahalad and Gary Hamel — is coming to be known as the analysis of "core competence."

A Plan of Action

"What is this company good at? What does it do well? What strengths, in other words, give it a competitive edge? Applied to what?" Strength analysis also shows where there is need to improve or to upgrade existing strengths and where new strengths have to be acquired. It shows both what the company *can* do and what it *should* do. Matching a company's strengths to the changes that have already taken place produces, in effect, a plan of action. It enables a business to turn the unexpected into advantage. Uncertainty ceases to be a threat and becomes an opportunity.

There is, however, one condition: that the business create the resources of knowledge and of people to respond when opportunity knocks. This means developing a separate futures budget.

The 10% or 12% of annual expenditures needed to create and maintain the resources for the future — in research and technology, in market standing and service, in people and their development—must be put into a constant budget maintained in good years and bad. These are investments, even though accountants and tax collectors consider them operating expenses. They enable a business to make its future—and that, in the last analysis, is what planning for uncertainty means.

Mr. Drucker is a professor of social sciences at the Claremont Graduate School in California.

Clinton hurls Bush's barb back at president

By Ronald A. Taylor
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

EVANSVILLE, Ind. — Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton — his campaign growing more confident daily — yesterday deflected President Bush's criticism of the Arkansas governor's economic plan.

Mr. Bush on Monday assailed Mr. Clinton's economic plan as "smoke and mirrors," marking the first exchange of the campaign between the president and his Democratic challenger.

"Well, if ever there was an expert on smoke and mirrors, it's him," Mr. Clinton said of the president. "This administration has the worst economic record since Herbert Hoover. This administration has let the top 1 percent of the American people control more wealth than the bottom 90 percent for the first time since the Roaring '20s.

"My plan invests \$50 billion in America and creates a million new jobs a year, gives us education excellence and tackles the health care crisis — three things he cannot do," Mr. Clinton said.

His reaction to Mr. Bush's remarks came as the caravan traveled the final segments of a 1,000-mile swing through Middle America, from the eastern edge of the Rust Belt in New Jersey through 17 industrial and rural towns in seven states. The final rally of the trip is set for today in St. Louis.

Mr. Clinton's rejoinder came during a brief stop at a rest area on the Indiana-Kentucky border, where Indiana Gov. Evan Bayh joined the motorcade.

Like many Democratic officeholders, Mr. Bayh eagerly associated himself with the unexpected political momentum of the bus tour.

The Clinton-Gore ticket, which has enjoyed a widening post-con-

"If ever there was an expert on smoke and mirrors, it's him."

tion lead over Mr. Bush and Vice President Dan Quayle in the public opinion polls, generated priceless television images and attracted enthusiastic and adoring crowds on this trip.

"The last time we had a campaign and candidates who cared enough to get out of the jetliners and get across Middle America was in 1948, when Harry Truman took a train to English, Indiana, and Birdseye, Indiana, and Terre Haute, Indiana, and elsewhere across our state," Mr. Bayh said.

"Harry Truman told the truth about the difficulties facing our

country. He promised hope for this nation. And he promised to shake things up in Washington," he said.

"And that's what the man from Hope, Arkansas, and the man from Carthage, Tennessee, are going to do."

Such enthusiasm from local politicians stands in stark contrast to the 1984 and 1988 campaigns, said Clinton media consultant Frank Greer. "Nobody [then] wanted to get near a Democratic presidential candidate. Now we can't away from them [local politicians]."

Although the trip was planned to avoid complacency after a successful convention, the response has been enough to fuel smugness.

Democratic campaign consultant Robert Squires said the attention might swell some heads, but not his.

"All you've got to do is look at the history of Democratic campaigns," he said. "History is our anti-smug control."

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

Bush assails union over school choice

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

PHILADELPHIA — President Bush attacked a huge national teachers union yesterday for opposing his plan to provide tax-supported \$1,000 scholarships to private and religious schools.

"Many that control the establishment in Washington are in the grips of a very powerful union, the NEA, and if you'll excuse me one political comment, it seems to be an arm of the opposition party," Mr. Bush said of the National Education Association. The 2.1-million-member union opposes his school-choice proposal.

"Many of the congressmen don't want to stand up against that," Mr. Bush told parochial-school parents and educators whom he joined for a box lunch.

"That's fine with our association," Bill Martin, NEA's director of communications, fired back in an interview. "If the president thinks we are an obstacle to funneling government funds to private schools, he's got the question right."

Mr. Bush conceded that his proposal faces almost certain defeat this year but said he seeks to bring it into focus as an election issue and urged people to vote their views.

The plan, called the "GI Bill for Children," would provide 500,000 vouchers of \$1,000 to be spent as a family wished for any educational need, including private and religious school tuition, remedial classes, special studies, or donations for special needs at a public school.

"If you believe in this you ought to vote not only for me, but for the members of the United States Congress who support this legislation. ... Vote for people who agree with you," he said.

The political gathering of 500 was headed by Cardinal Anthony Bevilacqua, archbishop of Philadelphia, and parochial-school parents in a gym at Archbishop Ryan High School, one of 25 in Philadelphia's parochial system.

"Taxes for education is public money. It is

not just money for public schools. We want a fair shake for our Catholic-school parents," Cardinal Bevilacqua said of a 257-school system whose 117,183 students are 9 percent non-Catholic and 14 percent minorities.

The president, who has blamed Congress for not passing the plan, shifted his sights to the union, as its president, Keith Geiger, predicted he would.

"The NEA — that national union — is fighting me. They are fighting hard and they're not willing to look at the big picture," Mr. Bush said, saying his plan would not destroy the public school system.

Cardinal Bevilacqua said parents sacrifice to pay tuition of \$2,225 for 25,876 high school students and an average of \$700 for 91,307 other students, including those in elementary and middle schools, to expose their children to "values like morality, honesty, truthfulness and discipline." The per-student cost at Philadelphia public schools is estimated at \$5,000.

At the NEA national convention in Washington on July 9, 88 percent of the delegates voted to endorse Democrat Bill Clinton for president. In a separate vote, they overwhelmingly opposed the Bush school choice plan, which the NEA equates with privatizing public schools.

"He often uses the private-school venue as the place to promote this scheme," Mr. Martin said. "It takes away not only dollars, but the focus of what public education is all about."

En route back to Washington, Mr. Bush also spoke at a Russian Orthodox church in Garfield, N.J., to a crowd dominated by people with roots in Eastern Europe. He predicted communist regimes in China, Vietnam and Korea soon would follow the revolutionary changes in Russia and elsewhere in the old Soviet bloc and said he would "set foot on the soil of a free and democratic Cuba" in the next four years.

Mr. Bush also said he deserves credit for ending fears of nuclear war.

"This is momentous. This is important to the entire world, and I'm glad that our leadership brought it about," he said.

Clinton a Bircher?

You know how things get a little garbled as they travel from gossipist to gossipist. Yesterday we heard through the grapevine that one of Bill Clinton's heroes is also revered by the John Birch Society.

Close, but not quite on target. The hero in question is the late Carroll Quigley, a Georgetown University professor who wrote several books on world affairs. In one, he explained that there is an establishment anchored on the East Coast — composed mainly of financiers, journalists and government leaders — that is working to bring about world government. The group was a branch of an organization founded in England under the guidance of Cecil Rhodes.

The John Birch Society sells two of Mr. Quigley's books. Tom Eddlam, research director for the group, says the book "Tragedy and Hope" is "an affirmation of what we have been saying."

"He is one of the few insiders who came out and exposed the Eastern establishment plan for world government," Mr. Eddlam said. "He detailed the plan, he'd seen the documents, he wanted it to work."

Mr. Quigley, then, is a Birch hero only in the sense that he documented the group's claims of an internationalist "conspiracy." Otherwise, his internationalism is in total opposition to the legendary Birch nationalism. And poor Mr. Quigley — he didn't live to see a day when one candidate, George Bush, would staunchly advocate the New World Order, and the other, Mr. Clinton, would be a proud member of the Trilateral Commission and would sing Mr. Quigley's praises in his acceptance speech.

1-800-VETO IRS

You've got his number. Howard Phillips, the U.S. Taxpayers Party candidate for president, is trying to round up stray supporters of Ross Perot. Mr. Phillips, actually, is probably more their kind of guy than

INSIDE THE BELTWAY



Howard Phillips is another who covets disappointed Perot backers.

George Bush or Bill Clinton. His candidacy is a protest against "the Washington establishment which buys special interest support at home and abroad by burdening us with debt, devaluing our currency and raising taxes."

Mr. Phillips expects to be on the ballot in every state.

Also gathering some of the Perot flock is controversial candidate Bo Gritz, the populist who wants to shut down the Federal Reserve, eliminate the IRS and income taxes, put a heavy lid on government spending, institute "workfare," protect homes from foreclosure or seizure, and a few other things that should strike chords in the heartland. We're getting reports on groups of Gritz supporters who left several West Coast locations earlier this month, marching

to Washington. "They're having rallies and parades in the small towns they pass through, and they're being greeted with open arms," says C.D. Schaut, spokesman for Mr. Gritz.

Another hero

Speaking of Mr. Clinton's guiding lights, Reed Irvine of Accuracy in Media was provoked to recollection when C-SPAN rebroadcast a 1991 Clinton speech at Georgetown University praising the Rev. Richard McSorley. Mr. Irvine recalled a debate he once had with this very same Father McSorley, a famous pacifist, in which the Catholic scholar argued that money being spent on the military should be withdrawn and devoted to foreign aid.

"What if the enemy invades our country?" Mr. Irvine asked.

"So what?" responded Father McSorley.

"Because there may be some people they don't take kindly to, like myself, who would probably be hanged or shot."

"Oh, no," Father McSorley assured Mr. Irvine. "They don't do things like that."

Mr. Irvine indicates he remains grateful that Father McSorley's assurance was never put to the test.

Novel idea

MediaWatch newsletter picked up a little tidbit tossed out by Maurice Strong, secretary-general of — does anyone remember? — the late, great U.N. Earth Summit in Rio. Mr. Strong told a Canadian reporter his idea for the plot of a novel:

"What if a small group of world

leaders were to conclude that the principal risk to the earth comes from the actions of the rich countries? And if the world is to survive, those rich countries would have to sign an agreement reducing their impact on the environment. Would they do it? The group's conclusion is no. The rich countries won't do it. They won't change. So in order to save the planet, the group decides: isn't the only hope for the planet that the industrialized nations collapse? Isn't it our responsibility to bring that about? This group of world leaders forms a secret society to bring about an economic collapse."

The name game

The Secret Service always assigns certain code words for use in discussing those under its protection, and the press is always eager to ferret out those words. According to the New York Post, Bill Clinton is "Eagle," Hillary is "Evergreen," Al Gore is "Sawhorse" and Tipper is "Skylark." No comment from the Secret Service on the report.

Tune in tomorrow

For some reason the buzz around the Pentagon yesterday was that Dan Quayle will resign Thursday. Who knows how this stuff gets started? Last week, Capitol Hill was buzzing with the same story. Jim Baker would be named as Mr. Quayle's replacement, according to most versions, though at the Pentagon there was some strong sentiment expressed in favor of Colin Powell.

Perot can go . . .

There's lots of different ways to conclude the sentence suggested in that headline, and most of them have been expressed. Says NBC's Jay Leno of the deflated H. Ross: "I guess we all found out what the H stands for . . . 'hoax.'"

— John Elvin

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

'War clouds' seen as Iraq stays defiant

U.S. attack not ruled out

By Warren Strobel
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The United States and its allies edged closer to a military strike on Iraq yesterday after its failure to allow U.N. inspectors into the Agriculture Ministry in Baghdad.

U.S. officials said diplomatic steps appear to have been exhausted in the two-week effort to force President Saddam Hussein to open the ministry to the inspectors, searching for evidence of Iraq's ballistic missile programs.

Unconfirmed reports that Saddam had been assassinated circulated in the Middle East yesterday. Similar reports in the past have proven false, and Bush administration officials said they had no information to confirm the latest rumors.

Most scenarios for military action involve a limited airstrike by U.S. and allied jet fighters that would be intended to demonstrate to Iraq the continued resolve of the Gulf war coalition.

While diplomatic sources said no strike is imminent, the State Department for the first time yesterday spoke publicly of possible military action.

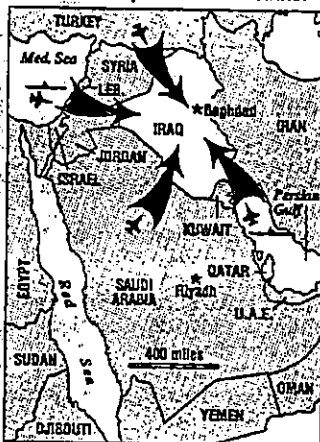
"We are not ruling out any options, including those of a military nature," said a department spokesman, Colin Cleary.

After several days of internal deliberations, the department issued a statement saying that, in the U.S. view, Security Council resolutions permit the allies to use force against Iraq if it violates the terms of the April 1991 cease-fire.

Meanwhile, there were growing concerns for the safety of the inspection team in Baghdad, which is being

WINGS OF WAR

How U.S. air power would strike.



■ F-117 stealth fighters and F-15E fighter-bombers would strike from Saudi Arabia.

■ F-111 bombers would fly from their bases in Turkey.

■ A-6 bombers and F-18s would be launched from aircraft carriers U.S.S. Saratoga in the Mediterranean Sea and the U.S.S. Independence in the Persian Gulf.

Map by Henry Christopher / The Washington Times

confronted by increasingly hostile Iraqi mobs.

The crisis began July 5 when Iraq refused to allow members of the U.N. Special Commission into the Agriculture Ministry. The commission is charged with eliminating Iraq's nuclear, chemical and biological weapons and its ballistic missiles.

Rolf Ekeus, the commission's chairman, warned Iraqi leaders in a weekend visit that they faced "a new legal situation" regarding the cease-fire if they refused to relent.

But he reported to the U.N. Secu-

see IRAQ, page A6

IRAQ

From page A1

rity Council on Monday night that he had made no progress.

At the United States' suggestion, the Security Council told Iraqi diplomats yesterday that it rejected Baghdad's proposal that inspectors from neutral nations enter the ministry building.

The Iraqis also were warned that they are responsible for the safety of the inspectors posted outside the building.

While private warnings to Baghdad are expected, planning has gone ahead for a possible airstrike.

According to one source following the deliberations, the action could involve aircraft from the United States, Britain and Italy. It is expected to be a limited bombing or even a "buzzing" of Baghdad by low-flying aircraft.

"War clouds are gathering," the source said. "The standard pattern has been broken by Iraq," he said, referring to Saddam's backing down after past confrontations.

Yesterday, waves of demonstrators marched outside the building, taunting the inspectors and burning U.S. flags and effigies of President Bush.

"I hate to put suspense on it, but I would say [it's] not much longer [until] I would say the team is in jeopardy," Mark Silver, the American

head of the team, told CNN in a telephone interview from Baghdad.

"The security is not equal to the crowds ... and there would be no way they could stop them if they wanted to come to us," Mr. Silver said.

Some Bush administration officials suggested that the inspectors may have to be withdrawn. That would also prevent them from being used by Iraq as shields against an airstrike.

Mr. Ekeus has decided, for the moment, to leave the team in place.

Iraq's ambassador to the United Nations, Abdul Amir Anbari, played down military threats and said that, even if an attack occurred, Baghdad would not be cowed.

"Throwing a bomb or two, whether on Baghdad or here or there, is not going to change [matters]. To the contrary, it shows that the council, without the cooperation of the Iraqi government, cannot do much," he said.

Iraq's government-controlled media made no comment on the rumors of Saddam's assassination. They were first reported by Egypt's Middle East News Agency in a dispatch from Kuwait.

The official Iraqi News Agency had earlier claimed that Saudi Arabia's King Fahd was the target of an assassination attempt by his guards. But King Fahd made his regular weekly appearance on television last night.

• This article is based in part on wire service reports.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

Guess who's not coming to GOP breakfast

Invitation to gays a 'clerical error'

By Ralph Z. Hallow
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The Republican National Committee invited a representative of the nation's largest homosexual group to a GOP fund-raising breakfast with Vice President Dan Quayle

this morning in a gesture strongly opposed by Christian conservatives. The Washington Times has learned.

Gregory King, spokesman for the Human Rights Campaign Fund, said yesterday that his homosexual-rights group turned down the July 7 letter of invitation.

RNC Chairman Rich Bond, said through a spokesman that the invitation was a mistake and blamed the error on the Virginia fund-raising and direct-mail firm Odell, Roper

and Simms, which handled the invitations.

Robert Odell said his firm learned of the "clerical error" around 4 p.m. yesterday when "someone outside his office" called to say "someone had accepted" the breakfast invitation "who shouldn't have been invited."

Mr. King, whose group already has endorsed Bill Clinton for president, insisted that it could not have been a clerical error. "We didn't ac-

cept in the first place. Besides, we were invited to the Republican National Convention in Houston next month by the convention committee and assigned rooms," he said.

Mr. King said that as late as Monday the RNC called his group to say the location of the breakfast had been changed from the Hay-Adams Hotel to the Sheraton-Carlton.

National groups that are normally

see GOP, page A8

GOP

From page A1

part of Mr. Bush's electoral base and oppose what they see as special rights for homosexuals expressed outrage yesterday.

"If Bond meant to do this, he should be out the door, because there will be conservatives who will be absolutely irate," said Beverly LaHaye, president of Concerned Women for America. "President Bush stands to lose 20 times the votes he would attract from this."

"The Bush campaign better get its act together," said Gary Bauer, director of the Family Research Council. "You can't keep asking for and expecting traditional voters to support you when there are these constant efforts to play footsie with the gay-rights movement."

In May, the Rev. Richard Land, executive director of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention, told Mr. Bush, "We want a president who is going to affirm traditional values, not lesbian and homosexual values."

He said that including homosexuals at White House events was "shocking to us."

Representatives of homosexual groups were invited to the White House to witness two bills being signed. And Robert Mosbacher, general chairman of the president's campaign committee, held a Feb. 13 meeting with representatives of the Gay and Lesbian Task Force.

Bond spokesman Gary Koops said late yesterday that the letter of invitation to the breakfast "was a mistake."

"We as a general policy do not solicit financial support from groups with which we are philosophically opposed," he said.

"The list was prepared by a vendor," Mr. Koops said. "They [the firm] admit it was a mistake. Chairman Bond never saw the list. Had he seen the list, certainly he would not have approved. The invitation has been rescinded."

But the homosexual-rights group's spokesman disputed Mr. Bond on that matter, too. "We receive invitations from the RNC regularly, including annual invitations to participate in the president's dinner, an annual fund-raiser which members of Congress attend," Mr. King said.

Mr. Bond, in the invitation to Mr. King's group, noted that the "purpose of this breakfast is to discuss the plans for the upcoming elections, the Republican Convention and the Republican Convention Gala."

Mr. Bond, Republican National Convention Chairman Craig Fuller



Republican
National
Committee

Richard N. Bond
Chairman

Mr. Paul Cooper
Presidential Project Manager
Human Rights Campaign Fund
1012 14th Street, NW - Suite 607
Washington, DC 20005

Dear Paul:

On Wednesday, July 22, I invite you to attend a breakfast meeting from 8:00 a.m. - 9:40 a.m. at the Hay-Adams Hotel, 800 16th Street, N.W. Joining me will be our RNC Convention Gala Chairman, Lod Cook, along with RNC Convention Chairman Craig Fuller. The purpose of this breakfast is to discuss the plans for the upcoming elections, the Republican Convention and the Republican Convention Gala.

Vice President Dan Quayle has also been invited to join us for the breakfast, and I expect to hear confirmation from his office within the next week.

The Gala is the largest fundraising event held during the Convention with President and Mrs. Bush, Vice President and Mrs. Quayle and Republican leadership from across the country. Over 4,500 guests will attend the Gala, the most significant event for the Party outside of the Convention sessions.

I have enclosed a fact sheet on the Gala for your review. Other important details regarding the upcoming elections, the Convention and the Gala will be discussed at the breakfast meeting.

Due to security reasons and space limitations, I need your response by Wednesday, July 15. To reserve your place, please call Beth Farrar at 703-903-9797.

I look forward to seeing you on July 22.

Sincerely,

Richard N. Bond
Richard N. Bond

Enclosure

Joseph D. Edwards, Republican Center • 310 First Street Southeast • Washington, D.C. 20003 • (202) 653-6700
TDD (202) 653-6728 • FAX (202) 653-6820

The Republican National Committee sent this letter to the Human Rights Campaign Fund, a homosexual group, inviting members to a fund-raiser.

and Lod Cook, chairman of the major fund-raising event at the convention next month in Houston, will attend the breakfast.

But a Quayle spokesman said yesterday that the vice president will not be there.

"While the Human Rights Campaign Fund looks forward to continuing our support of individual Republican candidates, we are unable to attend either your breakfast or your convention," Tim McFeeley, executive director of the group, said in a letter to Mr. Bond dated yesterday.

Mr. King said his organization has an annual budget of \$5 million and its political action committee will have more than \$1 million to give out to candidates for federal office for this fall's election.

At least one experienced campaign consultant said mix-ups like the one claimed by the RNC are not unusual. "The fund-raising arm and the political arm of a presidential campaign don't always mesh perfectly," said GOP pollster Bill McInturff. "I've managed political campaigns where someone says here's a

list of PACs and nobody thinks to check all the names."

Mr. McInturff doubted that the invitation, which was sent more than a week before Ross Perot ended his undeclared presidential bid, signaled "some post-Perot shift of strategy" by the president's re-election strategists.

"Initially, we thought it [the invitation] was just a mix-up. Now we feel Bush wants our money but not our ideas and views," Mr. King said.

Mr. King complained that his group, which testified before the GOP platform committee for the 1988 Republican National Convention, was turned down when it asked to testify this year.

"In the last election, we contributed \$80,000 to Republican House and Senate candidates," Mr. King said.

"We would have enjoyed breakfast with the vice president, but we're rather talk with him at length about our concerns, and the breakfast with a hundred other people is not the place."

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

Welfare reform in Virginia

Some members of Virginia's General Assembly are pretty upset about new welfare restrictions linked to school attendance. They're willing to play the race card, or any other card, it appears, if that's what it takes to stop the restrictions.

"This program is Draconian, regressive and racist," Norfolk Delegate William P. Robinson Jr. told reporter Jim Clardy of The Washington Times the other day. "The black community will be used as a guinea pig, and I find that quite offensive."

Before anyone else starts comparing people to small furry rodents, it might help to take a look at what the restrictions are all about. Here's how the Assembly-approved plan, a pilot project known as Virginia Incentives to Advance Learning, works. Officials from the Department of Social Services will keep track of some 900 students from households getting Aid to Families with Dependent Children. The typical AFDC family in Virginia receives about \$291 a month in welfare. Under the VITAL project, welfare children who stay in school may be able to collect an extra \$30 a month for their families. They may also collect movie or concert tickets as added encouragement to keep going to school.

The project provides that parents whose children play truant regularly can get help from government counselors. But parents and children who don't cooperate may find Social Services officials in court trying to reduce the family's AFDC check, although department officials play down that possibility. Why Mr. Robinson, chairman of the Virginia Legislative Black Caucus, calls this plan racist isn't clear. Perhaps he believes only black people collect welfare. Well, there are white people on welfare too, and they will

be subject to the same restrictions.

Having discovered that paying people on welfare \$291 a month had perverse incentives, encouraging more people with more children to collect more welfare, state officials began looking for some way to offset those incentives. The obvious solution, eliminating the payments or reducing them New Jersey-style for additional children, was politically implausible. So they set about trying to come up with a new government program to counter the deleterious effects of the old one.

One sees this approach to government all the time, not always with great success. The feds subsidize agricultural production through the likes of price supports and more. Then, overrun with cheese balls, they pay farmers to slaughter dairy cows rather than get rid of the supports. They pay other farmers not to grow things. They raise government deposit insurance to \$100,000 per account, then have to send out regulators to clean up after risky loans that never would have existed had bankers, not taxpayers, been responsible for the insurance policy. The feds build all manner of roads to encourage commuters. Then, when the commuters start commuting, the feds build high-occupancy-vehicle lanes to discourage them.

Virginia legislators find themselves in a similarly awkward position. One can understand their frustration. They want to reduce the economic and moral fallout that comes of welfare without getting rid of welfare itself. Ultimately that's an impossible task. All they can do is to try to curb some of the unintended consequences of welfare, and VITAL is a reasonable attempt to do so.

'The eyes of a killer'

Are you ready for true stories of America's most terrifying killers? Time/Life Books thinks you are. So for your reading pleasure, the publisher is offering insights into the brutal behavior, "smoldering frustrations and secret fantasies" of such murderers as Ted Bundy, John Wayne Gacy and David Berkowitz.

Time's latest offer comes in promotional literature for a new book series mailed to hundreds of thousands of homes. The copy unabashedly plays titillation for all it's worth. The cover wrapper asks, "Have you ever looked into the eyes of a killer?" Then Time/Life invites you inside for a "unique chance to probe the twisted minds and grisly deeds of America's most violent criminals." Once inside, the grotesque schlock continues with a boast that through this innovative series you'll venture into a seldom-seen world: "The realm of the child murderer and the cannibal killer where the unimaginable becomes a horrifying reality."

There was a time when the mainstream press shielded the reading public from the horror of the misfortune of others. It was enough to sparingly note the misfortune. The details were left to the marginally patronized subculture of publications that traded

in gore and other people's pain.

There also was a time not too long ago when the public almost unconsciously put its faith in certain enterprises. Over time the logos of certain enterprises evolved into powerful symbols upon which an enormous amount of public trust was built. Sesame Street's Big Bird and wholesome children's television is one example. McDonald's golden arches and fast food — for better or worse — is another.

Time/Life books is, or was, another such bulwark. Its slim, gloss-covered volumes with luminous photographs could be counted on for an accessible approach to the mysteries of space travel, science fiction and significant historic events, among other things.

It would appear that the inmates have taken over. Those underground publications that once were held in general disrepute are now the pacesetters. With the least common denominator driving what we see and what we hear, Time/Life's copywriters are correct about one thing: "You are about to enter a nightmare world where the last taboos are shattered." Yes, we definitely are there. Time/Life, by the way, is a subsidiary of Time-Warner, promoters of the now-infamous "Cop Killer" album by the rapper Ice-T.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

Another parking lot showdown in Iraq

As rumors about the possible assassination of Saddam Hussein swirled out of the Persian Gulf at press time yesterday, Iraq continued to defy U.N. inspectors who want a look inside the Agriculture Ministry in Baghdad. Once again, it is clear that the West's resolve in making Iraq adhere to the terms of the cease-fire it agreed to is being tested. Once again, it is critical that the West force Baghdad to comply by whatever means necessary.

Iraq has painted the U.N. team as a band of interlopers interfering with the sovereignty of the regime. An editorial in the government organ al-Jumhuriyah said, "Iraq's principled stand is firm. The premises of the Agriculture Ministry will not be inspected by the teams of the stray dogs. We shall not permit a symbol of our national sovereignty to be violated." The invective has been harsh, as has the wrath of the mobs of demonstrators who have gathered outside the Agriculture Ministry, where the inspectors are waiting in a parking lot.

The standoff is reminiscent of previous Iraqi intransigence. A showdown in September, in which the U.N. team was also stuck in a parking lot, produced a concession to Iraq, namely an inventory of the documents

inspectors wanted to remove. It seemed part of a strategy designed to wear down the United Nations and the nations that provide the muscle to back up its resolutions. Resistance at every turn, eliciting occasional concessions from the West, would ultimately persuade the "stray dogs" to go elsewhere.

That cannot happen, not until Iraq is fully disarmed in accordance with the cease-fire agreement: No nuclear, biological or chemical war-making capability. As it happens, the search of the Agriculture Ministry is very germane to securing compliance. As is abundantly clear, the entire Iraqi economy has been on a war footing for years. Major ministries, agriculture included, exist in significant measure to further that effort. The seemingly civilian names and labels the regime attaches to them mean nothing. The "Agriculture Ministry" is about as devoted to tilling the soil as the notorious "Baby Milk Factory" — in which workers labored in lab coats that said, in English, "Baby Milk Factory" — was devoted to feeding children.

The search must proceed. Baghdad must comply. If it is not susceptible to exhortation and reason, it is time for a show of force. And this time, there should be no Western concessions.

The RU-486 case

The ongoing controversy over the French abortion pill RU-486 brings the U.S. Food and Drug Administration full circle. Once pressured to resist approval of a 1960s drug linked to birth defects, the agency is now under the political gun to approve a chemical that threatens both life and limb.

This week Rep. Patricia Schroeder introduced legislation to force the FDA to return RU-486 pills it took from a woman earlier this month. Leona Benten, a pregnant woman who wanted a nonsurgical abortion, brought the pills back from Great Britain, where the drug is legal. She had intended to use the drug in this country, where it is not legal, but the FDA confiscated the pills at the airport.

When the Supreme Court refused to make the agency return the pills, Mrs. Schroeder stepped in with her legislation. She said the agency was discriminating against Miss Benten because the agency doesn't always stop people from bringing drugs into this country that they intend to use on themselves. "For example," she said, "AIDS and cancer patients often go to other countries and bring medicine back with them."

Mrs. Schroeder may have revealed more by her analogy than she intended. It's not every day that one hears somebody compare pregnancy with, say, AIDS or cancer. Nor does one expect to hear a drug whose explicit purpose is death described as "medicine," not at any rate in a field where the guiding principle is: First, do no harm. Of course, if you like Dr. Schroeder's

nonfamily practice, you'll love her legislation.

A more illuminating comparison is between the RU-486 controversy today and the thalidomide controversy of 30 years ago. West German drug manufacturers developed thalidomide as an "ideal sedative," one that pregnant women could also take to relieve morning sickness. Physicians later came to link the drug to so-called thalidomide babies, those with arms missing, with deformed legs or worse. The toll ran into the thousands.

The FDA never got around to approving the drug for use in this country, and its inaction in that case was later rewarded with a presidential medal. Then-FDA medical officer Dr. Frances Kelsey received the gold medal for distinguished federal civilian service from President John F. Kennedy. Shortly afterward, drug experiments involving pregnant women were cut back sharply.

Today, the thalidomide case comes up almost any time FDA officials want to expand their oversight of the nation's food and drug laws. Editorials here have often argued that the oversight creates such uncertainty in the drug approval process that the nation loses the benefit of many experimental drugs produced by companies financially unable to run the FDA gauntlet.

But there is no uncertainty about the intent of RU-486. It is supposed to kill the fetus. That is not medicine, and the FDA has every right to keep it out.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

MONA CHAREN

Disparate discontent

It is already an overworn cliché that the voters are angry, alienated and demanding "change" in 1992. But what are they angry about specifically?

The people who voted for Pat Buchanan or "uncommitted" in the Republican primaries last winter were probably angry at George Bush. But whether they embraced Mr. Buchanan's "America First" platform is doubtful.

The people who voted for Paul Tsongas in the Democratic primaries were arguably angry at traditional liberal Democrats. But their anger at seemingly perpetual Democratic losses of the White House bore little resemblance to Republican anger at George Bush.

Nor did the anger of Jerry Brown's supporters parallel that of Paul Tsongas's or Pat Buchanan's. Brown voters seemed to be saying that big-money interests had come to dominate politics at the expense of the little guy.

Ross Perot's partisans professed to be disgusted with politics as usual and hoped an outsider would shake up the establishment in Washington.

Does all of this disparate anger amount to anything coherent? Not really, except for one unifying theme — dismay at the crowd in power in Washington.

Mindful of the need to look like "outs," the Democrats were masters of disguise at their convention in New York. Democratic committee chairmen stand astride Washington like colossi. Yet you would have needed bloodhounds in Madison Square Garden to find Tom Foley, George Mitchell, Dan Rostenkowski, Richard Gephardt or Joseph Biden. Instead, the convention featured a parade of Democratic governors — Zell Miller, Ann Richards, Mario Cuomo — pretending that George Bush makes federal policy all by himself. Two senators did address the convention: Ted Kennedy and Bill Bradley. But Sen. Kennedy is a special case, representing his martyred brothers, and Sen. Bradley is not part of the leadership.

George Bush won't be able to hide at the Republican Convention in Houston. He cannot rely on the same tricks the Democrats use to pretend he's out of power. Vice President Dan Quayle has been working this street hard during the past several days, insisting that those who really want change ought to direct their fire at Democratic control of the Senate and House instead of Republican control of the White House.

Loyal Bushites, like Mr. Quayle, argue that President Bush does brilliantly when he needn't consult the Democratic Congress. They cite Desert Shield. The truth is less flattering to the president. Throughout his term, Mr. Bush has cowered before the might of the Democrats in Congress. He has engaged in preemptive capitulation on taxes, quotas, the Clean Air Act, the Americans with Disabilities Act and more. Just within the past month, his secretary of education, Lamar Alexander, told me that the reason the administration wasn't presenting a full-scale educational choice proposal is that the Democrats would reject it.

Here is Mr. Bush's campaign predicament — he's been a failure precisely because he has yielded to Democratic power. Yet it is perfectly possible that the voters — believing that the president controls the government no matter what the other branches do — will elect Bill Clinton to punish Mr. Bush.

Mr. Bush's handlers think calling Mr. Clinton a liberal will hand Republicans the election in November. Absolute folly. Labelling worked last time because the economy was booming and Michael Dukakis was extreme. Now, Mr. Bush has a record to defend, the economy is flat and Mr. Clinton is more moderate.

Mr. Bush can win only with an injection of real honesty into the proceedings. He might say, "I made several big mistakes in my first term. I should have fought the Congress for what I believe in — low taxes, enterprise zones, educational choice, welfare reform. I know that now. The difference between Clinton and me is that I think tax increases and funding the octopus welfare state are mistakes, and he doesn't. If you choose to re-elect me and re-elect the Democratic Congress, I will do battle for my ideas, but it will be uphill all the way. If you re-elect me and vote for real change in Washington — by overturning the 40-year rule of Democrats on Capitol Hill — an era of true reform can begin."

Mona Charen is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

RICHARD GRENIER

Vertical in the lexicon

Suppose, God forbid, you were coach of the women's soccer team at Mount Holyoke, an elite school swept by the radical feminist tide. How would you address your players? "Guys?" "Ladies?" "Hey, you?" Because your career would depend on it.

Now everyone knows that delegates to the recent Democratic National Convention were politically to the left of Democratic voters and even, for a change, to the left of the Democratic ticket. But anyone who thinks these delegates were radical should familiarize himself with the delirious forms of radical utopianism now regnant at many of our leading universities.

Take our women's soccer team at Mount Holyoke. I am indebted to the splendid new journal "Heterodoxy" edited by Peter Collier and David

At Mount Holyoke you can get an "A" in Jean Grossholtz's course in the Women's Studies Program merely by agreeing that: "A marriage license is a license to commit violence and to rape."

Horowitz — the former editors of "Ramparts" who have famously had "Second Thoughts" about American radicalism — for this and hundreds of tales of academic madness prevailing on U.S. campuses.

"Girls," obviously, has been out for years for any educated female. Don't embarrass me. But "guys," which has come in for young women at least in the plural, is also out at Mount Holyoke. "Ladies" is unforgivable — although I swear to you that Glenda Jackson, Academy Award-winning actress and politically correct Socialist recently elected to Britain's House of Commons, addresses females as "ladies."

"Women!" of course, is the only acceptable term to yell at your soccer players on the field. As in, "Hustle over, women!" This doesn't sound quite right somehow in direct address, but wait.

When Rick Burns, the Mount Holyoke coach, referred to an opposing player as a "tall woman," he was reprimanded — as the word "tall"

implied denigration of those women who were less tall. He was instructed to call tall players "vertically endowed."

Another vicious turn of speech of Mr. Burns was the word "subs" (for "substitutes") as it was "hierarchical," "demeaning" and implied differences in skill among his players. He was told that the word "others," as more equalitarian, might be appropriate. So with on the field his "vertically endowed women" and "vertically challenged women" and on the bench his "others," the game began.

But his team captain told him there was "some concern" that at half-time he was mentioning one player too often, which also offended the principle of equality. Since this player had scored 60 percent of the team's goals for two seasons running, it's a little hard to see how Mr. Burns could coach effectively without mentioning her more often.

And where does it end? How about "captain" and "first team," which are also wicked with inequality? Not to mention the word "score" or, indeed, the very act of scoring, which is a very unequal thing to do when you think about it. Why keep score at all? And why divide the players into teams, which only creates friction?

Why not have a sisterly assemblage of women just dress up in sports togs and kick a ball around in an equalitarian manner? It would be better training for life, wouldn't it?

Reasonable people might differ on this, I suppose, and everywhere you look in America these days you find a new "competitiveness council." But when Rick Burns wrote an article for a sports journal about his adventures coaching soccer at Mount Holyoke, it set off a firestorm. He was denounced for being "sexist," and one team member came close to demanding his resignation.

At this same Mount Holyoke, meanwhile, you can get an "A" in Jean Grossholtz's course in the Women's Studies Program merely by agreeing that: "A marriage license is a license to commit violence and to rape." (She gives only "A's" and "F's.")

At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (yes, MIT) Gay and Lesbian Studies Director David Halperin demanded that his colleagues hire a certain man for a teaching job because he was "in love" with him, an interesting academic qualification.

At Vassar, in a course on "Money and American Culture," the professor confessed he'd never studied economics but still lectured on money as an oppressive force in American society. He clearly demonstrated that counterfeiting is a justified form of social rebellion.

At the Harvard Divinity School, Prof. Schussler-Fiorenza teaches that the Virgin birth is an evident example of rape.

The Lou Harris organization reports that the proportion of the public having a great deal of confidence in those running higher education has sunk to 25 percent. One suspects that if people were better informed this might rapidly plunge into the single digits.

Richard Grenier is a columnist for The Washington Times.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

MAX PRIMORAC / STEPHEN WHEARTY

Finding a solution for the Haitians

Flagging hemispheric interest in restoring democratic rule would also receive a much needed and welcomed boost. This is particularly significant since much hope has been bestowed recently on the OAS to assume a more active and effective role in resolving hemispheric problems and crises.

Defending democratic gains in Haiti has become the multilateral body's first litmus test to gauge its ability to execute these new found responsibilities. The OAS should become, in Rep. Goss' words, "the flag-ship of multi-sovereign, hemispheric support."

Multinational action would render unwarranted the fears among our Latin American neighbors of the traditional U.S. approach to the region, which has relied heavily on unilateral action.

Finally, the price of a safe haven would be far less than the tremendous costs incurred to date by U.S. Coast Guard operations to interdict Haitians at sea.

The plan does not in itself resolve the larger issue of overcoming the political impasse in Haiti, but it at least places the issue back in the spotlight.

Tighter sanctions could be applied to punish Haiti's oligarchy, while still providing relief to the poor.

More importantly, the safe haven plan would resuscitate the collective effort to resolve the Haitian crisis. The coup regime and its supporters would thus be made painfully aware that the hemisphere is genuinely committed to democracy in Haiti. Perhaps then, Haiti's military regime would be willing to seriously negotiate Mr. Aristide's return.

While the United States joins the multilateral action to aid besieged Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina, it continues to neglect the humanitarian nightmare that has been festering in Haiti since President Jean-Bertrand Aristide was toppled nine months ago.

The administration's sympathy for the plight of the Bosnians and Croats contrasts sharply with its standing order to repatriate all U.S.-bound Haitians intercepted at sea and discontinue use of Guantanamo Naval Base as a temporary asylum.

How can we, the "nation of immigrants" turn our backs on these desperate people in the corner of Southeastern Europe? Images of struggling Haitian boat people, strike as resoundingly upon our unique history and our humanitarian instincts as the cries of the Bosnians and Croats.

Nevertheless, the administration's policy toward the Haitians is legally sound, as upheld by the Supreme Court. Moreover, American compassion for the plight of the Haitians does not necessarily translate into a willingness to absorb massive numbers of immigrants into our labor force, particularly in a time of economic malaise.

However, the administration seems to treat the refugee issue merely as a matter of interpreting Max Primorac is a senior research fellow and Stephen Whearty a research associate at the Council for Inter-American Security Foundation.

In response, many legislators are looking beyond the constraints of our law to the continuing humanitarian concerns. Bipartisan support in Congress is growing to do something about the human suffering. A compromise measure that would both adhere to President Bush's policy toward the Haitians and satisfy calls for humanitarian action has recently been proposed.

A safe haven would be better than U.S. operations to interdict Haitians at sea.

Under his plan, an internationally supervised safe haven would be set up on Haitian soil where the nations of the Organization of American States could render humanitarian aid and offer refugee processing. Rep. Goss suggests some easily isolated area of Haiti, such as L'Île la Gonave, just off the coast of the mainland, that would be reachable at lesser mortal risk than the arduous trip to the United States.

Rep. Goss believes that Mr. Aristide's support and a negotiated settlement is found.

Such a plan would have several benefits.

First, it would effectively filter political from economic refugees because the incentive of economic opportunity that refuge in the United States represents would be removed. Additionally, a refugee processing station at a safe haven with the sole purpose of determining political-economic refugee status would be more efficient than the already overburdened U.S. embassy in Port-au-Prince.

Second, humanitarian security zones would immediately cut the flow of refugees heading for the United States and thus blunt the political sting that has greeted Mr. Bush's immigration policy. Desperately needed food and medicines could be provided more rapidly and comprehensively. Care for the refugees on the island would facilitate eventual repatriation once a political settlement is found.

Flagging hemispheric interest in restoring democratic rule would also receive a much needed and welcomed boost. This is particularly significant since much hope has been bestowed recently on the OAS to assume a more active and effective role in resolving hemispheric problems and crises.

Defending democratic gains in Haiti has become the multilateral body's first litmus test to gauge its ability to execute these new found responsibilities. The OAS should become, in Rep. Goss' words, "the flag-ship of multi-sovereign, hemispheric support."

Multinational action would render unwarranted the fears among our Latin American neighbors of the traditional U.S. approach to the region, which has relied heavily on unilateral action.

Finally, the price of a safe haven would be far less than the tremendous costs incurred to date by U.S. Coast Guard operations to interdict Haitians at sea.

The plan does not in itself resolve the larger issue of overcoming the political impasse in Haiti, but it at least places the issue back in the spotlight.

Tighter sanctions could be applied to punish Haiti's oligarchy, while still providing relief to the poor.

More importantly, the safe haven plan would resuscitate the collective effort to resolve the Haitian crisis. The coup regime and its supporters would thus be made painfully aware that the hemisphere is genuinely committed to democracy in Haiti. Perhaps then, Haiti's military regime would be willing to seriously negotiate Mr. Aristide's return.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

CARLOS MONTANER

Flashing phony signals of reform

Fidel Castro wants to come to the Ibero-American summit here next week with a clean face, so to speak. This explains the constitutional reform he's bragging about. He says the country is open to new waves and is changing its law of laws. In the final analysis, they had an unbearable text. It had been copied from the old Bulgarian Constitution for the most ridiculous reasons: The two countries had similar populations and agrarian economies and were approximately the same size.

In the preamble, there is the swearing of eternal love for the Soviet Union and unswerving faith in the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism. It was to be expected. The constitution was laid out by General Secretary Blas Roca, one of the founding members of the old Cuban Communist Party and a man given over to Moscow with a tender devotion that knew no doubts or limits. A perfect Stalinist, he had a dialectical stomach able to digest the most disgusting realities without the least sign of revulsion or nausea.

But the times have changed so much that his son Vladimiro, a former Cuban Air Force pilot, is today an active dissident on the island out to build a sort of social democratic party to replace the moribund Leninism defended by his late father and Mr. Castro.

But things aren't easy, because Mr. Castro isn't backing down. Mr. Castro believes that his regime can still be saved. This is behind all the reforms that have been worked out. It's not a case of seeking a political and economic opening to replace the failed communist model, but one of

looking to capitalism and joint ventures, via greedy Western business, to shore up the ruined economy of the country and find a new source of subsidies to take over the generous role the former Soviet Union played until two years ago.

What is surprising about this reform is not Mr. Castro's intentions, but his innocence. He believes the world and the investors are going to approve of this slight cosmetic change and flock to back his dictatorship. He does not realize that the

sought a gradual way of replacing Russian trade and assistance over a five-year period during which a combination of tourism and exports in biotechnology, nickel and sugar would compensate for a reduction of ties between the Soviet Union and Cuba.

A big mistake.

The five years of grace came down to 18 months. The former Soviet Union now has very little interest in Cuban sugar, because it scarcely has the petroleum for the

fer him credits if he can't pay what he owes (\$8 billion to the West and \$30,000 to the former communist countries of Europe, including the old Soviet Union).

So why are these so-called reforms useful if Mr. Castro has no time to wait for the results? The crisis in Cuba is getting worse by the day. The people are going hungry. The size of children under six months is shrinking. Undernourishment has meant a lowering of the average age of menopause in women — in 1985 it was normally at 50 years; today the age is 45. The female body, just like in concentration camps, defends itself by eliminating menstruation as a form of avoiding the loss of iron.

How can we explain such an indifference in the face of an imminent near paralysis of the country and an African-style hunger, which could do away with large numbers of old people, sick people and little children? It's like Hitler reviewing his troops and preaching the triumph of the Third Reich while shells were falling on his bunker. Was Hitler crazy? No; he was waiting for a miracle — the miracle of a political conflict that might destroy the unity of the allies, or the miracle of a scientific discovery that would put the "definitive" bomb in his hands.

And this is where Mr. Castro stands today. He's waiting for the miracle of a U.S.S.R.-style communist coup; the miracle of the sudden discovery of a sea of oil; the miracle of a radical political change in the United States. But none of this is going to happen. The only thing we can predict for this year is that while Mr. Castro tries to save his regime with legal maneuvering that will prove useless and extemporaneous, the country will not eat or progress. And then we will have a stage of real reform. It will mean a loss of power, or the loss of Mr. Castro's life.



foreign image of Cuba is one of a dictatorship floundering hopelessly. He's clumsy in manipulating international public opinion, and he's unrealistic in his sense of time. These phony reforms, which came into effect in mid-June, were worked out two years before in 1990 — a year when the Berlin Wall fell but the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics was still standing and the Soviets were still talking about Marxism.

At that point, the government

exchange. It was going to send 13 million tons in 1989, but it only sent 3 million and Cuba desperately needed 6 million.

Apart from petroleum, Mr. Castro thought he could count on Russian subsidized prices allowing him to acquire \$4 billion in fertilizers, raw materials, general equipment, replacement parts, etc. But the scanty hard currency he has barely comes to a few hundred million dollars, and no Western country will of-

Carlos Alberto Montaner, an exiled Cuban writer, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

B. J. CUTLER

Quebec closer to the edge

While we Americans were bemused by the Clinton and Perot shows and other summer windstorms, an important event took place north of the border that, as usual, we ignored: Canada got what is perhaps its last chance to stick together as a nation.

Once again the main issue (yes, it is tiresome) is whether Quebec will go off by itself in a French sulk or remain a key province in the 125-year-old Canadian federation.

For decades, the 5.5 million French-speaking Quebecers have been threatening to secede from Canada unless they got special powers to protect their language, culture, laws, traditions, etc.

The deal seemed to have been made two years ago, when most of Canada agreed that Quebec was indeed a "distinct society." But two small English-speaking provinces cast vetoes, and the country has been in institutional crisis since.

Robert Bourassa, the premier of Quebec, boycotted constitutional talks. He demanded that the other nine provinces and the federal government make Quebec an offer. And Quebecers would decide either on a new constitution or independence at a referendum to be held by Oct. 26.

The federal prime minister, Brian Mulroney, appointed one of his predecessors, Joe Clark, to hammer out a new arrangement with leaders of the nine provinces and indigenous peoples. To general surprise, on July 7, he did it.

The federal government, one of the most decentralized in the world,

is to become more so. The provinces gain powers. Quebec will win most of its demands. It will have a veto to protect its language and way of life.

There is a small drawback for the most populous provinces, Ontario and Quebec. They each now have 24 seats in an appointed Senate of 104 elderly, mostly discredited politicians who have little clout.

Mr. Clark and the provinces agreed on a U.S.-style elected Senate. Each province would have an equal number of senators—eight. If 70 percent of senators agreed, they could kill legislation coming from the stronger House of Commons.

Typically, Quebec's cautious Mr. Bourassa said neither yes or no. He is angling for still more power. Shortsightedly, the nationalist Francophone press took its eye off the gains and screamed about going from 24 (ineffectual) senators to eight (real) ones.

The terms are as good as Quebec is likely to get. And fed up by the province's continual threats to leave, the rest of Canada would willingly let it go if Quebecers voted for sovereignty.

Could Quebec make it on its own? Yes, with a lower standard of living. It now draws more from the treasury in Ottawa than it sends there in taxes. Mired in a recession, about 1 million of its 7 million people are on welfare.

Quebec would have to shoulder its own share of Canada's \$350 billion public debt. It might have trouble trading with the other provinces. And it would no longer be covered by the free-trade treaty with Washington, forcing it to negotiate its own access to the U.S. market.

In addition, "free Quebec" would face demands for autonomy — or separation — from areas where English-speakers and native peoples are the majority. Quebecers' pensions and other benefits would be less secure without the underpinning of all of Canada.

Mr. Bourassa has two months to decide on the wording of the referendum — whether it will be on independence or a new deal within Canada. It would be a shame to break up a decent, peaceable country, but that can happen.

B. J. Cutler is foreign affairs columnist for Scripps Howard News Service.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

MORTON KONDRACKE

Challenge for Bush

Bill Clinton and the Democrats did their jobs in New York nearly as well as they possibly could have. Now President Bush, if he wants to keep his presidency, is going to have to perform better than he ever has and show that he and his party are not intellectually exhausted.

Mr. Bush did not begin well by calling up and "congratulating" Ross Perot for pulling out of the presidential race. This was meant, of course, as a play for Mr. Perot's voters and, perhaps, an effort to forestall an endorsement of Mr. Clinton.

However, Mr. Perot has just pulled one of the most dishonorable acts of betrayal in recent history, akin to a general's abandoning his troops on the road to battle. Mr. Bush — and Mr. Clinton, too — should have reproved him. Mr. Clinton nuzzled up to Mr. Perot, too, but he had not been savaged by Mr. Perot, as Mr. Bush had been.

Mr. Perot's exit is a testimony to his character. He'd vowed that if volunteers put him on the ballot in 50 states, he'd give them a "world-class campaign." After millions of them did their part, Ed Rollins and Hamilton Jordan tried to build him a proper campaign, but he balked — at spending his money!

He also found that running for president wasn't "fun," as though anyone ever said it was. He began to droop in the polls, which might not have happened if he'd put on the ads that Mr. Rollins told him to buy. When Mr. Rollins quit, Mr. Perot had his security men take out the phones of Mr. Rollins and his staff and cut them off from computer access.

Then Mr. Perot himself quit without consulting his people — and lied about why. (Throwing the election into the House was less a possibility when he quit than when he started. The fact is, he quit because he was going to be humiliated.) This is no "patriot." This was an egomaniac off on a trip, and he took millions of innocents for a ride.

But Mr. Perot did perform a service by dramatizing the public's savage discontent with the status quo. In New York, Bill Clinton & Co. did their best to tap into that discontent, repeatedly sounding the call for "change" and indicating that the Democratic Party has changed itself to meet the challenge.

How thoroughly it has — particularly among rank-and-file delegates and members of Congress — is open to question, but Mr. Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, Tennessee Democrat, clearly represent new ideas. As Will Marshall of the Progressive Policy Institute put it: "The Democrats are like a bus with a new driver. Many of the passengers don't like where it's going, but all they can do is squawk."

Mr. Clinton's acceptance speech was too long (53 minutes), too detailed and too short on poetry. It sounded more like a Lyndon Johnson State of the Union address than John F. Kennedy's inaugural. Still, it was also reminiscent of Ronald Reagan's 1980 Republican acceptance speech, filled with contempt for the incumbent's failures of vision and performance.

Mr. Bush very nearly is in the condition of Jimmy Carter in 1980. The "misery index" — unemployment plus inflation — is 10.9, not 21.1, but the country is in deep malaise and the president shows no indication of knowing what to do about it except to attack his opponent.

By itself, that won't do. While there are things to criticize in Mr. Clinton's record, program and character, Mr. Bush has got to come up with a coherent argument for why he should be re-elected. Mr. Clinton's campaign chairman, Mickey Kantor, said in New York that Mr. Clinton was seeking a mandate in 1992 the way Mr. Bush never did in 1988. Mr. Bush has to seek one, too.

It oughtn't be that difficult. In fact, one Democratic consultant acknowledged that Mr. Bush's task was "easier than Clinton's" because "Clinton has to convince people he is up to the job while Bush actually has a record and a program, even if I hate it. He just needs to let people know what it is and package it well. That's not hard."

Mr. Clinton stole one of the president's best lines — from a speech delivered some months ago: "Now that we've changed the world, it's time to change America." Mr. Bush should have made this his theme song, but he forgot it.

see KONDRACKE, page G4

Morton Kondracke is a senior editor for Roll Call and is a nationally syndicated columnist.

KONDRACKE

From page G1

Mr. Bush still can claim credit for safely changing the world, can say that the job's not over, can confess that perhaps he spent too much time on the world and not enough time on the United States, but add that the two are interconnected: The United States needs a stable world of free markets in which to compete and needs to be repaired internally to meet the competition and be "first in the world."

Mr. Bush can say that, thanks to America's victory in the Cold War (hastened by the policies of Reagan-Bush), resources are available for the renewal — for education, health and investment — but that the Democrats want government to claim it all and won't really alter the way government works to make the process more efficient.

Mr. Bush has actually increased funding — not that anyone knows about it — for education, child care, the environment, job training, scientific and health research and housing, and he has proposed reforming the schools, the legal system, pensions, worker training, health care, campaign finance and welfare. Mr.

Bush has got to show that his record and proposals fit into some sort of whole — some vision.

Mr. Bush urgently needs to explain why he hasn't accomplished all that he wanted to do — with dates and details on legislative proposals made and congressional action not taken. And then he needs to make the case that divided government is the cause of the gridlock the public hates.

Vice President Quayle has made a good argument: If the public wants what the Democrats offer, it should vote for a Democratic president and a Democratic Congress. If it doesn't want that, it should elect a Congress that will help Mr. Bush get his plan through. Mr. Bush ought to have the guts to say: "Make up your mind, people. Vote for a president and a Congress of the same party."

Mr. Bush also needs to get Secretary of State James Baker or Defense Secretary Dick Cheney into the White House to run it and his campaign. He does not have to fire Chief of Staff Sam Skinner or campaign chief Bob Teeter, but they need a strong boss, whose title would be irrelevant. Baker aides, many of whom worked on Mr. Bush's 1988 campaign, say it's "inexplicable" that the White House is so inept at getting the president's message out.

In spite of the public's disaffec-

tion, this actually could prove to be a first-rate campaign, as the country deserves at the outset of the post-Cold War era. We are more than halfway there, with the Democratic Party renewed and revived and Ross Perot out of the way. Now, the president has to prove he's not "brain dead" — unless, of course, he is.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

BEN WATTENBERG

Will the liberal essence wane?

We are governed by those we elect, but also, subtly, by the political parties they represent. That is fine. Candidates without parties, like that nutty, foolish liar Ross Perot, can leave us too vulnerable to personal caprice.

To vote wisely, each by our own lights, we ought to examine not just candidates, but the essence of their parties. In politics, as in life, culture creates policy. Leaving the Democratic convention, we should ask: Who are these putatively new Democrats?

Let me rate, and rant, by my own lights:

There were stirring aspects to the Democratic National Convention. Recall the magisterial Barbara Jordan denouncing both white racism and black racism, decrying separatism, censuring "political correctness"; recall Sen. Bill Bradley's eloquent plea for pluralism; recall Gov. Zell Miller's invocation about why only Democrats can claim the rags-to-riches American idea.

There was, too, the heartening emergence of a corps of first-line black leaders. Freed at last from the political yoke of Jesse Jackson, we saw the likes of Reps. John Lewis and Mike Espy, Andrew Young, Mayors Maynard Jackson, David Din-

kins and Sharon Pratt Kelly, coming into their own.

Much of the platform made sense. Much of what Mr. Clinton said in his acceptance speech made sense. Together they sketch out Mr. Clinton's vision: to "re-invent" government.

All that is to the good and will influence policy.

The strategy was basic: the incantation of the word "moderate," so that sympathetic journalists would buy it. They did. Of course, incantation is not reality, but, then again, political reality cannot be changed without incantation first. We saw that Democrats can talk the talk. But will they walk the walk? Let's look at other elements of the party.

There is still a mean, sanctimonious and very liberal aspect to this party. Did you like the lecture on family values from Ted Kennedy and Rep. Joseph P. Kennedy Jr.? Do you believe, as Jesse Jackson does, that Dan Quayle is like the baby-killing King Herod? Do you believe, as some AIDS activists indicated, that Ronald Reagan killed people with AIDS?

Do you believe that the Democrats are "the party of women" or are they the party of feminists or man-bashers? How would you like it if the Republicans said they are "the party of men"?

Do you believe, along with Mario Cuomo, that America is headed for "shipwreck"? Because free markets don't work, what we need is a bigger dose of government?

Are you concerned about a party that barely mentions victory in the Cold War and the Persian Gulf war, Congress and quotas?

Do you like psychobabble, and

see WATTENBERG, page G4

WATTENBERG

From page G1

that icky liberal let-it-all-hang-out tuff? Did you like that video presentation about how the candidate's drunken stepfather, lacking self-esteem, beat his mother? Do we need

the candidate intimately whispering "I love you" to his wife, and to a hundred million others, via television?

Do you have a problem with a party that will not allow its candidate to go along with a reasonable abortion position — legality with moderate state restrictions? (The Republicans are worse.)

Do you like a party that glorifies a parade of victims: gays, lesbians, poor people, the homeless, single parents?

All that is in the culture of the party, and it too ends up influencing policy, and life, in America.

I cease my rating, and my ranting. As ever, there's good news and bad news. The best news is that neither President Bush nor Mr. Clinton is isolationist or protectionist. The candidates that were — Messrs. Buchanan, Brown, Harkin and Perot — are history. The republic will likely survive.

On balance: Mr. Clinton is a good candidate, perhaps prodigious, with some powerful ideas. He is in a party that still has an out-of-touch dimension. Rest assured the Republicans will tell us all about that.

A key question concerns whether Mr. Clinton will, on big issues, tell his liberals to stuff it. Another is this: Are the Republicans any better? We shall learn more about that in August in Houston.

Ben J. Wattenberg, a senior fellow at the American Enterprise Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

TERRY EASTLAND

Clinton, abortion and the GOP

Midway through his acceptance speech, Bill Clinton remarked that George Bush "won't guarantee a woman's right to choose. I will."

Democrats in Madison Square Garden went wild in registering their approval, as Mr. Clinton knew they would.

"Hear me now," he continued, "I am not pro-abortion. I am pro-choice. I believe this difficult and painful decision should be left to the women of America. I do not want to go back to the time when we made criminals out of women and their doctors."

"I am not pro-abortion"? Why then did Mr. Clinton not encourage his party to moderate a pro-choice position, as stated in the platform adopted last week, that is manifestly pro-abortion?

Equally important, why, failing to push for such a change (Mr. Clinton's favorite word), did he think it necessary to tell the convention that he was "not pro-abortion"?

To answer these questions, it is necessary to understand that the Democratic Party has long been pro-choice, in the sense of supporting abortion rights. It has also been resistant to reasonable regulations of abortion. In effect, it has supported abortion at any time during the gestational life of an unborn child, i.e., abortion on demand.

The 1992 platform not only reaffirms this position but endorses it as national policy by supporting the now pending Freedom of Choice Act. That bill, as explained by its chief House sponsor, Don Edwards, would prevent states from restricting abortion rights "for any reason."

Such unfettered liberty lies at the heart of the ideology held by hardcore feminists who today, more than

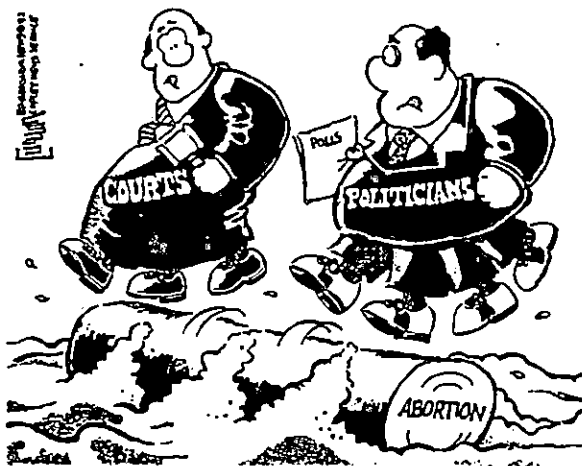
ever before, control the issue within the Democratic Party.

Mr. Clinton evidently felt he must unambiguously support their position. Thus, not only was the radical platform fine by him, but he also denied a twice-made request by Pennsylvania's pro-life Gov. Robert Casey to address the convention, allowing six Republican women who support abortion rights to speak instead.

That incensed Gov. Casey, thus creating an immediate political problem for Mr. Clinton. Pennsylvania is a state rich in electoral votes, and Mr. Casey is a popular governor, having been re-elected in 1990 by a 68-to-32 percent margin.

Mr. Clinton's acceptance speech statement that he is not pro-abortion thus may be seen as a sop to Gov. Casey and other pro-life Democratic leaders (who include one-fourth of House Democrats and five other Democratic Governors).

But as sops go, it's not much. Gov. Casey, who has been fighting to moderate his party's abortion stance, knows this year's platform history. In May, through one of his aides, Mau-



reen McCullough, he pressed the platform committee to adopt this language: "Democrats do not support abortion on demand and believe the number of abortion should be reduced." She was booed and hissed, and her motion was neither debated nor voted on.

This occurred notwithstanding the fact that, while polls show a majority of Americans support a pro-choice position, polls also show majorities oppose abortion on demand and support some regulation of abortion. Indeed, polls indicate majority support for each of the regulations in Pennsylvania's Abortion Control Act, which Gov. Casey helped push to passage, and all but one of which were sustained this summer by the Supreme Court.

Consider, for example, that a January 1992 Gallop Poll revealed that 86 percent of Americans agree with an "informed consent" law, such as Pennsylvania's, which requires that 24 hours before an abortion a physician provide a pregnant women with medical information on the nature of the procedure, the risks and alternatives to abortion and the

EASTLAND

From page G1

probable gestational age of the unborn child. It was in that ruling, of course, that abortion-rights radicals had hoped the Supreme Court would vote to overrule *Roe vs. Wade* and thus enable the Democrats to run this year as the pro-choice party intent on saving the nation from laws criminalizing abortion.

The court's unwillingness to discard *Roe* took away that issue. But its upholding of popular abortion controls has created a much different one: Would a Clinton administration oppose in the courts state regulations that the Supreme Court has sustained but his party now officially opposes? Indeed, would it oppose any reasonable regulations?

Gov. Casey believes that the position of his party, abortion on demand, is "political suicide" in a presidential race.

One question coming out of the Democratic convention is whether the Republican Party will press the Clinton-Gore ticket on the issue of reasonable abortion regulations. In a nation in which 1.6 million abortions take place each year, more than an election is at stake.

Terry Eastland is a resident fellow at the Ethics and Public Policy Center. His new book is "Energy in the Executive: The Case for the Strong Presidency," published by the Free Press.

see EASTLAND, page G4

DONALD RICE

This summer, your Air Force firmly planted one foot in the 21st century. On June 1, the Air Mobility Command and Air Combat Command came into being, succeeding Tactical Air Command Military Airlift Command and Strategic Air Command and ending the artificial division of airmen and air power into separate communities.

The way we had been organized resembled a football team — a good team made up of good athletes — but one that only really got together on game day. In the Persian Gulf war, Iraq's President Saddam Hussein gave us five months of training and two-a-day workouts before kick-off. We may not get that next time. Putting barriers between airmen makes no more sense than putting them between a quarterback and wide receivers, or between offensive linemen and running backs.

Now we're moving all our players for combat clout into one new command — Air Combat Command.

Donald B. Rice is secretary of the Air Force.

Leaner, meaner Air Force

Change, of course, is unsettling. For some emotionally, changing the commands is like moving the Dodgers out of Brooklyn.

We're training them together every day, some in wings that mix different types of aircraft. We're moving our players for mobility — tankers and airlifters — into the new Air Mobility Command. They'll also practice each day under a single commander

so when we need to deploy with a clenched fist or a helping hand, they're ready with unified airpower. The old commands — TAC, MAC and SAC — trained right for their time, and definitely won their big game — the Cold War. All that blocking and tackling paid off. Now, it's a different world with different rules.

More change is under way. On July 1, we completed the merger of two other old commands by activating Air Force Material Command — the cradle-to-grave manager of current and future weapons systems. We've also restructured numbered air forces, eliminated air divisions and given our wings and squadrons an entirely new look. Quality has become the watchword throughout the Air Force as we push power down to the pros who do the day-to-day work.

This is not marginal stuff. Government Executive Magazine said "the re-winging of the Air Force dwarfs any restructuring that occurred during the last decade of mergers, acquisitions, divestitures and downsizings in the private sector." Air Force Material Command alone, if listed in the Fortune 500, would rank in the top five.

Change, of course, is unsettling. For some emotionally, changing the commands is like moving the Dodgers out of Brooklyn. For others it must seem like we're trying to break up the Super Bowl Champs. But most see this for what it is — making the world's best air force even better. As one veteran put it, "I'm seeing 25 years of my life flash by, but in my heart I know it's the right thing." A can-do attitude reflects the thinking of most of the Air Force women and men I've met. They know they're part of history.

All of this reshaping has been guided by a broad strategic planning framework we call Global Reach — Global Power, our vision of what air power can bring to the nation's defense. The reshaping also reflects aggressive moves to incorporate the principles of modern management into every aspect of how we do business. The outcome is a leaner, meaner Air Force — one that is more efficient in peacetime and more lethal in war. With our global power, friends know they are not alone. With our global reach, potential adversaries understand that distance does not mean disinterest.

Renegotiated roles within the party?

What do you expect of this year's Democratic National Convention, I asked ABC's David Brinkley, the most seasoned observer of such affairs to still occupy an anchor's chair, a week before it happened.

"Just what we always get," he growled. "A four-day-long TV commercial. . . . In fact, I have long suggested that the best way to liven up political conventions would be to force both parties to meet at the same time. In the same hall!"

How right he was. Pity the poor reporters who struggled, hustled and toiled through the entire Democratic convention waiting for news to break out.

In the conventional sense of convention coverage, it never did, unless you count how surprisingly well the usually cantankerous Democrats behaved like well-choreographed Republicans. For those of us who admittedly make our business out of rooting out conflict, dissension and divisiveness, the convention provided thin gruel.

By the end, old-timers would notice a significant drop in the number of times we opinion-mongers could haul out that old dependable Will Rogers line: "I belong to no organized political party; I'm a Democrat."

But not everyone was singing the blues over a lack of news. For black delegates, there was news aplenty. This was a different kind of convention for African-Americans, the party's most loyal ethnic bloc, different enough to constitute a sea change in the relationship of blacks to the party and, perhaps, to the presidency.

To put it bluntly, this was a whiter shade of Democrat than the party saw four years ago. The convention had almost 200 fewer African-American delegates than the historic high of 962 four years ago in Atlanta when then-candidate Jesse Jackson was the party's second-highest vote-getter.

As a result, the TV show looked less like a massive civil-rights demonstration than the Atlanta show and more like a suburban prep-school pep rally.

Yet, on the positive side of the scale, though this convention had fewer blacks, the blacks it had had more clout. From Chairman Ron Brown and CEO Alexis Herman, both African-Americans, on down, the \$30 million affair moved more blacks as well as Hispanics and

women into leadership roles as convention managers and as contractors, who received more than \$10 million in contracts.

What passed for suspense came with speculation over how Jesse Jackson and Jerry Brown, standard-bearers of the party's left wing, would behave and how nominee Bill Clinton, whose party this was from top to bottom, would treat them.

But the convention also saw what some viewed as a humbled Jesse Jackson forced by circumstances to offer begrudging support to his rival. Looking almost grandfatherly but still fiery and defiant in his reading glasses, Mr. Jackson gave one of the most compelling speeches of his career as he urged the newly centered party to reach out and find its moral center as well as its political center.

That left former California Gov. Brown, heading up the granola wing of the party, to pick up where Mr. Jackson left off four years ago, re-

fusing to fall into the Clinton chorus line and using his 600 delegates to force his way to the podium for 20 minutes that, by the next night, had become a TV commercial for his continuing "platform in progress" project. Yes, Mr. Brown's 800 number is not going away soon.

Otherwise, Mr. Clinton's ideological rivals checked their egos at the door in the interest of victory. The party's traditional powers stepped aside to let him have his day, perhaps to emerge again if his strategy to woo back runaway white, middle-class Reagan Democrats fails.

But, by week's end, after Ross Perot announced he would not be running for president after all, pressing questions stayed in the air: like how strongly will Mr. Jackson work for Mr. Clinton? How much will he need the black vote? And how much will he need Jesse Jackson's help to get it?

Some black delegates speculated he would need it quite a bit, espe-

cially to shore up black support in the South, where the mother lode of black votes is to be found. As successful as Mr. Clinton has been in drawing most black votes cast, black turnout in this year's Southern primaries fell to about half what it was when Mr. Jackson was on the ballot four years ago.

But Ron Walters, the always quotable Howard University political science professor and adviser to the 1984 Jackson campaign, conceded last week that Mr. Jackson might as well cool his heels.

Mr. Walters expects Mr. Clinton to continue his strategy of pursuing mostly white and middle-class suburbanites. There are a lot more of them and, until the poor register a lot more of their numbers, the middle class has a much bigger turnout, especially since the Perot insurgency has sparked new interest.

Mr. Clinton needs Mr. Jackson's help, but has effectively gone around Mr. Jackson to make most of his ap-

peals directly to black elected officials, church leaders and others. Mr. Jackson also wants Mr. Clinton to win, since his victory would almost ensure statehood for the District of Columbia and a Senate seat for Mr. Jackson.

So black delegates saw a lot of news break out last week. They "renegotiated" their position in the Democratic Party, as Mr. Jackson demanded in the '80s. They helped keep hope alive for the boy from Hope, Ark., who is repackaging the needs of the most needy into a message that can bring disaffected whites back into the party's tent.

If it works, the Democrats win, which is what they are more hungry than usual to do. If he loses, tune in four years from now for the next round of fights. It won't be boring.

The Washington Times

WEDNESDAY, JULY 22, 1992 *

**GEORGIE ANNE
GEYER**

Political vision turning inward

During last week's extravaganza of politics, Bill Clinton spoke of middle America, the struggling middle classes, the poor, the children, of hope and the need for change.

Ross Perot spoke genuinely as a man having the smarts to get out while the getting was good, and George Bush spoke from the wilderness of Wyoming like some disembodied frontier preacher calling the errant back to the political fold.

One hates to be pettish when so many positive developments seem to be coming together. Still, these men spoke of just about everything in the world — except the world. Did it not strike anyone else as strange that there was no mention of America's place in the world — only a persistent and even obsessive looking inward?

Indeed, the only line of Arkansas Gov. Clinton's that even hinted at some vague interest in foreign policy or foreign affairs came when he criticized President Bush for his casual dismissal of the "vision thing." He recounted the old line that when there is no vision, the people perish.

As a matter of fact, the entire Clinton strategy has focused on America's ills. This is all right, as part of the picture, but it will bear poor witness in the future that is already upon us.

It does not take any genius to see that the economies and industries of the world are so intertwined and interconnected today that there are

few national economic issues anymore; that the most important foreign policy issues, such as the environment and Third World illegal immigration, cross borders; and that we desperately need a highly trained class of workers, adept at languages and world history, to work in these no longer "foreign" environments.

Ironically, just at the time when the world calls on the United States as the only remaining superpower to take full part (if not lead) in this new era, our most influential politicians say nothing about our country's larger role.

What, for instance, would Mr. Perot's foreign policy have looked like? We know very little because he never addressed it.

But what we do know now of his personality — his quickness to use security forces and private investigators, his prickliness at being challenged, his xenophobia on Mexico — indicate that he would have had a capricious foreign policy.

Also, and not incidentally, a man who would inspire a million eager workers and in one hour leave them in the lurch is not exactly the kind of man you want dealing with foreign leaders, making treaties that must stick and greeting the crowds in Berlin and Tokyo.

Mr. Bush, of course, is a more known quantity in foreign affairs, but he in many ways remains mysterious, too.

We know his strengths. He is personally gracious and cultured. He can show real courage, and even vision, as in turning down the Israeli \$10 billion loan demands and thus helping to transform Israeli politics.

But the president also has a peevish, anything-for-politics side that poisons the moments of true vision that he really has. And his quite laudable conceptualizations, such as the "New World Order," remain hanging in the air because he never pauses to, well, order them.

Finally, what does Gov. Clinton think about foreign affairs? Again, no one really knows because he has so little addressed it. All we really know is that Al Gore would be tough on the environment, which is good, and that the Democratic platform calls for rolling back the Bush record on the Middle East, which is bad.

And so, the Democrats are telling us this is an age of realism and inner reconstruction. That's fine. But nothing at home can be realistically reconstructed except in terms of living in the world. And, woefully, nobody is talking with any vision about how that must be done.

Georgie Anne Geyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1992

Dear Mary,

Just back from the latest round of summit and campaign travel, I found your July 8 letter on my desk.

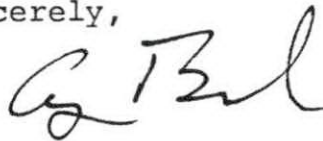
You were right on all counts about the bashing, from the Democratic Convention (on caring) to the World AIDS Congress (on immigration).

Thanks for the update and suggestions, which I'll be sure to share with our policy folks.

Take care, and I look forward to your next assessment. Hope your time in Europe was fruitful and that you had a wonderful "adult Mediterranean trip" with the family.

See you in Houston.

Sincerely,



Ms. Mary D. Fisher
3075 Hampton Place
Boca Raton, Florida 33434

GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

July 22, 1992

Dear Bob,

Thanks for your wonderful note about the 20/20 interview with Barbara Walters. I thought it went well, but I can't take all the credit. Barbara did her usual fantastic job.

It's nice when friends check in with encouragement. It's also good to hear that the Party will be pulling together in Lubbock.

Barbara and I are grateful for the friendship and support from both you and Marion.

Sincerely,



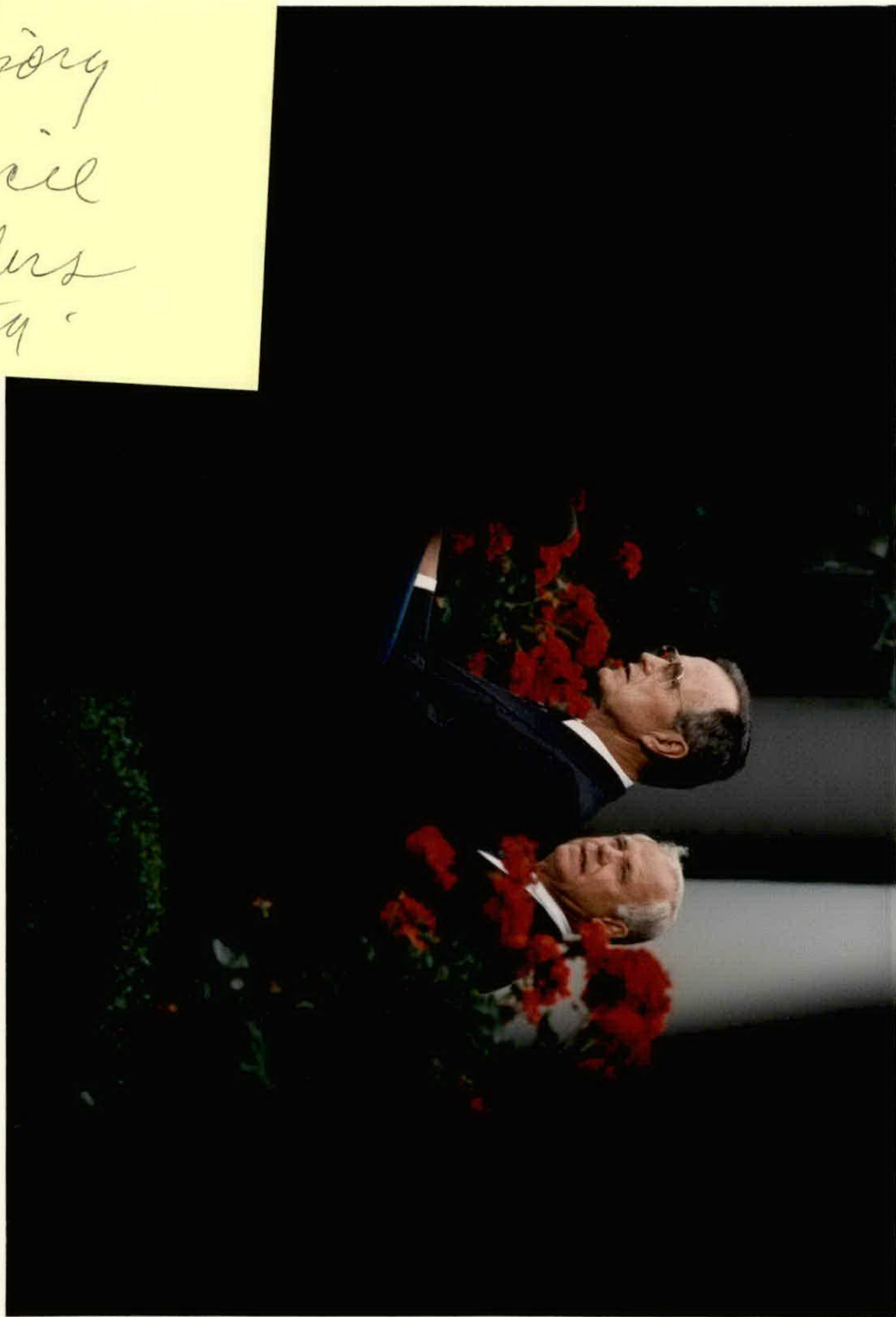
GEORGE BUSH

WASHINGTON

Mr. Robert W. Blake
Post Office Box 2584
Lubbock, Texas 79408



Drug
advisory
Council
Leaders
mtg.



OFFICIAL WHITE HOUSE PHOTO 22 JUL 92 86 P033776 -004