

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: 90700
Folder ID Number: 90700-002

Folder Title:
Friday, July 24, 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. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Brookville, Ohio; redaction. (1 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
02. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Brookville, Ohio; redactions. (2 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
03. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Columbia, Missouri; redaction. (1 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
04. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Columbia, Missouri; redactions. (3 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
05. Diagram	University of Missouri, Hearnes Center; contains security information. (1 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
06. Diagram	University of Missouri, Hearnes Center; contains security information. (1 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
07. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Kennebunkport, Maine; redaction. (1 pp.)	July 1992	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
08. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Kennebunkport, Maine; redactions. (3 pp.)	July 1992	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Page 1 of 2

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, July 24, 1992 [3]

Pinksheet Number: RML16005

OA/ID Number: 90700-002

Date Closed: 11/18/2024

FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Processed by: Matt Lee

Re-review Case #:

Processed by:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by:

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Doc. No. / Type	Subject/Title	Date	Restriction	Classification
09. List	White House Room List for Kennebunkport, Maine; redactions. (1 pp.)	July 1992	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	
10. Letter	Shirley A. Joiner to Patricia Presock, Re: Bush Presidential Library Center; Personal Identifiable Information redacted. (1 pp.)	07/14/92	(b)(6)	

Page 2 of 2

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Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

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OA/ID Number: 90700-002

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FOIA/Sys Case #: 2009-0166-S

Re-review Case #:

P-2/P-5 Review Case #:

Processed by: Matt Lee

Processed by:

Processed by:



**THE TRIP OF
THE PRESIDENT
TO
BROOKVILLE, OHIO;
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
& KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE**

July 24-27, 1992

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION



BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

SCHEDULE

1

2

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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P-2/P-5 Review Case #:	Disposition Date:
AR Case #:	MR Case #:
AR Disposition:	MR Disposition:
AR Disposition Date:	MR Disposition Date:

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]
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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)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
BROOKVILLE, OHIO
JULY 24, 1992

EVENTS:

Brookville Community Picnic
Address Brookville Community
Ohio GOP Leadership Meeting

DRESS:

Men - Casual (Picnic/Address)
Women - Casual (Picnic/Address)

CONTACTS:

Office of Presidential Advance
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565
Trip Coordinator
Suzanne Faulk - 202/456-7563
Brookville, Ohio Signal
- 513/454-4900
- * 96-36000

ADVANCE:

Lyn D. Kennelly	- LEAD	Hopson Nance	- SITE
Greg Jenkins	- PRESS	Paul Fichtner	- SITE
[X] [X] [X] [X] [X] [X] [X] [X]	- USSS	Alan Minton	- SITE
Russ Cancilla	- MIL. AIDE	Peter Gaillard	- PRESS
Doug Furness	- WPCA		
Greg Page	- AFI		

WEATHER:

Cloudy/Chance of Rain/Low 80's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

BROOKVILLE, OHIO

JULY 24, 1992

GUESTS AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

7:35 am Baggage Call. Please place all unlocked baggage outside Room 89 1/2, OBOB at this time.

9:30 am Vans depart West Basement en route Andrews Air Force Base.

9:30 am Those with own transportation and baggage should arrive Distinguished Visitor's Lounge, Andrews Air Force Base at this time for check-in.

9:50 am Those with own transportation and without baggage should arrive Distinguished Visitor's Lounge, Andrews Air Force Base at this time for check-in.

10:25 am
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT departs Andrews Air Force Base en route Dayton, Ohio.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 25 Minutes)
(Time Change: None)
(Interchange: Yes C-9/C-20)
(Food Service: Breakfast)

11:50 am
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Dayton International Airport, Dayton, Ohio and proceeds to Motorcade.

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

Met by:

The Honorable and Mrs. George Volnovich (Janet)
Governor of Ohio

The Honorable and Mrs. Mike DeWine (Fran)
Lieutenant Governor of Ohio

The Honorable Chuck Horn
Ohio State Senator

Mr. Pete Davis
3rd Congressional District Candidate

Mr. Gary Cates
Ohio Bush/Quayle '92 Regional Chairman

Ms. Donna Moon
Montgomery County Commission President

Ms. Martha Moore
Republican National Committeewoman

Mr. Bob Bennett
Ohio Republican Chairman

Daily Points of Light Greeters:

Mr. and Ms. Kelly Hackett (Blaine)
Volunteer, Specialink and 696th Daily Point of
Light

Mr. William Keith Gully
Volunteer and 328th Daily Point

Ms. Janet Kohler
Friend of Mr. Gully

Ms. Melissa Ann Rohrbach
Volunteer and 410th Daily Point of Light

Mr. Bob Rohrbach
Brother of Ms. Rohrbach

Mr. James Telias
Co-Director, Community Action Program, St. Xavier
High School and 452nd Daily Point of Light

Mr. David Clapp
Co-Director, Community Action Program, St. Xavier
High School and 452nd Daily Point of Light

Ms. Rebecca Faircloth
Volunteer, Madisonville Emergency Assistance
Center and 489th Daily Point of Light

Mr. Gary Faircloth
Volunteer, Madisonville Emergency Assistance
Center and 489th Daily Point of Light

Mr. Obahiah Williams
Founder and Volunteer, O.W. Motivational, Inc. and
621st Daily Point of Light

Mr. Ron Holstein
Assistant School Superintendent and 565th Daily
Point of Light

Mr. Kevin Hern
Student Volunteer and 565th Daily Point of Light

Mr. Nelson Pettway
Resident, St. Joseph Home and 778th Daily Point of
Light

Ms. Mary Waldbillig
Volunteer and 778th Daily Point of Light

Mr. Michael Nysgren
Youth Director, Teen Volunteers, Ginghamburg
United Methodist Church and 838th Daily Point of
Light

Ms. Monica Stratman
Teen Volunteer and 838th Daily Point of Light

12:00 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
Dayton International Airport en route
Brockville, Ohio.

Page Three

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
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MEMORANDUM ASSIGNMENTS:

(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

Page Four

(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Brookville Golden Gate Park, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Viewing Areas and/or Holding Room.

Please board Motorcade at 1:15 pm for transport to Dayton International Airport.

EVENT: BROOKVILLE COMMUNITY PICNIC

EXPANDED POOL

12:20 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Village of Brookville Golden Gate Park and begins participation in Brookville Community Picnic Activities.

Met by:

The Honorable Michael A. Duncan
Mayor, Municipality of Brookville

Ms. Pam Hall
President, Brookville Chamber of Commerce

1:00 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Picnic Activities and proceeds to Stage.

NOTE: A farm hay-wagon will be used as the Stage.

Page Five

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

EVENT: ADDRESS BROOKVILLE COMMUNITY

OPEN PRESS

BRIEF REMARKS

1:02 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives on Stage and begins Brief Remarks.

1:12 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks, departs Stage and begins participation in Tree Planting Ceremony.

NOTE: Mayor Michael Duncan will present THE PRESIDENT with a Proclamation announcing July 24, 1992, as "George Bush Day", and ask THE PRESIDENT to participate in planting a Sugar Maple tree in commemoration of the day.

1:15 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Tree Planting Ceremony and proceeds to Motorcade.

1:20 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs Village of Brookville Golden Gate Park en route Dayton International Airport.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

Page Six

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Dayton International Airport, Guests and Staff will be escorted to Holding Room.

Please board plane at 2:15 pm for departure en route Columbia, Missouri.

1:40 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Dayton International Airport and proceeds to Holding Room.

Met by:

Mr. and Mrs. Don Kaeley (Sharon)
Owner, Wright Brothers Aero., Inc.

1:45 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Holding Room and holds briefly.

1:55 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Holding Room and proceeds to Wright Brothers Aero Hangar.

EVENT: OHIO GOP LEADERSHIP MEETING

CLOSED PRESS

BRIEF REMARKS

2:00 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Wright Brothers Aero Hangar and begins participation in Ohio GOP Leadership Meeting.

Page Seven

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

2:10 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Meeting,
departs Hangar and proceeds to board Air Force
One.

NOTE: Six Police Photos will be taken inside
Wright Brothers Aero Lobby at this time.

2:20 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Dayton, Ohio en route
(E.D.T.) Columbia, Missouri.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 30 Minutes)
(Time Change: Back 1 Hour)
(Interchange: Yes C-9/C-20/Press. Plane)
(Food Service: Lunch)

Page Eight

SCENARIOS

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
BROOKVILLE, OHIO
JULY 24, 1992

EVENT: Brookville Community Picnic
DATE: Friday, July 24, 1992
TIME: 12:20 pm - 1:00 pm
LOCATION: Village of Brookville, Golden Gate Park
ATTENDEES: 5,000 General Public
PRESS: Open (Softball Game)
Expanded Pool
SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Village of Brookville,
Golden Gate Park and is met by The Honorable
Michael A. Duncan, Mayor, Municipality of Brookville and Ms. Pam
Hall, President, Brookville Chamber of Commerce. Following the
Greetings, THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Softball Field and begins
participation in Softball Game. THE PRESIDENT concludes
participation in Softball Game and proceeds to Horseshoe Pit
Area. THE PRESIDENT arrives Horseshoe Pit Area and begins
participation in Horseshoe Game. (NOTE: Surrounding the
Horseshoe Pits are Picnic Tables and a Food Booth where Barbecue
Sandwiches can be purchased.) THE PRESIDENT concludes
participation in Horseshoe Game and Barbecue Picnic, and proceeds
to view Antique Tractors en route Stage. Stage is an antique
John Deere Hay Wagon.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
BROOKVILLE, OHIO
JULY 24, 1992

EVENT: Address Brookville Community
DATE: Friday, July 24, 1992
TIME: 1:00 p.m. - 1:20 p.m.
LOCATION: Village of Brookville, Golden Gate Park
ATTENDEES: 5000
PRESS: Open
SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Stage Area and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Brief Remarks from onstage by Ms. Pam Hall, President, Brookville Chamber of Commerce. THE PRESIDENT proceeds onstage and gives Brief Remarks (Enter Stage Right). THE PRESIDENT concludes Brief Remarks, departs Stage (Exit Stage Right) and begins participation in Tree Planting Ceremony. (NOTE: Mayor Michael Duncan will present THE PRESIDENT with a Proclamation announcing July 24, 1992, as "George Bush Day", and ask THE PRESIDENT to participate in planting a Sugar Maple tree in commemoration of the day.) THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Tree Planting Ceremony, proceeds to Motorcade and departs Village of Brookville, Golden Gate Park en route Dayton International Airport.

The Backdrop will be two antique Steam Engines and the antique Tractor Displays.

The Press are located straight-on at 70 feet.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

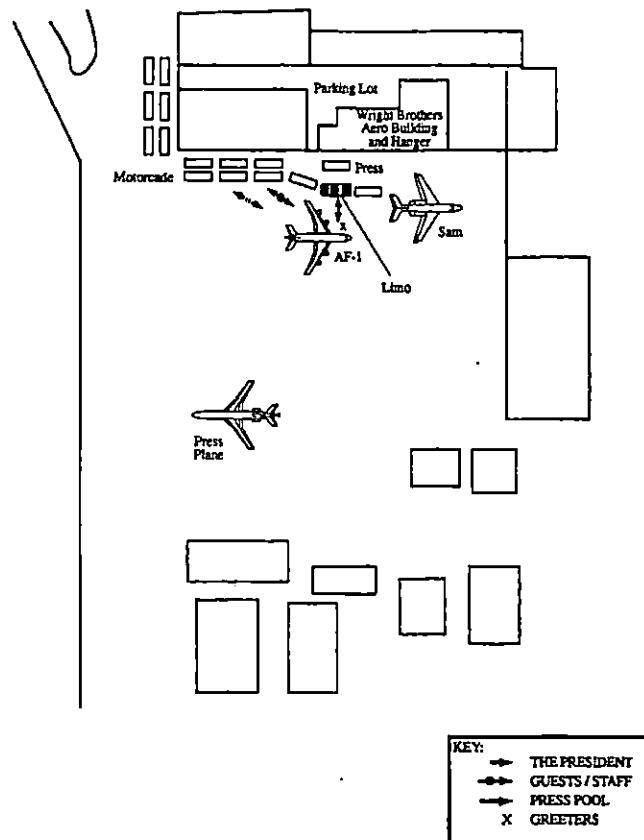
VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
BROOKVILLE, OHIO
JULY 24, 1992

EVENT: Ohio GOP Leadership Meeting
DATE: Friday, July 24, 1992
TIME: 2:00 pm - 2:10 pm
LOCATION: Wright Brothers Aero Terminal Hangar, Dayton
International Airport
ATTENDEES: 25 Ohio Republican Leaders
PRESS: Closed
SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Wright Brothers Aero
Hangar and is met by: Mr. and Mrs. Don Kesley
(Sharon), Owner, Wright Brothers, Aero, Inc. Following the
Greetings, THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Holding Room. THE PRESIDENT
arrives Holding Room and holds briefly. THE PRESIDENT departs
holding room and proceeds to Hangar. THE PRESIDENT arrives
Hangar and begins participation in Meeting. THE PRESIDENT
concludes participation in Meeting, departs Hangar and proceeds
to board Air Force One.

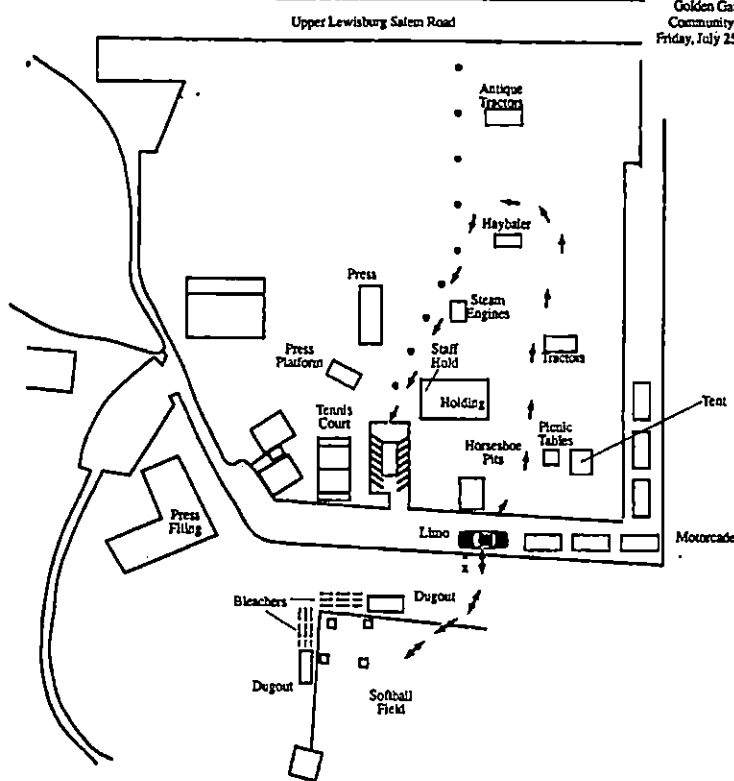
The backdrop for THE PRESIDENT's remarks will be blue drape and
the Presidential and American Flags. Remarks will be delivered
from a hand-held microphone. Audience will be seated.

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TAB A
 DAYTON, OHIO
 Dayton International Airport
 Arrival/Departure Diagram
 Friday, July 24, 1992

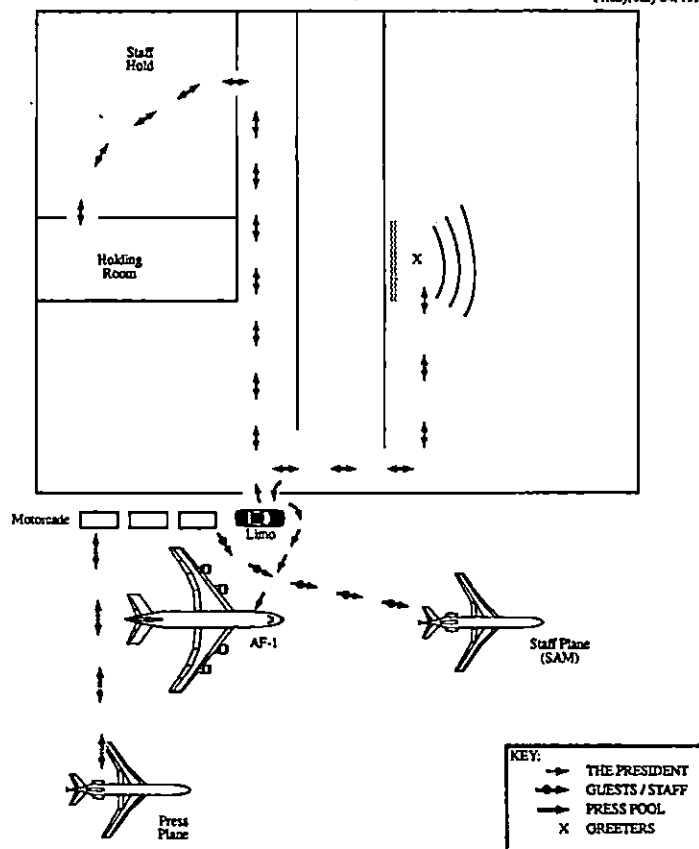


TAB B
 BROOKVILLE, OHIO
 Golden Gate Park
 Community Picnic
 Friday, July 25, 1992



KEY:
 → THE PRESIDENT
 ● GUESTS / STAFF
 → PRESS POOL
 X GREETERS

TAB C
 DAYTON, OHIO
 Dayton International Airport
 Wright Brothers Aero Terminal
 Ohio Victory '92 Leadership Meeting
 Friday, July 24, 1992



BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

SCHEDULE

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT
FOR
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
JULY 24, 1992

EVENTS:

Informal Roundtable Discussion Missouri Families
Attend Show-Me State Games Opening Ceremony

DRESS:

Men - Business Suit
Women - Day Dress

CONTACTS:

Presidential Advance Office
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7563

Trip Coordinator
Kris Goodwin - 202/456-7563

Columbia, Missouri Signal
- 314/446-3800
- *96 38 000

ADVANCE:

Bob Krill	• LEAD	Kevin Hart	- SITE
Topper Ray	• PRESS	Jamie Tucker	- SITE
(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(F)	• USSS	Jeremy Carroll	- SITE
Rich Williams	• WHCA	Margot McInnis	- PRESS SITE
Jake Ross	• MIL. AIDE		

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy/Mid 80's

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT

FOR

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

JULY 24, 1992

2:50 pm
(C.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Columbia Regional Airport,
Columbia, Missouri and proceeds to Motorcade.

Met by:

The Honorable and Mrs. John Ashcroft (Janet)
Governor of Missouri

Andrew Ashcroft
Son of Governor Ashcroft

Mr. John Epple, Jr.
Missouri GOP State Committee Member

Mrs. Roberta Capps Moore
Missouri GOP National Committeewoman

Mr. Hillard Selks, Jr.
Missouri GOP National Committeeman

Mrs. Mary Jo Smith
Boone County GOP Chairman

Mr. Harvey Tettlebaum
Missouri GOP State Treasurer

Mr. Tom Mendenhall
Missouri Bush/Quayle Volunteer Coordinator

Mr. Russell Brown
Missouri Bush/Quayle Supporter

Mr. Benny Thomas
Missouri Bush/Quayle Supporter

Mr. Rick Hardy
U.S. House Candidate, 9th Congressional District

Point of Light Greeters:

Mr. and Mrs. Rollin Shaw (Thora)
Volunteer, Jasper County Jail and 689th Daily
Point of Light

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(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(F)	(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(F)
	(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(F)

(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Shelter Gardens,
Guests and Staff will be escorted
to Holding Room/Staff Viewing Area.

Please board Motorcade no later than
3:35 pm for transport to University
of Missouri.

3:25 pm

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft,
arrives Shelter Gardens and proceeds to
Roundtable Area.

Met by:

Mr. Gus Lehr
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer, Shelter
Insurance Companies

Page Three

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

Mr. Mike McMillen
Director, Public Affairs, Shelter Insurance
Companies

EVENT: INFORMAL ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION WITH MISSOURI
FAMILIES

OPEN PRESS

3:30 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft,
arrives Roundtable Area and begins participation
in Roundtable Discussion.

3:55 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in
Roundtable Discussion, and, accompanied by
Governor Ashcroft, departs Roundtable Area and
proceeds to Motorcade.

4:00 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
Shelter Gardens en route Hearnes Arena,
University of Missouri.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival.

(Drive Time: 10 Minutes)

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Hearnes Arena, Staff and
Guests will be escorted to Holding Room/
Staff Viewing Area.

Please reboard Motorcade no later than
4:55 pm for transport to Columbia Regional
Airport.

Page Four

4:10 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft, arrives Hearnes Arena, University of Missouri, and proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area.

Met by:

The Honorable Mary Ann McCollum
Mayor of Columbia, Missouri

Dr. Gerald Brouder
Chancellor, University of Missouri

4:12 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft, Mayor McCollum and Chancellor Brouder, arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly.

NOTE: Mayor McCollum and Chancellor Brouder are announced onto Stage at this time.

All remaining Dais Participants are on Stage at this time.

EVENT: ATTEND SHOW-ME STATE GAMES OPENING CEREMONY

OPEN PRESS

RUFFLES AND FLOURISHES

OFF-STAGE ANNOUNCEMENT

HAIL TO THE CHIEF

REMARKS

ATHLETES OATH

4:14 pm THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft, is announced onto Stage, proceeds to Seat, and remains Standing.

4:15 pm Mr. Joseph Moseley, Event Master of Ceremonies, makes brief remarks.

4:17 pm Presentation of Colors.

Page Five

4:20 pm Singing of National Anthem by
Ms. Stephanie Patterson, Miss Missouri,
1992

4:22 pm Pledge of Allegiance led by Jordan
Rentschler, Girl Scout Troop #382 and
Greg Mees, Boy Scout Troop #4

4:24 pm Chancellor Brouder makes welcoming
remarks.

4:26 pm Mr. Gary Filbert, Director, Show-Me
State Games, makes brief remarks and
introduces Governor Ashcroft.

4:28 pm THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by
Governor Ashcroft.

4:30 pm THE PRESIDENT Remarks.

4:45 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks and remains
Standing.

4:46 pm Mr. Moseley asks Athletes to
stand for Oath.

NOTE: THE PRESIDENT proceeds to Oath
Stand in center of the Audience
on Arena Floor at this time.

4:48 pm THE PRESIDENT administers Athletes Oath.

4:50 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes Administration of
Athletes Oath, departs Oath Stand, and proceeds to
Podium (on Stage).

NOTE: Runners light "Olympic" Torch
at this time.

Page Six

4:52 pm THE PRESIDENT declares "Games Open" and remains
standing at Podium.
NOTE: A Balloon drop will occur at this time.

4:55 pm THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in:
Show-Me State Games Opening Ceremony, departs
Stage, and proceeds to Motorcade.
NOTE: Six Police Photos will be taken
at this time.

5:00 pm THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs
University of Missouri en route Columbia
Regional Airport.

MOTORCADE ASSIGNMENTS:

Same as on Arrival, except:

XXXXXX

XXXXXX

(Drive Time: 20 Minutes)

5:20 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Columbia Regional Airport
and proceeds to board Air Force One (C-20).

5:25 pm THE PRESIDENT departs Columbia, Missouri en
(C.D.T.) route Sanford, Maine.

(Flying Time: 2 Hours 45 Minutes)

(Time Change: Ahead 1 Hour)

(Interchange: Yes C/9-C/20)

(Food Service: Dinner)

Page Seven

SCENARIOS

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BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT
TO
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
JULY 24, 1992

EVENT: Roundtable Discussion with Missouri Families

DATE: July 24, 1992

TIME: 3:30 pm - 3:55 pm

LOCATION: Shelter Gardens Park

ATTENDEES: 4 Missouri Families and 6 Members of the
President's Urban Family Commission

PRESS: Open Press

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Shelter Gardens and is met
by: Mr. Gus Lehm, Chairman and Chief Executive
Officer, Shelter Insurance Companies; and Mr. Mike McMillen,
Director of Public Affairs, Shelter Insurance Companies.
Following Greetings, THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by The Honorable
John Ashcroft, Governor of Missouri, proceeds to Roundtable Area.
THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft, arrives
Roundtable Area and begins participation in Roundtable
Discussion. (NOTE: Governor Ashcroft will moderate Discussion.)
THE PRESIDENT concludes participation in Roundtable Discussion,
and, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft, departs Roundtable Area
and proceeds to Motorcade. THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and
departs Shelter Gardens en route Hearnes Arena, University of
Missouri.

The setting for this event is a family park with a One-Room
Schoolhouse as the Backdrop. The participants will be seated at
picnic tables in an open "U" shape.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

VISIT OF THE PRESIDENT

TO

COLUMBIA, MISSOURI

JUNE 24, 1992

EVENT: Attend Show-Me State Games Opening Ceremony

DATE: Friday, July 24, 1992

TIME: 4:15 pm - 4:55 pm

LOCATION: Hearnes Center, University of Missouri

ATTENDEES: 7,000 Game Participants and Families

PRESS: Open

SCENARIO: THE PRESIDENT arrives Hearnes Center and is met by: The Honorable Mary Ann McCollum, Mayor of Columbia; and Dr. Jerry Brouder, Chancellor, University of Missouri. Following the Greetings, THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by The Honorable John Ashcroft, Governor of Missouri; Mayor McCollum; and Chancellor Brouder, proceeds to Off-Stage Announcement Area. THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft, Mayor McCollum, and Chancellor Brouder, arrives Off-Stage Announcement Area and holds briefly. (NOTE: Mayor McCollum and Chancellor Brouder are announced onto Dais at this time. Remaining Dais participants are already on Stage.) THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by Governor Ashcroft, is announced onto stage to Full Honors by The Columbia Brass Band, proceeds to Seat, and remains Standing (Enter Stage Right). Mr. Joseph Moreley, Event Master of Ceremonies, instructs audience to rise for the National Anthem and the Pledge of Allegiance. (NOTE: The Columbia Fire Department Color Guard will present the Colors at this time.) Ms. Stephanie Patterson, Miss Missouri, sings National Anthem. Upon conclusion of National Anthem, Jordan Rentschler, Girl Scout Troop #382, and Greg Mass, Boy Scout Troop #4, lead audience in Pledge of Allegiance. Following the Pledge, Chancellor Brouder proceeds to Podium, welcomes Audience and concludes with introduction of Mr. Gary Filbeck, Director, Show-

Me State Games. Mr. Filbert gives brief remarks and concludes with introduction of Governor Ashcroft. THE PRESIDENT is introduced for Remarks by Governor Ashcroft. THE PRESIDENT Remarks. THE PRESIDENT concludes Remarks, departs Stage, and proceeds to Oath Stand (Exit Stage Right). (NOTE: Oath Stand is located in the center of the Audience with a stand-up microphone.) THE PRESIDENT arrives Oath Stand and administers "Athlete's Oath." (NOTE: THE PRESIDENT will read Oath, which is then repeated by Participants.) Upon conclusion of Oath, THE PRESIDENT departs Oath Stand, returns to Dais, and proceeds to Podium (Enter Stage Right). "Olympic Torch" is lit at this time. Following Torch lighting, THE PRESIDENT officially declares The Games open. (NOTE: A Balloon Drop will occur at this time). Upon conclusion of Balloon Drop, THE PRESIDENT departs Stage and proceeds to Motorcade. (NOTE: Six Police Photos will be taken at this time.) THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and departs University of Missouri en route Columbia Regional Airport.

The Backdrop for the Address is a black theater curtain. A 4 x 16 green and gold banner is mounted overhead, reading "University of Missouri hosts The Show-Me State Games, Columbia, Missouri." Behind the Podium on Stage are two sets of bleachers with 100 Game Participants.

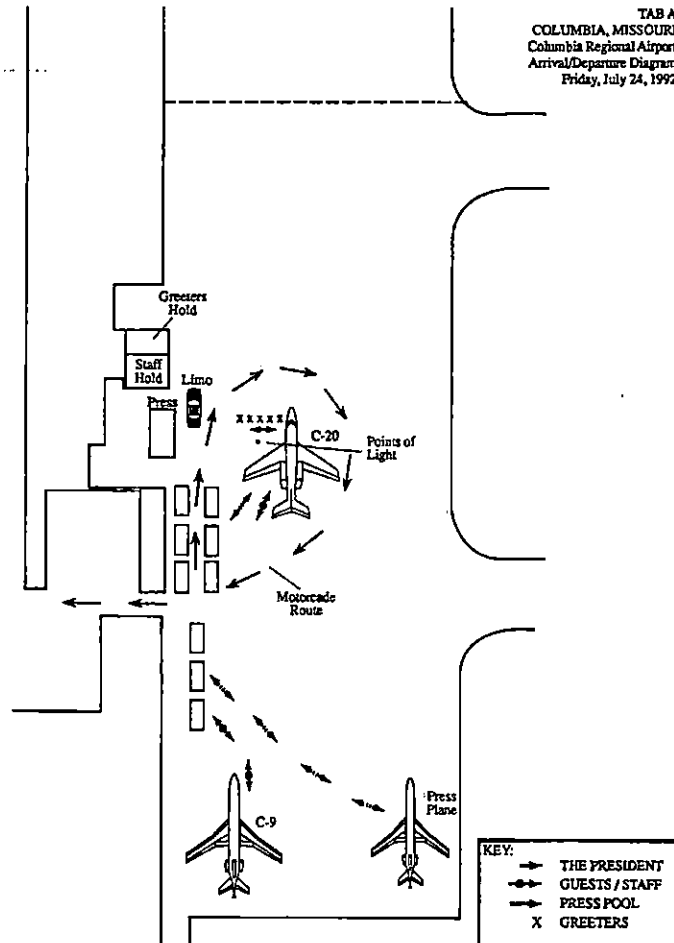
The Press Platform is located straight-on at 60 feet.

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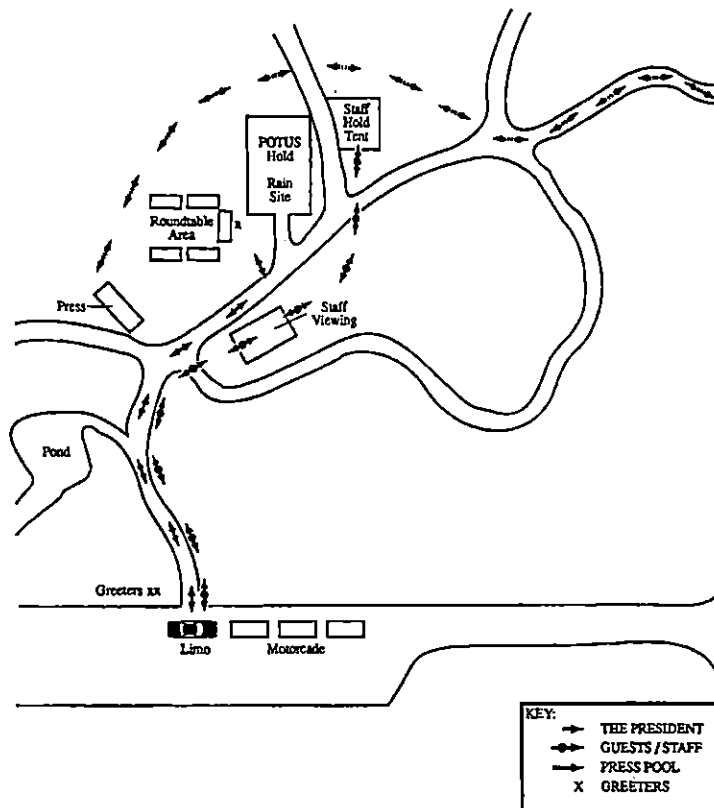
DIAGRAMS

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

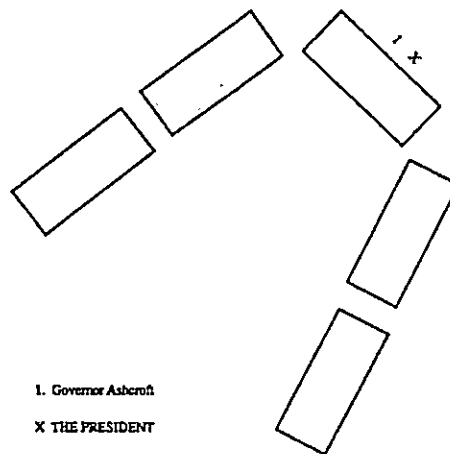
TAB A
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
Columbia Regional Airport
Arrival/Departure Diagram
Friday, July 24, 1992



TAB B
 COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
 Shelter Gardens
 Roundtable Discussion with
 Missouri Families
 Arrival/Departure Diagram
 Friday, July 24, 1992



TAB C
COLUMBIA, MISSOURI
Shelter Gardens
Roundtable Discussion with Missouri Families
Seating Diagram
Friday, July 24, 1992



KEY:
→ THE PRESIDENT

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
05. Diagram	University of Missouri, Hearnes Center; contains security information. (1 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
Office: Office of the President
Series: Daily Files
Subseries:
WHORM Cat.:
File Location: Friday, July 24, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 11/18/2024	OA/ID Number: 90700-002
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)]

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

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.

(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

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
06. Diagram	University of Missouri, Hearnes Center; contains security information. (1 pp.)	07/24/92	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, July 24, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 11/18/2024	OA/ID Number: 90700-002
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)]

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

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

SCHEDULE

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
07. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Kennebunkport, Maine; redaction. (1 pp.)	July 1992	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, July 24, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 11/18/2024	OA/ID Number: 90700-002
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)]

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

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH
FOR
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE
JULY 24 - 27, 1992

EVENTS:

No Events Scheduled

DRESS:

Men - Casual
Women - Casual

CONTACTS:

Office of Presidential Advance
Ed Murnane - 202/456-7565

Trip Coordinator
Suzanne Faulk - 202/456-7565

Kennebunkport, Maine Signal - 207/967-5200
- 996 40 000

ADVANCE:

Dale Jenkins - LEAD
Kelley Gannon - PRESS
[(b)(7)(C), (b)(7)(D), (b)(7)(F)] - USSS
Mike Gould - MIL. AIDE
Dave Jatkiewicz - MECA
Milt Green - API
John Thomas - ROK

WEATHER:

Partly Cloudy, showers/low 70's

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
08. Schedule	Schedule of the President for Kennebunkport, Maine; redactions. (3 pp.)	July 1992	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, July 24, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 11/18/2024	OA/ID Number: 90700-002
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)]

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

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(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

SCHEDULE OF THE PRESIDENT AND MRS. BUSH

FOR

KNOXBOROUGHPORT, MAINE

JULY 24 - 27, 1992

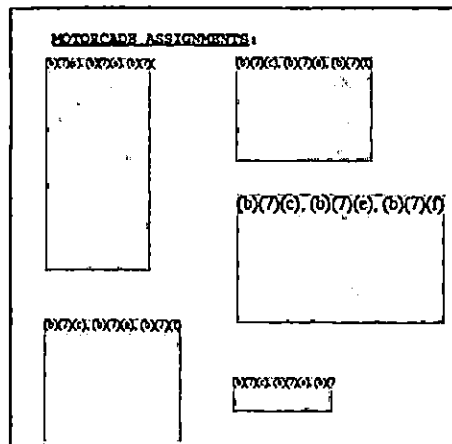
Friday, July 24, 1992

9:10 pm
(E.D.T.)

THE PRESIDENT arrives Sanford Airport, Sanford
Maine and proceeds to Motorcade.

9:20 pm

THE PRESIDENT boards Motorcade and
departs Sanford Airport en route Walker's Point.



(Drive Time: 25 Minutes)

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Upon arrival at Walker's Point
Guests and Staff will be transported to
Nonantum Portside Resort, Shawmut Inn,
and Lodge at Kennebunk.

9:45 pm THE PRESIDENT arrives Walker's Point
for RON.

NOTE: Mrs. Bush meets THE PRESIDENT at
Walker's Point.

RON Kennebunkport, Maine

Saturday, July 25, 1992

No Events Scheduled.

RON Kennebunkport, Maine

Sunday, July 26, 1992

No Events Scheduled.

RON Kennebunkport, Maine

Monday, July 27, 1992

GUEST AND STAFF INSTRUCTIONS:

Washington, D.C.:

4:45 am Vans depart West Basement en
route Andrews Air Force Base.

Page Two

5:05 am Guests and Staff with own transportation should arrive Distinguished Visitor's Lounge, Andrews Air Force Base, at this time for check-in.

5:50 am SAM 28000 departs Andrews Air Force Base.

7:05 am SAM 28000 arrives Pease Air National Guard Base.

Kennebunkport, Maine:

6:15 am Baggage Call. Please place all unlocked baggage outside your room at this time.

7:30 am Guests and Staff not manifested on Marine One or Nighthawk II should board vans at Nonantum Portside Resort for transport to Pease Air National Guard Base.

8:05 am Guests and Staff manifested on Marine One and Nighthawk II should board vans at Nonantum Portside Resort for transport to Walker's Point Landing Zone.

8:30 am

THE PRESIDENT boards Marine One and departs Walker's Point en route Pease Air National Guard Base.

NOTE: Mrs. Bush remains in Kennebunkport, Maine.

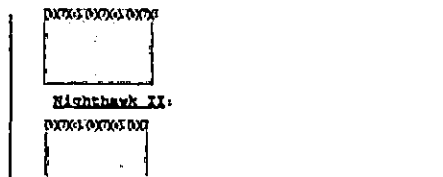
Six Police Photos will be taken at this time.

HELICOPTER ASSIGNMENTS

Marine One:

(b)(7)(C)(b)(7)(D)(b)(7)(F)

Page Three



(Flying Time: 25 Minutes)

8:55 am THE PRESIDENT arrives Pease Air National Guard
and proceeds to board Air Force One.

Met by:

Col. Robert P. Francœur
Vice Commander, Pease Air National Guard

Mr. Michael D. Agostino
Honorary Mayor of Pease

9:05 am THE PRESIDENT departs Portsmouth, New Hampshire,
(E.D.T.) en route Grand Rapids, Michigan.

(Flying Time: 1 Hour 50 Minutes)
(Interchange: No)
(Time Change: None)
(Food Service: Breakfast)

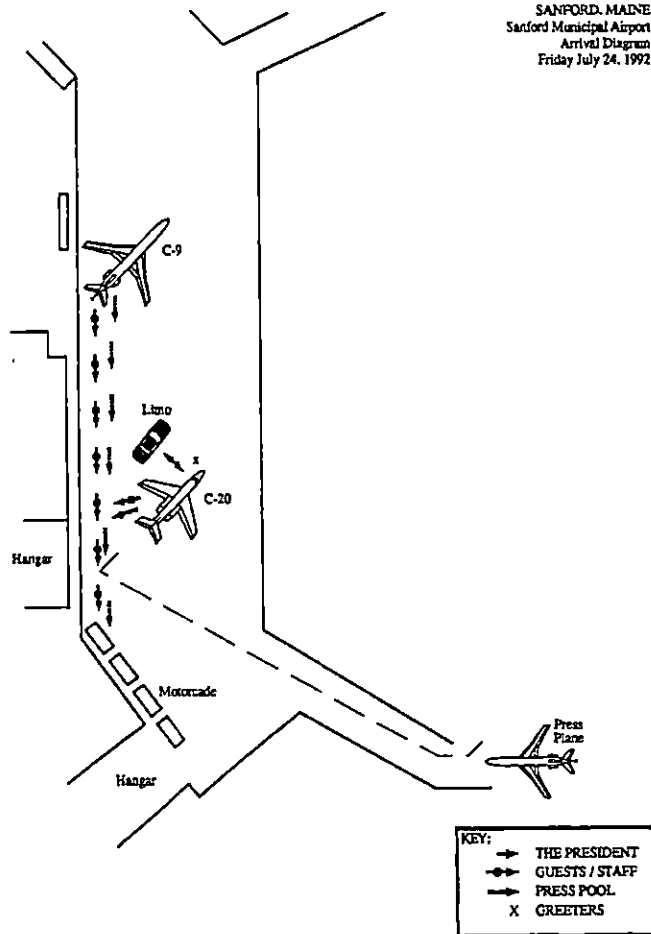
Page Four

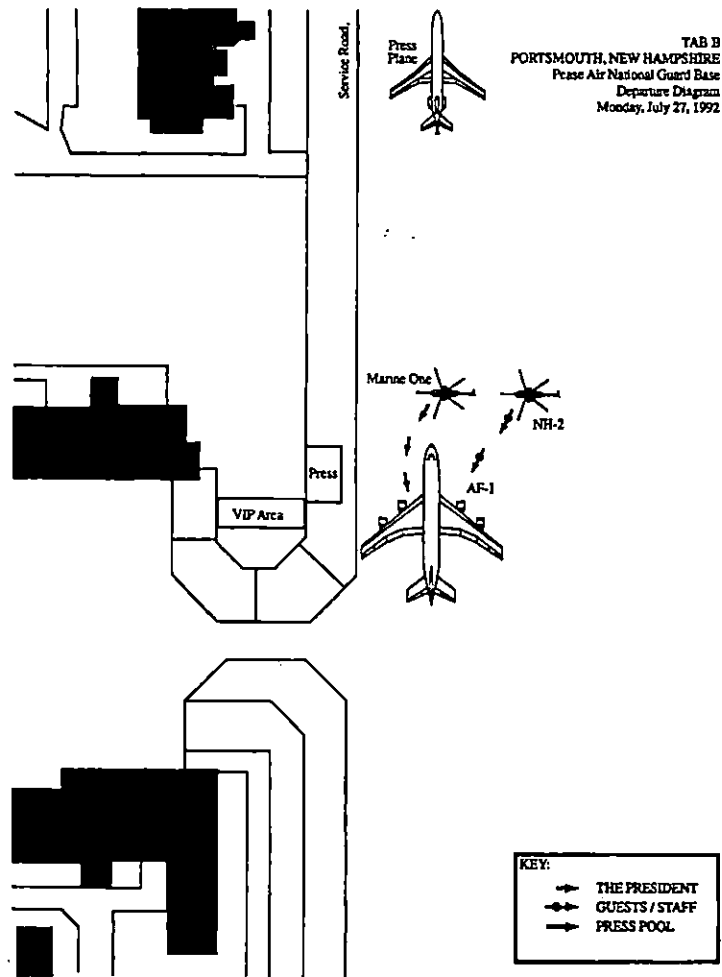
BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

DIAGRAMS

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

TAB A
 SANFORD, MAINE
 Sanford Municipal Airport
 Arrival Diagram
 Friday July 24, 1992





BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

ROOM LIST

BUSH LIBRARY PHOTOCOPY - PRESERVATION

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
09. List	White House Room List for Kennebunkport, Maine; redactions. (1 pp.)	July 1992	(b)(7)(c), (b)(7)(e), (b)(7)(f)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, July 24, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 11/18/2024	OA/ID Number: 90700-002
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)]

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

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

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(b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

WHITE HOUSE ROOM LIST

FOR

KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

JULY 24 - 27, 1992

OFFICE	HOTEL	ROOM	DROP
Staff Office	Nonantum	168-169	40-220
Press Advance Office	Nonantum	169	40-224
NSC Office	Nonantum	366-367	40-286/7
USSS Command Post	USSS House		XXXXXX
WHCA Comm. Center	WHCA House		40-242
Security Room	Residence		XXXXXX
Press Office	Shawmut Inn	113	40-228/9
Press Secretary's Office	Shawmut Inn	110	40-227
Filing Center	Shawmut Inn	Seeley House	
Travel Office	Shawmut Inn	113	40-217

LAST NAME	FIRST	HOTEL	ROOM	DROP
BIDDLE	Susan	Shawmut Inn	342	
BUSCH	Michael	Shawmut Inn	238	40-334
PARISH	Dill	Nonantum	361	
FITZWATER	Marlin	Nonantum	361	
GANDON	Kelley	Shawmut Inn	327	40-213
GANTT	Florence	Nonantum	353	
GWYN	Robert	Lodge	206	
HERRICK	John	Beachwood Motel	108	
HYDE	Kristin	Shawmut Inn	242	
JACKSON	Mary	Lodge	119	
JENKINS	Dale	Nonantum	266	40-210
KADTMAN	Ron	Beachwood Motel	98	
KANER	Andrew	Shawmut Inn	212	
MCQUEENEY	Scott	Lodge	208	
MCSWENEY	John	Shawmut Inn	191	
MOHR	Lawrence	Tyler Residence		
PICKART	Claire	Shawmut Inn	344	
ROSA	Marco	Lodge	215	
ROSS	Jake	Walker's Point		40-381
SANCHEZ	Gedefredo	Lodge	215	
SCOMCROFT	Brent	Nonantum	365	40-315
SMITH	Judy	Shawmut Inn	220	40-331
THOMAS	John	Lodge	214	
WRIGHT	Gary	Shawmut Inn	210	

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

July 24, 1992

MR. PRESIDENT:

Please find attached for your review a draft advertisement which would appear over your signature early next week in USA Today, the Dallas Morning News, Orange County Register, Orlando Sentinel, and Denver Post. (Henson Moore may have already brought this to your attention.)

In particular, we'd question the bracketed phrase.

Thank you.

Phil

Phillip D. Brady

*Open letter to
Best Supporters
Prepared by the
Campaign for USA
Today + others —*

R2

*to give Henson
some suggestions
yes'dg to
pages on
to
action
and*

Perot supporter newspaper/3
as of July 24, 1992
4:20 P.M.

2 JUL 24 P5:36

An Open Letter To Every Perot Supporter in America

I'm not asking for your vote, I'm just asking for a chance to earn it.

If you're a Perot supporter, you've been part of one of the most dramatic grassroots movements America has ever seen.

During the past several months, Ross Perot has clearly touched a chord with millions of American people.
His message has reached many receptive ears.

And his recent decision not to run has left a void which may be difficult for another candidate to fill. (?)

That's why in these days following his withdrawal, I'm not asking for your vote. I'm simply asking for a chance to earn it.

Over the next few months, study the two remaining candidates.
Study our positions on issues like welfare reform. Fighting crime and drugs. Upholding family values. Creating jobs and balancing the budget.

Then, study what we say we'll do. And what we've really done.

After all, as a Perot supporter, you've become an important voice in determining the future of our country. You've articulated the frustration of working Americans with government.

Stay involved. Let your voice continue to be heard. Our country needs you.

(Signature)
George Bush

Paid for by Bush - Quayle '92
Primary Committee, Inc.

*Mr. President -
For what it is
worth, I think
this is a Terrible
idea. [Signature]*

Coleman/Bartlett's Washington Focus

*Daily 7/24
(orig in Bartlett
file)*

John Coleman, Jr.
222 E. Wisconsin Ave. - Suite 115
Lake Forest, IL 60045
(708) 234-0082
FAX: (708) 234-0903

Charles L. Bartlett
1529 18th Street, N.W.
Washington, DC 20036
(202) 234-3681
FAX: (202) 483-6018



Memo to the President
from Charley Bartlett

I thought the Vice President was really excellent on the Larry King show last night. It is my bet that by the end of the campaign people will like him better than they like Al Gore, who is at his core a stiff. What Quayle did was to make it apparent that this thing can be turned around by direct dealing with the allegations and with the impressions that have been created in the public's mind. What the situation needs is a lot of straight, crisp talk.

Havel in Prague sustained his popularity through very hard times by talking thoughtfully to the people every weekend in an interview format. In his last and 99th of these sessions last Sunday, he said a thing that will interest you: "It surprised me how many times I had to explain certain things all over again and it was as if nobody heard it, nobody read it, nobody even noticed it. This is very strange. It seems to me that sometimes people hear only the things they want to hear and remember only what they want to remember. I observed this during the last few months when I was an object of various analyses and criticism, when almost anybody was speculating, when I did something wrong, about how I could have done it better and how he would do it better if he was in my position."

As an example of how critics can be wrong, much could be made of the enclosed piece from a Japanese newspaper. It seems to me to totally validate your trip to Tokyo and all that has been done to work with the auto companies. This seems to me potent testimony to the job that has been done by the private sector in collaboration with the administration.

With a little bit of luck, we will be able to look back on this as the absolute ebb tide, a time of such discomfort that we will remember it with amusement. The "Dixie Delights" are doing one thing - they are making the point that I made in 1988: campaigning by bus is visually rewarding and it brings the candidate right down Main Street to where the people are. It invites coverage by the contrast with the high costs of covering an airborne campaign. I hope you can work some of it into your schedule.

In your note you indicate there would not be time to bring in the former Chairmen of the CEA. How about getting Bill Frenzel to meet with the two most imaginative, Paul McCracken and Herb Stein, to learn if they have some useful ideas for coping in political terms with the economy? You have your own economic team but it hasn't shown great flair on the political front and outside ideas could be valuable. McCracken and Stein are two wise, seasoned and imaginative men and by getting them to work with Frenzel, you are likely to get ideas that are productive both economically and politically.

I am collecting some upbeat thoughts that I mean to pass along to you in hopes of inciting you to consider a paid TV or radio talk before the convention, a sort of pep talk to the people, urging them to think more of their blessings and less of their trials. Americans are not by nature gloomy and it is my bet that they will swing at the first opportunity into their characteristic optimism. You have the pulpit and you can do a lot to encourage that swing without leaving yourself vulnerable to charges that you are out of touch. My idea is that the speech would be a response to the gloom and doom that the Democrats are preaching. Cuomo said in NYC: "The ship of state is headed for the rocks" - I think there are a lot of people like me who find that kind of stuff infuriating.

Don't worry about Bill Moyers - he is a sham personality and a shallow character. It is one of the oddities of our time that he is taken so seriously.

C. B.

July 22, 1992

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

FBIS-EAS-92-140-A
21 July 1992

ANNEX

1

Inter-Asian Affairs

South China Sea Dispute, Asian Stability Viewed
OW1707141592 Tokyo NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN
in Japanese 14 Jul 92 Morning Edition p 2—FOR
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Editorial: "South China Sea and Stability in Asia"]

[Text] Following the end of the cold war, the dissolution of the cold war structure has proceeded in Asia as can be noted in the situations on the Korean peninsula and Indochinese peninsula. Nevertheless, Asia can hardly be said to have become sufficiently stabilized because there are still seeds of regional disputes in various places. One of them is the dispute on territorial rights in the South China Sea among neighboring countries. Moreover, what deserves our concern is the fact that there are signs that the dispute has become intensified. In this connection, it is requested that all concerned nations, China in particular, be cautious in dealing with this issue.

China, Taiwan, Vietnam, the Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei have claimed their right of dominion over the Nansha Islands (the Spratly Islands) in the South China Sea, and China and Vietnam were engaged in an armed conflict in 1988.

Last February, China adopted the Territorial Waters Law, in which the Nansha Islands are clearly stipulated as Chinese territory. Then in May, China signed contracts with U.S. companies on exploiting and developing off-shore oil fields within its economic sea zones. And reportedly, Chinese naval activities in the waters near the islands have been activated.

The reason why various nations have come to share acute interests in these islands is the fact that off-shore oil fields or natural gas fields may possibly exist near the Nansha Islands. And the reason why all the East Asian nations are concerned with the security of this sea area lies in the fact that these islands are located in the central part of the South China Sea, which is known as the "inland sea" of Asia. As far as Japan is concerned, it is an important sea route for importing such major materials as crude oil from the Middle East.

Through Indonesia's mediation, China and other concerned nations have held talks on measures to jointly develop various islands in the South China Sea (with the Xisha [Paracels] and other islands included) while shelving the issue on territorial rights. In this connection, the Chinese moves are all the more unexpected and must have imposed all the greater impact on neighboring nations.

China has always been regarded by various Southeast Asian nations as a major potential menace. Historically, China has been commonly acknowledged as leader of this region, and what is also noteworthy is the existence of Overseas Chinese. As is known to all, since the founding of the Communist regime, China has attempted to make the Communist force infiltrate various Southeast Asian nations.

In particular, the hostility between China and Vietnam has a long history. In recent times, following the Sino-Vietnamese war, diplomatic relations between the two nations were cut off for almost 13 years, and it was only last November that they reached a reconciliation. Therefore, it is requested that under such circumstances, China use greater prudence in dealing with its neighboring nations.

Another point is the fact that there are very few forums for dialogue on regional security in Asia. Such factors as Asia's multifarious and complicatedly intricate interests have resulted in the fact that no progress has been made in this concern. The time has now come to give more serious consideration to the possibility of promoting dialogue.

The foreign ministerial conference of the ASEAN nations as well as the expanded foreign ministerial conference with participation of foreign ministers from non-ASEAN nations will be held in Manila next week; these conferences should be used as forums for dialogue.

Following the Gulf war, Asian nations focused on the armament race. Unless efforts are made with greater awareness, it will become all the more difficult to make efforts to build confidence. Asian nations should not be fascinated by economic matters alone.

Japan

New Competitiveness Seen in U.S. Auto Industry
OW2107004292 Tokyo NIHON KEIZAI SHIMBUN
in Japanese 15 Jul 92 Morning Edition p 11—FOR
OFFICIAL USE ONLY

[Article by reporter Osamu Kobayashi: "Big Three Regain Self-Confidence—Rationalization Through Personnel Realignment, Setting Up a Cooperative Structure With Government"—seventh in series entitled "Reexamining Japan-U.S. Competitiveness"]

[Text] Chrysler Corporation has set up Brimary Factory of Canada [name as published] to produce the "LH Car"—a new medium-sized car viewed with high expectation. Chairman Lee Iacocca, who went to the factory to witness the start of production on 30 June, was asked by the press corps to comment on the ruling by the U.S. International Trade Commission (ITC) a few days previously to the effect that Japan had "not violated the Antidumping Law" in the sale of minivans on the U.S. market.

Chairman Iacocca Being Calm Toward the Ruling

Chairman Iacocca was the mastermind behind the idea of persuading General Motors Corporation (GM) and Ford Motor Company to jointly institute a lawsuit against Japanese automakers on dumping charges. He replied calmly, saying, "Things do not always go as expected."

Last spring, Chairman Iacocca wrote a letter to President Bush strongly requesting controls on the import of Japanese cars, including those produced in the United States, saying, "If the issue of Japanese cars is left to take its own course as it is, Chrysler will collapse, nor will anybody even know about Ford Motors Co."

FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY

ANNEX

2

Even after returning home after accompanying President Bush to Japan at the beginning of the year, Chairman Iacocca made strong anti-Japanese speeches in Detroit, his hometown. The chairman's display of calmness in his recent remarks can be seen as an expression of the restoration of self-confidence on the part of the U.S. side.

The background to this, to be sure, is the rollback operation of U.S. cars. In addition to the shift in demand in the U.S. market toward small trucks, in which the United States takes pride, the gap between U.S. and Japanese cars has narrowed in terms of quality. The Big Three have improved their market share each month since March this year and their record of performance surpasses that of last year.

The market share for the first six months of this year was 72.4 percent, up 1.5 percentage points compared with the same period last year. Defiant voices were raised (by President R.A. Lutz) that, "from now on, we are going to win back the market share that was snatched by Japanese cars at 1 to 2 percentage points each year."

What we should pay attention to is the fact that the United States has started to regain its superiority over Japan even in terms of medium- and long-range strategies.

The first is the formation of a structure of cooperation between the government and industrial circles. While President Bush and Chairman Iacocca's visit to Japan has been criticized both at home and abroad, results unprecedented in the history of the U.S. auto industry have been achieved on the "establishment of a cooperative relationship between the government and our auto industry" (according to Chairman Harold Poling of Ford Motor Co.),

As evidence, joint research projects conducted by the Big Three and relevant manufacturers in the field of basic technology have been successively realized with government assistance. The Department of Commerce has contributed funds to some of these projects. In June, the U.S. Council for Research on Auto Technology [name as published] was inaugurated to study topics such as environment and security.

On the other hand, Japan lacks cooperation in auto industrial circles, and the Ministry of International Trade and Industry [MITI] has been charged with the responsibility of working out measures to deal with trade friction. Japan is in a situation in which it is difficult for both the government and the people to jointly form a vision of the future.

U.S. Capability Enhanced in Mexico

Other evidence of this cooperation can be seen in rationalization. Under pressure from major shareholders and dummy directors to promote rationalization, GM has gone into renovation even to the point of undergoing a top personnel reshuffle. With this as an impetus, there have been increasing campaigns at each company calling for cost reductions. Mr. Lopez, who has displayed uncommon shrewdness in reducing costs for parts at a corporation in Europe, was selected to be the vice president in charge of purchasing car bodies. Mr. Lopez called together suppliers and announced, "We have to purchase parts from the

cheapest sources, including those produced by the companies ourselves." This has become the symbol of transformation for GM.

The Economic Strategy Research Center, a think tank in Washington, announced a report some time ago to the effect that "the production costs of Ford and Chrysler have fallen below those of Japanese enterprises such as Toyota Motor Corporation. Opinions are still divided whether there is really a reversal in the situation. However, it is certain that the myth of Japanese enterprises achieving low production costs is falling to pieces."

The North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) agreement, which is close to being signed, also works favorably for the United States. Apart from cheap labor, for example, Mexico offers labor with good quality. The production cost for one small car is said to be lower than that in the United States by \$1,000. As against factory shutdowns and personnel reductions within the United States, the Big Three are enhancing their capabilities in Mexico and U.S. magazines have gone so far as to name Mexico "Detroit of the South."

Riding on Favorable Wind of High Stock Prices

Mexico Nissan President Shoichi Amamiya of Nissan Motor Co., the only Japanese company which has advanced into Mexico, made the judgment that "if the Big Three restructures the auto industry, including making inroads into Mexico, the Japanese automakers will be faced with a great threat."

The Big Three have been favored with the good fortune of low interest rates and high stock prices at the moment. With the U.S. official discount rate at 3 percent—which is at its lowest level for 29 years, GM has increased its capital in the aggregate of \$2.1 billion, a record high in the history of U.S. enterprises, at a time when stock prices are high. This is in striking contrast to Japanese enterprises, which are being plagued by difficulties in raising funds with the collapse of the bubble economy.

At the end of June, Ford Motor Company indirectly extended aid to Mazda Motor Corp. by contributing to half of the capital of its U.S. production subsidiary and reorganizing it into a joint-venture company. GM is trying to render support to the reconstruction of Isuzu Motors Ltd. by increasing purchase of its engines and auto parts.

Nevertheless, it is still difficult to say that the Big Three have entirely revived their fortunes. Their level of earnings falls far short of what it was at its peak, and the cycle for developing new cars is also lagging behind Japanese automakers. However, the concept of "Japan being strong and the United States being weak," as displayed at the time of President Bush's visit to Japan at the beginning of the year, has definitely vanished into thin air.

daily 7/24

Bobby
Well Done. Rather
continues to be the
worst by far!!
It is a personal
rendition of small-
bone proportions
by on - or
it goes.
May Thul
CBS
7-24

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

From: Bobby R. Burchfield, General Counsel
Re: CBS News Report on July 9, 1992 Regarding Floyd Brown

Last evening, Joe Peyronnin, Vice President of CBS News, called me to report the results of his investigation concerning my letter dated July 13, 1992 to Mr. Tisch and Ms. Cochran. (A copy of that letter is attached.) In that letter, complained on behalf of Bush-Quayle '92 about a reference by Dan Rather to "the Bush-Quayle campaign people behind" an advertisement by Floyd Brown's "Citizens for Bush" group.

Mr. Peyronnin stated that he had reviewed copies of the broadcast script and the actual transcript. He found that Rather deviated from the script by inserting "Bush-Quayle" into the introduction. Peyronnin has spoken to Rather about the matter.

Peyronnin emphasized that CBS has no intention of being unfair to either you or Governor Clinton. He mentioned that he was involved in setting up the recent Rose Garden question and answer session, and that in response to "tough questions" you "did a great job."

This may be about as close to an apology as we ever get from CBS.



Bobby R. Burchfield
General Counsel
(202) 336-7110

July 13, 1992

BY FACSIMILE

Mr. Laurence A. Tisch
Chairman and Chief
Executive Officer
CBS
51 West 52nd Street
New York, New York 10019

BY FACSIMILE

Mrs. Barbara Cochran
Vice President of CBS News
and Washington Bureau Chief
CBS
2020 M Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036

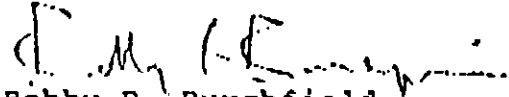
Dear Mr. Tisch and Ms. Cohen:

On Thursday, July 9, the "CBS Evening News With Dan Rather" ran a story on the recent announcement by Mr. Floyd Brown of his intention to air an independent political advertisement concerning Governor Bill Clinton. In introducing this segment, Mr. Rather stated: "The Bush-Quayle campaign people behind it ran one of the nastiest negative campaign attacks in the last Presidential election." The segment by Eric Engberg appropriately pointed out that Bush-Quayle 92 had deemed Mr. Brown's ad "absolutely despicable," and had demanded that he not run it.

Mr. Rather's superfluous and inaccurate editorial comment is at odds both with the facts and with Mr. Engberg's report. Like many other persons who expect objective news reporting from the networks, we find this incident unacceptable and believe a correction is necessary.

For your information, I am enclosing correspondence that makes absolutely clear that Mr. Brown has no affiliation with Bush-Quayle 92, and that Bush-Quayle 92 has done everything legally permissible to prevent his activities.

Sincerely,


Bobby R. Burchfield

Enclosure

cc: Mr. Dan Rather
Mr. Eric Engberg

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

JULY 22, 1992

THROUGH: SHIRLEY M. GREEN *mg*
 DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
 FOR PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE

FROM: C. DIAN MOORE *cm*
 DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL INQUIRIES

SUBJECT: REPORT, JULY 8, 1992 - JULY 21, 1992

The Comments Office received a total of 10,643 calls during this period, making a total of 185,846 since January 20, 1992. 653 calls were requests for Presidential greetings; 271 calls were referred to other federal, state and local government offices; 778 were of a personal or nonsubstantive nature and 445 requested information which we were able to provide; 613 favorables for the President and 370 negatives, 23 favorables for Mrs. Bush. The major issues were:

	<u>PRO</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Support Repeal of the Hatch Act	1,075	15	1,090
U.S. military intervention in Bosnia	456	155	611
Union labor only for gov. funded projects	0	470	470
Replace the V.P.	301	106	407
Pro Life (pro)/ Pro Choice (con)	307	89	396
Support for Motor Voter Bill	317	10	327
POTUS must focus more on U.S economy	314	0	314
Taxing Veterans' Disability benefits	0	299	299
V.P. on family values	262	34	296
Freedom of Choice Act	90	188	278
Stop all illegal immigration	200	4	204
Aid to Israel	38	158	196
Foreign Aid	22	129	151
Press briefings/speeches/interviews	14	12	26
Miscellaneous	-	-	2,947

During this period our office assigned 56 volunteers to the First Lady's offices, 147 volunteers to offices throughout correspondence and the Visitors Office.

The Greetings Office received 10,916 pieces of incoming mail and mailed the following:

Birthdays	15,837	Retirement	2
Anniversaries	3,258	Graduation	71
100th Birthdays	524	Eagle Scouts	405
Joyous Occasion	17	Photographs	137
Girl Scouts	55	Condolence	17
Marriage	560	Birth	152
First Lady Mail	161	Religious	11
Illness	48	Miscellaneous	604
Royal Rangers	7		
Youth Mail	819	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>22,685</u>

Since January 20, 1992, Greetings addressed and mailed 364,876 pieces of correspondence.

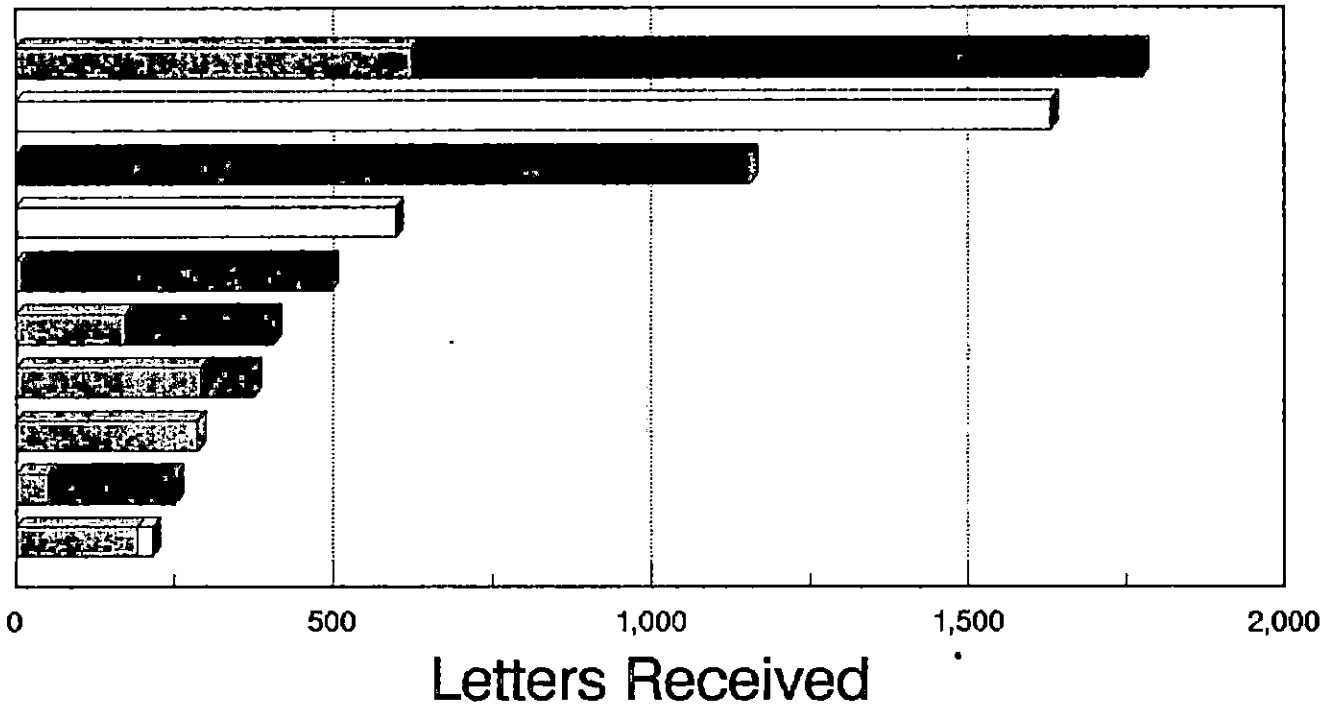
daily 7/24

Top Issues in Mail Tally
From 07/01/92
To 07/21/92

4

San Francisco
Wetlands issues

- Abortion Issue
- Hardship Cases
- FDA Raid
- Economic Concerns
- Homosexuals/Military
- Fetal Tissue Reserch
- Yugo Crisis/Former
- Central Valley
- Haitian Refugees
- Family Values



PRO CON COMMENT

Pro and Con refer to Writer's Position on Issue

Source: Quorum Presidential Mail System

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

THROUGH:

SHIRLEY M. GREEN *smg*
DEPUTY ASSISTANT TO THE PRESIDENT
FOR PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGES AND CORRESPONDENCE

FROM:

C. DIAN MOORE *DM*
DIRECTOR OF PRESIDENTIAL INQUIRIES

SUBJECT:

REPORT, JUNE 24, 1992 - JULY 7, 1992

daily 7/28
JULY 8, 1992
THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN 7/24

The Comments Office received a total of 10,411 calls during this period, making a total of 175,203 since January 20, 1992. 526 calls were requests for Presidential greetings; 242 calls were referred to other federal, state and local government offices; 598 were of a personal or nonsubstantive nature and 369 requested information which we were able to provide; 422 favorables for the President and 356 negatives, 38 favorables for Mrs. Bush. The major issues were:

	<u>PRO</u>	<u>CON</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
U.S. military intervention in Bosnia	713	582	1,295
Support for Motor Voter Bill	1,052	31	1,083
Taxing Veterans' Disability benefits	0	527	527
Pro Life (pro)/ Pro Choice (con)	320	199	519
Veto of Fetal Tissue Bill	243	186	429
Freedom of Choice Act	99	263	362
V.P. Quayle on family values	227	59	286
John Price to FCC	246	0	246
Extension of Unemployment Ins. Benefits	195	23	218
Press briefings/speeches/interviews	154	58	212
GOP dirty tricks	58	132	190
Stop all illegal immigration	141	3	144
Supreme Court ruling on school prayer	11	132	143
Intervention in rail strike	106	26	132
Aid to Israel	30	97	127
Perot attack on GOP	58	53	111
Supreme Court ruling on PA. abortion case	21	82	103
Foreign Aid	5	98	103
Children's G.I. Education proposal	45	52	97
Super Collider Funding	68	2	70
Miscellaneous	-	-	2,424

During this period our office assigned 53 volunteers to the First Lady's offices, 226 volunteers to offices throughout correspondence and the Visitors Office.

Continued

Page 2 of Comments/Greetings Bi-weekly report

The Greetings Office received 9,798 pieces of incoming mail and mailed the following:

Birthdays	14,630	Retirement	15
Anniversaries	4,385	Graduation	113
100th Birthdays	509	Eagle Scouts	385
Joyous Occasion	16	Photographs	126
Girl Scouts	70	Condolence	11
Marriage	550	Birth	159
First Lady Mail	147	Religious	7
Illness	35	Miscellaneous	247
Royal Rangers	1		
Youth Mail	9,762	<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>31,168</u>

Since January 20, 1992, Greetings addressed and mailed 342,191 pieces of correspondence.

daily 7/24

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

July 23, 1992

To: The President 2 JUL 23 P7:55 *H*
From: Mike Boskin *MB*
Re: June Orders and Shipments of Durable
Goods and July Conference Board
Consumer Confidence

First, the good news. Durable goods orders and shipments both increased more than expected in June relative to May. Orders rose 2.3 percent, shipments 2.8 percent. Increases in durable goods orders mean increased future production.

Second, the bad news. There are two leading surveys of consumer confidence and sentiment: the University of Michigan and the private Conference Board. As I mentioned earlier this week, the preliminary July University of Michigan consumer confidence index fell 3 points. These are from the survey for the first half of July; a final July number will be released later. The Conference Board July index, which will not be publicly released until Tuesday, July 28, fell much more sharply, down over 11 points from June. While still well above the low from November 1991 through February 1992, when released this will play as "confidence down sharply." It undoubtedly reflects both the rise in unemployment and the huge amount of negative media publicity in the economy surrounding the Democrats' campaign.

Michael J. Boskin
Chairman



EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20500

THE CHAIRMAN

July 23, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: MICHAEL J. BOSKIN *mjb*

SUBJECT: Advance Durable Goods in June, Commerce Department Release, Tomorrow Morning, 8:30 a.m.

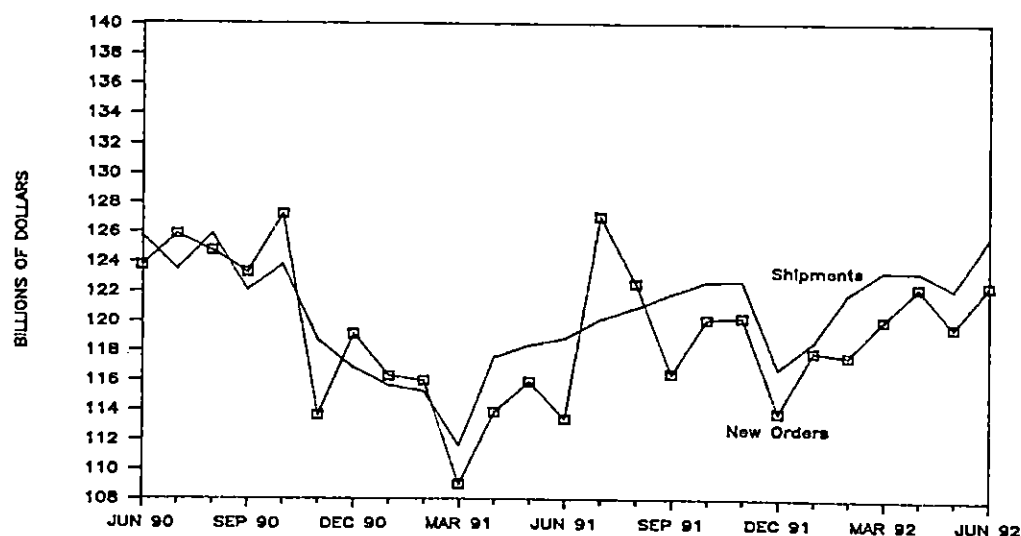
New orders for durable goods rose 2.3 percent in June, the largest increase since January. Private analysts had expected a smaller increase of 1 percent.

The increase in orders in June was widespread across the major industry groups, with instruments and products showing the only decline. The largest increase in orders occurred for industrial machinery and equipment--a positive sign for future durable equipment investment.

Shipments of durable goods increased 2.8 percent in June, the largest increase since February. Shipments of nondefense capital goods--a key measure of producer durable equipment investment--surged 6.9 percent in June, the largest increase in 9 years.

The graph below shows that new orders for durable goods have been volatile over the past year, but at levels above their recession low. Aside from a large decline in December of last year, shipments generally have been increasing, establishing an upward trend from their recession low.

DURABLE GOODS ORDERS & SHIPMENTS



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Recommended Telephone Call

TO: Kathryn H. Vratil

TELEPHONE: Conference: (303) 259-2000
(Ms. Vratil is at a conference
and can be paged at this number)
Hotel: (303) 247-9000 Room 326
(If Ms. Vratil does not respond
to the page, she will be in her
hotel room at this number)

DATE TO CALL: July 23 or July 24

RECOMMENDED BY: The Attorney General, Samuel K. Skinner,
Nicholas E. Calio, C. Boyden Gray, and
Constance Horner

PURPOSE: To ask her to serve as United States
District Judge for the District of
Kansas

TOPICS OF

1. Since 1978, Ms. Vratil has been affiliated with the law firm of Lathrop & Norquist as an associate, 1978-1983, and a partner, 1983-present. In addition, she has served as a Municipal Judge for the City of Prairie Village since 1990. She has also served as a law clerk to the Honorable Earl O'Connor of the United States District Court for the District Court of Kansas, 1975-1978.
2. She received an B.A. degree (1971) from the University of Kansas and a J.D. degree (1975) from the University of Kansas School of Law
3. Ms. Vratil is 43 years old, divorced, has three children, and resides in Prairie Village, Kansas.

DATE OF SUBMISSION: July 23, 1992

ACTION

1. got her 249 EST
on AF I

2. good -

daily
GB ✓
7-2
got her

daily 7/24

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

12 JUL 22 P6:01

July 22, 1992

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SHIRLEY GREEN *mg*

SUBJECT: Mail Summary, July 1 through July 21, 1992

CORRESPONDENCE RECEIVED

Presidential	339,749	Year to Date	1,557,917
Staff	<u>11,029</u>	" " "	<u>88,205</u>
WEEK TOTAL	350,778	YEAR TOTAL	1,646,122

The White House Mail Room has recently received and processed a large volume of petitions on four separate issues, which is reflected in the unusually high totals for this particular period. Attached is a sample of the petitions for your review.

TOP ISSUES OF THE WEEK

	<u>Pro</u>	<u>Con</u>	<u>Comments</u>	<u>Cum. Total (Pro/Con/Comments)</u>
Concerns re: Economy	0	0	599	0/0/35,639
Hardship Cases	0	0	1,630	0/0/15,182
Abortion Issue	605	1,132	4	4,581/5,624/47
FDA Raid on Jonathan Wright Clinic	0	866	0	0/2,200/0
Homosexuals in Military	8	488	0	16/793/0

PROPAGANDA MAIL

PERIOD TOTAL	262,717
Major Issue:	Support S. 33 Making Social Security an Independent Agency
Volume:	172,584

CORRESPONDENCE PROCESSED

Presidential (Week Total)	343,602
Year to Date	1,570,504

THE WHITE HOUSE
Office of the Press Secretary
(Columbia Missouri)

For Immediate Release

July 24, 1992

BUFFALO SOLDIERS DAY, 1992

- - - - -

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

A PROCLAMATION

On July 28, 1866, recognizing the contributions of the more than 180,000 black Americans who fought to preserve the Union during the Civil War, the United States Congress established six regular Army regiments of black enlisted soldiers. Of those six units, the 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments eventually became two of the most highly decorated units in American military history. Despite suffering the discrimination and the injustice that plagued all black Americans during the days of segregation, the members of the 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments served with pride and distinction. On this occasion, we celebrate their outstanding legacy of service.

Organized at Greenville, Louisiana, and at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, respectively, the 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments played key roles in the development of the western United States. In addition to protecting settlers as they crossed the frontier via wagon trains and railroads, these skilled horsemen and soldiers assisted in the construction of roads and forts and in the pursuit of cattle thieves and other outlaws. During a battle in 1867 near Fort Hays, Kansas, Cheyenne warriors remarked that the black American soldiers fought as fiercely and with as much strength as buffaloes. Hence, members of the 9th and 10th Cavalries proudly adopted the name "Buffalo Soldiers" as a badge of honor.

While the Buffalo Soldiers blazed many significant trails in the history of the American frontier, their achievements were not limited to the western United States. Members of the 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments also served in Virginia, Vermont, and New York, and answered the call to duty in places as far-flung as Cuba, Mexico, and the Philippines. They served alongside Theodore Roosevelt and his legendary Rough Riders at San Juan Hill, and they continued to prove their courage and mettle through two world wars and the conflict in Korea. By the time of their integration in 1952, the Buffalo Soldiers had earned well over a dozen Congressional Medals of Honor, as well as numerous campaign and unit citations. From their ranks emerged several famed military leaders, including General Benjamin O. Davis, Sr., Colonel Charles Young, and Lieutenant Henry Flipper, the first black graduate of West Point.

Although they often received the worst food and equipment and labored without the respect and recognition that were their due, the Buffalo Soldiers served proudly and with a standard of bravery and skill worthy of the United States Army. Their achievements in the face of adversity not only helped to open doors for younger black Americans, in the military and in society as a whole, but also set a timeless example for all those who wear our Nation's uniform. Today, we celebrate the great legacy of the Buffalo Soldiers and acknowledge their special place of honor in the history of the United States.

more

(OVER)

The Congress, by Senate Joint Resolution 92, has designated July 28, 1992, as "Buffalo Soldiers Day" and has requested the President to issue a proclamation in observance of that occasion.

NOW, THEREFORE, I, GEORGE BUSH, President of the United States of America, do hereby proclaim July 28, 1992, as Buffalo Soldiers Day. I urge all Americans to observe this day with appropriate programs and activities in honor of the black Americans who served our Nation as members of the 9th and 10th Cavalry regiments.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, I have hereunto set my hand this twenty-fourth 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

#

Pool report on Bush's speech to National League of Families of POW/MIAs

From the moment Bush arrived at Crystal City Stouffer Hotel, it was clear he was facing a hostile audience. Outside in the hallway, there were MIA-POW family members shouting and complaining that they had been barred from hearing Bush's speech.

As your pool entered, the audience of about 600 persons was reciting the pledge of allegiance, then later sang the Star Spangled banner.

Bush spoke for about 5 minutes before a middle-aged woman in the second row stood and interrupted him by saying Mr. President, Mr. President, Mr. President...' and something else your pooler could not hear.

Simultaneously, several dozen perhaps as many as 100 members of the audience stood and began chanting, "No more lies. Tell the truth."

A variation was "No more lies. Release our files."

A dozen or more members of the audience held aloft pictures of relatives they believe to be alive in Southeast Asia.

This went on for at least five minutes. Meanwhile, Bush stopped speaking and turned and gestured to Jeff Donahue, a member of the board of the league, who was among the 9 persons sitting on the dais.

"I can't talk in here," said Bush, making no effort to compete with the chanting and shouting which came from all over the room from both those standing and others who remained seated.

The crowd was mixed, but consisted mainly of middle-aged or elderly MIA families. Bush did get some applause, but there was clearly an angry undercurrent throughout.

Bush had an angry confrontation with Donahue, which included finger-pointing by the president and head-shaking by both men.

This continued as the crowd continued to chant, but your pooler couldn't hear the conversation.

One member of a network crew overheard Donahue say something about telling the truth, and Bush asked if Donahue was calling him a liar. Bush was clearly angry at Donahue, whose brother has been missing since 1968, and the situation.

Other leaders of the organization tried to calm the crowd, one saying, "Remember, the president is our guest. Please have a little courtesy."

When calm was restored, Bush started again, but was interrupted twice more. A young black man stood in the back and started to speak, and Bush said, "Would you please be quiet and sit down. Would you please sit down and shut up."

Standing in the back of the room was Sen. John Kerrey, D-Mass., chairman of a Senate subcommittee which has investigated the POW-MIA issue.

Officials of the organization said Bill Clinton was invited to speak, but never responded.

Because of the need to get to the Pentagon helipad, there was no time to interview the participants.

Shanahan-Newhouse

July 24, 1992
(Brookville, Ohio)

Nothing from the president on Iraq.

On his reception at the MIA event this morning, Bush was asked about it at the Brookville picnic after he finished going through the line to get his lunch: "I'm never upset about anything." He called it "an organized demonstration," and later said, "It was a planned reception." A little volatile reaction. ^{you know that} We've all been around in a political year."

Asked if he blew his cool, Bush said: "I didn't blow my cool I just made an emphatic point."

Fred Malek, at the Dayton airport, said: "The important thing is that he went. He knows full well when he goes into an audience like that...that there's a risk of being heckled."

Now for a little color. Take this for what it's worth: it started to rain lightly a minute or so before he landed, then a little harder after he got out of the plane at 11:49. Bush got out, wearing a blue windbreaker, light blue open collar shirt, khaki slacks. Despite the rain, without umbrella, went down a line, kissed a baby, shook hands. Then the skies cleared up.

Motorcade uneventful, a few signs hanging from the bridges, "Ohio University [hearts] Bush," etc.

At the picnic, one sign from a demonstrator: "Pro-Women's Equality, Pro-Clinton."

Bush arrived to cheers and the strains of "It's a Grand Old Flag" at 12:21, went into a large brown shed. The softball field was too wet to play so we were relegated to horseshoes instead.

He started out a little shaky, then warmed up.

"I'm not even sure I can hit this thing," he said to his opponent. He told him he bought some of the clay for the house in Maine and for the White House. "You guys stop laughing," he told reporters.

His first toss fell to the right, the second went too far. "Just getting warmed up," Bush said. Then he started to do better, landing three ringers (never thought i'd be a sportswriter, hope this is the right term.) His opponent was Ron Filbrun, who said, "I pray for him every day."

They chatted a little horseshoes.

Then, Bush went to get his lunch, under a red and white striped tent, shaking hands, paid the \$3 for lunch for three. "I'm treating for the governor and his wife."

Lunch looked like a roast pork sandwich, corn on cob. Then came the comment above on his earlier event.

At the speech, he stood on a hay wagon, with bales piled in front. "Come on George, I'm feeling faint," someone called, waiting for him. There was an old fashioned steam locomotive behind the hay wagon. Bush got on, flashed a thumbs up sign at the crowd, then, after the speech, went down a rope line of enthusiastic Brookvillians. Then he posed with the softball team. Don't know if you could tell it, but he sounded hoarse to me.

End it.

Marcus, Wash. Post.

Pool Report Dayton Ohio to Columbia Missouri
Friday, July 24, 1992

President Bush stopped at the press pen before boarding his plane to discuss Iraq. Asked if he was expecting to make an ultimatum, Mr. Bush said, "No, look we're going back after talking to General Scowcroft. He thought it was important to have a meeting, a National Security meeting, tomorrow. This obviously will just change my weekend plans and our regular schedule will continue on Monday. But it's important that we have everything that I am thinking about together, have it in focus. I need a meeting with the very top people to discuss a lot of subjects."

Asked for more details in a shouted cluster of questions, Mr. Bush responded, "We're not going to tell times. This takes me back a couple of years. There's no time frame here. We just want to be sure we have every opportunity that's available to the United States on the table and discussed."

Before leaving the picnic event at Brookville, Bush ducked into a brown barn, which served as a holding room, where he talked on the phone. your pool is not sure whether the president made the call, or received one.

On the pool plane, Bush Campaign spokeswoman Torie Clarke said that the decision to have the Saturday meeting at Camp David was made during Bush's flight from Washington D.C. to Dayton Ohio this morning. On the POW-MIA event this morning, Clarke reminded your pool that Bush got a standing ovation at the end of his speech. She said, "he has done more for the POW-MIA community than anyone. You've gotta keep this in perspective."

Frank Murry, Washington Times
Clara Bingham, Newsweek

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 24, 1992

Dear Tiny:

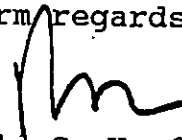
Just a quick note to let you know that the President shared with me your kind note to him.

I've been in touch with Jack Steel, and it's my understanding that the Convention Speaker's Bureau has already contacted you with regard to your interest in participating in the Convention.

If I can be of any further assistance, please do not hesitate to contact me at (202) 456-2135.

Thanks for your gracious offer -- on to Houston!

Warm regards,



Ronald C. Kaufman
Deputy Assistant to the President
for Political Affairs

Ms. Margaret L. Wisdom
2154 Inwood
Houston, TX 77019

After 38 years of teaching,
I retired in 1988, but soon
fell in great demand as a
speaker at seminars etc.
I represented that on the
Teacher Advisory Committee to
the Republican Party as all
a result I did get to have
my question to your
management. He loved it,
and so did I.
I would like to deliver
the Republican Convention,
I will be a woman for
I can afford the \$5,000 for
the Academy Award.
But I do want you to
know that I am great
quite in you and that
I will be waiting back
for your re-election.

Give my love to Barbara
and please know my
progress and will you talk.
Forever
King Wisdom

Jack Steel (in/out)
Ron Kaufman (FYI)



WALKER'S POINT
KENNEBUNKPORT, MAINE

July 13th '92

16 1992

JUL 16 1992

Dear Tony,

I loved your July 2nd letter. Thanks so very much for bringing Barbara & me up to date. I'm glad you thought the CBS show was a good

one — the reviews have been encouragingly positive.

I'm looking forward to an upbeat convention in Houston.

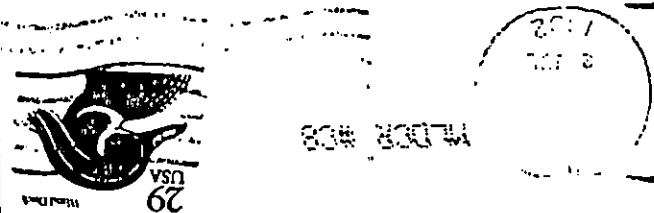
Good luck & very thanks,

Ag Bush

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

Ms. Margaret Wisdom
2154 Inwood Drive
Houston, Texas 77019

MARGARET LONG WISDOM
2154 Inwood, Houston, Texas 77019



President George Bush
THE WHITE HOUSE
1600 Pennsylvania NW
Washington D.C.
20500
Army Party Presolic

FYI. Sent to
Ron Kaufman for
a response.

Dear George,
July 3, 1992

MLW

Ever since we have been
office together in 1964, I have
followed your career with
great pride. I supported you
in 1968, and was a delegate
again for you in 1988
appearing at several forums
through out the country. I
have agreed to serve in the
State for in the campaign of
1992. I just wanted to let you
know I am extremely proud
of you on the CBS show, &
think you did a wonderful job.
It was a long way
in helping the country & have
just over this 1992 year.

Patty Presock

daily file

Document Originally
Attached to
Following Page

"51.
P. Presock
SHIRLEY A. JOINER

July 24, 1992

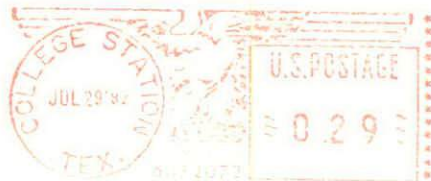
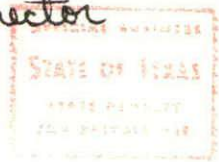
Dear President and Mrs Bush

Thank you for the warm reception we received during our presentation on July 22 regarding the George Bush Presidential Library Center. Our goal is to create a presidential library that will be a model of success for those that follow.

Warmest regards.

Shirley A. Joiner
Assistant Executive Director

Shirley A. Joiner
Asst. Exec. Director



U.S. POSTAGE
0.29

President and Mrs. George Bush
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

George Bush Presidential Library Center
Texas A&M University Mail Stop 1145
College Station, Texas 77843-1145

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

(George Bush Library)

Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
10. Letter	Shirley A. Joiner to Patricia Presock, Re: Bush Presidential Library Center; Personal Identifiable Information redacted. (1 pp.)	07/14/92	(b)(6)	

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records

Office: Office of the President

Series: Daily Files

Subseries:

WHORM Cat.:

File Location: Friday, July 24, 1992 [3]

Date Closed: 11/18/2024	OA/ID Number: 90700-002
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)]

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

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.

(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



GEORGE BUSH PRESIDENTIAL LIBRARY CENTER
TEXAS A&M UNIVERSITY MAIL STOP 1145
COLLEGE STATION, TEXAS 77843-1145

Perry L. Adkisson
Executive Director
Shirley A. Joiner
Assistant Executive
Director

(409) 862-2251
(409) 862-2253 (FAX)

July 14, 1992

Ms. Patricia Presock
Deputy Assistant to the President
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20500

Dear Patty:

In preparation with the meeting regarding the Bush Presidential Library scheduled at the White House at 5:00 p.m., July 22, the following information is provided:

	<u>Date of Birth</u>	<u>Social Security #</u>
CRSS Architects		
James B. Gatton	Nov 24, 1927	462-20-9744
Thomas H. Robson	(b)(6)	(b)(6)
Kevin Kelly	(b)(6)	(b)(6)
James Wright	(b)(6)	(b)(6)
Texas A&M University/Bush Library Foundation		
William H. Mobley	(b)(6)	(b)(6)
Perry L. Adkisson	March 11, 1929	429-48-5012
James W. Cicconi	(b)(6)	(b)(6)
National Archives		
Don Wilson	(b)(6)	(b)(6)

Sincerely,

Shirley

Shirley A. Joiner
Assistant Executive Director

Bush Presidential Library Center
Texas A&M University
Phone 409/862-2251 FAX 409/862-2253

DATE: July 14, 1992

TO: Patty Presock, Deputy Assistant of the President
The White House

FROM: Shirley Joiner

COMMENTS: Attached is the information you requested.
(The original will follow via mail.)

**NUMBER
OF PAGES:**
(including cover)

2

TIME:

11:30 a.m. CDST

THE WHITE HOUSE
MRS. BUSH'S PRESS OFFICE

DAILY PRESS CLIPPINGS

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

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

Portland Press Herald

First lady urges seniors to volunteer

PPT 7/16/92 p. 23

• Senior citizens can help with today's urgent needs, Barbara Bush says.

By TRACY JOHNSON
Staff Writer

Barbara Bush made a rare public appearance in the Portland area Wednesday, telling senior citizens that they can make an important contribution by volunteering.

The event at Scarborough High School was sponsored by Sen. William Cohen of Maine, who said volunteerism can make a difference that government can't.

Cohen said Bush, 67, was invited to speak because she is "an excellent example of how one person can make a difference in the lives of others."

Bush makes regular appearances on behalf of the Ronald McDonald House, which benefits children with cancer, and has supported programs for children with AIDS.

"Nobody's that good but I loved hearing it," Bush said after receiving a standing ovation from the more than 500 people in the audience.

Bush said the world is becoming a tougher place to live. "There are so many urgent needs today," she said, "and seniors today are healthier than they ever were in the past."

"There are an estimated 5 million seniors who are volunteering, but there are 43 million of us out

there. So more of us need to be doing something," she said.

Among those who heard Bush's appeal were Leona Emery of Portland, who has been volunteering for eight years.

Emery began with the Salvation Army. She now works with the Foster Grandparents Program, spending four hours a day with families, playing with kids and giving the mothers extra help.

"The people I work with give more to me than I could ever give to them," Emery said.

124-11
1972
Lewiston Sun

7-16-92
Maine

First lady praises senior volunteers

SCARBOROUGH (AP) — First lady Barbara Bush on Wednesday lauded the volunteer work performed by senior citizens, saying they were helping to alleviate society's problems and improve the lives of others.

Mrs. Bush told senior volunteers that 5 million older Americans donate time to activities ranging from foster grandparent programs to helping in schools.

With a pool of 43 million elderly and 6,000 people turning 65 each day, there is potential to accomplish even more, she said.

"Take the gifts life has given you and keep on using them," said Mrs. Bush, a longtime volunteer who has focused her personal efforts on promoting literacy.

The first lady, who was in Maine for a long weekend at her family's vacation home in Kennebunkport, spoke at a public forum to explore how Maine's elderly can participate in volunteer activities.

"There are as many ways to help as there are people in this room," she said, urging the more than 500 conference registrants to spread the word that the expertise of older Americans is needed in every facet of society.

Senior citizens, she said, have the time, experience, wisdom and patience to provide help and counsel to the poor, the sick and the hungry.

→ The statewide conference, organized by U.S. Sen. William S. Cohen, sought to match the vast experience the elderly have to offer with organizations and causes that need their help.

More than a dozen agencies set up booths at Scarborough High School to provide information about their volunteer programs.

Cohen, the ranking Republican on the Senate Special Committee on Aging, said those who contribute

their time toward helping others enhance their own lives through a heightened sense of self-esteem and satisfaction.

"Today we are at a crossroads," he said. "We are losing our sense of community, and a rededication to volunteerism is one of the tools we must use to restore the fabric of our nation."

Cohen said he has sought to dispel the notion that retirees have nothing more to contribute to society.

"Senior citizens have a great deal to offer in helping us solve the problems we face," he said. "No one expects older volunteers to bear this burden alone, and a call to action is not a replacement for government support and funding."

"But we face formidable challenges, and we turn to you — possessors of unique talent, experience and charitable spirit — as a secret weapon in the war against complacency, isolation and societal disarray."

Michael Brady, professor of adult education and gerontology at the University of Southern Maine, recalled how societies in the past drew upon the experience of the elderly by assigning them the role of storytellers.

That tradition, he indicated, can be adapted today.

"Each of us has a story to tell, if only someone would listen, if only someone would ask," Brady said.

The conference featured panel discussions by groups of volunteers.

Senior volunteers included Gerald Talbot of Portland, a mentor to troubled youth; Betty Fake of Lewiston, a medical missionary in India and the Philippines; Rod Gorham of Scarborough, a teaching assistant who leads school children on trips to Scarborough Marsh; and Geneva Kirk of Lewiston, active in many volunteer agencies.

pg. 4 7-17-92

Sun-Journal

Editorials

Wanted: Volunteers

A conference to promote volunteerism among Maine's senior citizens received a shot in the arm this week with an appearance by First Lady Barbara Bush, who lauded the efforts being made by older Americans in their communities.

* "Take the gifts life has given you and keep on using them," she told the group. Sen. William S. Cohen, who serves on the Senate Special Committee on Aging, remarked that "senior citizens have a great deal to offer in helping us solve the problems we face."

Both these comments go a long way to portray what literally millions of retirees around the nation are accomplishing or are capable of doing. The non-profit and charitable organizations just in the Lewiston-Auburn area that need an extra hand are too numerous to mention. In these times of economic recession and rising numbers of disadvantaged people, the need for volunteers mounts even higher.

As Portlander Gerald Talbot pointed out: "You don't have to be Mother Teresa. You don't have to have degrees hanging off the wall. You just have to be you." Retirees are often heard to remark that they've never been busier since they stopped working, and many are engaged in volunteer activities.

Senior citizens have a lot to offer their communities in the way of expertise from their professions and simply through the experiences and lessons learned in living a long life. Now, in retirement, is a perfect time to share.

First lady lauds seniors for volunteer work

More than 500 attend session on volunteers

By Jerry Markavy

SCARBOROUGH (AP) — First lady Barbara Bush on Wednesday lauded the volunteer work performed by senior citizens, saying they were helping to alleviate society's problems and improve the lives of others.

Mrs. Bush told senior volunteers that 5 million older Americans donate time to activities ranging from foster grandparent programs to helping in schools.

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Bush, a longtime volunteer who has focused her personal efforts on promoting literacy.

The first lady, who was in Maine for a long weekend at her family's vacation home in Kennebunkport, spoke at a public forum to explore how Maine's elderly can participate in volunteer activities.

"There are as many ways to help as there are people in this room," she said, urging the more than 500 conference registrants to spread the word that the expertise of older Americans is needed in every facet of society.

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More than a dozen agencies set

"Take the gifts life has given you and keep on using them."

— First lady Barbara Bush

up booths at Scarborough High School to provide information about their volunteer programs.

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"Today we are at a crossroads," he said. "We are losing our sense of community, and a rededication to volunteerism is one of the tools we must use to restore the fabric of our nation."

Cohen said he has sought to dispel the notion that retirees have nothing more to contribute to

society.

"Senior citizens have a great deal to offer in helping us solve the problems we face," he said. "No one expects older volunteers to bear this burden alone, and a call to action is not a replacement for government support and funding."

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That tradition, he indicated, can be adapted today.

"Each of us has a story to tell, if only someone would listen, if only someone would ask," Brady said.

First lady urges seniors to volunteer

By TOM BERG

Journal-Tribune Staff Writer

SCARBOROUGH — She stood in the hallway later, wobbly-kneed and excited, showing friends the pendant Barbara Bush had just handed her.

"I'm shaking," Helen Philbrook, 74, of Augusta, said Wednesday. "How many times do you get to meet the first lady?"

Philbrook was one of more than 400 senior citizens at Scarborough High School Wednesday who listened to Bush "spread the word" about volunteerism.

"You are the stars," Bush said after an ovation of cheering greeted her. "Today I've really come to just cheer you."

Bush, a senior citizen and a volunteer herself, praised the volunteer efforts of those in the audience and urged them to bring more senior citizens into the fold.

"We have the time, the experience, the wisdom and the patience," she said. "We also have the people power."

Bush then recognized Philbrook for her 14 years of volunteer work in the office of U.S. Sen. Bill Cohen, in Augusta.

Cohen, who sponsored the one-day event, said volunteerism builds a sense of community.

"A rededication to volunteerism," he said, "is one of the tools we must use to restore the fabric of our nation."

Cohen, Bush, and a host of elderly volunteers all urged more senior citizens to get involved.

"Senior citizens have a great deal to offer in helping us solve the problems we face," Cohen said. "... We turn to you — possessors of unique talent, experience and charitable spirit — as a secret weapon in the war against complacency, isolation and societal

disarray."

The conference featured several volunteers who described the personal satisfaction they gained from helping their communities.

Larry LaPierre, of Old Orchard Beach, a volunteer for Meals on Wheels and the Red Cross Bloodmobile, said:

"The reward is the personal satisfaction to be able to do something for others. The selfish reason is having a place to go and things to do every day. It makes life exciting."

Barbara Bush said 43 million Americans now are senior citizens, adding as an aside, "Oh, to be 65 again!"

"Never has a generation of Americans lived so long or prospered so well," she said.

But of those 45 million senior citizens, she added, only an estimated 5 million do volunteer work.

"Why shouldn't we be able to double the

number of volunteers, or maybe triple it?"

Noting that retirees have both the experience and time to help their communities, Bush noted, "You know, George and I are looking to retire — in four years."

Sandra Grady, 62, of Moody, called it "fulfilling" to volunteer as a guide for 4th-graders who visit the Wells Reserve.

"You get great satisfaction from helping," she said during a break. "I love teaching the children. If you can teach a child something, they go home and teach their parents."

Bush said older Americans can volunteer in any number of ways.

"I've seen senior citizens at work all across the country," she said. "There's nothing worth doing that I haven't seen senior volunteers do."

"The important thing," she added, "is to take the gifts life has given you and keep on using them."

262

Mrs. Bush honors volunteers

First lady cites contribution of senior citizens

By Jerry Harkavy
The Associated Press

SCARBOROUGH — First lady Barbara Bush told senior citizens that they are helping to alleviate society's problems and improve the lives of others as she lauded their volunteer work.

Mrs. Bush told senior volunteers on Wednesday that 5 million older Americans donate time to activities ranging from foster grandparent programs to helping in schools.

With a pool of 43 million elderly and 6,000 people turning 65 each day, there is potential to accomplish even more, she said.

"Take the gifts life has given you and keep on using them," said Mrs. Bush, a longtime volunteer who has focused her personal efforts on promoting literacy.

The first lady, who was in Maine for a long weekend at her family's vacation home in Kennebunkport, spoke at a public forum to explore how Maine's elderly can participate in volunteer activities.

"There are as many ways to help as there are people in this room," she

said, urging the more than 500 conference registrants to spread the word that the expertise of older Americans is needed in every facet of society.

Senior citizens, she said, have the time, experience, wisdom and patience to provide help and counsel to the poor, the sick and the hungry.

The statewide conference, organized by U.S. Sen. William S. Cohen, sought to match the vast experience the elderly have to offer with organizations and causes that need their help.

More than a dozen agencies set up booths at Scarborough High School to provide information about their volunteer programs.

Cohen, the ranking Republican on the Senate Special Committee on Aging, said those who contribute their time toward helping others enhance their own lives through a heightened sense of self-esteem and satisfaction.

"Today we are at a crossroads," he said. "We are losing our sense of community, and a rededication to volunteerism is one of the tools we must

use to restore the fabric of our nation."

Cohen said he has sought to dispel the notion that retirees have nothing more to contribute to society.

"Senior citizens have a great deal to offer in helping us solve the problems we face," he said. "No one expects older volunteers to bear this burden alone, and a call to action is not a replacement for government support and funding."

"But we face formidable challenges, and we turn to you — possessors of unique talent, experience and charitable spirit — as a secret weapon in the war against complacency, isolation and societal disarray."

Michael Brady, professor of adult education and gerontology at the University of Southern Maine, recalled how societies in the past drew upon the experience of the elderly by assigning them the role of storytellers.

That tradition, he indicated, can be adapted today.

"Each of us has a story to tell, if only someone would listen, if only some-

one would ask," Brady said.

The conference featured panel discussions by groups of volunteers and representatives of some of the organizations involved in volunteer programs.

Senior volunteers included Gerald Talbot of Portland, a mentor to troubled youth; Betty Fake of Lewiston, a medical missionary in India and the Philippines; Rod Gorham of Scarborough, a teaching assistant who leads school children on trips to Scarborough Marsh; and Geneva Kirk of Lewiston, active in many volunteer agencies.

Talbot said anyone can contribute, regardless of skills or background.

"You don't need to be a Mother Teresa. You don't have to have degrees hanging off the wall. You just have to be you," he said.

In her brief remarks, Mrs. Bush steered clear of politics but slipped in a reference to her husband's bid for a second term.

"You know, George and I are looking forward to retirement, in four more years," she said.

First lady applauds volunteer work by elderly

By JERRY HARKAVY

Associated Press

MS pg 9

7-16-92

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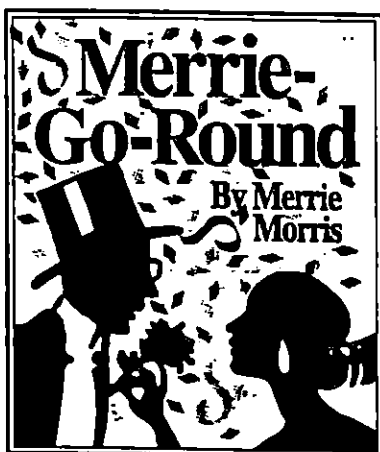
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FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Life

The Washington Times



Barbara's backlash

With Hillary Clinton trying hard to appear the dutiful wife, the spotlight seems to be turning more on Barbara Bush. And Vanity Fair is first to take a less-than-flattering look at the seemingly universally popular Bar.

The upshot? Barbara's tough because George isn't.

Saying she's "caustic," "judgmental," "difficult" and "autocratic," the article quotes one staffer from Mr. Bush's vice presidential days as saying, "No one sat around and gossiped about Mrs. Bush. I don't think it was that peo-

ple loved her; I think everyone was scared of her."

And another former aide: "She's a good person, she talks about AIDS and stuff. But she's not this nice person."

Even a childhood friend is quoted as saying, "I thought Barbara was really mean and sarcastic," remembering how she teased the girl about her stutter.

But if this Barbara sounds very different from the one whose popularity ratings seem unsinkable, writer Marjorie Williams lays the blame first on Barbara's mother, who wasn't very nice to her, and then on husband George, who always ran off to have fun and leave Bar with the drudgery.

"I think there's an essence of sadness about her," says one source. "Maybe a lot of who she is developed in reaction to sadness."

Thu 23-July-92 15:26 EDT

Bootmaker Finishes New Pair of Custom Boots for President

HOUSTON (AP) Rocky Carroll, bootmaker for the rich and famous, has just finished President Bush's latest pair of boots, especially designed for next month's Republican National Convention.

The \$4,500 black alligator boots have the inscription, "Home Town Boy," and the GOP elephant logo inside a red, white and blue, Texas-shaped patch. But Carroll says he won't be charging the president for his fancy footwear.

Carroll, 54, is one of the president's favorite White House guests. Behind the counter in his shop, the wall is plastered with pictures of Carroll's numerous White House visits that show him chumming with Bush and former President Reagan.

"I feel like I'm doing something for my country, and I love the president," said Carroll, who first met the president in 1987 at a Houston rodeo parade when Bush was vice president.

Carroll was a Democrat the first time he visited the White House.

"When I left, I told President Reagan and Bush I was Democrat when I came, but I would be leaving as a Republican," he said. "They just laughed."

Carroll also is making boots for Vice President Dan Quayle. In fact, starting with former President Ford, Carroll has made boots for just about every high-ranking Republican you can think of.

He also made Bush some "golfing boots," with cleats on the bottom of the soles. He sent Barbara Bush some "doggie boots" last Christmas for the first pets, Millie and Ranger.

7-23-92

NEWSMAKERS



AP Laserphoto

Jones honored: Actor James Earl Jones receives the National Medal of the Arts from President Bush during a White House ceremony Wednesday. Bush said that Jones "has stamped his purely American mark on classical roles and created new characters who explore man's quest for dignity."

The Reliable Source

By Lois Romano

WE'VE HEARD THAT...



Nick von Hoffman,
fax-man.

■ Pugnacious writer Nick von Hoffman seems to have forgotten some of his old-fashioned reporting skills. Senate staffers are guffawing over a letter *Mirabella* magazine sent to their bosses—"on behalf" of the writer—soliciting

faxed comments on the alleged sexual-harassment troubles of their colleague Brock Adams. Don't wait by the fax, Nick.

■ Bill Clinton and Al Gore called Rep. Ben "Cooter" Jones from the buscapade Wednesday to offer condolences on his loss in Tuesday's Georgia primary. He was tickled.

■ And it's Gore himself who does the narrating on the new book-on-tape version of his environmental tome "Earth in the Balance." All three hours of it.

■ NBC has hired James Rowe III, son of the Roosevelt New Dealer and a Hill veteran, to head its federal affairs office here.

■ Peter Stothard, the affable Washington-based deputy editor of the *Times of London*, yesterday was named editor of the venerable daily newspaper.

■ It wasn't just any old rainy rush-hour traffic jam on the GW Parkway last night. If you were sitting there fuming at the peak of the storm, it might make you feel patriotic to know it was because George and Barbara Bush were barreling toward a country club party in honor of their daughter, Doro, and her new husband, Bobby Koch.

■ In this, the year of the woman, even Barbie's in on the act. She's running for president, outfitted with inaugural gown and cellular phone. Unfortunately, at 34, she's a year shy of being old enough for the job.



Ron Nessen,
Fox-man?

■ Former Ford press secretary Ron Nessen and Westwood One News parted ways last week. "I would describe it as mutual," he says. "They were eager to cut expenses, and I had a big salary." Word is he's working on a mystery novel and

is being considered to co-host "The Fox Morning News" with Lark McCarthy.

■ Jay Leno is now going after the Dems: "Bill Clinton's brother sings. . . . Tipper Gore plays the drums, Clinton plays the sax—this isn't the Democratic Party, this is the Partridge Family."



MEET THE PRESIDENT: President Bush hosts a group from Boys' Nation at the White House this week.

Candidates snubbed future female leaders

Gathered July 11-18 in Washington, D.C., were 96 of the nation's most competent young female leaders. Gathered July 17-24 in Washington, D.C., were 96 of the nation's most competent young male leaders. Both groups went through a highly selective election process and spent much time in preparation for a week of federal government. Yet only one group received the attention of the presidential candidates. Girls' Nation was scheduled to meet with George Bush July 17, but the president went on vacation. Nor was Barbara Bush present to receive the nation's future female leaders. When Boys' Nation arrived, both President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton pursued opportunities to speak. George Bush met with Boys' Nation just days after the conclusion of Girls' Nation. Clinton did not contact Girls' Nation and focused on Boys' Nation, obviously the higher priority. I place no blame or responsibility on the American Legion Auxiliary (the sponsors). I shall instead blame the candidates, who claim to be a new breed recognizing all views and all ages. It is their obvious shortsightedness in this election year to ignore 96 of the United States' most intelligent and exceptional future leaders.

Allison Fine
Edmond, Okla.

Chicago Tribune

Thursday, July 23, 1992

EW FIRST

Chicago

'It's a crazy time on rumors'



Bush talking to reporters at the White House Wednesday as Defense Secretary Dick Cheney looks on. AP Laserphoto

President Bush

'We get phone calls Barbara is sick, Marilyn Quayle is sick, I'm not feeling well. I don't know what's going on... it's weird.'

Marilyn Quayle

'He (Dan Quayle) is already on the ticket. He had lunch with the president on Monday and he went back to write his acceptance speech....'



Tribune photo by Ernie Cox Jr.
Marilyn Quayle



James Baker arriving in Cairo Wednesday. AP Laserphoto

Secretary of State Baker

'There has been no decision made (on his shift to Bush's re-election campaign)...You ought not to believe everything you read in the papers.'

7-23-92

Bush vow: Quayle to stay ^{2 if 2}

President tries to calm political seas

By Timothy J. McNulty
Chicago Tribune

WASHINGTON—President Bush, trying to knock down a barrage of political rumors that have swept across Washington, denied outright Wednesday that he wants to replace Vice President Dan Quayle on the Republican ticket.

With his popularity in decline and little hope that the economy will revive his re-election campaign, some Republicans—and a few Democrats, White House officials suspect—are suggesting that

■ Clinton girds for Bush's counterattacks. Page 5.

Bush intends to drop Quayle or have him swap jobs with a Cabinet member such as Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

But Bush insisted that Quayle's job is "very certain" and tried to bat away at other persistent rumors, including one that he is in poor health, by challenging reporters to a race around the Oval Office.

The rumor given the most credence, however, has Secretary of State James A. Baker III leaving his post next month to run Bush's campaign again. Baker, who was traveling in the Mideast, and Bush danced around that report Wednesday, not confirming it but also refusing to deny it.

"A lot of crazy rumors floating around, aren't there?" Bush asked as he interrupted a White House photo session to dispel some of the current political gossip.

The capital was awash Wednesday with various scenarios describing how Bush might turn around his sagging popularity and again challenge the Democrats, who are riding high after last week's convention.

According to several top aides, Baker appears certain to return to

See Bush, pg. 16

16 Section 1 Chicago Tribune, Thursday, July 23, 1992

From Page 1

Bush

Continued from page 1

the White House as a special presidential aide whose main job would be to manage and rescue Bush's political campaign.

The Quayle rumor was more elusive. Some GOP operatives said Bush would accept the change only if Quayle volunteered to step aside, a move that Quayle's wife, Marilyn, is said to oppose strongly and one Quayle is unlikely to suggest.

Cheney and Housing Secretary Jack Kemp are most often mentioned as replacements for Quayle. Both have impeccable conservative credentials, but each has drawbacks. Cheney has undergone heart bypass surgery, and Kemp is a long shot because Bush is personally aggravated by Kemp's style and by the way he often steals the scene when they are together.

Another possibility, although he has never declared his political affiliation, is Gen. Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff and a trusted Bush adviser.

Whatever his private thoughts, Bush seems intent on not appearing to be desperate. So it was an angry Bush who dropped in on his senior staff meeting Wednesday morning to insist that he had not yet decided on Baker and that he still has full faith in Quayle.

He complained that those White House and campaign staffers who are promoting the rumors are doing him a disservice.

Later Wednesday, Quayle himself tried to put the latest rumors to rest during a previously scheduled appearance on "Larry King Live," a CNN talk show.

"If I thought for one moment I was hurting George Bush or I would hurt the ticket, I'd be gone," Quayle told King.

A senior Bush-Quayle campaign official insisted that for Bush to replace Quayle now is "simply unthinkable. It's not going to happen." And at the White House, officials said the downside of dismissing Quayle is that the president would look cynical and disloyal as well as portraying the administration as weak and panicky.

Another reason that such a move is unlikely now, they say, is that it would anger the Republicans' conservative core, which includes the very groups that Quayle has made his personal constituency: business, law-enforcement, anti-abortion and evangelical organizations.

Republican operative Richard Viguerie said conservatives believe Quayle has helped their cause as head of the president's Council on

Competitiveness, which has helped cut federal regulation of business.

"No conservative is unhappy with Quayle. He has carried our water well in the White House," Viguerie said.

Still the speculation rolls on, itself becoming a measure of how troubled the Bush campaign is.

"Oh, no, don't tell me Quayle's going to quit," a senior adviser to Bill Clinton said Wednesday. "I pray for Quayle to stay on the ticket every morning."

Rumors were fed by polls that show the Republican ticket might benefit by Quayle's departure. An Associated Press poll released Wednesday showed Americans were about evenly split on whether Quayle should stay on the ticket. Forty-seven percent said Bush should choose another running mate, while 43 percent said Quayle should stay on the ticket. The poll's margin of error was 3 points, making the difference statistically insignificant.

Among Republicans, 40 percent felt Bush needs a new running mate, and 57 percent believed Quayle should stay.

But questions about Quayle and the 68-year-old president's own health have been served up again and again.

Bush's lighthearted attempt to set aside concern about his health reflects a deeper political problem. Polls show Bush 23 to 29 percentage points behind Democratic nominee Clinton, and the large gap is worrying the White House.

If it would help, he said, he challenged anyone around his age in the press corps to a race around the Oval Office. He also called the health rumors "weird" and he ascribed them to an abnormal political season.

"It's a crazy time on rumors," Bush said. "We get phone calls: Barbara is sick; Marilyn Quayle is sick; I'm not feeling well. I don't know what's going on, but I don't believe in repeating them or printing—you know, kind of encouraging the printing of them."

He was referring to a rumor that the vice president's wife had ovarian cancer and that Quayle would step down to spend more time with her.

Marilyn Quayle, however, knocked those rumors down last week, pointing out to associates that she underwent a hysterectomy nearly two years ago, so she no longer has ovaries.

That, however, only altered the rumor so that people suggested she had breast cancer, the same disease her mother died of and one she has been active in helping combat with public awareness.

7-23-92

Quayle supporters 'quiet, overwhelming,' wife says

By Frank James

Marilyn Quayle hit the stump in Chicago on Wednesday, indicating the White House's early strategy for defending her husband's beleaguered position on the Republican presidential ticket.

Taking a two-pronged approach, the wife of Vice President Dan Quayle blamed his low esteem with the public on bashers in the news media.

Then she said that his supporters are legion, if relatively reticent.

"The vice president has support out there that is overwhelming, very quiet support," Marilyn Quayle said in words reminiscent of the Nixon administration's use of the term "Silent Majority."

Attempting to explain why such widespread support hasn't registered on polls, she claimed such surveys are subject to manipulation. "I know what the support is out there and I don't believe a single poll. Polls are done to get a certain result."

"I've had copies of polls that have been smuggled to me from members of the press where the actual poll data is far different than what comes out in the media. It is selectively produced."

She said relentless media criticism of the vice president had biased the nation against him. "The national media will never back down on what they decided he was supposedly like in the beginning, and refuses to give him a fair shake at all. In anything. And

they admit it. And as long as that's occurring, it's going to be very hard for him nationally."

Asked to respond to reports that President Bush, to improve his chances for a second term, might throw the vice president overboard, Mrs. Quayle laughed and said the media were trying to "spice up" the campaign between now and the GOP convention next month.

"It ain't going to happen," she said, echoing similar statements on Wednesday from Bush.

She said that her husband was working on his acceptance speech this week.

Quayle made her remarks after a Drake Hotel breakfast for Republican women where she appeared with Rich Williamson, the Illinois GOP candidate for U.S. Senate.

Williamson, a Chicago lawyer who was an aide in the Reagan White House, will face Democrat Carol Moseley Braun, the Cook County recorder of deeds.

"It's very unfortunate that women have been sold a bill of goods that says women can only support women candidates," Quayle said. "I think women are smarter than that."

She also dismissed differences between Williamson, who supports abortion rights, and the national party's anti-abortion platform, saying it would be a mistake for anyone to vote for a candidate for his or her stance on a single issue.

7-24-92

1. f2

No Change On Abortion, Quayle Says

*Some Accuse Him
Of Double Standard*

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Quayle said yesterday that his comment Wednesday night that he would "support" his daughter if she chose to have an abortion did not signal a change in his staunch opposition to abortion rights.

Asked on CNN's "Larry King Live" what he would do "if your daughter grew up" and "came to you with that problem all fathers fear," Quayle said of his daughter Corinne, now 13: "I hope I never do have to deal with it. But obviously I would counsel her and talk to her, and support her on whatever decision she made." If his daughter terminated the pregnancy, Quayle said: "I'd support my daughter. I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision."

Yesterday, campaigning in Indiana, Quayle said his comments reflected "no change at all" in his staunch and long-standing opposition to abortion: "I was asked a hypothetical question about my daughter," he said. "I said that I would counsel her and encourage her not to have an abortion, but I would support my daughter."

Asked at a later stop in Kentucky whether he would back her decision to seek an abortion if the procedure were illegal, Quayle repeated: "I support my daughter. . . like any father," the Associated Press reported.

The vice president's wife, Marilyn, asked about the issue during a radio interview, said Corinne had been raised "in a Christian household" and taught to behave responsibly. However, she said, "If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term." Asked who would make that decision, Marilyn Quayle added: "We'll make it with her."

The broadcast dialogue by the Quayles brought the divisive subject

cont.

CAMPAIGN '92



Quayle, right, with Larry King: "I would . . . encourage her not to have an abortion, but I would support my daughter." AGENCE FRANCE PRESSE

of abortion home in an extraordinarily personal context. Gary Bauer, of the antiabortion Family Research Council said, "I think as soon as that question was asked [Quayle's] father hat went on and he spoke in terms of a father whose daughter did something he was very much against."

But abortion-rights advocates seized on Quayle's comments to accuse him of a "double standard" on the issue and to underscore Republican efforts to outlaw abortion.

"While we welcome Vice President Quayle's newfound respect for his own daughter's freedom to choose, we regret that he and President Bush want to take that same freedom away from everyone else," said National Abortion Rights Action League President Kate Michelman. "It smacks of a double standard for Vice President Quayle to support his daughter's decision when he's worked so hard to allow the government to interfere in every other woman's decision."

Quayle spokesman Jeffrey Nesbit said the groups were cynically distorting what Quayle had said. "There is a clear distinction between supporting your children's decisions, right or wrong, and supporting a woman's right to choose," he said.

Nesbit emphasized that Quayle was responding in the context of what he would do if his daughter were an adult and that the vice president has "the same position as Mrs. Quayle's" about what their daughter should do if she were to become pregnant as a minor. Quayle took that position during the 1988 campaign, telling a young reporter for the "Children's Express" television show that he would oppose abortion for a 12-year-old who had been molested by her father.

However, Nesbit said: "If she's an adult, clearly, he's a loving father, he would support his daughter even if she makes the wrong decision. . . . He's not saying he supports her right to choose. He supports his daughter because he loves her."

Quayle's comments were notable for what the vice president omitted as well as for what he said. He did not mention an opposition to abortion so fierce that he has said he would advise his wife not to have an abortion if she were raped and became pregnant. He did not stress that he would tell Corinne about alternatives to abortion, such as adoption, or that he views abortion as murder.

Antiabortion activists yesterday rallied to the defense of the vice president, who has been hit with a

barrage of reports about the desire among some Republicans to drop him from the ticket.

Quayle's comments, "are consistent with a pro-life position," said Darla St. Martin, associate executive director of the National Right-to-Life Committee. "We reject the violent act of abortion. We do not reject the people involved. . . . A parent can still support the child without approving of the act that the child has carried out."

Quayle's chief of staff, Bill Kristol, also accused abortion-rights groups of trying to use Quayle's comments "in their own typical cynical way. . . . It's kind of disgusting."

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, who supports abortion rights but as Arkansas governor signed a bill requiring parental notification for minors seeking abortions, said: "I don't think I should comment on Dan Quayle's relationship with his daughter. He made a personal statement." Clinton then added: "I think it reinforces my position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

Asked what he would do if his daughter Chelsea, now 12, became pregnant, Clinton said: "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."

FRI./SAT./SUN., JULY 24-26, 1992

THE NATION'S NEWSPAPER

USA TODAY

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

Quayles give two views on abortion

By Mirni Hall
USA TODAY

Marilyn Quayle put her foot down Thursday on her husband's statement that he would "support" their teenage daughter if she decided to have an abortion.

"If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term," Marilyn Quayle said in a Des Moines radio interview.

Meanwhile, in Evansville, Ind., Vice President Quayle repeated his opposition to abortion and said he'd support his daughter's decision only if she were an adult.

"We are pro-life," said Quayle, who backs a constitutional ban on abortion.

Wednesday, Quayle was asked on CNN's *Larry King Live* what he would do if his daughter, Corinne, 13, became pregnant.

"I would counsel her ... and support her on whatever decision she made," he said.

"And if the decision was abortion?" King asked.

"I'd support my daughter," said Quayle. But "I'd hope she wouldn't make that decision." Reaction:

► Quayle was saying "love



By Eileen Blass, USA TODAY
QUAYLE: Daughter would take pregnancy 'to term.'

and support continues even when children commit acts with which their parents seriously disagree," said Wanda Franz of the National Right to Life Committee.

► "Sounds like choice to me," said House Speaker Tom Foley, D-Wash.

► Bill Clinton said Quayle's comment shows "these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

And if his daughter, Chelsea, 12, were to become pregnant? "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."

► Quayle fights back, 6A

cont.

Quayle's abortion response called 'an honest reaction'

By Mimi Hall
USA TODAY

Abortion rights supporters long have argued that it's unrealistic to try to settle the abortion debate in the political arena, where rigid rhetoric belies the complex nature of a personal decision.

Suddenly, they say, that argument has received a boost from a most unlikely source:

Vice President Quayle.

In answer to a hypothetical question on TV, he said he'd support "whatever decision" his 13-year-old daughter made if she got pregnant.

"The position that Quayle stated is a pro-choice position," says Rep. Nancy Johnson, R-Conn., an abortion rights supporter. "Quayle's comment is a

very touching recognition that when the chips are down, parents will support children because they love them."

Ann Stone of Republicans for Choice says the comment was "an honest reaction" from Quayle responding as a father — not a politician.

"It does point out very clearly why this (issue) has to be legislated," she says.

Thursday, Quayle added he would support his daughter only if she decided to have an abortion as an adult. As a minor, she would not be allowed to get an abortion, he said.

Quayle's aides and abortion opponents say the vice president meant only that he would continue to love and support his daughter even if she made a decision with which he

strongly disagreed.

"That's different than saying that what she does is right," says spokesman Jeff Nesbit.

Quayle's comment is "consistent with his pro-life views, his role as a parent and the reality that abortion is legal," says Wanda Franz of the National Right to Life Committee. Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton repeated his support for abortion rights.

Republicans are preparing for a fight over abortion at their convention next month.

Republican abortion rights supporters are pushing for a change in the party's platform.

Supported by Quayle and President Bush, it calls for a constitutional amendment banning abortion.

No change is expected.



By Charlie Neibergall, AP

MOM'S OPINION: Marilyn Quayle, center, at a GOP fund-raising event in Des Moines, said her 13-year-old daughter would "take the child to term" if she were to become pregnant. With Quayle are Iowa Gov. Terry Branstad, left, and Lt. Gov. Joy Corning.

But some abortion rights supporters say Quayle may have inadvertently helped their cause.

They say he's illustrated that politically it may be easy to oppose abortion, but when a family faces an unintended pregnancy, the decision is a lot more difficult.

"That is what being pro-choice is all about," says Catharine Sibble, a GOP delegate from Massachusetts.

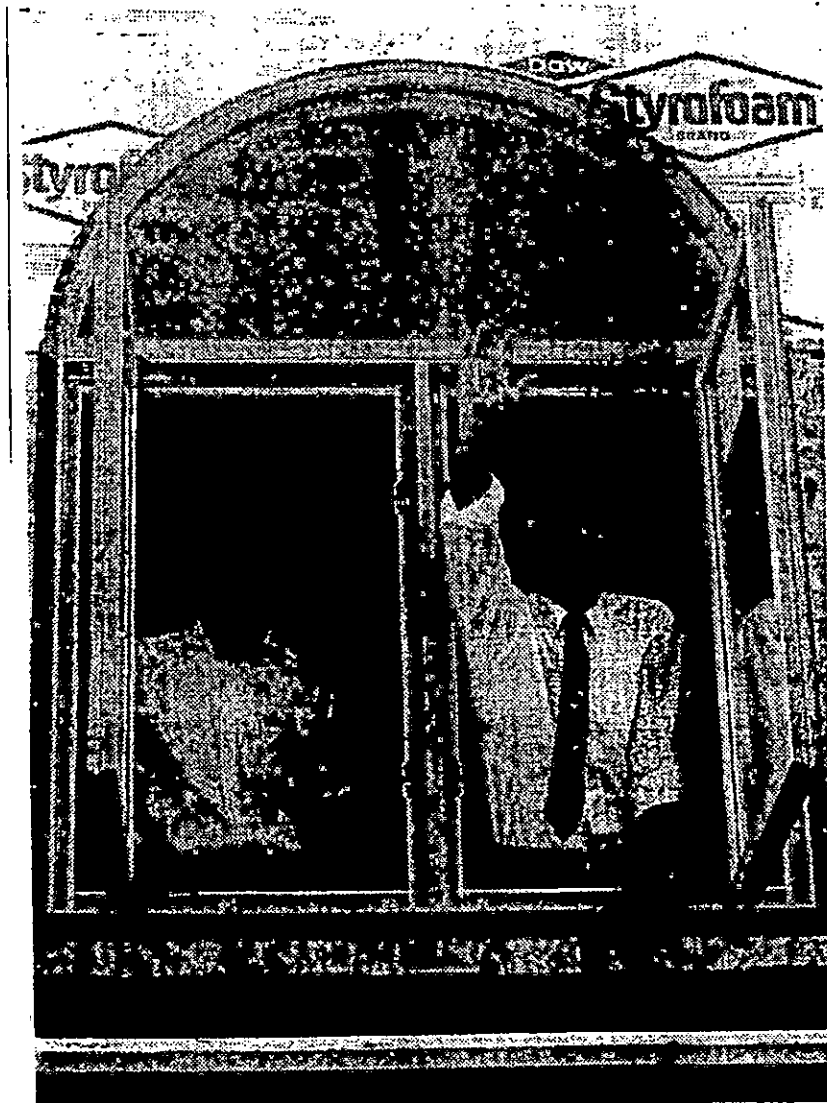
But Phyllis Schlafly of the Republican National Coalition for Life says Quayle's comment is being "overblown" and that the GOP won't bow to abortion rights supporter.

2 of 2

The New York Times

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NEW YORK, FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992



On a campaign trip, Vice President Dan Quayle toured a home under construction in Evansville, Ind., with Jeff Hatfield, a builder.

Quayle Under Fire Over Remarks He Made on Abortion and Choice

By KEVIN SACK

Special to The New York Times

LEXINGTON, Ky., July 23 — Under increasing pressure to prove that he is a political asset, Vice President Dan Quayle found himself on the defensive once again today, this time on abortion, an issue that is central to his appeal to his conservative base.

Mr. Quayle intended to use today's trip to Indiana and Kentucky to shift blame for the country's economic troubles to the Democratic majority in Congress, but much of that message was obscured by the political storm surrounding his comments on Wednesday night that he would support his daughter if, as an adult, she chose to have an abortion.

The trouble began during Mr. Quayle's appearance on CNN's "Larry King Live" program on Wednesday night, when Mr. King asked the Vice President: "What if your daughter

grew up and had a problem and came to you with that problem that all fathers fear? How would you deal with it?"

Mr. Quayle responded: "Well, it's a hypothetical situation and I hope that I never do have to deal with it. But obviously I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

Mr. King asked, "If the decision was abortion you'd support her?"

Mr. Quayle replied: "I'd support my daughter. I would hope that she wouldn't make that decision."

Mr. Quayle, his wife and his aides maintained today that the comment did not represent a softening of the Vice President's firm stance against abortion rights. Mr. Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, both said today that their daughter, Corinne, who is 11 years old, became pregnant now, they would insist that she carry the pregnancy to term.

ant.

The Vice President

Quayle on Defensive Over Abortion

Fresh Ammunition

"Under the current situation, she would have the child," Mr. Quayle said at a news conference in Evansville, Ind., the first of two campaign stops. "We are pro-life and we are opposed to abortion."

But Mr. Quayle's remark about his daughter nonetheless provided fresh ammunition for Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic Presidential nominee, and his supporters at a time when the Bush-

Continued on Page A12, Column 1

Continued From Page A1

Quayle campaign is trying to move onto the offensive. "Sounds like choice to me," said House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, a Washington Democrat.

Mr. Clinton, speaking to reporters on the way to the Governor's office in Little Rock, Ark., said he did not think he should comment on Mr. Quayle's statement about his daughter. But he added, "I think it reinforces my position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

Later, Mr. Clinton said: "My impression is he was asked a question that he was not prepared for, prepped for. He answered it as a father, not a Vice President."

Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York told reporters today in Albany that Mr. Quayle's statement on Wednesday night constitutes a "classic pro-choice position" because, "You can't make a distinction between your own blood and everybody else's daughter."

In a statement released later in the day, Mr. Cuomo said, "The Vice President changed his position and joined with the majority of Americans who believe our law should see to it that no woman is forced to have an abortion and that every woman should have the right to have one if that is her choice."

Mr. Quayle defended his statement under questioning at both campaign stops today. By the time he landed at the airport in Lexington this afternoon, the abortion issue had become grist for a homemade anti-Quayle campaign poster. "Choice — Is it only for the families of the powerful and the wealthy?" asked the sign, which was held by a woman in the crowd of several hundred people who greeted Mr. Quayle on the tarmac here.

William Kristol, Mr. Quayle's chief of staff, said "The only thing that strikes me is the cynicism of the pro-abortion groups in trying to exploit a sincere and personal comment of the Vice President."

Quayle Remarks About Abortion

WASHINGTON, July 23 (Reuters) — Following is an excerpt from Vice President Dan Quayle's appearance on Wednesday on "Larry King Live."

KING: What if your daughter grew up and had a problem, came to you with that problem all fathers fear? How would you deal with it?

QUAYLE: Well, it is a hypothetical situation. I hope that I never do have to deal with it. But obviously —

Q. What would you do?

A. I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made.

Q. And if the decision was abortion, you'd support her, as a parent?

A. I'd support my daughter. I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision.

For Mr. Quayle, the abortion controversy meant yet another suspension of political momentum. He faced a similar problem last month when his offensive on family values stalled after his misspelled the word potato in a New Jersey classroom.

"He really gets on a roll and then something like the potato thing just stops it," said one White House official, who requested anonymity. "It's too bad because the disarray and drift in the campaign has given him the opportunity and the obligation to push the edge of the envelope."

This time, the trouble came at a juncture when Republican leaders, in-

cluding some members of Congress, have been talking among themselves about dumping Mr. Quayle from the ticket to stop President Bush's decline in the polls.

Mr. Bush said on Wednesday that Mr. Quayle's place on the ticket was "very certain." But the discomfort caused by the polls is likely to focus attention on Mr. Quayle until the Republican National Convention begins in Houston on Aug. 17.

Support From Abortion Foes

The Republican Party platform, which should be adopted at next month's convention, calls for a Constitutional amendment to ban abortions. Mr. Quayle has long opposed abortion except in cases of rape, incest or when the life of the mother is in danger.

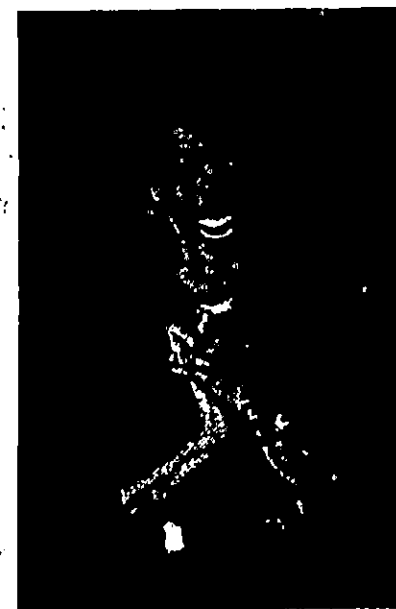
Opponents of legal abortion consider him a more dependable ally than Mr. Bush, whose position on abortion has shifted over time. Aware that Mr. Quayle is in some political trouble, they rallied to his side today.

Mr. Quayle's statements were "consistent with his pro-life views, his role as a parent, and the reality that abortion is legal," said Wanda Franz, the president of the National Right To Life Committee.

But supporters of abortion rights eagerly used Mr. Quayle's comments to portray him as a hypocrite. "While we welcome Vice President Quayle's newfound respect for his own daughter's freedom to choose, we regret that he and President Bush want to take that same freedom away from everyone else," said Kate Michelman, the president of the National Abortion Rights Action League.

Mr. Quayle's trip to his home state of Indiana and then to Kentucky was planned around tours of new subdivisions under construction. He said he wanted to "promote a little good news," by stressing that the weak economy makes it a good time to buy a house.

But he also used the setting to assail Congress for refusing to approve Mr. Bush's proposal to offer first-time



Associated Press

Marilyn Quayle yesterday entered the furor surrounding her husband's comments on abortion, saying that should their daughter become pregnant, she would take the child to term.

home buyers a \$5,000 tax credit.

In a breakfast speech to the Chamber of Commerce in Evansville, Mr. Quayle said he did not trust Mr. Clinton's pledge to raise income taxes only on those who make more than \$200,000 a year. "Folks, you know and I know that when they began to say that they're only going to increase taxes on the wealthy, you know who's going to get taxed," he said. "Everyone's going to have their taxes raised."

In two instances, Mr. Quayle, who has become a national punch line, demonstrated that he could make a joke at his own expense.

Referring to the now-infamous potato incident, Mr. Quayle said he knew how to spell liberal — C-L-I-N-T-O-N.

And in a bit of gallows humor, he joked about his use of the television situation comedy Murphy Brown to make the case for family values. "Actually," Mr. Quayle said, "I'm a little envious of Murphy Brown. At least she's guaranteed of coming back this fall."

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Quayle pro-choice? No way, Marilyn says

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Pro-choice advocates thought they'd found a crack in the GOP pro-life platform Wednesday night when Vice President Dan Quayle told CNN talk-show host Larry King that he would support his daughter if she chose to have an abortion.

But Mr. Quayle's wife, Marilyn, declared bluntly in a later interview that an abortion was out of the question, while the vice president reiterated his pro-life stance in a public appearance yesterday.

Still, the 24-hour whirlwind of comments highlighted the expected platform fight between pro-life and pro-choice advocates at next month's Republican National Convention.

"I commend him for supporting his daughter and giving her the freedom to make that decision, but it seems contradictory that he would support access to an abortion for his own daughter but deny it to the millions of American women who want to preserve the legal right to choose," Mary Crisp, head of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, said yesterday.

"Dan Quayle is pro-life," argued Susan Brackin, who heads the Washington office of Phyllis Schlafly's Republican National Coalition for Life. "He's been pro-life in the past, and I don't see any evidence of change in that position."

Mr. King, on his program, asked the vice president what he would do if his 13-year-old daughter, Corinne, grew up and "came to you with that problem that all fathers fear."

"I hope I never have to deal with it," Mr. Quayle said. "But obviously I would



With bulldozer Jeff Hatfield, Dan Quayle waves from a home being built in Evansville, Ind.

counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

When asked if that included a decision to have an abortion, he said: "I'd support my daughter. I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision."

Yesterday, in an interview with an Iowa radio station, Mrs. Quayle, who has tried to keep her children out of the political arena, said of her daughter, "If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term."

Quayle critics immediately seized on the apparent clash and charged that Mr. Quayle was contradicting his earlier opposition to abortion.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton said Mr. Quayle's comments bolster his "position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

When asked by reporters how he would handle a pregnancy of his 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, Mr. Clinton said, "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."

"Sounds like choice to me," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat, said when asked about the vice president's comments.

By late yesterday, Mr. Quayle tried to settle the issue, reiterating during a campaign visit to Indiana: "We are pro-life. ... We are opposed to abortion."

Pressed on his answer on CNN, the conservative vice president added, "I was asked a hypothetical question about my daughter. ... I said that I would counsel her and encourage her not to have an abortion, but I would support my daughter."

In an interview in Family Voice, published by the pro-life group Concerned Women for America, Mr. Quayle said the Bush-Quayle campaign has no plans to give in to pro-choice Republicans and change the GOP platform calling for a constitutional ban on abortion.

David O'Steen, executive director of the National Right to Life Committee, said "most right-to-life parents would give the same response" as Mr. Quayle.

Echoing Mr. Nesbit, Mr. O'Steen said the vice president was simply trying to explain that "you can love a person that makes a wrong decision and still not approve of the decision."



MARSHY HAMBURG DAILY NEWS

FAMILY FEUD

Dan says
daughter
could
have
abortion

—
Marilyn
says no
way

PAGE 3

No choice here: ^{2 of 3}

Marilyn

By **FRANK LOMBARDI**

Daily News Political Editor

Marilyn Quayle yesterday vetoed her husband on whether their teenage daughter would be allowed to get an abortion.

"If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term," Marilyn Quayle declared.

The Second Family's feud erupted after Vice President Quayle said Wednesday night that he would first counsel his 13-year-old daughter, Corinne, against abortion, but that he'd stand by her "whatever decision she made."

The couple's different hypothetical stances turned up the spotlight on Quayle, even as some Republicans talked of dumping him.

Still George's choice

President Bush, so far, has been steadfast about keeping Quayle on the ticket, despite the Democrats' huge lead — and Quayle's unpopularity — in the polls.

But some speculated that might change if Quayle's comments hurt his standing with conservatives, his most ardent fans.

The Quayles' abortion comments caused buzzing from Little Rock to Albany.

Democratic nominee Bill Clinton, who supports abortion rights, said Quayle's comments reflected "my position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

Asked what he would do if his 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, were pregnant, Clinton said, "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."

Did the veep, the fervent champion of the anti-abortion, conservative wing of his party, blink — perhaps speaking more as a father than a politician?

"Personally, I hope he has blinked," said Diane McGrath McKechnie, a Manhattan Republican who is pro-choice. "Of the two answers, I prefer his."

The topic was raised during Quayle's appearance on CNN's "Larry King" show.

Quayle had just reiterated that the GOP platform would remain anti-abortion at next month's convention in Houston.

King then asked Quayle what he would do if his daughter "grew up and ... came to you with that problem that all fathers fear."

cont.

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She counters Dan on abort

A VEEP TO KEEP?



KEEP HIM

- ✓ **LOYALTY:** Bush has always stressed that he is loyal to his friends, especially when they are under fire.
- ✓ **CONSISTENCY:** A flip-flop in mid-campaign would look terrible.
- ✓ **POLITICS:** Quayle has been Bush's link to the Republican base, the hard-core conservatives who continually suspect Bush of betraying Reaganism.
- ✓ **REALITY:** Some conservatives say Quayle is not the problem; Bush is.

DUMP HIM

- ✗ **RENEWAL:** Some Republicans argue that Bush could energize his ticket and renew the Reaganite vision by picking Housing Secretary Jack Kemp as his running mate.
- ✗ **POLLS:** Quayle is a potential drag on the ticket. 60% of Americans recently polled said they would shed no tears if he was dumped—40% say he ought to be.
- ✗ **FITNESS:** Bill Clinton's choice of Al Gore accentuates Americans' doubts that Quayle is not qualified to be president.
- ✗ **LOOSE CANNON:** Quayle's remarks often attract ridicule. Witness his misspelling of "potato" and his criticism of Murphy Brown.
- ✗ **PANIC:** When you're down 30% in the polls, sometimes any action is better than no action.

'I'd support her'

"I hope I never have to deal with it," replied Quayle, who also has two teenage sons. "But obviously I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

"And if the decision was abortion?" King asked.

"I'd support my daughter," Quayle replied without hesitation. "I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision."

House Speaker Tom Foley, a pro-choice Democrat, said, "sounds like choice to me."

But yesterday, Marilyn Quayle told a radio interviewer in Des Moines, Iowa: "If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term."

"You will make that decision?" the interviewer pressed. She replied, "We will make it with her."

Quayle's comments about his

daughter drew raves from pro-choice advocates.

"Oh, dear! He's taking a pro-choice position," chuckled Tanya Melich, a New York Republican delegate who will be among those calling for a pro-

choice plank at the convention.

But Quayle insisted yesterday he had not modified his stance. "We are pro-life," he said. "We are opposed to abortion."

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7-24-92

Dan and Marilyn at odds

By MARIANNE GOLDSTEIN

Vice President Dan Quayle has ignited a new controversy — this time on the emotional abortion issue — and his wife isn't about to back him up this time.

He stepped into the latest mess Wednesday night when he said he would support "whatever decision" — including abortion — his daughter would make if she had an unwanted pregnancy.

But his wife, Marilyn, attempted to set the family record straight yesterday when she informed a radio interviewer that if her daughter got pregnant, she would "take the child to term."

"You will make that decision?" she was asked.

"We will make it with her," Mrs. Quayle said firmly.



Corinne Quayle, now 13, was the subject of the hypothetical query posed by Larry King on CNN.

He asked what Quayle would do if Corinne came to him "with that problem all fathers fear."

MOTHER KNOWS BEST?

Marilyn Quayle says "she'd take the child to term" if her daughter ever considered an abortion — disagreeing with her husband.

Quayle prefaced his response by saying he hoped the situation of her unwanted pregnancy was one "I never do have to deal with."

But, he added, "Obviously, I would counsel [my

daughter] and talk to her and support her in whatever decision she'd make" — even if that decision were abortion.

Depending on who's doing the interpreting, that could mean either that Quayle supports a woman's right to choose, or, conversely, that any parent would support the actions of a "wayward" daughter — even if it was unpalatable.

Campaigning in Indiana yesterday, Quayle denied he had flip-flopped on the GOP platform, which advocates a constitutional ban on abortion.

"We are pro-life," he said. "We are opposed to abortion. We prefer adoption to abortion."

Ironically, in May, Dan Quayle took a shot at TV's

Keep Quayle / Editorial: Page 20

See QUAYLE on Page 18

Dan & Marilyn at odds over abortion

QUAYLE from Page 4

"Murphy Brown," a single parent, saying the character mocked "the importance of fathers by bearing a child alone and calling it just another lifestyle choice."

If Quayle's daughter took an unwanted pregnancy to term, presumably she'd find herself in the same position as Murphy Brown.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton, given the same question yesterday about daughter Chelsea, now 12, said simply, "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."

A Right-to-Life spokesman commented that "most right-to-life parents

would give the same response" as Quayle.

The veep was just saying that "you can love a person that makes a wrong decision and still not approve of the decision," said David O'Steen, RTL executive director.

But Quayle's candid comments had feminists and pro-choice supporters all over the country chuckling yesterday.

"That really confirms what I've been saying for years about the right wing — for them, there are only two exceptions to abortion laws: 'me and my daughter,'" said Kim Gandy, executive vice president of NOW.

"They don't want other women to have the right to choose, but when it comes down to their daughter — when it's a real human being close to them," conservatives are suddenly in favor of abortion rights.

The National Abortion Rights Action League "welcomed" Quayle's "newfound respect for his own daughter's freedom to choose."

Westchester Rep. Nita Lowey and 19 House colleagues dashed off a letter to Quayle tweaking him for setting up a double standard. "You were right to say that you would respect your daughter's decision," the letter said. "You

should do the same for all American women."

Gov. Cuomo praised the man he has referred to as Danny the Cabin Boy, commending the fact that he has adopted "the classic pro-choice position."

And House Speaker Thomas Foley said Quayle's quip "sounds like choice to me . . . a respect for a woman's right to make the decision."

Quayle also told Larry King that he would "consider" appearing on "Murphy Brown" but "they would try to censor my viewpoint because they don't like my viewpoint."

"Murphy Brown" creator Diane English was on vacation and not available for comment, an aide said.

1-24-92

Words snare Quayle

By OWEN MORITZ

Daily News Staff Writer

Abortion-rights advocates yesterday capitalized on Vice President Quayle's statement that he would not force his daughter to bear a child she didn't want.

"Mr. Quayle, welcome to the pro-choice family," said Planned Parenthood.

The National Abortion Rights Action League said it welcomed Quayle's "newfound respect for his own daughter's freedom to choose."

But the group lamented that "he and (President) Bush want to take that same freedom away from everyone else."

Lynn Abraham, speaking for National Planned Parenthood, said: "Our organization counsels and helps thousands of young women facing similar decisions every day. We are pleased to welcome Mr. Quayle to the pro-choice family."

Anti-abortion groups sought to downplay the veep's comments, attributing Quayle's willingness to accept a daughter's abortion as more compassion than political change.

David O'Steen, executive director of the National Right to Life Committee, said Quayle was simply trying to explain that "you can love a person that makes a wrong decision and still not approve of the decision."

He said most anti-abortion parents would feel the same way.

Elleen Slattery, a pro-lifer who heads the Manhattan Pregnancy Center, said she understood Quayle's dilemma and that "you can't lock her in a closet for nine months."

But she said: "It is wrong and she must be told that abortion is killing a child. Abortion is not a decision that is to be made."

Charles Black, a senior adviser to the Bush campaign, said, "I thought it was a very human and personal and honest answer to the question that I would guess the majority of Americans could identify with."

Quayle spokesman Jeff Nesbit insisted that the vice president did not mean that he would allow his daughter to have an abortion while she was still a teenager.

Nesbit said Quayle still believes abortion should be illegal, but that, "the bottom line, he is a very loving father who would support his daughter."

"Right now abortion is legal in this country," Nesbit said.

If Quayle's daughter, as an adult, decided to take that option, "It would be a wrong decision but he would support his daughter. . . . That's different than saying that what she does is right."

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DAILY NEWS CLIPS

The Washinton Post

The Washington Times

The Wall Street Journal

USA Today

The New York Times

Office of Media Affairs

Los Angeles Times

Baker, in Show of U.S. Support, Makes a Surprise Side Trip Into Lebanon

■ **Mideast:** The high-security detour is meant to dramatize the nation's recovery after more than 15 years of turbulence.

By JIM MANN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

JIDDA, Saudi Arabia—Traveling in an armored convoy under heavy security, Secretary of State James A. Baker III made a surprise visit to Lebanon on Thursday in an effort to dramatize the country's increasing stability and its recovery from more than 15 years of bloody civil war and anarchy.

Led by army vehicles and a mounted 7.62-millimeter machine gun, with Syrian intelligence and security officers joining American escorts in the motorcade, the secretary of state crossed at midday from Damascus across the Lebanese border into the Bekaa Valley, the area from which terrorist groups have launched a series of bombings and kidnappings of Americans and other Westerners.

So intense was the security that during Baker's return to Damascus, after news of his presence inside Lebanon had spread and thus increased the potential danger, his official convoy was preceded by an entire 12-car "dummy" motorcade. The fake convoy, which even included an ambulance, was designed to divert any potential attackers.

Baker's trip was the highest-level American visit to Lebanon since then-Vice President George Bush came in October, 1983, days after 241 U.S. servicemen were killed in a car-bomb attack in Beirut.

The terror-filled days of the mid- and late 1980s followed. In those years, the Reagan and Bush administrations were preoccupied with efforts to free the Americans taken hostage by terrorist groups in Lebanon, such as the Hezbollah militia. Many of the hostages were held in the same region through which Baker traveled Thursday.

"I have to tell you, I never felt that I would be coming to the Bekaa Valley, having been in the United States government in one form or another for the past 12 years," Baker told a press conference held at the country home of Lebanese President Elias Hrawi in the town of Zahlah, 33 miles from Beirut. "I do believe that it's an indication of the extent to which the United States supports the political independence and sovereignty of Lebanon."

Lebanese officials, who had been urging an American visit to help dramatize Lebanon's recovery, were clearly thrilled. "Lebanon has lived a painful 16 years, and . . . you are witnessing Lebanon's way out from the misery of war," Hrawi told the secretary of state. Lebanon's civil war erupted in 1975 and raged intermittently until peace was imposed last year with the help of Syria, the dominant foreign power in Lebanon.

Baker's trip underscored the declining influence of terrorist groups over American policy in the

BACKGROUND

■ James A. Baker III is the first U.S. secretary of state to visit Lebanon in almost a decade. In May, 1983, George P. Shultz went to the nation to sign an agreement designed to promote peace between Lebanon and Israel; the accord was later torpedoed by Syria. Five months after Shultz's trip, a suicide car-bombing at a U.S. Marine Corps barracks prompted then-Vice President George Bush to fly to Beirut. The attack, blamed on Islamic terrorists, killed 241 U.S. servicemen. Fifty-eight French paratroops were slain in a simultaneous attack. The incidents were part of a wave of kidnappings, assassinations and other attacks against Westerners that prompted Washington to declare Lebanon off limits for Americans in the 1980s.



Agence France-Presse

Baker with Elias Hrawi during visit to Lebanese president's home.

Middle East. Some American counterterrorism experts have argued that the 1989 revolutions in Eastern Europe and the disintegration of the Soviet Union have deprived terrorists of valuable support.

Baker's visit also demonstrated the Bush Administration's willingness to recognize Syria, which maintains 35,000 to 40,000 troops in Lebanon, as a powerful and continuing influence in Lebanon's political affairs, while still working to safeguard Lebanon's sovereignty and independence.

Lebanese Christians have been trying to forestall new elections at a time when, they argue, the country is under Syrian domination. In contrast, pro-Syrian forces have favored the idea of holding elections in Lebanon next month.

At his brief press conference, Baker said the timing of elections

"is a decision of the Lebanese government alone to make." But he said it is "vital that any elections be free of any hint of intimidation or apparent coercion"—evidently a reference to Lebanese fears of Syrian domination.

Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk Shareh, who was involved in the last-minute planning of Baker's visit, accompanied the secretary of state from Damascus to the Lebanese border. On the Syrian side, Baker traveled in a motorcade of four lightly armored vehicles.

At the Lebanese border town of Masnaa, Baker and his party were met by U.S. Ambassador to Lebanon Ryan Crocker and Lebanese Foreign Minister Faris Bouez as they switched to a more heavily armored convoy. During the drive through the Bekaa Valley, Baker rode in an armored Cadillac limou-

sine. Syrian anti-aircraft positions could be seen amid the vineyards and wheat fields.

Plainclothes Syrian intelligence agents carrying AK-47s were stationed along the route.

At the press conference, held in Hrawi's white-stone home under the eyes of Lebanese sharpshooters guarding the rooftops, Baker—who had met the night before with Syrian President Hafez Assad—acknowledged that there are some disagreements between the United States and Syria about how soon Syrian troops should pull back from the Beirut area.

Under the 1989 Taif Agreement, negotiated by Arab governments in an effort to develop a workable government for Lebanon, Syria is supposed to work with Lebanon to withdraw Syrian troops from the Beirut area to the Bekaa Valley within two years after the initiation of new constitutional reforms in Lebanon.

Lebanese officials have argued that this agreement means the Syrian withdrawal should come by this September, but Syria has refused to commit itself to such a date. "I think that the government of Syria wants to redeploy its forces . . . as soon as possible," Baker told the press conference. "In our interpretation, the government of Syria and Lebanon should get together in September to begin to decide how to begin the deployment."

The United States has repeatedly said it favors the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Lebanon, including not only the Syrians but also a few thousand Israeli troops in southern Lebanon.

Hours before Baker's arrival, Israeli warplanes raided suspected hide-outs of Shiite Muslim guerrillas in southern Lebanon, wire services reported.

The raid came two days after an Israeli soldier was killed and five were wounded in two Hezbollah attacks in southern Lebanon.

When asked by one reporter whether the visit to Lebanon amounted to a "stunt," an aide to Baker angrily replied: "This is not a stunt. He [Baker] is out here doing substantive work. He's working his butt off. He's not a frivolous person into the business of stunts."

Baker held about 4½ hours of talks with Assad and other Syrian officials Wednesday. Syria is the Arab government whose cooperation Baker most needs in working out a Mideast peace settlement. At a press conference Thursday morning, Syrian Foreign Minister Shareh said his country is willing to resume peace talks with Israel "as soon as possible" and hopes that the new Israeli government of Yitzhak Rabin will improve the chances for a settlement.

But the Syrian foreign minister rejected suggestions that Syria and other Arab governments should now make concessions in response to Israel's recent moves to curtail the construction of new settlements in the occupied territories.

Baker later flew to Jidda for a meeting with Saudi King Fahd.

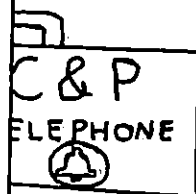
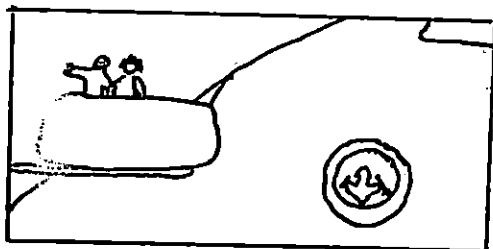
Special correspondent Marilyn Raschka, in Beirut, contributed to this story.

DAILY NEWS CLIPS
OFFICE OF MEDIA AFFAIRS
FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

WHAT REALLY HAPPENS IN MEG'S OFFICE ON THE WEEKEND

"HERE ARE THE 200 EXTRA PHONE LINES YOU ORDERED, MS. OFFIT"

"GOOD. BRING 'EM ON!"



RUMOR

After more than three years in the comparatively sheltered environment of the vice president's office, where he and his aides labored mightily to strengthen his image, Quayle continues to be held in low esteem by most Americans, according to public opinion polls. A Washington Post-ABC News poll this week found that 46% of likely voters surveyed thought Bush should dump Quayle as opposed to 40% who felt Quayle should stay. Only 26% had a favorable image of Quayle as opposed to 63% who view him negatively.

Within the Washington community the feeling that Quayle is a lightweight remains especially strong.

And the vice president himself has repeatedly added self-inflicted wounds with gaffes and miscues that seem to reinforce the old image—most recently his misguided effort to correct a schoolboy on the spelling of the word potato.

The rumor game has been around for generations. But in recent years, both its pace and its aggressiveness have accelerated. "There's an organized effort to put your spin on the news every day," said Republican consultant Jay Smith. "It's different than it was even six or 10 years ago."

Over the last few years, the game has claimed several prominent figures. Former Texas Sen. John Tower, for example, lost his bid to be secretary of defense in 1989 after repeated rumors about his private conduct. Early this year, the storm over Clinton's personal life that nearly destroyed him was intensified by unending rumors that worse was still to come. And during the Ronald Reagan Administration, rumor and palace intrigue served as a prime method of operation as senior Reagan aides struggled behind the scenes for influence over their boss.

Now, with many Republicans fearful that the Bush-Quayle ticket could carry them down to disaster, the time-honored dance has begun again.

Wednesday, for example, a senior Pentagon aide casually slipped the words "vice president" and "Dick Cheney" into the same sentence during a conversation with a reporter. The aide insisted when asked that he did not mean to imply that he had any knowledge that his boss, the secretary of defense, might be changing jobs—but he no doubt knew the reporter would repeat the story to someone else.

Senators pass along word of meetings of GOP insiders in which replacing Quayle is high on the agenda, along with demands for the heads of Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady and budget director Richard G. Darman.

Housing Secretary Jack Kemp, one of those sometimes mentioned as a replacement for Quayle, spreads word he is so distressed at the state of affairs that he may skip the GOP convention next month in Houston.

Wednesday night brought the classic next move in the familiar drama: The target of the rumor takes to the airwaves to insist he is happy and secure in his job—usually a sign that neither is true.

In this case, the whispering campaign against Quayle has been



Associated Press

Vice President Dan Quayle chats with a group at breakfast Thursday at a restaurant in Evansville, Ind.

intensified by yet another still-unofficial development—that Secretary of State James A. Baker III will return to the White House to take charge of the campaign.

Four years ago, at the GOP convention in New Orleans, Baker made no secret of the fact that he had been left out of the decision to select Quayle even though the Texan was running Bush's campaign and was considered his closest friend and confidant. Nor was there much doubt that Baker considered the selection misguided.

During the ensuing campaign, Baker imposed tight limits on what Quayle could do or say—a step that Marilyn Quayle recently described in resentful terms in a Washington Post interview. The latest rumbling among insiders is that Baker's return will enable him to exact his revenge.

As the din has mounted, both the collectors of rumors and those who monger them have begun to watch every nuanced move for signals of whether the game will claim another victim.

And as Quayle has found, once the rumor game puts a person "in play," few things are more difficult than stopping the cycle. "It can go like a wildfire," said Democratic consultant Anthony Podesta, who has watched several such rumor storms burn candidates of his party. "An absolute denial only feeds the certainty that it's true."

For a campaign caught in the midst of such a storm, there is usually only one way out, said Michael McCurry, another Democratic consultant. "You've got to make news," he said.

"They've got to figure out a good, solid way to make news every day that will distract everyone from the rumor story. They're losing control of the news cycle."

Thursday, the Republican National Committee tried to regain that control, faxing "talking points" to several hundred Republican officials and consultants that directed them to tell reporters that Quayle would definitely stay on the ticket and that "the rumors have noticeably subsided—and noticeably overnight," as campaign press

secretary Torie Clarke said.

Meanwhile, Bush's advisers sent him to a college in suburban Virginia to sign legislation authorizing increased spending for higher education in hopes of generating pictures for television that would displace the stories of disarray in his campaign.

But the President had little new to say, and network news programs once again focused not on him but on Quayle.

Behind the scenes, meantime, Bush strategists continue to debate how best to reverse the plunge in the polls that has fed the GOP anxiety. Bush spokesman Marlin Fitzwater and campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter have adopted more aggressive stands in criticizing Clinton and his record. Quayle seemed to pick up on that idea Thursday, predicting it would be Clinton's turn to panic by October when he realizes "his character is going to be discussed."

But even as the Republican high command tried to shift the debate, the dynamics of the rumor game kept getting in the way as other party leaders used the opportunity to score points and settle scores.

Thursday morning, a well-known incumbent Republican senator told his campaign consultant he fears Bush's unpopularity will cost the senator 10 points—and his reelection. The consultant promptly passed the news to the press.

Louisiana's Republican chairman, William Nungesser, a conservative who endorsed Patrick J. Buchanan's campaign against Bush earlier this year, confided to a reporter that "a very prominent Republican—I can't tell you who it is" had just told him that "they're going to dump Quayle for Kemp."

William J. Bennett, the former education secretary and drug czar who harbors presidential ambitions of his own, rejected an invitation to serve as a national co-chairman of the Bush campaign—in large part, he said in an interview, because he lacked "a clear idea of what the campaign was about."

"I didn't want to sign on without knowing what the themes were," Bennett said, adding that he told

Bush in a conversation two weeks ago: "Look, I've got real disagreements with the people running your campaign, and if I get it there, it'll only cause friction."

Richard Viguerie, the conservative direct-mail specialist who likes to tout the importance of the voters on the mailing lists he can sell to campaigns, used the opportunity of the current season to attack two of his *bêtes noires*—Brady and Darman.

"If he doesn't make personnel changes and make them quick, it'll all over with," Viguerie said. "There's just deep, deep anger out there among conservatives, and Bush doesn't seem to understand that."

And even within Bush's campaign, aides who once specialize in barbed quips about Clinton now take shots at their own boss.

"I can't understand this," one Bush aide said, complaining about the President's insistence on no directly attacking his opponent until after the Republican convention. "Four years ago we came out of the convention and it was fight, fight against Dukakis. We're in far worse shape this time around, and the top guy still wants to play nice."

As for Quayle, even those who ended up supporting him did so in terms that had the glint of the knife about them.

At Thursday's White House meeting between Bush and the GOP senators, participants made it clear without quite saying so that they favored keeping Quayle only because dumping him would be even more damaging.

That sentiment was echoed by Louisiana party chairman Nungesser. "I know what the polls say about Quayle and everything," he said, "and maybe they'll decide those are significant."

"But to make a switch like that so close to the convention! That's open up Pandora's Box."

Nungesser was at least willing to speak aloud. When it came to Quayle, most everyone else would only whisper.

Times staff writer William Eaton contributed to this story.

Quayles Clarify Abortion Stand

■ **Family:** Both would reluctantly support adult daughter if she chose to end a pregnancy but would seek to prevent such action by a minor child.

By PAUL HOUSTON
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—Vice President Dan Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, would reluctantly support their daughter if she chose to have an abortion as an adult but would seek to prevent an abortion if she were still a minor, a spokesman for the couple said Thursday.

The statement by aide Jeff Nesbitt sought to end a burst of controversy that erupted when the Quayles seemed to offer conflicting views on the politically potent abortion issue during separate talk-show appearances Wednesday night and Thursday morning.

Before it was over, the mini imbroglio had spread briefly to both abortion-rights and anti-abortion camps, each of which claimed that points had been scored for their side. Even Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton and House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.) had their say.

In the end, the incident appeared to be a wash politically, but it demonstrated once again the volatility of the issue and the speed with which an off-the-cuff remark can spin out of control in this highly charged election year.

The abortion episode began on CNN's "Larry King Live" Wednesday night as the vice president defended a plank in the Republican platform that calls for a constitutional amendment to ban abortion. He said the plank will not be changed, despite pressure from some Republicans, but that the party remains open to those who disagree.

Then Quayle praised a Pennsylvania law requiring a waiting period and parental consent for minors who seek an abortion. The Supreme Court upheld those provisions last month, but struck down a requirement that a woman notify her husband.

Quayle called the law a good balance and said: "My daughter, for example, if she wants to take an aspirin at school, she has to call and get permission. If she wants to have an abortion, she doesn't. I'm not sure that's right."

"What if your daughter grew up, had a problem, came to you with that problem all fathers fear? How would you deal with it?" King asked.

"I hope I never do have to deal with it," the vice president said. "But obviously I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

"And if the decision was abortion, you'd support her as a parent?" King asked.

"I'd support my daughter. I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision," Quayle said.

The vice president, Nesbitt said, was responding to a hypothetical question about what he would do if his daughter became pregnant as an adult and came to him for advice. On the other hand, Nesbitt said, Marilyn Quayle was responding to what the couple would do if Corinne became pregnant as a minor. Nesbitt discounted news reports suggesting that the Quayles were in disagreement.

Quayle himself, on a campaign visit to Indiana on Thursday, told the Associated Press that his remarks reflected "no change at all" in his opposition to abortion.

"We are pro-life," he said. "We are opposed to abortion."

At a later campaign appearance in Lexington, Ky., Quayle was asked whether he would support his daughter's decision to seek an abortion if the procedure were illegal. "I support my daughter . . . like any father," he said.

Kate Michelman, president of the National Abortion Rights Action League, took the opportunity

to spin the incident in her side's favor.

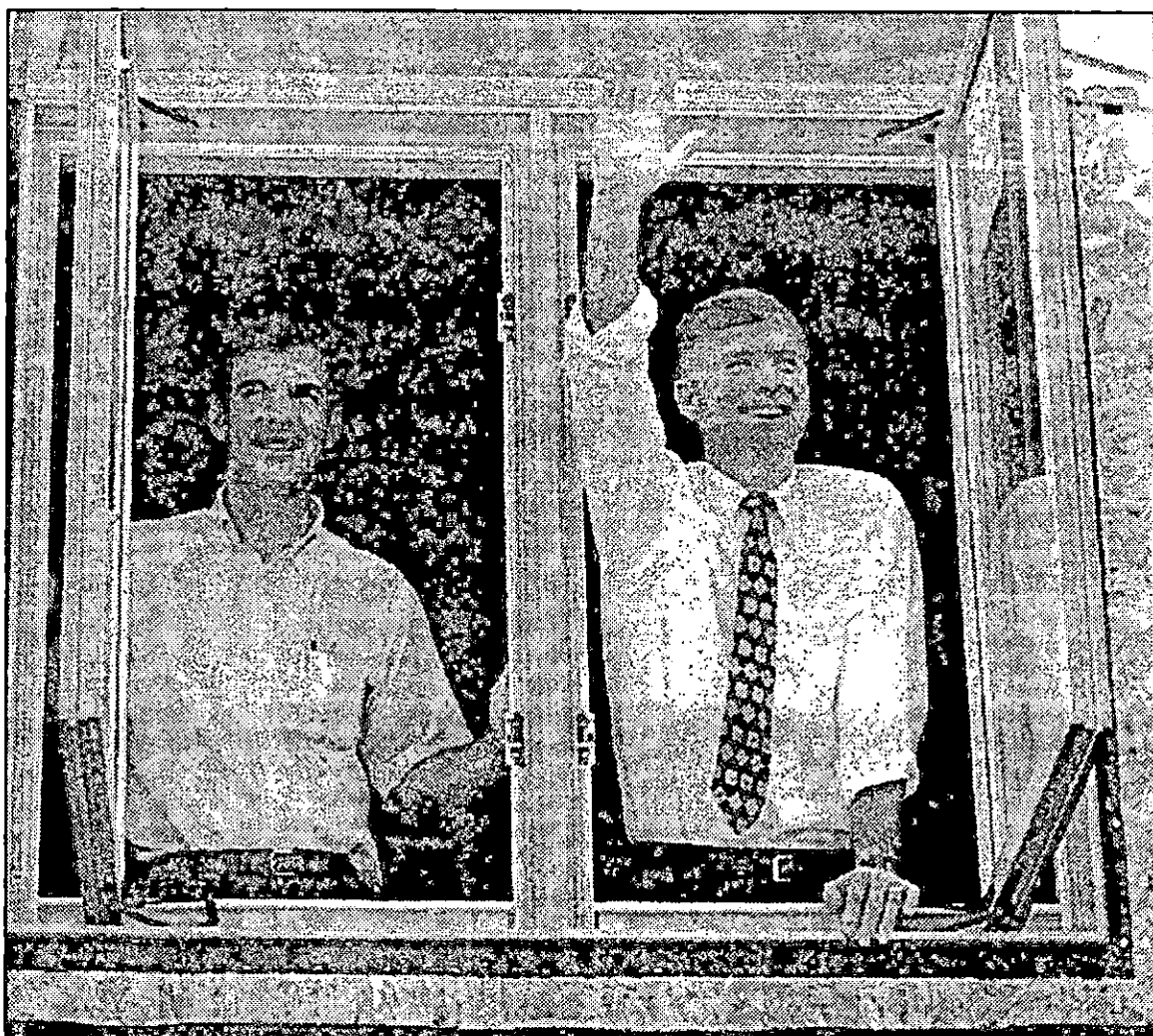
"While we welcome Vice President Quayle's newfound respect for his own daughter's freedom to choose, we regret that he and Bush want to take that same freedom away from everyone else . . ." she said. "The Bush-Quayle campaign is recognizing that it is out of touch with the majority of voters who are pro-choice."

But Wanda Franz, president of the National Right to Life Committee, saw it another way: "The vice president's statements last night were consistent with his pro-life views, his role as a parent and the reality that abortion is legal . . . the love and support [of parents] continues even when children make serious mistakes or even when children commit acts with which their parents disagree."

Clinton, asked about Quayle's comments as he walked to his Capitol office in Little Rock, Ark., replied: "I don't think I should comment on Dan Quayle's relationship with his daughter. He made a personal statement."

But the Arkansas governor, who supports abortion rights, went on to add: "I think it reinforces my position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

Asked what he would do if his 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, became pregnant, he said: "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."



Vice President Dan Quayle makes a campaign stop at a construction site in Evansville, Ind. At left is

home builder Jeff Hatfield. Quayle clarified remarks about abortion that he made on a talk show. A6

Associated Press

PEROT: Texan a Stranger in Politics' Strange Land

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vention was to begin in two days. He had to pull out all the stops. Rollins said, use all the tricks of the political trade, in a massive counterstrike against all the negative publicity and his precipitous drop in the polls.

The only alternatives, Rollins said, were a lingering death or a quick withdrawal from the race.

Perot, whose business credo had always been "Ready, fire, fire, fire," hesitated. Like so many green troops seeing combat for the

HOLDING THE BAG

When Perot called it quits, a lot of get-rich-quick dreams died as well. B10

first time, he couldn't pull the trigger.

Six days later, it was all over. Perot chose to quit rather than conduct a conventional political campaign with its ceaseless interest-group demands, its unending press scrutiny, the slippery advertising and the necessary lies.

"He stared American politics in the eye," said University of Texas historian Lewis L. Gould, "and he blinked."

Ross Perot is different from you and me. He has more money. But his 147-day journey into the wasteland of American politics showed him to be neither the legend we created of him nor the myth he claimed to be. We built him up so large that we forgot that he was just a man, a man with fears and doubts and flaws like the rest of us.

He took upon his fragile frame all the hopes and resentments of a troubled nation, and for five remarkable months he offered a glimpse of an alternative future free of the sloppy compromise of conventional governance. But when the burden proved too great, the press seemed to take unseemly glee in the fall of this flawed political novice.

"That a Wimp," screamed the New York Post.

"... Quitter," Newsweek proclaimed on its cover.

Shakespeare's Caesar, ambitious as Perot's grievous fault, and famously has he answered it, "I was a man who started out to rectify the disillusion in American politics. Instead he compounded it," said one. "Like many businessmen, he thought it would be easy. He found out that politics is a profession and it takes a great deal of time to go through the agony these people go through. We expected him to have the skin of a rhinoceros. He had the skin of a butterfly."

Prompted to Run

John Jay Hooker, a savvy Nashville politico and one-time Democratic candidate for governor of Tennessee, started calling Perot last November to urge him to run for President. The calls continued through December and January and into February, three, sometimes four calls a week. But the answer from the computer service man who got his start as an IBM salesman was always the same. "Forget it, pal. You're asking me to be an astronaut, and I don't know how to be an astronaut. I don't have the temperament for this. I can't have the desire to be President."

Hooker persisted. In early February, Perot met in Nashville for four hours with Hooker, Nashville Tennessee editor emeritus John Siegelwater and a number of other local opinion leaders.

"I was really pleading with him to run," Hooker recalled. "I told him he could be the Eisenhower of his generation. I asked him if there was any scenario under which he'd consider it, and the only way he'd agree to do it was if the people put him on the ballot in all 50 states." The meeting and Perot's condition for running were reported in the Tennesseean, but it caused barely a ripple.

Hooker helped arrange Perot's Feb. 20 appearance on CNN's "Larry King Live" television call-in show and informed King that if he pushed Perot, he'd get the same answer about running that Perot gave in the Nashville meeting.

"If you really press him," Hooker told King, "he'll give down the milk."

Near the end of the program, King asked if there were any conceivable scenario under which he'd run for President, and Perot gave his now-famous answer: "If you want to register me in 50 states... I'll promise you this. Between now and the conventions we'll get both parties' heads straight."

In Dallas, Luce was exercising on his treadmill watching the show. He almost fell off when Perot dropped his bombshell.

Perot's wife, Margot, had nearly the same reaction as she watched from the Perots' suite at Washington's luxurious Hay-Adams Hotel, across Lafayette Square from the White House.

"Don't worry, honey," Perot said when he returned to the hotel from the CNN studio. "There'll be a few days' publicity about this and it'll amount to nothing."

A few minutes later, an anonymous supporter slipped a \$5 bill and a note encouraging Perot to run under their hotel-room door.

Hooker spoke with Perot the next morning and Perot repeated his skeptical assessment of the likelihood of Americans organizing at the grass roots to elect a political nobody president. "I told him, they'll do it," Hooker said. "You don't understand the depth of despair in America, the intensity of the desire for change."

That morning, the telephones at Perot's business headquarters in Dallas were ringing off the hook. Within a week, volunteers for Perot had formed organizations in 46 states to begin collecting signatures to win Perot a place on the November ballot.

Three weeks later, after the embryonic Perot for President campaign had established a toll-free number, as many as 500,000 calls a day were being logged from volunteers asking how they could aid the effort.

Ross Perot, the ungainly little salesman from Texarkana, was off and running.

Hedging Bets

In those first heady weeks as the grass-roots movements grew around the country, Perot hedged his bets. He counted the chances of the petition drive succeeding in all 50 states and repeatedly stated that he was not driven by ambition to be President.

In private meetings with Luce and Meyerson, Perot expressed surprise at the groundswell building for his candidacy, attributing it not to the force of his personality but to a pervasive disgust with the American political process. He saw Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton as "crippled and unelectable," according to a senior adviser, and believed strongly that President Bush had so badly mismanaged the economy and foreign affairs that he did not deserve reelection. Looking over this charred landscape, he thought a well-financed independent candidate could capture the White House.

On March 29, support for Perot stood at 16% in national polls. Clinton was at 31% and falling; Bush at 44% and dropping even faster.

The first week of May, Perot's poll numbers topped Clinton's for the first time. A week later, he passed the incumbent President at 30% and his support was still rising.

Things were getting serious. On April 21, Perot hired Squires, the crusty former editor of the Chicago Tribune, to answer the deluge of press queries pouring into his new North Dallas petition-drive headquarters.

"Perot was totally surprised by the reaction he got after that first Larry King appearance," Squires said. "He started to run for office not of his own free will. He was swept into it."

Squires said he was never sure exactly what his role was supposed to be. Perot didn't want a speech writer; he composed his own remarks on yellow legal pads. He had no intention of conducting regular press conferences or catering to newspapers and television news operations—not when he could command huge audiences at will on Larry King and Barbara Walters and the network morning shows.

By late May, as volunteers were preparing to submit ballot petitions

in the first few states, Squires and Luce began looking for professional advice on how to advance the insurgent Perot campaign. They found Rollins, the architect of former President Ronald Reagan's 1984 landslide reelection, and Jordan, who had managed ex-President Jimmy Carter's 1976 and 1980 campaigns.

"We made a decision to bring these guys on for expert political advice. You've got to give them titles to make it worth their while," Squires said.

On June 3, Perot shocked the political Establishment by announcing the hiring of the two big names. They assumed the titles of campaign co-chairmen.

By now it was clear that Perot was mounting a serious independent bid for the White House. He began to come under the kind of scrutiny all candidates for that office face, with all the resources of the nation's media and the White House arrayed against him.

The details of Perot's long and controversial presence in the public eye came under the intense glare of publicity. One after another, the critical stories came out on television and in the daily newspa-

pers. They alleged that Perot was an unscrupulous businessman who had cheated rivals and the government out of millions of dollars in contracts and taxes; that Perot had cut improper business deals with the Vietnamese during his visits to Hanoi to investigate missing U.S. servicemen; that he had tried to weasel his way out of his four-year Navy commitment less than two years after graduating from the U.S. Naval Academy; that Perot had hired private investigators to spy on business rivals, on Bush, on members of Bush's family, even Perot's own children; that he had advocated suspension of the Constitution to battle drug dealers in Dallas; that he had bullied, blustered and plowed under anyone and anything that got in his way.

He was a "monster," said presidential spokesman Martin Fitzwater from the podium of the White House briefing room. He was a "temperamental tycoon" with "contempt for the Constitution," said Vice President Dan Quayle. He was Hitler, Mussolini and Atilla the Hun rolled into one, came the consensus from the opinion-meisters of the newspaper op-ed pages and the Sunday talk shows.

Even the gauzy memories of Perot's childhood in Texarkana were investigated and questioned. Had he really delivered newspapers on horseback in the town's black neighborhoods? Had he deliberately thumbed and re-thumbd his Boy Scout Handbook to make it look more used than it actually had been?

Perot read and watched this portrayal of his life in silence for weeks, speaking only to rallies of supporters as they turned in thousands upon thousands of petition signatures in state capitals around the country. He didn't begin to answer the charges until June 24, when, in his first and only full-blown press conference, in Annapolis, Md., Perot lashed out against Bush for conducting an orchestrated campaign to destroy him with spurious charges.

Perot, who had perceived conspiracies in every business defeat and in the government's failure to account for all the MIAs in Vietnam, now saw another conspiracy, directed by the President and carried out by a Republican Party "dirty tricks" squad.

Perot restrained his natural instincts to fight back and brushed off the GOP attacks as "Mickey Mouse tossed salad" and "animal crackers." He forced a smile, but they weren't smiling back.

The Fatal Flaw

Looking back, Luce now considers the hiring of Rollins and Jordan as the campaign's fatal mistake. Perot was connecting with the volunteers, Luce said; he had tapped a deep vein of public disenchantment with politics and politicians. Then Perot made the error of hiring a team of political pros who did everything they could to tear him away from the grass roots.

"I specifically discussed numerous times with Mr. Rollins before he was hired that he was coming into a campaign where the candidate would not be handled nor would he take three-by-five cards" telling him what to say, Luce said this week. He said there was "tension and conflict" between Perot and his political advisers from the day they came aboard. "People kept trying to force him into a process that he thought was sick, that did not yield leadership."

Rollins and his band of experts never really understood what Perot stood for and what he was trying to do, Luce said.

At the end of June, indecision gripped the Perot campaign. Perot continued to speak to friendly audiences at petition rallies, and his aides staff continued to work on an ambitious plan for correcting the nation's economic problems. But Perot could not bring himself to authorize an advertising campaign, he waffled on a choice of running mate and a date and place for a national convention. And despite a promise to begin spelling out a specific platform by the beginning of July, Perot continued to deliver the same patriotic and inspirational platitudes that had sustained his campaign for the previous four months.

Perot still hadn't given the campaign the go-ahead. He was allowing his enemies to define him. The unanimous advice was to do something he had an aversion to—launch a traditional media and public relations campaign, Squires said. "But there was total paralysis."

Los Angeles Times

Perot Stumbles Running the Political Gantlet

By JOHN M. BRODER
TIMES STAFF WRITER

DALLAS—A faded masking-tape X on the floor of a Lansing, Mich., airport hangar marks the spot where the earth yawned and swallowed Ross Perot whole.

It was on that spot—placed there by one of the political professionals that Perot so loathed but hired to help him get elected President—that Perot held his first and last conventional Tarmac press conference.

He agreed to the July 10 appearance against all his instincts. Just a day before, his chief spokesman had promised that there would be no airport photo ops, no "dancing bears" in the Perot campaign. The banty billionaire strode up to the microphones and outstretched tape recorders and spat out non-answers to a half-dozen hostile questions. He then angrily loped off toward his waiting private jet, and before the door was even closed, told his staff: "Never again. I am not going to run that kind of campaign."

Back in Dallas that night, he assembled his brain trust—long-time adviser Morton H. Meyerson, attorney and campaign manager Tom Luce, media counselor James Squires and his two hired political guns, Edward J. Rollins and Hamilton Jordan.

Rollins told Perot his drive was stalled, and he needed to take immediate action to restart it—a big image-making advertising campaign, direct-mail appeals, a dramatic public announcement of his economic program to upstage the surging Democrats, whose con-

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Los Angeles Times

Air Strike Threat Scorned by Iraq

■ **Persian Gulf:** Deputy premier says nation 'will never abandon its sovereignty,' won't open Agriculture Ministry to U.N. inspectors looking for missile records.

By ART PINE and KIM MURPHY, TIMES STAFF WRITERS

UNITED NATIONS—Iraq escalated its confrontation with the United Nations on Thursday, asserting that it will not admit U.N. inspectors to its records-laden Agriculture Ministry building despite threats of military intervention by the United States, Britain and France.

Bush Administration officials said that Defense Secretary Dick Cheney and Gen. Colin L. Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, briefed President Bush on military options against Iraq, as Pentagon officials cautioned that the resurgent Iraqi air force could pose a new threat to allied planes.

At a press conference in Baghdad reported by the Iraqi News Agency, Deputy Prime Minister Tarik Aziz told reporters that Iraq "will never abandon its sovereignty and will never accept any insult and will never allow a U.N. inspection team to threaten its internal security."

He said Iraq "is sticking with its rejection stand concerning any demand that will involve an insult to Iraq." And he warned that "the Iraqi people and Iraqi command are ready to face all consequences," apparently including a possible air strike by the West.

The hard-line Iraqi stance intensified frustration among the Western powers and prompted the Bush Administration to step up its warnings to Baghdad, with the Pentagon announcing that it has canceled a scheduled visit to Greece by the aircraft carrier *Saratoga*, freeing it for possible duty near Iraq.

A day after U.N. inspectors left Baghdad, stymied in their efforts to look for ballistic missile records in the Agriculture Ministry, Pentagon officials said that one critical impediment to a military strike has been removed. With the inspectors gone, Iraq has been stripped of its ability to take a team of international hostages if violence erupts.

But knowledgeable American officials said the Pentagon sees

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Los Angeles Times

IRAQ: Air Strike Threat Scorned

Continued from A1

new dangers in any military action against Iraq. They confirmed that Iraq, in its first postwar use of warplanes in combat, flew a small number of sophisticated bombers and jets against Shiite Muslim rebels north of Basra, in southern Iraq, this week.

The use of warplanes for both combat and patrol missions reflects a recent upsurge in combat training for the Iraqi air force, officials said. And Pentagon officials have warned that a U.S. air strike could face greater dangers than in the year that followed Iraq's defeat in the Gulf War, when training flights were halted completely.

Iraq's air defense network has also been substantially rebuilt in recent months, according to officials.

Presidential press spokesman Marlin Fitzwater emphasized Thursday that the White House meeting and the cancellation of shore leave for crew members of the Saratoga were intended to send a signal to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. "The first message should be that he should get in compliance with the U.N. [cease-fire] resolutions and allow these inspectors the access they need," Fitzwater said. "The message should be that we're very serious about this, and it's not a matter that he should put off."

Dozens of Air Force F-15E fighter-bombers, radar-eluding F-117 fighters, A-10 attack planes and electronic jamming planes remain at bases throughout Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf, where they are within striking distance of Iraq, Pentagon officials said. On Tuesday, Navy officials said that an armada of 37 warships, including the carriers Saratoga and Independence, are in the region.

Meanwhile, the prospect that Bush might face serious domestic political pressures if the United States launched a military strike against Iraq was eased substantially Thursday as Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton announced that he would support Bush in any such endeavor.

At a news conference in Little Rock, Ark., Clinton told reporters: "Let there be no mistake: If the U.N. decides to use force to ensure Iraqi compliance" with the cease-fire resolution, "... I will support American participation in such action.

"Even during an election campaign, Americans are united on this issue," the Arkansas governor added. Hussein, he declared, "should understand that we will not tolerate his defiance of U.N. resolutions."

Clinton, however, appeared to rule out any action aimed at forcibly removing Hussein from power.

"That's not part of the U.N. mandates—eliminating him," he told an interviewer in Houston. "Controlling him is."

The situation at the United Nations remained fluid Thursday. The Security Council met briefly to review conditions in the former Yugoslav republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina but skirted any talk about Iraq. Officials said all the discussion about Baghdad was taking place "back in capitals."

The Security Council president, Jose Luis Jesus of Cape Verde, told reporters that U.N. authorities had offered a "compromise" to Iraq that proposes allowing the inspectors to enter the Agriculture Ministry in small groups, but diplomatic sources said it was unlikely that Baghdad would agree.

There are increasing indications here that if the major powers do decide to intervene militarily against Iraq, they will do so on their own, relying on previous resolutions of the Security Council without seeking any new U.N. authority.

David Hannay, the British ambassador to the United Nations, told reporters after Thursday's session that "there's no need to write more Security Council resolutions" because "all the Security Council resolutions that we need are [already] in place."

Diplomatic sources say the allied effort to win broad support for a new U.N. ultimatum to Iraq apparently has run into trouble. Without the kind of urgency that accompanied Iraq's invasion of Kuwait in 1990, many Security Council members have been lukewarm to the proposition.

The increasing defiance by Iraq of U.N. demands that it open its Agriculture Ministry has lent credence to some analysts' theory that the stance reflects a fundamental change in Iraq's relations with the West from the days just after the Gulf War.

Although Hussein has tested Western resolve before, he consistently has backed down once he sensed that he was approaching a serious confrontation with the United States and other major powers. But this time he has continued to defy U.N. demands, and his government's rhetoric appears to have intensified.

Aziz told reporters Thursday that his country "will not concede its sovereignty, will not accept any insult,

will not allow the inspection teams to threaten its national security and will not allow ... any other person affiliated with the United Nations to interfere in its internal affairs."

Pine reported from the United Nations and Murphy from Cairo. Times staff writers Melissa Healy and Douglas Jehl in Washington and Cathleen Decker in Houston contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

U.S. Tells Colombia: Get Escobar Back

■ **Drug war:** Twenty six guards are reportedly arrested for aiding the trafficker's escape.

By RONALD J. OSTROW
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Bush Administration said Thursday that it is appalled by drug lord Pablo Escobar's escape from a posh prison and declared in unusually blunt terms that the government of Colombian President Cesar Gaviria must get him back immediately.

"This is a dangerous step backwards for the country of Colombia and the rest of the world," said Bob Martinez, director of the White House Office of Drug Control Policy.

Escobar, a leader of the Medellin drug cartel, and nine associates escaped on Wednesday by overpowering officials who sought to transfer them to a military facility. Authorities had mounting evidence that Escobar was continuing to run his drug enterprise and ordering executions from the custom-built prison.

At least two guards were killed during the incident, according to wire service reports.

On Thursday, 26 guards were arrested on suspicion of being in Escobar's pay and aiding his escape, Associated Press reported.

As hundreds of Colombian army troops searched rugged mountains around the prison on Thursday, a man identifying himself as Escobar telephoned a Medellin radio station saying he was willing to surrender if he could return to the same prison and if the government would guarantee that he would not be harmed. The station said it verified the caller's identity by comparing a recording of the call to previous tapes of Escobar.

Soldiers and some anti-narcotics police who joined the search raided a rural home where Escobar and some of his lieutenants were said to have gathered. No one was found, but hot meals and coffee were still on the table, the Associated Press



Associated Press

Elite anti-drug police speed through Colombian countryside.

reported.

Martinez's statement noted that U.S. officials had repeatedly raised concerns about the security at Envigado prison, a converted ranch where Escobar was held for 13 months after accepting Gaviria's offer of leniency and a promise that he would not be extradited to the United States to face drug charges.

"We had been repeatedly assured by Colombian authorities that the prison was secure and that Escobar would face justice for his crimes," Martinez said. "Despite the good intentions of the Colombian government, apparently this was not the case."

Martinez was joined in the tough talk by Robert C. Bonner, administrator of the Drug Enforcement Administration, who said he is extremely concerned about Escobar's escape. "We hope that he will be apprehended and returned to custody as soon as possible and that he will be held fully accountable for his crimes."

The White House later softened the reaction, calling the escape unfortunate but vowing to continue its support for and cooperation with the Gaviria government. "This underlines the difficulties legitimate governments have in halting drug trafficking," Press Secretary Marlin Fitzwater said.

The decision by the Gaviria government to move Escobar came after the recent slaying of two former top aides to the drug lord. Escobar had summoned the two,

Geraldo Moncada and Fernando Galeano, to the prison for a confrontation over policy disagreements. They were kidnaped as they left the prison and their torture-scarred bodies were found near Medellin on July 10.

A U.S. law enforcement official said that allegations that Escobar was involved in the killings are credible and cited information that Escobar was behind the recent assassination of up to 18 other "substantial gangsters."

"In the past several weeks, he began moving to reaffirm himself as the don of the cartel," added the official, who declined to be identified by name or agency.

"If ever there were doubts that serious charges could be levied against Mr. Escobar," the official said, they should be erased because prison guards were killed during the escape.

Former Colombian Justice Minister Enrique Parejo said the escape showed that Gaviria "has no moral authority for continuing to govern Colombia."

Parejo resigned in 1991 in a disagreement with Gaviria over his decision to conduct negotiations with the drug traffickers that eventually led to their surrender.

A few months later, cartel killers tried to assassinate Parejo in Budapest, where he was serving as Colombia's ambassador to Hungary.

Times staff writer Douglas Jehl contributed to this story.

Los Angeles Times

U.S. Left Firm Open Despite Link to Iraq

By DOUGLAS FRANTZ
and MURRAY WAAS
SPECIAL TO THE TIMES

WASHINGTON—In September of 1990, Customs Service agents padlocked the doors of an Iraqi front company in a Cleveland suburb and, in response to a presidential order, froze its \$2 million in assets.

Customs Commissioner Carol Hallett said the action against Matrix Churchill Corp. came after agents learned that Iraq, which had invaded Kuwait one month earlier, had bought the firm "for the specific purpose of illegally acquiring critical weapons technology."

But, unknown to Customs officials, government intelligence agencies had been aware of Matrix Churchill's role in Baghdad's arms procurement network for more than a year and had warned Bush Administration policy-makers, according to newly obtained documents and sources interviewed by The Times.

The Administration, however, allowed Matrix Churchill to continue operations, in keeping with President Bush's decision to try to influence Iraqi President Saddam Hussein through favorable policy on high-tech exports and economic incentives.

Administration officials maintain that any military assistance to Iraq was an inadvertent consequence of the attempt to moderate Iraqi actions. They said that they were unaware of the extent of the network's operations in this country and that top officials were distracted by other foreign policy

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concerns.

But Rep. Henry B. Gonzalez (D-Tex.), whose House Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs Committee has been investigating Matrix Churchill and the Administration's policies toward Iraq, said: "The Administration knew a great deal about Saddam Hussein's military procurement program and made a conscious decision to tolerate it, and in many cases facilitated the effort."

As early as June, 1989, a top-secret U.S. intelligence report had identified Matrix Churchill's British parent company as a key component of the Iraqi network, according to a newly disclosed document.

And two months later, Defense Department analysts discovered that the Cleveland operation had funneled tens of millions of dollars worth of U.S. technology to Iraq's nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs, according to sources.

Recently declassified State Department documents show that after Iraq's invasion of Kuwait, Administration officials calculated that the Iraqi regime spent \$10 billion to \$20 billion acquiring nuclear weapons and missile technology in the 1980s. Most of the buying took place through a series of front companies and shadowy agents operating in Europe, but some occurred in the United States.

The Iraqi network here depended heavily on financing from the now-notorious Atlanta branch of Italy's Banca Nazionale del Lavoro. The branch provided Iraq with \$5 billion in illicit loans, much of it used to buy military goods and technology, congressional and federal investigators say.

The contact point between BNL and the network was Safa Haji al-Habobi, who has been named in

intelligence reports as the person who ran the daily operations of the procurement network worldwide. Court records identify him as the director of one of Iraq's top military facilities and an officer of numerous commercial front companies set up by Iraq to buy technology.

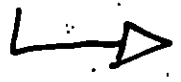
Habobi was one of four Iraqi government officials indicted along with three BNL employees at the end of the Persian Gulf War in the bank case. They were charged with conspiring to defraud BNL and U.S. regulators by concealing the Iraqi loans. Authorities believe that Habobi is now in Iraq.

Among the front companies he headed were Matrix Churchill and its British parent, Matrix Churchill Ltd., the indictment says. The British company was a leading manufacturer of high-technology lathes with commercial and military uses.

Habobi appears to have used the Ohio subsidiary to try to procure U.S. items from an ambitious shopping list. Court records and other intelligence reports allege that the Cleveland firm helped Iraq obtain U.S. technology for such projects as the development of a nuclear-capable ballistic missile, enhancement of Scud missiles and construction of the famous "super-gun" by Gerald Bull, a renegade military designer from Canada.

"Materials were exported to Iraq through Matrix Churchill that we believe had military uses," said Steve Hartkop, a Customs supervisor in Cleveland, who declined to provide additional information because the investigation is continuing.

Among the technology and equipment listed in court records was a \$14-million carbide-tool manufacturing plant able to cut precise parts for nuclear weapons



Los Angeles Times

MATRIX: U.S. Left Ohio Firm Open Despite Link to Iraq

and aircraft, a \$40-million brass-casting factory and a \$26-million ductile-pipe plant. Iraq did receive some of the equipment.

In each case, financing came from BNL in Atlanta. And, federal investigators say, many of the contracts required the sellers to pay kickbacks to Matrix Churchill of up to 10% of the project's price. Some investigators suspect that the fee was demanded by the Iraqi government, demonstrating the government's role in the network.

For instance, a contract with SerVaas Inc. for the brass plant called for Matrix Churchill to receive a 5% fee on all payments for the \$40-million facility, according to court records.

Indianapolis City Council Presi-

sels apartment a short time later. The killing remains unsolved.

Internal Matrix Churchill records also indicate that the company was buying technology for the Condor II, a joint Iraqi-Egyptian-Argentinian project to develop a missile to deliver nuclear warheads. Sources said the missile project was code-named "Project 395" and purchases for it were disguised as going to a dam construction site.

The British parent company also was busy on behalf of Iraq, according to court records and classified documents. Matrix supplied millions of dollars' worth of computer-controlled lathes to Iraq with BNL financing; and an affiliate was engaged in a joint venture

had been used by Iraq to produce weapons. The report also warned that Iraq was developing a mid-range ballistic missile under the code name "Project 395."

Knowledge of the network was widespread. It was described in an intelligence report prepared that summer by the CIA and distributed to 38 Administration officials, including seven at the National Security Council and 10 at the State Department.

Domestic elements of the network were uncovered by other Defense Department analysts when they examined records seized by the FBI in a raid on BNL's branch in Atlanta on Aug. 4, 1989.

When officials from the Pentagon's Defense Technology Security Agency, which had fought exports of U.S. technology to Iraq for years, arrived in Atlanta a few days after the raid, they discovered that BNL had been funding large parts of the Iraqi arms network, Gonzalez said.

Sources outside Congress said the analysts found that Matrix Churchill and BNL had worked together to acquire and finance technology for the Condor II missile, Bull's super-gun and nuclear weapons.

Word of Matrix Churchill's role went to the State Department in an Oct. 11, 1989, memo. It said the company had been demanding a "consulting fee" on exports to Iraq under orders from the Iraqi government. The memo added: "Some information has been developed that Churchill Matrix [sic] has been involved in supplying military hardware to Iraq."

In November, 1989, a CIA report linked BNL to financing for the Condor II and identified companies suspected of being part of the Iraqi

network. Among them were Matrix Churchill and Bull's Space Research Corp.

"We believe Iraqi intelligence is directly involved in the activities of many holding companies funneling technology to Iraq," the Nov. 6 CIA analysis said.

Despite such warnings, the Bush Administration continued to provide loan guarantees to Iraq in the fall of 1989 and resisted efforts to restrict sales of sensitive U.S. technology to Baghdad as late as May, 1990, according to records.

Internal Matrix Churchill documents show that U.S. Customs agents first interviewed company officials in Cleveland on April 30, 1990, about 10 months after the first Defense Intelligence Agency report.

Customs, which has front-line responsibility for enforcing export laws, developed its own investigation, and for unknown reasons intelligence reports on Matrix Churchill were not provided to Customs until after the invasion of Kuwait, one high-ranking federal law enforcement official said.

The effectiveness of Matrix Churchill's efforts on behalf of Iraq remain unclear. Some of the exports were blocked when the United Nations imposed sanctions on Iraq after the invasion of Kuwait. However, authorities discovered that Iraq was far closer to producing a nuclear weapon than had been suspected.

Further, when U.N. inspectors went into Iraq after the end of the war in 1991, they discovered a massive prototype of Bull's super-gun concealed on a small mountain in the northern part of the country.

Frantz is a Times staff writer and Waas is a special correspondent.

As early as June, 1989, a top-secret U.S. intelligence report had identified Matrix Churchill's British parent company as a key component of the Iraqi network, according to a newly disclosed document.

dent Beurt R. SerVaas, the owner of the company, told a congressional committee last year that the plant was being designed solely for commercial uses and he had no reason to be suspicious of Matrix Churchill.

Weapons experts and law enforcement officials suspect that Iraq intended to use the \$26-million ductile-pipe factory to build barrels for Bull's super-gun. The Canadian ballistics expert had already sold Iraq advanced howitzers, according to classified records, but the super-gun was Baghdad's dream weapon.

The gun was expected to bring Israel within range of nuclear shells. Pieces of the super-gun were seized by authorities in London in the spring of 1990, and Bull was assassinated outside his Brus-

with Bull to buy an aircraft factory in Ireland when he was killed.

U.S. intelligence agents were aware of Matrix Churchill's activities on behalf of Iraq in Europe at least by June, 1989.

In an analysis that month classified "top secret," the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency warned that Iraq was obtaining weapons technology through a covert network.

"Iraq has developed a major European military procurement network for its defense industries," the report said. "The network connects Iraq to suppliers of precision machine tools . . . centrifuges, chemical and biological precursors [and] missile components."

The report identified Matrix Churchill in Britain as secretly owned by Iraq and said its lathes

NATION

Bush Lowers '92 Deficit Forecast by \$66 Billion

■ Economy: He blames the Democrat-controlled Congress for failing to pass Administration proposals. But lawmakers call report partisan politics.

By JAMES RISEN
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The Bush Administration on Thursday predicted a federal deficit for 1992 of \$333.5 billion—\$66.2 billion less than the White House had forecast when it released its budget last winter, but only because Congress has not yet provided fresh funds for the massive S&L bailout.

The White House also released a revised economic forecast that anticipates continued sluggish growth through the end of the year—thus offering little political solace to President Bush and his reelection campaign.

The White House predicted that annual growth would amount to a modest 2.7% for 1992, up from its earlier estimate of 2.2%. But the Administration also projected that the nation's unemployment rate would average 7.3% for the year, a more pessimistic forecast than its January estimate of 6.9% and closer to the June jobless rate of 7.8%.

White House chief economic adviser Michael J. Boskin noted that the Administration's new forecast is largely in line with recent predictions from both private economists and the Federal Reserve board.

In a political attack on the Democratic leadership, White House Budget Director Richard G. Darman used the release of the budget and economic update as an opportunity to blame the nation's prolonged economic downturn on the Democrat-controlled Congress' refusal to pass the President's economic initiatives.

Darman also attempted to counter mounting criticism of alleged White House paralysis on the economy by pointing to the repeated rejection by Congress of new funding for the Resolution Trust Corp., which handles the S&L clean-up, as a symptom of a broader gridlock on Capitol Hill.

The refusal to approve new funds for the RTC has limited the agency's ability to seize failing thrifts, a key Administration officials argue, that ultimately will add both to the costs of the bailout and the federal deficit.

"The good news is the deficit is down because Congress has failed to act," Darman said. "The bad news is: The economy is not as far up and the deficit is not as far down as they should be because Congress has failed to act."

Congressional Democrats responded by attacking the Administration's mid-year budget revision, calling it a partisan political document that offered no new initiatives to help pull the nation from its economic doldrums.

"It's become a presidential reelection manual, produced and printed at taxpayer expense," complained Sen. Jim Cooper (D-Tenn.), chairman of the Senate Budget Committee.

"When the team that should be fixing the economy comes a political hit-team fixing blame, it means the Bush Administration is more interested in halting the

Red Ink Revisions

The Administration sharply lowered its estimate of the nation's budget deficit in its midyear economic review. The primary reason for the cut was reduced government spending to bail out sick savings and loans. That savings is reflected in deposit insurance spending. Here are some of the changes, in billions:

	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
February estimates	-399.7	-349.9	-212.3	-193.6	-181.3	-187.7
Midyear revision	-333.5	-341.0	-274.2	-218.4	-217.7	-236.7

Changes due to:

Deposit insurance	69.1	16.3	-46.1	2.5	1.5	1.6
Receipts	-2.1	-2.4	-10.0	-16.0	-24.9	-32.7
Other changes	-0.8	-4.9	-5.8	-11.3	-13.0	-17.9
Total changes	66.2	9.0	-62.0	-24.8	-36.4	-49.0

Other Projections

	1992	1993
Economic growth	2%	3%
Inflation	3.1%	3.3%
Unemployment	6.9%*	6.4%*

	1992	1993
Private Analysts**		
Economic growth	2.1%	3%
Inflation	3.2%	3.5%

* Estimate for fourth quarter

** The latest consensus of 50 top economists compiled by Blue Chip Economic Indicators

Source: Office of Management and Budget

President's decline in the polls than in helping America's declining economy," added House Majority Leader Richard A. Gephardt (D-Mo.).

"The country would be far better off if the Bush Administration spent its time trying to solve problems instead of trying to smash the Congress and their political opponents," he said.

The budget and economic revisions come at a critical juncture in the presidential campaign, when the economy clearly has become Bush's chief political liability.

Indeed, the economy's weakness was underscored again Thursday, when the government reported that the number of Americans filing first-time claims for unemployment benefits rose sharply in early July. The Labor Department said that initial jobless claims for the week ending July 11 hit 422,000, up from 403,000 the week before—making it unlikely that the nation's unemployment rate would show much improvement this month.

With Bush's standing in the polls plummeting, the mid-year review offered the Administration a chance to provide a renewed argument for its economic policies—many of which lie stillborn in Congress—and to contrast them with the Democratic alternatives.

In preparing the budget revision, officials took the unusual step of reprinting 390 pages of Bush's budget proposal from January, with commentary critical of Congress for failing to enact his proposals.

"Almost all of the initiatives that require congressional action are still pending," the White House charged in the

budget report.

And to demonstrate White House leadership on the economy, Darman indicated that the Administration soon will resume a legislative push for at least part of the President's economic growth and tax package, which Congress rebuffed last spring.

"I think you would all agree that the economy is growing at too slow a pace, and we have got to get it moving," said Darman. "We believe these policies are in the best interest of the country and the health of the economy, so we've got responsibility to try to advance them."

But most Administration officials acknowledge that they have no new initiatives to add to the proposals. And Darman and others conceded that Congress is unlikely to give the White House what it wants just as the presidential campaign is heating up.

Darman said that the White House still has not decided how hard to push for the more controversial aspects of the package, including Bush's longstanding proposal to cut the capital gains tax.

Darman stressed, however, that the Administration would oppose any legislation that includes a tax increase on the rich—a plan that may be proposed by leading congressional Democrats. Other Administration officials added that the White House has no intention of pushing for politically popular tax cuts for the middle class either.

In its budget revision, the White House estimated that a \$69.1-billion drop in spending on deposit insurance for the S&L bailout would far outweigh a slight, \$2.1-billion drop in tax revenues and the result in a substantial decline in the deficit for fiscal 1992, which ends in September. In its initial budget, released last February, the White House had estimated that the deficit would hit an all-time record of \$399.7 billion.

But Darman wrote in the budget revision that the delay in paying for failed thrifts will largely move "the necessary outlays to subsequent years."

The White House also reduced its earlier projections for the deficit in fiscal 1993, which begins in October, to \$341 billion, an \$8.9-billion drop from the February estimate of \$349.9 billion. That drop also is expected to result from a decrease in spending on deposit insurance for thrifts.

In sharp contrast to the initial budget, the White House also predicted that it could balance the federal budget by 1998—if Administration proposals to limit spending on Medicare and other mandatory programs are enacted by Congress.

That prediction, Darman said, was an effort to counter the criticism leveled at the Administration's initial budget proposal—the first in modern history in which the White House had not projected a balanced budget within five years.

Meanwhile, in what amounts to a Democratic budget alternative unveiled Thursday, Rep. Leon E. Panetta (D-Carmel Valley), chairman of the House Budget Committee, proposed a broad new spending bill that would generate about \$725 billion in spending cuts or tax increases over the next five fiscal years. That proposal put the Democratic leadership on record as offering to achieve a balanced budget by 1998.

Campaign ANALYSIS

This Week Saw Media Slip Back Into Bad Habits

Despite earlier pledges to dwell on broader issues, the press focused on sound bites, polls and campaign strife.

By THOMAS B. ROSENSTIEL

WASHINGTON

From Al and Bill's excellent adventure to rumors about Dan Quayle's future, this week in politics has offered a likely preview of what the presidential derby will look like this fall through the lens of the press.

Despite earlier vows to refocus coverage of the campaign this year, this week the press:

● Made much of polls that both campaigns say are not reliable predictors of general election sentiments.

● Proved unable to resist the pretty pictures and zinging sound bites from the bus tour of Democratic nominee Sen. Al Gore.

● Devoted considerable time and prominent display to stories about internal strategy and a series of rumors about troubles in President Bush's campaign.

The result was a week in which politics dominated the media agenda, although the content did not contain much discussion of the nation's problems.

The chief beneficiary was Clinton. His strategists were so delighted with how things went that they are planning another bus trip for the fall. "It doesn't get any better than this," one Clinton aide told NBC News.

Of course, the bus tour, the polls, and the crisis in the Bush camp were all legitimate news. But before the

'The result was a week in which politics dominated the media agenda, although the content did not contain much discussion of the nation's problems.'

campaign began, many in the press vowed not to overemphasize atmosphere at the expense of focusing on the broader concerns that usually decide elections.

"We are back to ground zero again," said Larry Sabato, the author of "Feeding Frenzy: How Attack Journalism Has Transformed American Politics." "Everything this week it was the same as four years ago, except it was the Democrats selling sound bites and photo ops and the Republicans having to deal with unsubstantiated rumors."

The week began with the "bounce" in the polls that Clinton got after the Democratic convention, which ranged from a 29-point Clinton lead in the Washington Post to 20 points in the Los Angeles Times.

The size of the "bounce" surprised many newsmen. USA Today, the Los Angeles Times, New York Times and Washington Post played the polls as Page 1 news. Even ABC's World News Tonight, which except for one News Tonight, which except for one

poll, led with one this time. But both Bush and Clinton advisers agreed that these numbers were all but useless for measuring where the race would be next fall.

"These are soufle polls, full of hot air," said Clinton strategist James Carville.

Yet the polls seemed to influence not only voters greeting Clinton's bus tour but also the tone of reporters covering it.

"You are riding an unbelievable crest of popularity," CBS' Harry Smith grilled Clinton on "CBS This Morning" Tuesday. "How do you account for it?"

"What is it," NBC's Bryant Gumbel bore in on Clinton the same day, "that people are responding to as they cheer [you] on this trip?"

Before the campaign began, television journalists had said they had allowed themselves to be too easily manipulated during the Reagan Administration into simply airing the pictures that politicians staged for them.

This week's coverage suggested that though they are trying to change, the networks have not yet perfected a way to resist such pictures. On CBS this week, for instance, Richard Threlkeld alerted viewers that Clinton was trying to draw comparisons to John F. Kennedy. But that warning against the Clinton strategy was overwhelmed by the pictures CBS showed: Clinton standing next to Kennedy statues, a film clip of Kennedy, and an admitting female voter talking about how much the Arkansas governor resembled the martyred President.

CBS also has instituted a new policy of trying to make every sound bite 30 seconds long. Please see ROSENSTIEL, A6

ROSENSTIEL

Continued from A5

seconds long, four times the length of the average sound bite this year. The policy has resulted in CBS communicating more of what candidates are really like, said media analyst Kathleen Jamieson of the University of Pennsylvania. But the immediate impact this week was that Clinton's attack on Bush went on a good deal longer Wednesday on CBS than it did on ABC or NBC, and Bush's refusal to discuss rumors about himself or Dan Quayle dropping out of the race lasted half a minute.

NBC also tried to move beyond the pictures, devoting its political segment Monday to a discussion of the economy as an issue, trying to fit the Clinton bus tour into that framework.

Another revealing preview of the fall is how the Bush campaign organized itself to react to the Clinton bus tour. Vice President Dan Quayle set up satellite interviews with local news stations in many of the cities where Clinton's bus tour was stopping, offering critics and criticism of the Democratic plan. By week's end, Clinton was spending more time responding to Republican attacks.

The lead story in the Wall Street Journal on Thursday was "How the Political Pros Figure the Election of Dumping Quayle." The top political story in the Washington Post was "Bush Seeks to Dispel 'Crazy Rumors.'" The lead story in the New York Times was "Bush Is Adamant on Keeping Quayle: A Flurry of Speculation."

While this reflects what was occurring in Washington this week, ultimately "most of what the national political press corps is focusing on is very marginal in terms of being important to voters or determining the election," said Brookings Institution scholar Stephen Hess.

One bit of journalism this week has stood out, though, in the minds of several press critics. The New York Times' Andrew Rosenstiel has spent time analyzing the veracity of what the political combatants are saying about each other. On Tuesday, he revealed that Utah Republican Sen. Jake Garn had lied about Clinton's proposals regarding homosexuals, and Thursday he revealed that several of President Bush's criticisms of Clinton were misleading.

According to Jamieson of the University of Pennsylvania, experience suggests that this kind of newscasting is not only useful to voters trying to sort out the truth but it also provides "a disincentive to those politicians who overstep the boundaries of honesty and fairness."

the boundaries of honesty and fairness."

Los Angeles Times

COLUMN LEFT/
ROBERT KUTTNER

Bill Clinton: One Liberal Who Can Win

■ He's no centrist, but a man who articulates liberalism in a way most voters seem to like.

The other day, George Bush confided to the voters that Bill Clinton is really a liberal. And Bush had the smoking gun: George McGovern, the arch-liberal, had said so!

This conclusion flies in the face of the conventional media wisdom about Clinton's moderation. The conventional syllogism goes like this: Liberalism is unpopular; Clinton is popular. Hence, Clinton must not be a liberal.

Far be it from me to lend credence to Bush, or to rain on Clinton's parade, but I think the reality is rather more complex. Clinton, from what I've seen, is pretty liberal on most issues, particularly where the economy is concerned. But he articulates that liberalism in a way that most voters seem to like, whatever their own preferred label, and whatever labels the Republicans try to pin on him.

Since Franklin D. Roosevelt, a liberal on economic issues has been one who thinks the government ought to intervene in the economy. A liberal is willing to use the government's power to regulate, to tax and to spend, in order to advance the well-being of people who are not independently wealthy, and who are vulnerable to reverses in the private marketplace that are beyond their control. Liberals are also less wary of public deficits than conservatives.

Based on this standard, Clinton is rather more liberal than either Jimmy Carter, Walter Mondale or Michael Dukakis. Carter came to Washington attacking big government. During his first year, he cautiously embraced some activist-uses of government, but he soon began sounding like an economic centrist.

Mondale, despite his ties to the labor movement, defined himself in his acceptance speech as the man who would raise taxes—not to increase public services but to cut the deficit. And Dukakis insisted that the election was not about ideology at all, but about competence. Even as Bush and Lee Atwater hung the liberal label around his neck, Dukakis refused to do much to rouse the enthusiasm of liberals.

Clinton, on the other hand, proposes to increase public spending by \$50 billion a year as an economic recovery strategy. He has not accepted the conservative advice to cut entitlements and to emphasize deficit reduction. On the contrary, he proposes significant (and popular) new entitlements—to health care and to education and training. And he proposes to finance these new outlays mainly by taxing the rich. Why, then, does the press insist that Clinton has rescued the Democratic

Party from its bad old liberal ways?

Several reasons. First of all, that is what the script calls for. In order to win, Democrats are supposed to repent.

Second, the man is a Southerner, and Southerners, almost by definition, can't be liberals.

Third, he was a darling of the Democratic Leadership Council, a group founded after the 1984 election by party moderates to pry the Democrats from the clutches of the AFL-CIO, Jesse Jackson and the McGovernites. If the DLC likes Clinton, he must not be a liberal.

Fourth, on some key symbolic issues Clinton has stressed conservative-sounding themes, such as personal responsibility, toughness on crime and impatience with long-term welfare dependency. He has also thrown party conservatives a few bones by going out of his way to cold-shoulder Jesse Jackson, and he has kept his distance from the AFL-CIO.

But at the same time, Clinton is pretty forceful about his liberalism even on many non-economic issues—reproductive choice, affirmative action, environmentalism and tolerance of sexual minorities.

He is no centrist. Rather he is the sort of liberal who wins—one who stresses pocketbook issues, identifies with the economic aspirations of ordinary working Americans, and uses government on behalf of their broad benefit.

But—and here is his real affinity with the DLC—Clinton has managed to espouse these liberal positions without being, or seeming, the captive of liberal interest groups. Thus, he embraces the issue of high-wage jobs and well-trained workers as an advocate of wage earners generally—not as a spokesman for the AFL-CIO. He wants abortion to be "safe, available and rare" without seeming in the pocket of the National Organization for Women. He is touting public investment as a recovery strategy, not as a favor to the National Conference of Mayors. As Arkansas governor, he has been a strong ally of blacks, to the point where he is confident enough to jettison Jesse Jackson.

In short, Clinton, for the first time in two decades, brings many of the strengths of liberalism without the liabilities. Anyone who mistakes this for scuttling to the political center is missing the sources of the candidate's strength.

Robert Kuttner is a syndicated columnist.

'Clinton has managed to espouse these liberal positions without being, or seeming, the captive of liberal interest groups.

Los Angeles Times

Clinton Attacks Bush Record on Crime

■ **Politics:** Democratic nominee's rally with officers in Houston mirrors a tactic the President used against Dukakis in last election.

By CATHLEEN DECKER
TIMES POLITICAL WRITER

HOUSTON—In a move made as much for symbolism as substance, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton traveled to President Bush's hometown Thursday to launch an assault on the Republican incumbent over territory that has been the province of the GOP for a dozen years—crime.

At a rain-drenched rally on the steps of Houston's City Hall, Clinton accused Bush of mouthing words of support for police officers during the 1988 campaign but failing to follow through once he became President.

"I think you ought to keep score not just on what we say but what we do," said Clinton, surrounded as he spoke by three dozen uniformed Houston police officers.

"This is a race not just between the past and the future; it's a difference between action and inaction. Anybody can talk a good game."

Clinton's embrace of the crime issue marked a new chapter in his continuing effort to co-opt the issues that made the difference for Bush in the 1988 campaign.

Coming off a bus tour where he spouted Middle American values at every turn and staged events lifted directly from the Republican playbook, Clinton's crime address signaled yet again that the 1992 nominee has learned from the bitter experience of his predecessor, Michael S. Dukakis, who was governor of Massachusetts when he got the Democratic nomination.

Although Dukakis spent most of the general election ignoring the opposition or playing

defense—allowing Bush to set in the public mind an image of the Democrat as soft on crime—Clinton has been on the offensive since his nomination one week ago.

The Clinton campaign has come out of the convention mimicking Bush's 1988 tactics.

The police event Thursday, for example, precisely duplicated Bush's 1988 foray into Dukakis' hometown of Boston, during which the Republican was surrounded by supportive Boston police officers. Police events were a staple of the Bush campaign—in one well-publicized gathering, the father of a slain police officer gave his son's badge to Bush.

he symbolism of Clinton's decision to Bush-bash in Houston was unmistakable. At a late-afternoon pep rally, Clinton went out of his way to tell campaign organizers that he believes in "a strong national defense and a strong political defense."

"You won't have any unilaterals," he said in a reference to Dukakis' refusal to take on the aggressive Republicans in 1988.

Much of Clinton's current approach is meant to inoculate him against continuing efforts by Bush lieutenants to define Clinton as they did Dukakis. Those efforts are certain to be buttressed by the President himself after next month's Republican convention.

In recent days, Republicans have criticized Clinton's running mate, Tennessee Sen. Al Gore, for his environmental activism and have tried to slap Clinton with a "tax-and-spend" label. Clinton has acknowledged raising taxes in Arkansas but said most of the increases were used to improve state schools.

"They can say whatever they want about Al Gore's environmentalism or about the fact that I raised some money to educate my children," he said. "But we have a record too and it's a better record than theirs."

"They're not just throwing negatives out there into the wind today. They have a record, and their record is clear."

Clinton campaign officials took pains to flesh out that record. En route to Houston, aides to the Arkansas governor released a three-page statistical analysis of Bush's record on crime and drugs, and on Clinton's experience in Arkansas.

The statistics, taken from the FBI's crime index, showed that violent crime has increased by 22.6% since 1980, when Republicans took over the White House, and by 14.8% since Bush took office. Statistics for Arkansas were not made available.

In his appearance with the Houston officers, Clinton mocked Bush for proposing a \$100-million cut in the amount of federal funds forwarded to local law enforcement agencies. The proposal was included in Bush's 1992 budget.

In contrast, Clinton said, he would put 100,000 more police officers on the streets of America. Some of that would be accomplished through a plan that would allow college graduates to work off their student loans by serving as police officers, he said.

The rest would come from a separate proposal that would allow servicemen and women mustered out of the military because of defense cutbacks to earn military retirement benefits by working as police officers.

Vocal Clinton opponents were sprinkled through the crowd at the police event. In addition to anti-abortion demonstrators who have dogged Clinton since his nomination, there was a contingent of gun control opponents who booed heartily when the Arkansas governor endorsed a federal waiting period for the purchase of handguns.

That legislation is known as the Brady bill after former White House Press Secretary James S. Brady, who was shot in the head in the 1981 attempt on President Ronald Reagan's life. Bush opposes the bill, which has yet to be passed by Congress.

"I don't see how a President can ask men and women to put on uniforms and risk their lives to keep the rest of us safe if he won't risk a little political capital," Clinton said.

Los Angeles Times

COLUMN ONE

Can Quayle Quiet the Whispers?

■ Washington insiders are playing the rumor game, a pastime they indulge with relish and skill. A victim can end up politically dead; the target this time is the vice president.

By DAVID LAUTER
and DOUGLAS JEHL
TIMES STAFF WRITERS

WASHINGTON—Intrigue: *n.* a weapon of political combat employing repetition and indirection to achieve ends that cannot be accomplished through open assault. See also innuendo, gossip. See also Dan Quayle.

See Quayle squirm.

It is a technique Washington has employed with relish many times, and now—as panic sets in among the capital's Republicans—the game is well afoot once more.

The players all know the rules—the wink-and-nod, the flying elbow to the eye when no one else is looking. It can be a calculated effort to inflict damage upon an enemy or—as in this case—primarily a desperate search for a scapegoat.

Regardless, the victim can end up politically dead or disabled with barely a mark on the body.

On Thursday afternoon, President Bush met with a group of GOP senators, and although the ostensible purpose was to discuss efforts to revive the massive superconducting super collider project, before long the discussion turned to Quayle's future, said sources familiar with the meeting.

No one present advocated dropping the vice president from the ticket, the sources insisted. But word spread quickly that once more the subject had been raised.

In Indiana, where Quayle spent much of the day campaigning, the vice president again faced questions about his future, insisting, as he has in the past, that his presence on the ticket helps Bush because "I have the ability to raise issues" that attract votes.

What started the latest round was Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's extraordinary week—seven days of soaring polls and a triumphal tour of the American heartland from his well upholstered motor coach. As Clinton rose, political insiders saw an opening to do what many here have long yearned to do for reasons of their own: get Quayle off the Republican ticket.

Accordingly, across the capital, the steady drip, drip of gossip has begun to wear away at the vice president.

"If you want Quayle off the ticket, now is the perfect time to start that stuff," said a senior aide to one prominent Republican who just might be interested in the job if it were to become vacant. "This is the season, and somebody wants to float the rumor."

In the present instance, Quayle is the natural target for panicky Republicans who want to do something about the sagging fortunes of their national ticket. The vice president's negatives are only too

Please see RUMOR, A6

Los Angeles Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 A11

COLUMN RIGHT/
WILLIAM F. BUCKLEY JR.Quiver Over
Quayle? Switch
Now to Kemp■ His communicable optimism
would have a transforming
effect on the Bush campaign.

A source I trust reports that last week Vice President Dan Quayle went to President Bush and offered to withdraw as a candidate for reelection.

This is seemly conduct. In most parliamentary situations, such a gesture would be taken for granted. If a member of the Cabinet is considered a drag on the ticket, why, he goes—it is considered entirely routine. Moreover, it is not considered evidence of anything other than a lack of relative popularity among the voters.

Popularity is only coincidentally a sign of ability. If Quayle were suddenly to find himself President of the United States, it is by no means inconceivable that 40 years hence historians would be writing about him such adulatory biographies as are now being written about Harry Truman.

My informant does not know whether Bush will take Quayle up on his offer. On the one hand, there is the hard empirical datum—60% of the voters would applaud his resignation, and his relative popularity in a contest with Al Gore puts him 10 to 15 points behind the dismaying 23-point lead Clinton has over Bush.

And then we are constantly reminded by the Democratic contenders that Bush said a few months ago that he would do "anything" to win in November. Is accepting Quayle's resignation as a candidate something short of anything?

The precedent that comes to mind is, of course, Franklin Roosevelt's dumping of Henry Wallace to take in Harry Truman. Granted, F.D.R. would have won that election if he had been named Donald Duck. But ever the political tactician, he made certain that the switch from Wallace to Truman was approved by Sidney Hillman, the labor union leader on whom Roosevelt leaned to mobilize the militants, not that they had anywhere to go if they disavowed Roosevelt.

Wallace was the darling of the Stalinoids. Truman was generally regarded simply as a working senator, son of a political machine. Much more attention would have been given to Truman if Roosevelt had let it be known that his personal physician had told him he must not work more than 1½ hours per day. He didn't tell the public this. Talk about doing anything to be reelected.

If Quayle were allowed to pull away, American conservatives would be watching with intense ideological curiosity whom Bush proposes in his place. Except for the inconvenience that Jim Baker is a Texan whose candidacy would mean the forfeiture of the Texan electoral vote, he would be the obvious choice, having

**'Bush said a few months ago
that he would do "anything" to
win in November. Is accepting
Quayle's resignation . . .
something short of anything?'**

tification with Ronald Reagan, the hard conservative community has always associated him with Bush Republicanism, not Reagan Republicanism, and indeed when George Bush was contending against Ronald Reagan, Jim Baker was his manager. The hard conservative community forgiveth not, witness its failure to acknowledge the movement of Nelson Rockefeller in our direction in his last years, and that of Henry Kissinger, who became the staunchest anti-communist in the diplomatic pantheon.

There is a movement within the White House for Jack Kemp, and his qualifications are manifest. He is identified with a special solicitude for the problem areas of the big cities. When Los Angeles exploded, Jack Kemp came instantly to mind, with his long war in favor of enterprise zones. Whereas a dozen years ago he was thought of as a fringe rightist, the old stigma is substantially gone.

Kemp has, moreover, a kind of communicable optimism that George Bush simply lacks. This is in part temperamental—Kemp is most at home cheering for the home team, in this case the United States. When he speaks about bringing prosperity to everyone, he is pulsating with desire. In any exchange with Al Gore on the subject of the prospects for America, Kemp would leave Gore sounding like a candidate with a stunted imagination.

The rumor mill from the White House says that Bush is not entirely comfortable with Kemp. They did, after all, compete for the Republican nomination in 1988, and in the course of that contest, wasp-tongued John Buckley served as press secretary for Kemp, very much at the expense of candidate Bush. And although Kemp has been a loyal member of the Bush Administration, few doubt that in 1996 he will roar into New Hampshire as the heir apparent of the Reagan dynasty, after a morganatic interruption.

But that shouldn't really matter to Bush, since he knows that vice presidents can be sequestered exactly to the extent a President desires that this should happen. But during the campaign, candidate Kemp would have a transforming effect.

William F. Buckley Jr. is a syndicated columnist in New York.

Los Angeles Times

Commentary

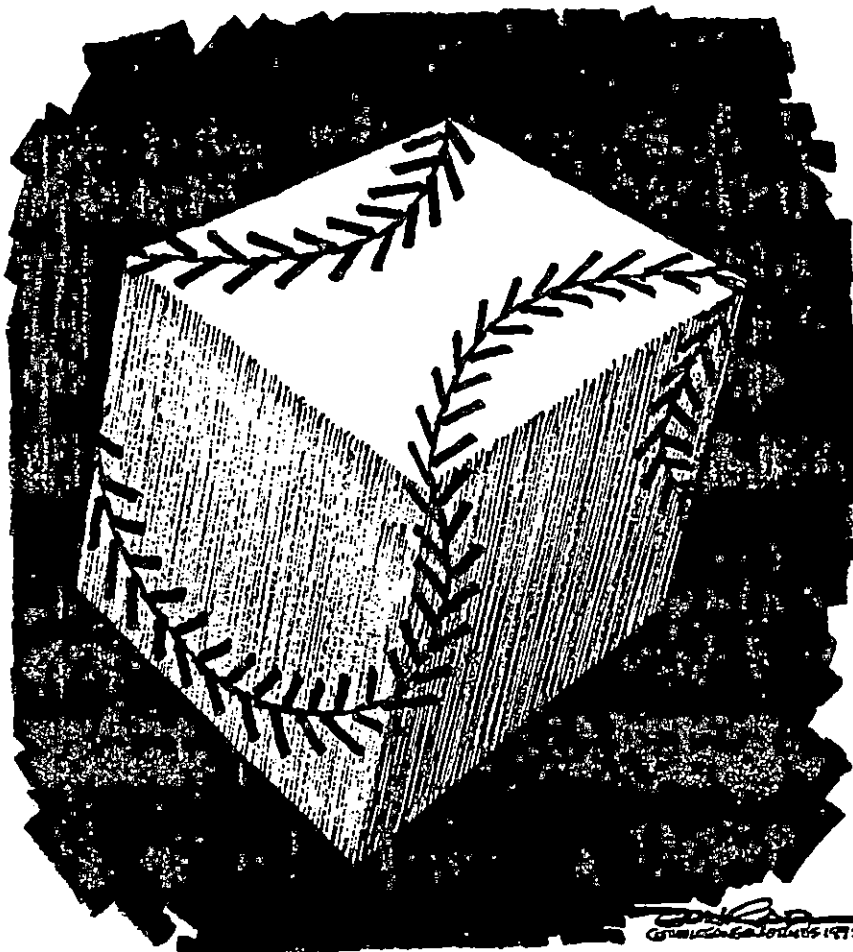
PLATFORM

Poverty's Edge

Homelessness is gradually engulfing the newly unemployed, says MICHELE SMOLLAR, executive director of People Assisting the Homeless in the Los Angeles area, describing the fallout from Southern California's economic troubles:

We're seeing more people come for services, a different type. We operate a day center that's almost a prevention program—people who have a place to live, but they're at risk of crossing that thin line into homelessness. In past years, we've seen 5,000 or 6,000 people a year. This (fiscal) year, we saw 8,260 and half of those are families. They could be tomorrow's homeless in a minute. I'd like to see an expansion of nonprofits: creating, owning and managing affordable housing so that not only could it be managed affordably, but it also would have a built-in support system that a normal landlord is not going to provide.

There has to be a change in the way we do business in California. Things like unemployment compensation and workers comp are killing employers. The entitlement system has to be structured in such a way that people are given an amount of money they can live on or they have to be provided an alternative of job retraining. The system is not reality oriented.



Dodger ball

Los Angeles Times

PERSPECTIVE ON RACIAL TENSIONS

The Rift Is Exposed; Let's Bridge It



In times of social crisis, the politics of race and culture may descend into bigotry. Latinos fear this is happening.

By **ANTONIO H. RODRIGUEZ**
and **CARLOS A. CHAVEZ**

The mounting tension between the Latino and African-American communities must be coolly addressed or we may live to regret the consequences of ignoring it: a degeneration into violence that would rip apart the social and political fabric of Los Angeles.

The two communities have been on a collision course for the past few years. Acrimonious debate has raged over the county's affirmative-action program, the reapportionment plans of the city, the county and the board of education, the hiring practices at places like Martin Luther King hospital and the competition for the position of Los Angeles police chief, to name a few.

Until recently, there were behind-the-scenes efforts to contain the ideological and racial pitch of the debate. However, the festering tension was blown wide open by the competition for shares of Rebuild L.A. funds and jobs.

It does not take a rocket scientist to understand the roots of the tension: the deepening economic depression and the unemployment, social displacement and poverty that it has heaped on working-class and middle-class communities. In the Los Angeles inner-city and adjacent county neighborhoods, that means Latinos and African-Americans.

As a classist society, the United States has always maintained a caste system where non-Anglos are maintained at the bottom to fight over the crumbs left

after the white middle class has cut the economic pie cooked up by the rich. In this pecking order today, Mexicans and Central Americans are at the bottom of the bottom.

Historically, the politics of race and culture have helped to advance every group's demands for political parity and a just share of the economic pie. However, there is a downside: In times of social crisis, the politics of race and culture may descend into the politics of bigotry. And that is exactly what many in the Latino community feel they are experiencing from some elected officials and others speaking for African-Americans.

In the past decade, Los Angeles has again become, in terms of population, a Mexican city. With this majority status came the Latino demand for our just share of jobs, education, responsive services and electoral representation.

African-Americans, once the city's major political minority, have resisted

'In the halls of government and in the press, we are engaged in a war of words that, as it filters down . . . may spark African-American / Latino violence.'

these just demands. Their wish to protect their hard-won gains is understandable; their hostility toward us is not. Some of the rhetoric is downright inflammatory. For example, school board member Leticia Quezada's motion to give parents who are legal immigrants the right to vote for school board representation (a long-standing practice in several U.S. cities) was characterized as a ploy to empower "illegals" in a conspiracy to destroy the voting power of African-American U.S. citizens. And efforts to increase the percentage of Latinos in the county work force to reflect our population percentages were met with arguments by the Black Employees Assn. that the figures were inflated because they included immigrants who are not eligible to work here legally.

Even so, the rhetoric was not as vitriolic as it became with the Rebuild

L.A. competition. When Danny Bakewell blew the lid, essentially demanding that African-Americans be hired for jobs held by Latinos, some in the Latino community, like Xavier Hermosillo, responded in kind (both appeared on this page). Now, in the halls of government and in the press, we are engaged in a war of words that, as it filters down to the masses in the city, may spark African-American/Latino violence.

An argument advanced by African-Americans, even by some progressive ones, is that they, as a people, deserve the fruits of civil-rights gains more than Latinos do because they struggled more. This reflects an ignorance of the history of conquest and violence against the Mexican people and of our resistance to cultural aggression and our struggle for social justice. But even if the argument were factual, it would be, in effect, social Darwinism—a divisionist "justice for just us" attitude.

On the other hand, it is just as wrong for us Latinos to abuse our new plurality status and demand change at the expense of African-Americans, Asians and other oppressed peoples because we have the numbers.

While we must be keenly aware and respectful of the right of the African-American community to preserve its gains, African-Americans must accept the Latino reality of Los Angeles and our right to a proportionate share of leadership and representation. That is what African-Americans support for South Africa, and that same principle should apply for us in this city.

The politics of bigotry is by definition myopic. The big picture is that we both are victimized by repression and the recession, and we both are subject to an unprecedented attack on our quality of life from the Bush and Wilson administrations. Are we big enough to play a responsible role in the big picture? Our children's future depends on our beginning a mature and principled dialogue. Never has the need for visionary and responsible leadership between the Latino and African-American communities been more crucial.

Antonio H. Rodriguez is an attorney in Los Angeles. Carlos A. Chavez is director of community relations at Occidental College.

EDITORIALS of THE TIMES

This Job Calls for More Than Just a 'Temp'

State Dept. needs a permanent leader to fill Baker's shoes

The question no longer seems to be whether Secretary of State James A. Baker III will move to the White House to take command of President Bush's lagging reelection campaign, but when.

The expectation is that the shift will come by mid-August, after Bush and Baker meet with Israel's visiting Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin. The timing of the changeover is politically important. The meeting with Rabin is scheduled for the presidential retreat at Camp David—to which only selected foreign leaders are honored with an invitation—and there Bush almost certainly will announce his approval of loan guarantees to Israel for immigrant absorption. In both setting and circumstance, the meeting intends to send the message that with a new and more moderate Israeli government in place, the long chill in U.S.-Israel relations is over.

It would also, at the same time, remind people that Bush and Baker have been responsible for reviving the dormant Middle East peace talks, no mean foreign policy achievement given the regional apathy and even opposition to the peace process that exists. It is an accomplishment the President can point to with pride in this election year.

But it isn't the fact of Baker's departure from the State Department but the manner of his going that is now a subject of speculation. He is known to deeply enjoy serving as secretary of state. He has made a commendable record, for the most part deftly guiding U.S. foreign policy over the last 3½ years through a period of rapid and turbulent global change. Undoubtedly, if the Novem-

ber election produces a second Bush Administration, Baker would be more than willing to return to his diplomatic duties. For that reason some in Washington think he would like to take only a leave of absence rather than resign. That would be a mistake.

It would be a mistake first of all because foreign policy can't be put on hold for three months or more because its top manager is occupied with other matters. The department needs a leader, not a caretaker, whose voice is respected within the government and carries authority in the world at large. Too much is happening or pending—in the Persian Gulf, the Middle East, Russia—to permit a void or indecision in policy-making or in crisis management.

A leave of absence by Baker would also be a mistake because it remains important, to the greatest possible extent, to keep any signs of overt partisanship out of a foreign policy that is committed to serving national, not party, interests. No one suggested that Baker would politicize foreign policy when he went from being Bush's campaign manager in 1988 to heading the State Department in 1989. But appearances would be different if he only temporarily left the department in 1992 to run a reelection campaign and then returned to run the department.

Far better for Baker to resign and for Bush promptly to name a permanent replacement, whether the veteran and respected deputy secretary Lawrence S. Eagleburger or someone of similar talents. Foreign policy takes no hiatus during the U.S. election season. Someone must be—and must be seen to be—authoritatively and clearly in charge.



Baker



Eagleburger

Los Angeles Times

Vital Journey for a Veteran Traveler

Longtime diplomat Cyrus Vance tackles the thorny task of easing South Africa's crisis

Many men his age would be content to play a little golf, do a little gardening or relax a little with the grandchildren. But 75-year-old Cyrus Vance refuses to retire while he can still make a difference on the world scene.

This week Vance is on a fact-finding mission in South Africa. His goal: figure how to get the stalled constitutional negotiations back on track and reduce the deadly factional fighting that sparked the current stalemate. It's a tough job for the United Nations' special envoy, but it's not the first tough job he has had.

Vance, a veteran diplomat, was secretary of state in the Carter Administration. In 1978 he worked closely with representatives of Anwar Sadat of Egypt and Menachem Begin of Israel. The negotiations led to the historic Camp David peace accords, and a friendship between Vance and Boutros Boutros-Ghali, then a member of the Egyptian team.

Boutros-Ghali is now U.N. secretary general. The United Nations sent Vance into Yugoslavia's internecine conflict, in which he achieved mixed results. His inability to forge a lasting peace, however, did not diminish his commitment.

Can Vance succeed in South Africa? He has a few factors in his favor. He knows the region because he helped to negotiate the independence of neighboring Namibia from South Africa. He also has the backing of a U.N. secretary general who is African and committed to democracy in Africa. Under the leadership of Boutros-Ghali, the United Nations has sent international monitors to observe the tenuous cease-fire in Somalia, sent tons of relief supplies to the famine-stricken Horn of Africa and shown a keen interest in the burgeoning pro-democracy movements throughout the continent.

In South Africa, Vance enjoys the respect of the major players: Presi-

dent F. W. de Klerk, African National Congress Co-president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha Freedom Political Party leader Zulu chief Mangosuthu Gatsha Buthelezi. But can Vance persuade each leader to compromise for the sake of the nation? Can he ease the deep feelings stemming from the Boipatong massacre last month that saw 40 men, women and children killed? Can the special envoy persuade De Klerk to rein in his security forces? Buthelezi to rein in violent supporters? Mandela to rein in militants in the ANC?

The South African crisis requires greater U.N. involvement, including mediators and international observers, but the white minority government opposes stronger international involvement. So Vance's visit will have to do for now. He will succeed if he can help re-establish the rapport that once existed between De Klerk and Mandela and steer South Africa away from disaster.

Romeo and Juliet Revisited

Tale of romantic love may have much to say to multiethnic city sorely in need of social love

Young love, for all its wonder, is a common experience. We have all felt it, if only for an hour, and we have all been tongue-tied by its power. In "Romeo and Juliet," Shakespeare uses the common memory of love to bind us to his young protagonists and then, by untying his own golden tongue as in scarcely any other of his plays, he gives us words we didn't have—no one does, no one could—at the time.

The "tragic flaw" in "Romeo and Juliet" is to be sought not in the ardor of Romeo or Juliet but in the embattled dignity of the Capulets and the Montagues of Verona—an ancient, hardened prejudice that in the end devours their own children. The flaw is a collective flaw, and "Romeo and Juliet" is, to that extent, a very modern play, a sociodrama.

Tonight and for six more nights, this week and next, a production of



Brandon Toh and Breata Simpson as Shakespeare's star-crossed lovers.

"Romeo and Juliet" at Pasadena High School does by casting what "West Side Story" did a generation ago by rewrite. Romeo is presented by Brandon Toh, 17, a Chinese-American attending Polytechnic School. Juliet

is Breata Simpson, 18, an African-American attending Pasadena High. The rest of the cast is drawn in part from other high schools and in part from working professionals. If the play works its magic as it so reliably has for 400 years, the audience will fall in love with the beautiful young couple. If it conveys its deeper message as well, the audience will find its mind carried outward to the streets of Los Angeles and to our own Capulets and Montagues.

Can we love one another in this star-crossed city? The prior question, perhaps, is: Can we imagine one another? The challenge of life in a multiethnic city is an affair not just of the wallet but also of the heart. Eric Waterhouse's Theaterquest, a youth theater company organized in response to cutbacks in public funding for the arts, has made a leap of the imagination at just the right moment.

Los Angeles Times

Letters to The Times

President Bush and GOP Policies

■ Re Guy Molyneux's "How Perversity Propelled GOP Into Power," Opinion, July 12:

Molyneux employs a tactic quite popular with the liberal set these days. He attempts to discredit the conservative philosophy by briefly discussing the gross inadequacies of George Bush. Bush is no conservative. In his four years as President, he has raised taxes, allowed regulations against businesses to mount and has overseen the most massive increase in government spending in the history of the Republican Party. If Molyneux would come out of his think tank for only a minute he would hear the true conservatives crying in anguish as Bush destroys the rules of the marketplace, established during the early '80s, which allowed for the most rapid period of expansion this country has seen since WWII.

As for his claim that income distribution became less equal during the '80s, he should consult his blessed government's own green book. The fact, as people with more than a passing interest in this topic know, is that income and capital were more "mobile" in the '80s than in recent history.

Why Molyneux wants an "equal distribution of income" is in itself a good question. When people are allowed to be free and to strive to be their best, their rewards and successes will never be equal.

Perhaps more important, Molyneux either hides from the truth or knowingly lies to promote his fantasy world in which people suddenly become different, upon entering the "public sector." Of course this is false. People operate under the same motivations in the public sector as they do in the private sector.

Need evidence? Consider this: Only the U.S. government would allow the excessive amount of overbilling and other fraud characteristic of any government industry—the U.S. military, with its \$200 hammers, is the most obvious example. Then there are the check-writing scams, the kickbacks, the postal service abuses, et cetera. And this is where Guy Molyneux expects us to place our faith, not to mention an ever-increasing chunk of our income and our property.

LANCE VITANZA
Montecito

GOP Women

■ Republican women are just one Supreme Court justice away from becoming party slaves.

JACK CORKERY
San Clemente

■ David Broder ("Bush's Government Needs Fixing, Not His Campaign," Commentary) is a bit wrong. It is Bush that needs fixing, but he is beyond repair.

If we reelect him to office after he gave us the S&L crisis; led in gutting the economy by shipping our jobs and money overseas; expanded the budget deficit out of sight; spent on everything except U.S. people needs, while assisting in the packing of the Supreme Court with Neanderthal noodles, then we the people need fixin' too.

But, how about his strong suit—foreign affairs? Yeah! Right! This is our resident expert who dissembles about Iran-Contra, builds up Iraq secretly so he can get us a war and assigns us to a "new world order" that he cannot explain and we never asked for.

We really need to worry whether there is going to be anything left to fix after George Global gets through with us—and the world.

FRANK R. LEMON
Beaumont

■ Now that the American public has, at last, perceived the Bush Administration to be the utter failure that it is, the Republicans have finally lifted that big rock and let out their slime merchants.

Floyd G. Brown, the sleaze bag who helped to engineer the Willie Horton character assassination ad campaign, is at it again. His latest TV ad, a feeble attempt to dredge up an old Republican smear tactic against Bill Clinton, falls far short of his previous low.

ZACHARY CHARLES
Burbank

■ Re William Schneider's "Not Your Father's Democrats" (Opinion, July 12), he makes a strong point in comparing the "beast," GM's hideous Caprice, to the Democratic Party. However, I would like to continue the analogy. If the Democrats are the Caprice of political parties, the Republicans are the Bradley tank: useful



President Bush

only in battle; relatively safe for the few inside; outrageously overpriced and inefficient, and completely irrelevant to the needs of the people in the twilight of the 20th Century.

BOBBIE SAVITZ
Portland, Oregon

■ If I were President Bush's fishing guest in Wyoming and he asked me for my best advice, I'd say: "Sir, I agree with those who think your campaign is in real trouble but I believe there's a terrific move you can make. Announce that your vice presidential running mate will be Jim Baker."

NATHAN A. TUFTS
Burbank

Poor Whites

■ I am a middle-class black American. I read with intense interest your article on poor whites (July 11); so little is ever written about them. The poverty statistics are often quoted so as to place emphasis on the larger percentage of black who are poor, ignoring the fact that many more whites, in absolute numbers, are poor. I do not, however, appreciate the statistics being used to make any particular ethnic group look worse than any other. It is time we face up to the ethnic diversity of poverty, stop pointing fingers at which group is better or worse, and concentrate on trying to eliminate all poverty in America. Period.

NATALIE E. BURKE
Compton

■ I want to thank John Hurst for his article "Invisible Poor—Whites." With all the hypocritical chastisement rendered by Vice President Dan Quayle and other white and black conservatives about the African-American community for a lack of family values and government dependence, it was refreshing to know that those conditions are not race specific, but poverty specific.

Men of color have borne the brunt of criticism by their women and the community at large for the very same things that go on at the Del Rio Mobile Home Park in Modesto. Hopefully the media will give equal time to the Craig Maxwells and Brenda Howertons that they give to the Smiths and the Washingtons in the inner city.

REGINALD J. GUILLARY
Los Angeles

How GOP hopes to 'dump' Quayle

Despite the loud loyalty pledges to Dan Quayle coming out of the Oval Office, George Bush has been given this message by a small, heavyweight group of Republican loyalists and strategists:

He must replace Dan Quayle to breathe life into his listless campaign.

The president's position: He personally will not ask Quayle to quit. But if the vice president decides to withdraw to help the GOP cause, Bush will accept the decision.

Quayle dumpers have this short list of VP candidates:

► Jack Kemp, secretary of Housing and Urban Development.

► Dick Cheney, secretary of Defense.

► Howard Baker, former Senate majority leader.

► Elizabeth Dole, former Bush Cabinet member.

► Colin Powell, chairman, Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Conservative GOP loyalists in the power group favor Kemp because of his right-wing credentials. But his chemistry doesn't mix well with Bush's.



AL NEUHARTH
USA TODAY FOUNDER

With Cheney, the chemistry is good. But there's some concern that his image has become that of the world's military muscle man.

Baker was a very effective congressional compromiser as Senate majority and minority leader. Some say that's a domestic signal Bush should send.

Strategists in the power group favor a bold Bush move. Dole and Powell are their choices.

Nearly all think Jim Baker the most qualified VP. But they agree only he can run a successful Bush campaign and thus rule him out.

They hope to help Quayle with a way to exit gracefully. Suggestions range from sublime to ridiculous, including:

► His choice of any Cabinet post.

► Presidency of the Professional Golfers Association.

It all adds up to this: There's a not-so-quiet campaign going on to get Quayle to go quietly. Watch his lips between now and next month's Houston convention.

IN QUOTES

"I just thought it was a good time to get somebody young, new and frisky."

— Alistair Cooke, who is turning 84, on retiring from PBS's Masterpiece Theatre, which he's hosted since it began in 1971

"Hostile and uninformed."

— Jesse Kornbluth, author of *Highly Confident: the Crime and Punishment of Michael Milken*, describing the qualities that make Bryant Gumbel the "perfect" interviewer

"As a politician, he seems more intelligent in a slow, dogged way than the average blow-dried displaced anchorperson not-yet-ready-for-network that

'Don't count on it, Father. That's not the way it appears, man.'

— George Bush to a Roman Catholic priest in Philadelphia, after being told he has 'a lot of power and a lot of clout.'

we get in the Senate these days."

— Author Gore Vidal on vice-presidential nominee Al Gore

"Ross Perot should have learned something

from George Bush — first you let your faithful elect you, then you abandon them."

— Jay Leno on Perot

"Usually the only time you see two crackers this good-looking is on an hors d'oeuvre tray."

— Jim Mullen on the Clinton/Gore ticket in *Entertainment Weekly*

"Thank you, not tonight. I'll be holding out for one of those cheap domestic brands."

— Dream Team multimillionaire Charles Barkley when told that champagne was \$500 a bottle in Monaco

OPINION USA

Nit-picking preachers hit Clinton's 'New Covenant'

TV preachers Pat Robertson and Jerry Falwell remind me of the hypocritical, nit-picking Pharisees.

The Pharisees, a political party around the time of Jesus Christ, were legalistic patriots known for their hard-hearted ways.

Instead of praising Jesus' actions in healing a man's withered hand, the fault-finding Pharisees criticized him for breaking the Mosaic law against working on the sabbath.

Jesus responded with peppy words: "Woe unto you, ye blind guides, for straining at gnats."

Today's Pharisees are no better. Falwell and Robert-



BARBARA REYNOLDS

COLUMNIST

son, both cheerleaders for Republican causes, are attacking Bill Clinton's use of the term "New Covenant" as his cam-

paign theme. They accuse him of manipulating Scripture for political gain by appropriating a term Jesus used at the Last Supper.

They're misguided, historically and politically. Jesus wasn't the first to use the term. And when preachers squabble over which political camp has the right to Christian symbols, they reduce the ideals behind them to political shabbiness.

To work, a covenant, whether political or religious, can't be the property of any one group. It must belong to us all.

The word "covenant" was first used in Genesis to describe a divine promise from

God to Noah. Six hundred years before Christ was born, Jeremiah prophesied that Jesus would bring a New Covenant, written not on stone but on the hearts of people.

That New Covenant is about forgiveness, love and compassion, not the letter of the law, says New Testament scholar Cain Felder, a professor at Howard University's School of Divinity.

Clinton's New Covenant is a "solemn vow," a heartfelt promise to the American people to make fundamental change, says Avis LaVelle, a Clinton campaign aide. "This is not a term Clinton accepted casually from a speechwriter. It reaches deeply into his reli-

gious convictions."

The Clinton theme could prove as phony as Bush's "kinder, gentler nation," another ideal I am embarrassed to say I embraced. But this theme has arrived at a particularly opportune time to help restore broken people and broken dreams, both here and abroad.

For instance, rumor says the USA may bomb Saddam Hussein to lift Bush's falling popularity. If that happens, more innocent people will die. Now is the time for preachers to remind the nation that killing people is a sin.

Wonder what the pious Falwell and Robertson will have to say about that.

Today's debate is on **IRAQ'S DEFIANCE** and what the world should do in response.

U.S., U.N. must bring Saddam Hussein to heel

OUR VIEW Force may be necessary to ensure that Saddam Hussein obeys world treaties.

Saddam Hussein must comply with the cease-fire agreements he signed to end the gulf war.

That is the bottom line in this seventh confrontation that the bully of Baghdad has provoked with the United Nations.

Saddam's latest offense — barring U.N. inspectors from searching an agricultural ministry for weapons material and documents — caps a series of challenges to U.N. authority.

U.N. inspectors have been spat upon by angry crowds in Baghdad. A U.N. guard in northern Iraq was shot dead in his sleep. Relief workers there have been harassed and terrorized.

Saddam also has rejected U.N. mandates to pay war reparations with Iraqi oil exports. And he is refusing to grant visas to charity workers, thus hampering distribution of humanitarian aid to his people, especially unfavored minorities.

As the leader of the coalition that brought Saddam to his knees 17 months ago, the United States can't let such af-

fronts go unchallenged. To do so would unravel any hope that the world's civilized nations, acting in concert, can control despots who flout international law.

Peacekeeping and nuclear inspections elsewhere will become infinitely more dangerous. Preventing attacks by aggressive nations against weak neighbors will become impossible.

The U.S. need not act rashly or alone.

Thursday, President Bush mobilized U.S. forces in the Mediterranean, a needed warning to Saddam that defiance of U.N. inspectors is intolerable.

Other steps should follow before launching any attack against Iraq.

The U.N. should pass new resolutions condemning Iraq and tightening sanctions. A stiff embargo can damage Saddam more than a few bombs.

And the U.N. should issue this ultimatum to Saddam — harm any of our unarmed inspectors and you will bring down massive military retaliation.

The bottom line is that Iraq must live up to its peace agreements. It must respect U.N. workers. It's a line Saddam has nearly crossed. He must step back.

► Force threatened, 1A

Don't risk more gulf folly

OPPOSING VIEW Iraq is no threat to justify risking lives in an adventure that could make things worse.

War clouds are gathering again in the Persian Gulf as the U.N. Security Council contemplates authorizing air strikes to punish Saddam Hussein for his defiance of inspectors searching for evidence of his nuclear and chemical weapons programs.

The USA should avoid a "Son of Desert Storm" operation. Even those who insisted that the Persian Gulf war served U.S. security interests cannot argue that a new round of coercion is necessary.

Iraq's military forces, which were never as potent as pro-war elements contended, have been broken and will take years to recover. Although Saddam's nuclear ambitions are worrisome, Iraq is not on the verge of becoming a nuclear-

weapons power. Most experts believe that Baghdad is years away from building a single crude nuclear device, much less deploying an operational arsenal.

The other argument for air strikes — that the United Nations' credibility is at stake — is even less compelling. Administration officials are in danger of believing their own propaganda. Although they obtained U.N. approval to expel Iraq from Kuwait, that was primarily a facade for a U.S.-dominated operation. Desert Storm was no more a genuine collective security enterprise than the "police action" in Korea 40 years earlier. In both cases, Washington merely used the United Nations for its own purposes.

It would be folly for the USA to waste lives in another military adventure that could further destabilize Iraq and the entire gulf region just to support the United Nations' pretensions as an effective global peacekeeping organization.

Washington's military victory in the gulf war has already turned to political ashes, as evidenced by Baghdad's intransigence, the absence of democracy in Kuwait and Iran's burgeoning power. Stirring those ashes would be pointless.



By Ted Galen Carpenter, director of foreign policy studies at Cato Institute.



MEET THE PRESIDENT: President Bush hosts a group from Boys' Nation at the White House this week. AFP

Candidates snubbed future female leaders

Gathered July 11-18 in Washington, D.C., were 96 of the nation's most competent young female leaders. Gathered July 17-24 in Washington, D.C., were 96 of the nation's most competent young male leaders.

Both groups went through a highly selective election process and spent much time in preparation for a week of federal government. Yet only one group received the attention of the presidential candidates.

Girls' Nation was scheduled to meet with George Bush July 17, but the president went on vacation. Nor was Barbara Bush present to receive the nation's future female leaders.

When Boys' Nation arrived, both President Bush

and Gov. Bill Clinton pursued opportunities to speak. George Bush met with Boys' Nation just days after the conclusion of Girls' Nation. Clinton did not contact Girls' Nation and focused on Boys' Nation, obviously the higher priority.

I place no blame or responsibility on the American Legion or the American Legion Auxiliary (the sponsors).

I shall instead blame the candidates, who claim to be a new breed recognizing all views and all ages. It is their obvious shortsightedness in this election year to ignore 96 of the United States' most intelligent and exceptional future leaders.

Allison Fine
Edmond, Okla.

Should school choice include private schools?

Looking for values

Your editorial endorsing public school-only choice in education ignores the real reasons people want alternatives: namely, the lack of values, the lack of discipline and the ineffectiveness of the current public school systems ("Keep education 'choice' focused on public schools," Wednesday).

The public is not looking for "richer curricula" in a value-neutral "magnet school." To the contrary, the public would rather see effective learning in a safe, disciplined, value-oriented school.

Giving more money for a monopoly system to compete with itself only makes sense in the current world of public education doublespeak.

Your argument that \$1,000 yearly scholarships would freeze the poor out of choice in private schools flies in the face of our experience in Indianapolis. Here, 800 low-income families pay half the tuition for private schools, obviously at great sacrifice.

The current system, and your proposed alternative, condemn the poor to mediocrity in the name of a paternalistic government that "knows best."

J. Patrick Rooney, founder
Educational Choice Trust
Indianapolis, Ind.

Problems in schools

I'm angry as hell about the article "Anger fuels fight for school choice," (June 29).

These people want money from the U.S. government to send their children to a private school? They want the government to take the money away from the children in the public schools to do this? That doesn't make any sense to me.

The problem is not whether [these people] can afford to send their children to private schools; it's in the schools themselves.

The school system is extremely segregated in funding. Rich communities have rich schools; poor communities have poor ones, as a reflection of property taxes.

Taxes should go to a central distributor of funds, either statewide or nationally, so that all schools receive equal funds.

If the government takes money away from the public schools to support this [private school voucher] "plan," how on earth could they "compete" with the private schools? The thought that this will force them to improve through competition is ludicrous.

Heather Geschwind
Rochester, N.Y.

System fails

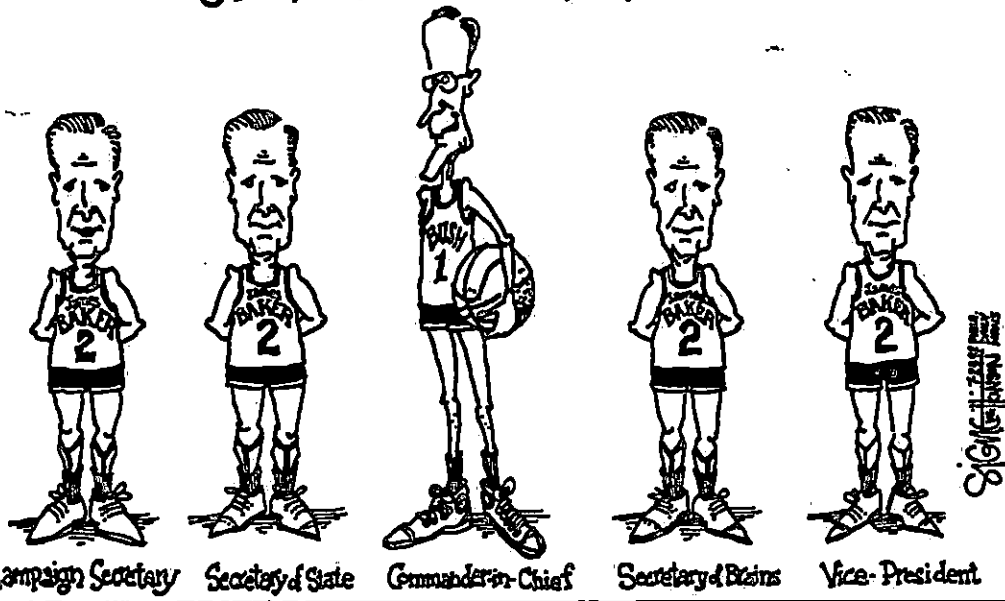
I couldn't disagree with you more on school choice. Your editorial states that the public choice does more with less risk. Where's the proof of that? There has been no large-scale, overall choice program.

You may surmise that it's going to do more, but there's certainly no proof of that. Your editorial states, "Parents and students would be abandoning public schools that need their help."

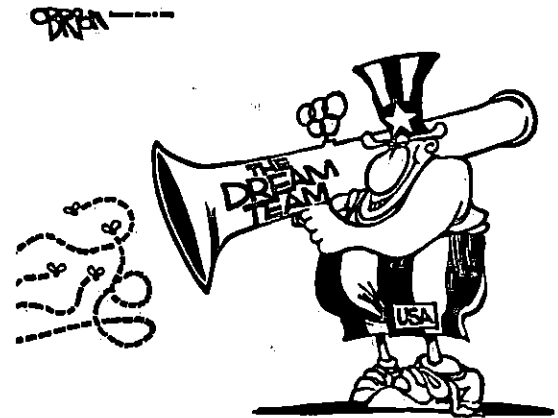
Well, it doesn't work that way. You have it flip-flopped. Students and parents are the ones who need the help, and our educational system is failing them. Don't worry so much about the schools and the education establishment; worry about the kids.

Brian Brennan
New York, N.Y.

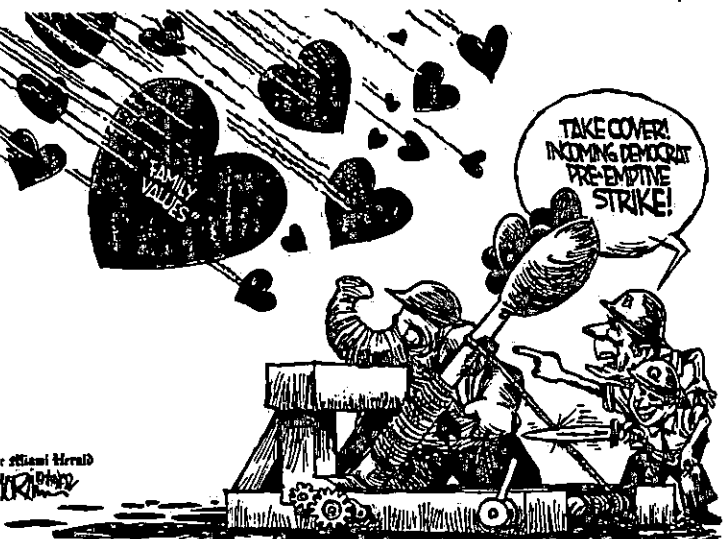
GEORGE BUSH'S DREAM TEAM:



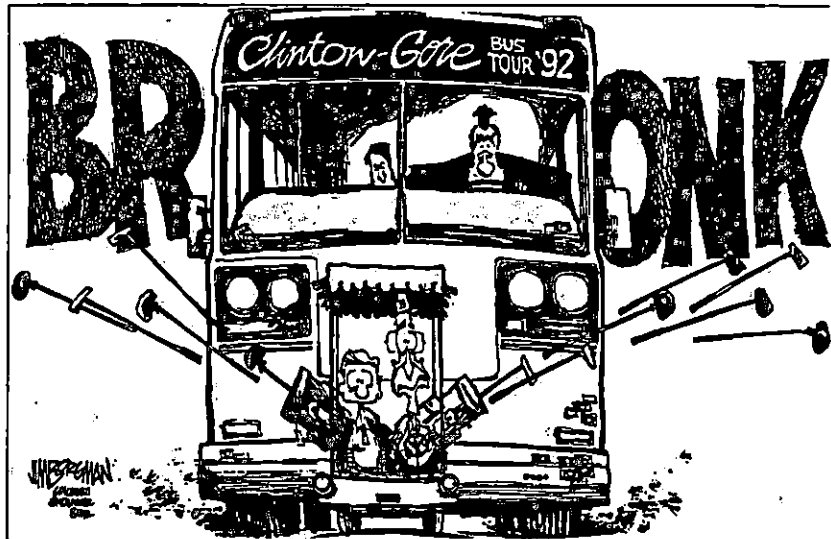
Signe Wilkinson, Philadelphia Daily News



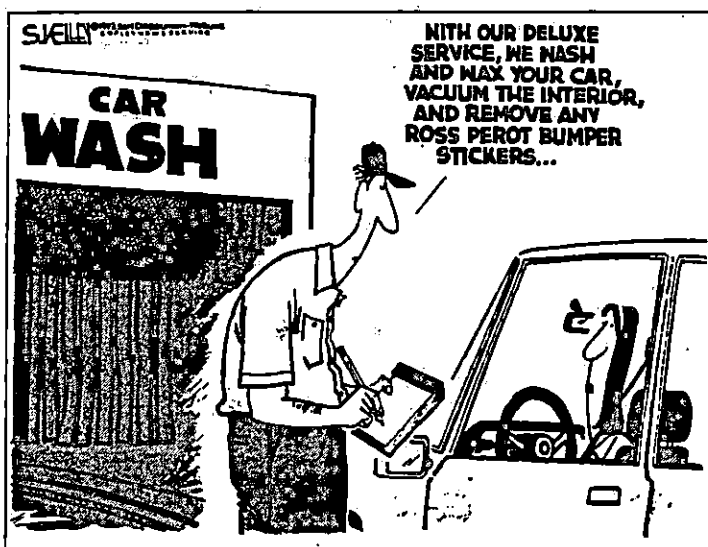
Chris O'Brien, Potomac News, Woodbridge



Jim Morin, The Miami Herald, King Features Syndicate



Jim Borgman, The Cincinnati Enquirer



Steve Kelley, The San Diego Union, Copley News Service



Rob Rogers, The Pittsburgh Press, United Feature Syndicate

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Jim Hoagland

Baker: A White House-State Department Straddle

He's back. Here comes Terminator Baker 2. It's hasta la vista, baby, for Robocop Clinton.

That is the quick remake George Bush is attempting for the end of the year's biggest horror film, "Bush Seeks Reelection." Who better to deal with a Democratic presidential challenger who shakes off hit after hit than the agate-eyed sharpshooter of American political campaigning, Jim Baker?

And this time, no more Mr. Nice Guy. Baker knows he is not facing the mild-mannered Michael Dukakis in this shootout.

The president and his secretary of state will continue for a few weeks to say that no decision has been made about Baker taking over the faltering Bush campaign. Baker needs to tidy up at Foggy Bottom. Not admitting to being a lame duck eases final housekeeping tasks.

But Baker is out the door, floating on the buoyancy of trial balloons launched in the media. Morale at the Bush campaign staff is already at snake-belly level. Only a nuclear bomb could produce more devastation for the reelection effort than a decision not to bring Baker back after all. The trial balloons have become trial dirigibles on which Bush and Baker are hoisted.

How much does the unseemly shifting of America's top diplomat to the campaign trail matter to Bush's reelection? And to the conduct of U.S. foreign policy in the next three months? The answers respectively are "a lot" and "not much."

Baker is Baker wherever he sits. He will be able to pull the strings from the White House on the few foreign policy matters in which he is deeply immersed. The point is

that Bush is not Bush wherever Baker sits.

Two people who know both men well make the same point about Baker moving to the White House now. Baker is the only person in Washington who can walk into the Oval Office and tell the president that he is on the wrong course. And Baker has a unique ability to energize his longtime friend, to pull Bush out of the slumps and the flights of frenzy that have marked the president's behavior for months.

Baker could presumably do those two things and stay at State. That would fit his long-term political ambitions much better than being top gun in what may become the dirtiest campaign of modern American history.

What Baker can't do from State is convince the Republican campaign workers, American voters and perhaps most importantly George Bush that the campaign is being run decisively and effectively

by someone who knows what he is doing.

"Baker knows the difference between a meeting and a decision," says a Baker associate. "That is not true of the people who have tried to run the campaign thus far."

"George Bush needs to have one person he can rely on totally to give him an overall construct of what he needs to do," says a longtime Bush supporter and friend. "Lee Atwater could do that. Jim Baker can do that. There is nobody else I know that Bush trusts enough to do that."

The most likely scenario calls for Baker to resign from State in mid-August. His deputy, Lawrence S. Eagleburger, would become acting secretary. Baker would be reappointed as secretary of state if Bush wins in November.

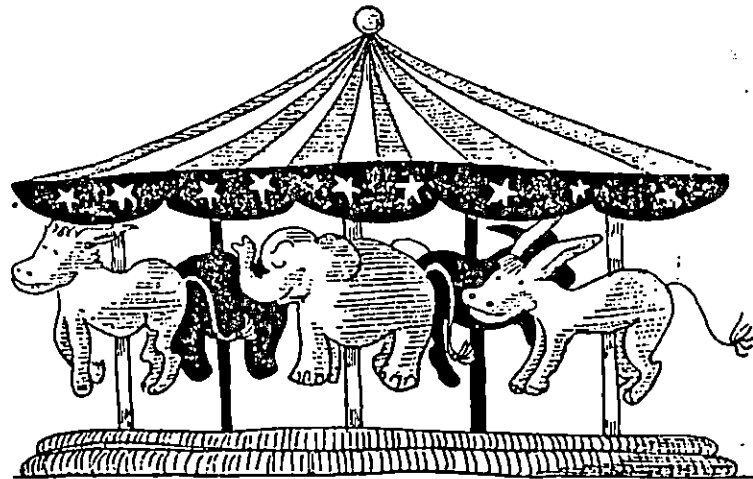
Eagleburger has told friends for several months that he intends to leave State after the election in any event. Making him acting or even secretary-designate should therefore present no problem for Baker's eventual re-entry.

Eagleburger has not succeeded in working his way into the small, closed circle of aides that Baker takes into his confidence. But the working relationship between Baker and Eagleburger is strong enough for Baker to continue to run the department by remote control through Eagleburger and the few trusted aides Baker will leave behind.

Margaret Tutwiler, Baker's spokeswoman and longtime confidante, will go with him to the White House. Less clear is where Undersecretary Robert Zoellick will wind up. Zoellick played a key role in the 1988 campaign and has been the chief conceptualizer and articulator of the best features of Baker's foreign policy at State. If Zoellick goes to the White House, it will be a signal of how desperate a task Baker feels he faces in salvaging Bush's reelection.

By straddling the White House and the State Department, Baker will be well placed to try to get Bush electoral credit for the administration's foreign policy successes and to limit damage to the campaign from unexpected crises abroad. Current plans are for Bush to highlight his foreign policy record in the campaign, with Ronald Reagan devoting an opening-night speech at the Houston convention to the much safer world he and Bush produced.

But Baker should go back and look at what happens to Terminator 2 at the end of the movie, after he has disposed of the other robot. Terminator 2 winds up taking the ultimate acid bath. That is what this campaign could become for Baker's reputation.



BY MARGARET SCOTT

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Rowland Evans and Robert Novak

White House Pandemonium

President Bush's reelection managers, facing an angry, sullen electorate, are trying at this 11th hour to patch together a modest little tax bill that would pass muster with the Democratic masters of Congress.

That rules out meaningful reduction in the capital gains taxes—the avowed center of George Bush's strategy for economic growth. Nothing will be passed in the final months of this Congress that might contradict charges of ineffective leadership and gridlock.

Even facing Bill Clinton's 30-point lead in the polls, the Bush team cannot escape the self-imposed straitjacket that has restricted economic policy-making for more than three years, particularly since the recession bit hard in 1991.

For example, with public confidence in the president's ability to handle the economy never so low, one desperate Republican partisan sought out Budget Director Richard Darman last. As architect of the noxious 1990 budget deal, Darman is anathema in conservative circles. But as the smartest, cleverest and hardest-working figure in the administration's inner circle, he might just have an idea.

He did: a new growth package that would include such Bush standbys as help for real estate investors, an incentive for first-time house buyers and an investment tax credit—but definitely nothing about the dread capital gains tax cut. Darman would guide this through the legislative process so subtly that it would appear on the president's desk untouched by bloody battle. Bush could then take credit for a growth package.

More likely is an even slimmer proposal all but agreed to by Darman, White House Chief of Staff Samuel Skinner and campaign chairman Robert Teeter. Sen. Lloyd Bentsen, Democratic chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, is again pushing a limited bill that would extend research and development tax credits and other pleasant incentives. Instead of making this into a vehicle for a knock-down fight with Congress, the drill is now for Bush to pass the tax

extenders and then complain on the campaign stump that his more spacious proposals to revive the economy were ignored.

The Democratic Congress clearly will not pass anything that it thinks might revive the political invalid in the White House. Anything it does pass—such as extending the tax credits—will make no difference politically.

Nothing being discussed inside the White House includes a serious effort to encourage investment by reducing capital gains rates. Supply-sider Jude Wanniski, for example, has proposed going to Attorney General Robert Barr and asking him to review the legality of a presidential indexing order for capital gains that would circumvent Congress, but this is ignored.

That leaves Bush on much the same level as Clinton, who has turned a deaf ear to reasoned arguments by erstwhile Democratic primary opponent Paul Tsongas that the economy cannot revive without untargeted capital gains reduction.

With Bush failing to confront the choking economy as the election nears, the scene inside his administration is pandemonium. Advice that the president go head-to-head with Congress on the economy is greeted with charges of disloyalty.

Conditions that calcify policy-making are deeply rooted in this administration. Darman has always felt he could win covert struggles on Capitol Hill without going to the country. But Darman alone cannot be blamed for the paralysis. The president and Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady have been spooked since 1988 by the "fairness" barrage against capital gains cuts.

A warning was sounded at a March 1991 conference. John Moore, Margaret Thatcher's point man in her cabinet for restoring private enterprise, told then-GOP National Chairman Clayton Yeutter that Republicans would rue the day they ever let the Democrats frighten them with fairness. The British statesman proved an all too melancholy prophet for American politics.

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The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Charles Krauthammer

Cultural Crimes Against Children

In his acceptance speech at the Democratic Convention, Bill Clinton used the word "family" 17 times, thus breaking the indoor record previously held, by my reckoning, by Dan Quayle (with 11 in his 1988 acceptance speech). Clinton's aim, of course, was political inoculation. He felt vulnerable not just because of his own troubled "family" (i.e., marital) history, but because he knows that Republicans have tapped into a serious issue with their attack on a "cultural elite" at war with traditional American values.

The battle started with Quayle's attack on Murphy Brown's creators for their celebratory portrayal of single parenthood. It heated up with his current attack on Ice-T's "Cop Killer" for celebrating cop killing.

But it is not just right-wing, support-your-local-police types who are aroused to anger by the products of our culture. It is, for example, feminists, otherwise quite liberal, who have been most vocal in the fight against pornography and who in some jurisdictions have actually tried to pass laws to criminalize it as a violation of women. Tipper Gore co-founded an organization that set out to fight obscene lyrics in popular music. And Quayle's attack on "Cop Killer" has been joined by such principled liberals as the New Republic's Michael Kinsley.

Quayle has tapped into the widespread anxiety that our culture is indeed at war with our values. But it is only partly correct to identify the villain as the "cultural elite." There is also the corporate elite: the media moguls who publish and distribute this stuff and make money off it.

Which makes you wonder at the Democrats' defensive response to the culture war. They could have joined it and tapped the popular anger by identifying the culprits as not just (presumably liberal) script writers but as (presumably conservative) media executives. Instead, the Democrats take indignant offense at the whole "family values" issue. Real family values, declare the Democrats, means providing welfare and education and health care to families rather than crusading against the culture.

But why make the distinction? Why disparage one legitimate family concern at the expense of another? Of course, health care and education are of concern to families. But of concurrent and obviously deep concern is the cultural environment in which American children must be raised.

What kind of cultural environment? Consider "Batman Returns." A movie of such brooding sadomasochistic sexuality, of such cool and casual cruelty may suit some adult tastes. But it is certainly not for 7-year olds. Why then was it so mercilessly hawked at McDonald's, which, in an egregious marketing tie-in, offered Batman figures with every Happy Meal? Adults don't eat Happy Meals.

My son, age 7, does. And like all his friends, he wants to see Batman. I don't allow him to. Now for the individual father, this is no big deal. It's his job to say no. But I wonder: In the face of one grotesque cultural product after another, how many times must parents say no? How successful can parents be at shielding their children from a corrosive, corrupting mass culture?

If social statistics are any guide, the answer seems to be: not very. Every index of youthful anomie—drug abuse, teen pregnancy, depression, suicide—is at alarming, epidemic levels. As the National Commission on Children (chaired by Democrat Jay Rockefeller) put it: "Pervasive images of crime, violence and sexuality expose children and youth to situations and problems that often conflict with the common values of our society. . . . Accordingly, we call upon the media, especially television, to discipline themselves so that they are a part of the solution to our society's serious problems rather than a cause."

Raising children is hard enough. Raising them in an omnipresent corrupting culture is nearly impossible. The fact that there are so many failures should hardly surprise us.

And despite the self-flattery of the cultural elite, the corruption I am talking about does not involve imbuing youth with new and subversive ideas. "Batman Returns" is no dialogue of Plato. Today's mass culture would not know an idea, subversive or otherwise, if it met one. It traffics instead in sensibility and image, with a premium on the degrading: rap lyrics in which women are for using and abusing, movies in which violence is administered with a smirk and smile. Jack Nicholson's much celebrated Joker in "Batman" I—acid in the face with a laugh—is about as close as one gets to cultural evil.

Casual cruelty, knowing sex. Nothing could be better designed to rob youth of its most ephemeral gift: innocence. The ultimate effect of our mass culture is to make children older than their years, to turn them into the knowing, cynical pseudo-adult that is by now the model kid of the TV sitcom.

It is a crime against children to make them older than their years. And it won't do for the purveyors of cynicism to hide behind the First Amendment. Of course they have the *right* to publish Ice-T and peddle Batman to kids. But they should have the decency not to.

That lack of decency deserves attack. If Democrats would stop portraying this as a Dan Quayle (ha, ha) issue and help forge a national consensus against this stuff, the culture makers might begin to listen.

Sterling Tucker

The Redskins: More Than Just a Business

The deal between Jack Kent Cooke and Virginia Gov. L. Douglas Wilder to move the Redskins to Alexandria has been handled as if it were just a simple business proposition.

But we all know there is a great deal more than that involved here. The Redskins aren't only a business for this region; they are a unifying institution for most of us who live and work here. After a victory, we rejoice as one, and in defeat, we share the agony.

It wasn't always this way. The area's love affair with the Washington Redskins developed not just because they are a winning football team but also because they have come to personify a winning spirit, an example of how an American team works.

Nor was this spirit itself a simple matter of changes in ownership and success on the field of play. It came about also because, some years ago, fair play finally came to the front offices of that organization.

In the 1940s and '50s the Redskins were regarded as a divisive force in this area. Indeed, they had become an embarrassment to the National Football League.

They not only refused to hire blacks as players or other personnel, but through their radio network, advertising and halftime entertainment, they made it quite clear that blacks were not welcome to the party.

Some of us worked awfully hard and tirelessly with public, NFL and Redskins officials to change that picture. In the late '50s and in the '60s, as director of the Washington Urban League, I spent a lot of time moving back and forth to Congress, the Interior Department, the D.C.

government, the Redskins and the National Football League on the Redskins issues.

The goal was to ensure a change in the Redskins' attitude toward the signing of African American players as the team made its move from Griffith Stadium to the new D.C. Stadium. That goal began to be realized with the signing of Bobby Mitchell as the Redskins' first black player. The result of those labors can be seen on the field today.

Meanwhile, there were other quiet moves being made in those days. After persuading the team to open up its cheerleading/pom-pom group, the Redskinettes, to black participation, I went to area offices and local universities recruiting prospective candidates and transporting them to the armory in Upper Marlboro for tryouts and then, for the successful candidates, practice sessions.

Such efforts at reshaping the policies and image of the team's organization were accompanied by commensurate work toward building confidence in and support for the "new" Redskins.

And in fact, over the past three decades, most of us have come to recognize the Redskins as a central force in bringing pride, cooperation and a sense of oneness to this metropolitan area.

But all that, I fear, could end with a move from Washington. Indeed, I wonder whether such a move might not make the Redskins once again a cause of division among us rather than of unity.

As I have said, there's more at stake here than a business transaction. And there are serious questions

about what exactly is going on: What are the motives for this planned move by the team just when it appeared the D.C. government and Mr. Cooke had all but signed on the dotted line? Why did Mr. Cooke suddenly pull back his pen?

The Redskins are, of course, a privately owned company. And I would acknowledge that under the ownership of Jack Kent Cooke, they have been a good thing for all of us in this region. But in part because of their success, they have become, in some ways, a sort of public institution, with a mission bigger than financial or artistic success.

The Washington Metropolitan Area Transportation Authority and the Council of Governments are two other regional institutions that bind us in unity of spirit, purpose and cooperation. What would the message be if those institutions chose to leave the heart of the region? Or what if the Board of Trade, The Washington Post, Howard University or Duke Zeibert's moved out of town?

This is, as Mr. Cooke and Gov. Wilder should be aware, much more than just a business decision. The cost/benefit ratio of the move cannot be measured in dollars alone. Cooke can relocate the Redskins' organization he owns, but he cannot relocate the peoples' institution it symbolizes.

The writer is former president of the Washington Urban League.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

William F. Buckley Jr.

Kemp for Quayle?

The word reaches me from a source I trust that last week Vice President Dan Quayle went to President Bush and offered to withdraw as a candidate for reelection.

This is seemly conduct. In most parliamentary situations, such a gesture would be taken for granted. If a member of the Cabinet is considered a drag on the ticket, why, he goes—it is entirely routine. Moreover, it is not considered evidence of anything other than a lack of relative popularity among the voters.

My informant does not know whether President Bush will take Mr. Quayle up on his offer to step aside. On the one hand, there are

was his manager. The hard conservative community forgiveth not, witness its failure to acknowledge the movement of Nelson Rockefeller in our direction in his last years, and that of Henry Kissinger, who became the staunchest anti-communist in the diplomatic pantheon.

There is a movement within the White House for Jack Kemp, and his qualifications are manifest. He is identified with a special solicitude for the problem areas of the big cities. When Los Angeles exploded, Jack Kemp came instantly to mind, with his long war in favor of enterprise zones. Whereas a dozen years ago he was thought of as a fringe rightist, the old stigma is substantially gone.

Jack Kemp has, moreover, a kind of communicable optimism George Bush simply lacks. This is in part temperamental—Jack Kemp is most at home cheering for the home team, in this case the United States. When he speaks about bringing prosperity to everyone, he is pulsating with desire. In any exchange with Al Gore on the subject of the prospects for America, Mr. Kemp would leave Mr. Gore sounding like a candidate with a stunted imagination.

The rumor mill from the White House gives us this: that Mr. Bush is not entirely comfortable with Kemp. They did, after all, compete for the Republican nomination in 1988, and in the course of that contest, wasp-tongued John Buckley served as press secretary for Kemp, very much at the expense of Candidate Bush. And although Kemp has been a loyal member of the Bush administration, few doubt that in 1996 he will roar into New Hampshire as the heir apparent of the Reagan dynasty after a morganatic interruption.

But that shouldn't really matter to Mr. Bush, since he knows very well that vice presidents can be sequestered exactly to the extent a president desires. But during the campaign, candidate Kemp would have a transforming effect.

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Jack Kemp has a kind of communicable optimism George Bush simply lacks.

the hard empirical data of the polls. And then we are constantly reminded by the Democratic contenders that Bush said a few months ago that he would do "anything" to win in November. Is accepting Quayle's resignation as a candidate something short of anything? One would suppose so.

If Quayle were allowed to pull away, American conservatives would be watching with intense ideological curiosity whom Bush proposes in his place. Except for the inconvenience that Jim Baker is a Texan whose candidacy would mean the forfeiture of the Texan electoral vote, he would be the obvious choice, having served for so long as alter ego to George Bush.

But notwithstanding Baker's close identification with Ronald Reagan, the hard conservative community has always associated him with Bush-Republicanism, not Reagan-Republicanism, and indeed when George Bush was contending against Ronald Reagan, Jim Baker

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

William Raspberry

Back to The Family

Don't call it good news—at least not yet. Call it a glimmer of hope, tenuously supported by still-tentative data, that, when it comes to the American family, things just may be getting better.

This flickering candle of "a new familism" is the sighting of the culture watchers at the Institute for American Values, and especially of the Manhattan-based institute's Barbara Dafoe Whitehead. Its source? The baby boom generation, creator of the singles "lifestyle," is settling down into family life.

Is she blaming the boomers (as opposed to, say, economics, technology or family-unfriendly worksites) for the decline of the family in the first place? Well, yes. Those other anti-family pressures play their part, she acknowledges in the summer issue of the institute's publication, *Family Affairs*.

"But the principal source of family decline over the past three decades has been cultural. It has to do with the ascendancy of a set of values that have been destructive of commitment, obligation, responsibility and sacrifice—and particularly destructive of the claims of children on adult attention and commitment.

"The family has weakened because, quite simply, many Americans have changed their minds. They changed their minds about staying together for the sake of the children; about the necessity of putting children's needs before their own; about marriage as a lifelong commitment; and about what it means to be unmarried and pregnant. And many American men changed their minds about the obligations of a father and husband."

It has been easier to plot the cultural shifts Whitehead talks about than to know what to do about them.

A personal case in point: When we were married nearly 26 years ago, my wife and I agreed that she would continue working until we started our family. Then she'd quit her job and make a home for the children and me.

It worked out well all around. Neither of us has any doubt that the children—that we as a family—are better off for her full-time home-making (and personal sacrifice). We'd do it again.

But if one of our daughters told us she was getting married and that she and her husband would do it the way we did it, I'd probably be more worried than pleased. I've seen too many marriages fall apart to be comfortable with the thought of my daughter trying to re-enter the work force with atrophied or obsolete skills. I've heard too many brides and grooms pledge their mutual faith for "so long as we both shall love." I have seen too many wives abandoned and pauperized. I have witnessed, in short, the erosion of "commitment, obligation, responsibility and sacrifice."

Whitehead has seen these changes, too: from the much-maligned traditionalism of "Ozzie and Harriet" to the

The baby boomers are settling down.

careerism of "The Mary Tyler Moore Show" and "L.A. Law," the latter two of which "treat workplace relationships and the workplace as the primary realm of intimacy, nurturing and fulfillment. Children do not exist in the workplace world at all."

Not, at least, until the onset of the "new familism," which, so far, has no paradigmatic TV show. But just wait.

"If there is a single common experience that contributes to the New Familism," says Whitehead, "it is parenthood. A majority of the baby boomers—roughly 45 million—are now parents. ... It makes you settle down, think ahead, become less selfish."

And, she is convinced, it changes the culture. Why? Because the baby boomers are screenwriters, movie-makers, journalists, book editors and, yes, TV producers.

"Since much of our culture today is a media culture, they have an enormous influence on what values and behaviors are depicted, what values and behaviors are affirmed and celebrated and what roles are held up as models.

"In fact, I believe that one of the reasons we see such an explosion of media interest in the family today is that many journalists belong to this segment of the baby boom generation and are settling into family life themselves."

Whitehead and her co-authors in "Family Affairs" are treading tricky ground—terrain that is trickier still for men. Family values can, in some guises, be just another way of wishing women back in their submissive, non-threatening roles, a way of repudiating the positive changes of recent years: greater gender equality, greater tolerance for diversity, increased freedom and opportunity for women.

The problem is how to salvage the best of the gains for individuals without undercutting the values that exalt families. And we're talking about far more than the tax code and improved child care arrangements. Says Whitehead:

"We have a political conversation about the family that's giving rise to public policy solutions. We have an economic conversation about the family that's giving rise to workplace solutions. We do not yet have an equivalent cultural conversation about the family that's giving rise to cultural solutions."

She's right. So let's talk.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Iraq's Illicit Weapons

IRAQ HAS deliberately provoked another crisis over its illicit weapons. With calculation, it has now openly violated its agreement with the U.N.'s Security Council and the military alliance that defeated it in the war last year. The Security Council must not allow this violation to stand. That would not only diminish the United Nations' standing as a force for peace in the world, it would do severe damage to the world's efforts to control the spread of the most dangerous and indiscriminate classes of weapons.

To end the war, Iraq agreed to a Security Council resolution requiring it to give up nuclear, chemical and biological weapons as well as the missiles to deliver them. The resolution also required Iraq to permit inspections enforcing the agreement. The inspectors have already shown that Iraq was working furiously to develop nuclear warheads and that it had far larger stores of chemical weapons than it ever acknowledged.

Earlier this month the inspectors got a tip that the Iraqis had hidden documents on missile and weapons production in their Ministry of Agriculture. When the Iraqi government refused to let them enter, they put the building under surveillance. Around the clock they sat in their trucks and watched the doors. The Iraqi government responded by organizing street demonstrations against them. Over time the action got rougher

and more menacing. At dawn Wednesday a man, under the eyes of the Iraqi police standing nearby, tried to stab an inspector. With that, the U.N. called off the watch. Now it's up to the Security Council—meaning the governments of the United States and its allies—to decide how to show the Iraqis the wisdom of sticking to their agreement.

One compelling reason to complete the inspection process is to learn in full detail what help—intentional or otherwise—the Iraqis were getting from other countries in their nearly successful drive to develop nuclear weapons. The revelations so far will certainly lead to different and more effective export controls in this country and several others, such as Germany, whose machine tools and industrial equipment have turned up in Iraq's secret installations.

While the Iraqis have repeatedly jostled with the inspectors over the past year to test the United Nations' resolve, it's hard to know why they chose this precise moment to launch an unprecedentedly direct challenge. Perhaps they thought they at last had an opportunity to end the inspections at a time when the Americans are distracted by their election campaign and the Europeans are focused on the Yugoslav civil war. That makes it all the more necessary to make it clear to them that they are wrong.

Pablo Escobar: The Getaway

IN THE international war on drugs, few nations have paid as high a price in lives, justice and democratic freedoms as Colombia. But the recent bizarre escape of Medellin drug kingpin Pablo Escobar from his customized hilltop jail has delivered a devastating blow to the credibility of Colombian law enforcement and President Cesar Gaviria's policy of leniency toward drug lords. Recapturing Pablo Escobar is a mandatory first step if Colombia is to have any chance of regaining the confidence of an understandably skeptical international community.

From the beginning, there were those here and in Europe who believed Colombia gave away too much by offering to suspend extradition and reduce the sentences of cocaine drug lords who surrendered and confessed. Well-known weaknesses in the country's judicial system only increased those misgivings. Doubts deepened further when Pablo Escobar took the government's deal and ended up ensconced in a comfortable hometown jail where he held court for his friends, neighbors and wanted members of the Colombian underworld, one of whom had 13 arrest warrants on his head when he stopped by.

Following a wave of criticism, President Gaviria moved to halt some of the rule-bending at the prison. But Pablo Escobar's mockery of the penal system continued almost as if the government didn't exist. Consider this: Corrections officers carefully selected by the government to avoid Mr. Escobar's control were found to have

been bribed and corrupted; the prison, which the government claimed was no different from those found in the United States, was found to have an underground tunnel that Mr. Escobar and other inmates are believed to have dug to the outside; the government's "extraordinary steps" to prevent Mr. Escobar from continuing his illegal operations from jail failed to stop him from using the place as a court in which cartel rivals were brought to jail and "tried" to be executed after they left. And reportedly he never quit masterminding his drug operations from prison.

To its credit, when the Colombian government got evidence of this—thanks in part to U.S. intelligence—it moved in with 400 soldiers to transfer Mr. Escobar to a more secure military prison. To the Colombian government's shame, Pablo Escobar and other drug dealers eventually made their getaway while hundreds of armed troops stood ringing the jail.

It has been going this way in Colombia for the past four to five years. But again to the credit of Colombians, the past wave of assassinations, bombings and terrorism—and now the latest audacious act of one of the world's most despicable criminals, including his reported call from hiding to strike a preposterous deal to return to his cell with U.N. protection—have not caused them to lose heart. President Gaviria's government is determined to fight back and demonstrate that justice can be done. Bringing in Pablo Escobar on Colombia's terms would be a start.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

'A Billionaire Bully'

SUDDENLY the local story of the summer is how one man with a lot of money, a beloved football team and almost hourly changes of heart is driving a metropolitan region wild. Jack Kent Cooke beams, fumes and fusses—while Gov. Wilder trots alongside, promising him the moon and many-times-sixpence for a stadium in Alexandria, where it has no place being and where local officials have vowed to fight it every way they can. The still mostly secret Cooke-Wilder deal has set off political sparks not only between Mayor Kelly and Mr. Cooke but also between the mayor and D.C. Council Chairman Wilson, who has not exactly rushed to the mayor's defense against charges that she "lost" a stadium for the city. Mr. Wilson seems willing, in fact, to toss in everything, including the elevator concession at the Washington Monument, to woo back Mr. Cooke.

But the more we hear about Mr. Cooke's volatile style—of negotiating in general and negotiating with women in particular—the more inclined we are to believe that Mayor Kelly did what she could and is serious about being ready still to "go anywhere, meet anyplace, at any time, to work with Jack Kent Cooke to keep the team here in a manner that is respectful of the people of the District of Columbia."

Mr. Cooke has always dealt in secret and doesn't like to deal with intermediaries. So when Mayor Kelly first heard that he was heading for Alexandria and didn't then go dashing to him personally with an open municipal checkbook, her political rivals and others in the give-Cooke-anything-he-wants school were quick to tag the mayor as the big loser. But how much should a financially strapped city fork over in subsidies to keep this one man from bolting to a suburb?

How much, for example, would Council Chairman Wilson—normally an advocate of tight belts and pink slips at city hall—be willing to forgive in taxes for Mr. Cooke? How frenzied would a bid by certain businesses to sweeten the D.C. pot for Mr. Cooke become? Should the Defense Department give him Bolling Field? Or does he still have one eye on Fort Belvoir if Alexandria's revolt is successful?

From what Mayor Kelly and her negotiators have said, they and Mr. Cooke were on the verge of signing an agreement under which the city would have committed \$60 million for improvements near a new stadium adjacent to RFK

Stadium. The city also had a plan to prevent taxpayers from bearing the cost. If sales tax revenues generated by the new facility proved insufficient to make the annual payment on money borrowed for improvements, Mr. Cooke had guaranteed he would pay the difference. It appeared that an agreement had been reached, with Mr. Cooke all smiles.

Then along came a secret offer from Gov. Wilder to shower Mr. Cooke with money and land from Virginia, including revenue from ticket sales, skybox leases, game-day parking and concessions. The offer also included more than double the amount the District had agreed to commit for improvements: \$130 million or more for roads, a Metro station and other improvements to put the stadium in Alexandria. And the governor threw in a promise that the state would condemn property worth \$29.9 million and turn it into parking lots; after 10 years, the land would be given to Mr. Cooke to develop.

Forget for a moment that Gov. Wilder may have promised more than he could ever deliver and more than he ever should in the first place. Why didn't he consult the very people who would be affected most directly? Is it any wonder that Alexandria Mayor Patsy Ticer and the city council strongly oppose the Cooke-Wilder plan on every possible count? Or that in a letter to Gov. Wilder informing him of the council's vote, Mrs. Ticer called this exclusion "an affront to political leadership and proper government conduct?"

In a July 10 letter to the governor, Mayor Ticer pointed up a pertinent but so far ignored pledge from Mr. Wilder: "Since you told me in our phone conversation last Tuesday morning that you would not continue to pursue this against the city's wishes, it is important that you know that the Alexandria City Council, at our special meeting of July 9, voted to strongly oppose the location."

Given the back-of-the hand treatment of two mayors by one "billionaire bully" and "Governor Giveaway," as Sharon Pratt Kelly described the team owner and the governor, why should she be blamed for not matching Gov. Wilder's huge and highly questionable offer? We think that's unfair. The home of the Redskins should continue to be where it has been, but if Mr. Cooke sees greener grass somewhere else, he is free to snub the city he professes to love in search of sycophants.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

OFFICIAL OPENING



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For the Record

From testimony by Robert Strauss, U.S. ambassador to Russia, before the House Agriculture Committee July 22:

Rep. Charles Stenholm (D-Tex.): Does Russia and the other republics, do they need, or is there a need, for livestock improvements in their operations? For example, dairy cattle? Livestock beef?

Or would this be a mistake for us right now to be providing livestock rather than bulk commodities or other value-added commodities?

Strauss: Let me give you an example of how desperately they need help. . . . Agriculture Secretary Lyng, a splendid man with a good mind who knows agriculture, as you know, is in terribly poor health, but at my request and some others, he came over and made a trip around, spent about two weeks travelling around to see what he could find.

He came in to see me one day, and he said, you know, Bob, I have just come from the most modern milk plant I have ever seen. I have never seen a more modern milk plant in my life.

And he said, they're producing about 10 or 15 percent of capacity. And I said, no demand for it with the shortage we have of milk? You've got to be crazy, Lyng. He said, Bob, they've built the damn thing where there aren't any cattle, and they can't get—he said, the land and the soil, we can't handle any more cattle . . . within the area, to get any more milk production than 15 percent out of it.

Now, does that tell you that they need technical assistance in planning? Of course they do. It's money wasted. Does it tell you that they can build a modern milk plant? It tells you that.

Does it tell you that the distribution is one of the big problems over there, that they need assistance in that? It tells you that.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Taxers, Taxees and Tactics

Employees Say Internal Revenue Is Worse on Them Than You

By Albert B. Crenshaw
Washington Post Staff Writer

If you think the Internal Revenue Service is unfair and plays favorites, take heart—the people who work there think so too.

Indeed, the workers feel that the agency treats its employees worse than it treats taxpayers.

The findings emerged as the IRS began an agency-wide campaign to improve ethics standards. One of the first steps has been extensive polling of IRS workers to get some idea of how ethical they are.

"Some of the results [of the polling] are encouraging and others concern us," IRS Commissioner Shirley D. Peterson said.

One clear finding was "a perception among our employees that a double standard exists" in disciplinary actions against workers, Peterson said. Workers plainly feel that senior officials are given lenient treatment for transgressions that would bring severe punishment for lower-ranking workers.

The poll also showed that workers feel that classic bureaucratic coverups are common and that supervisors put pressure on subordinates to provide rosy reports on agency functioning or face retaliation.

For example, 59 percent of those polled "believe that managers 'kill the messenger,' causing subordinates to distort, omit or conceal negative facts." Three-quarters believed that "there exists a lack of honesty" between subordinates and superiors.

Some 59 percent disagreed with the statement, "Most IRS managers are open to discussion and criticism and would not retaliate in any way if an employee reported negative information or openly disagreed with them in a reasonable manner."

Survey data on the agency's dealings with taxpayers were not as lopsided, but still were suggestive of how some taxpayer problems with the IRS arise.

For instance, about a third of those surveyed said they believe

MEASURING ETHICS

The IRS survey found:

■ 59 percent of IRS workers believe that managers "kill the messenger," causing subordinates to distort, omit or conceal negative facts.

■ 20 percent said it is sometimes necessary to "tailor" the facts on internal reports to give their supervisors what they want.

■ 71 percent believe there exists a lack of honesty with superiors.



BY PETER ALSBERG—THE WASHINGTON POST

the service "occasionally to very often" handles taxpayer grievances and complaints "in an unfair or uncaring fashion." More than a fifth said they believe "it is proper for IRS to employ tactics, including delay and the assertion of unsustainable positions, to achieve results."

The poll also indicates that despite the recent emphasis on ethics, the agency continues to have problems with misconduct. Though 90 percent of managers and 86 percent of nonmanagers termed the agency's overall honesty, integrity and ethics "good,

very good or excellent," only 61 percent rated the integrity of top management that high.

Some 71 percent said they believe employees say nothing when they see misconduct in the agency, and more than half said they have witnessed instances of colleagues not reporting misconduct during the past year.

There also is evidence that those who report misconduct become targets of reprisals, or believe they will.

Rep. Doug Barnard Jr. (D-Ga.), chairman of the Government Operations subcommittee on commerce, consumer and monetary affairs, said at a hearing Wednesday that "we had more than one [IRS] employee who refused to testify" for fear of retaliation.

Terry Dunford, a former television reporter turned IRS public affairs officer in Buffalo, told Barnard's panel that it happened to him. Dunford said that when he told superiors of IRS secretaries being "strong-armed" to bake cookies, act as "gofers" and work unpaid overtime at an agency conference last year, he was told to forget it.

When he persisted, he was denied merit pay and transferred to a post for which he is not qualified. Dunford, 30, said he fears he is "being set up" for failure in the job.

Peterson said "we are very concerned" about all such charges and is working to make sure whistleblowers are protected and that discipline is evenhanded.

"We take any allegations of misconduct very seriously," she told Barnard, adding, "We are absolutely determined that a double standard . . . not exist within the IRS."

The agency is sharply expanding ethics training and will continue to resurvey its work force on a regular basis. The poll of 3,000 workers was meant "to establish some baseline measure" so the agency could assess the effectiveness of its programs, said David Mader, IRS ethics officer.

"Ethics is not just about breaking rules," Peterson said. "It's about how we treat people."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

CENSUS FINDINGS: WEST REGION

Measured by educational statistics, the western region, taken as a whole, looks a lot like the Northeast, the best-educated and wealthiest part of the country. But income levels in the West still lag behind those on the opposite coast.

The West is home to Alaska, Utah, Colorado and Washington, the four states in the nation with the highest percentage of high school graduates among those 25 and older. As of 1989, 86.6 percent of Alaska's adult population had graduated from high school, as had 85.1 percent, 84.4 percent and 83.8 percent, of Utah's, Colorado's and Washington's adult populations, compared with the national average of 75.2 percent. Only one of the region's 13 states, New Mexico, had a graduation rate below the national average.

Western region residents are also, on average, more likely to have graduated from college than the average American. In 1989, 22.7 percent of those 25 and older living in the West had a college degree, compared with a national average of 20.3 percent.

The West also ranks second among regions in median household income, with the average household bringing in \$32,270 in 1989, roughly \$1,555 less than in the Northeast. Within the western region, there is a vast range in incomes among states, with the average Alaska household making \$41,408 in 1989 and the average Montana household making slightly more than half that amount—\$22,988.

States in the western region employ a greater percentage of residents to run their governments than do states in any other part of the country.

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 West

While the average state employed about 2.4 percent of its residents in 1989, Hawaii employed 4.7 percent, Alaska 4.6 percent, New Mexico 3.7 percent and Wyoming 3.5 percent.

The story is much the same in local governments. The average state employed about 3.3 percent of its residents in local governments; Wyoming employed 4.7 percent, Alaska 4.4 percent and Utah 3.9 percent.

—John Wagner

WESTERN REGION

Median Household Income: \$32,270

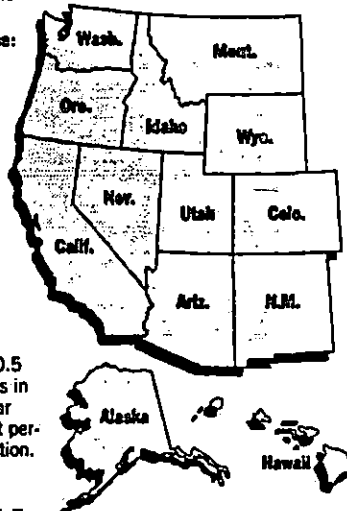
Poverty Rate: 12.6%

High School Graduates: 78.6%

College Degree: 22.7%

■ As of 1989, 20.5 percent of workers in Hawaii were in car pools, the highest percentage in the nation.

■ As of 1989, 21.7 percent of California residents were born in a foreign country, the highest percentage in the nation.



State	Population	Median Household Income	Poverty Rate	% High School Graduate	% College Degree	Total Government Workers	Local	State	Federal
California	29,760,021	\$35,798	12.5	76.2	23.4	2,026,918	1,078,146	499,399	449,373
Washington	4,866,692	\$31,183	10.9	83.8	22.9	379,622	138,344	145,422	95,866
Arizona	3,665,228	\$27,540	15.7	78.7	20.3	264,680	121,154	86,408	57,118
Colorado	3,294,394	\$30,140	11.7	84.4	27.0	262,408	121,980	69,016	71,412
Oregon	2,842,321	\$27,250	12.4	81.5	20.6	199,627	97,378	64,595	37,654
Utah	1,772,850	\$29,470	11.4	85.1	22.3	145,499	66,486	43,012	36,001
New Mexico	1,515,069	\$24,087	20.6	75.1	20.4	147,943	45,661	55,402	46,880
Nevada	1,201,833	\$31,011	10.2	78.8	18.3	78,344	38,472	21,809	18,063
Hawaii	1,108,229	\$38,829	8.3	80.1	22.9	107,777	16,632	52,127	39,018
Idaho	1,006,749	\$25,257	13.3	79.7	17.7	77,080	28,922	30,304	17,854
Montana	799,065	\$22,988	16.1	81.0	19.8	70,280	29,367	23,795	17,118
Alaska	550,043	\$41,408	9.0	86.6	23.0	72,688	24,098	25,225	23,365
Wyoming	453,588	\$27,096	11.9	83.0	18.8	45,938	21,510	15,991	8,437
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

THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Pentagon Issues Declassified MIA Documents

Associated Press

The Pentagon released thousands of previously classified documents yesterday dealing with the 2,266 Americans still missing in Southeast Asia.

Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams called the collection a "hodgepodge" of papers, saying they were the first installment of a planned release of more than 1.3 million pages of documents—some dating to 1973—that will be made available in coming months.

The release followed President Bush's order Wednesday to executive departments and agencies to make available all POW-MIA documents and files, except those that would invade the privacy of people involved. Earlier this month, the Senate unanimously demanded release of the secret documents "expeditiously."

Williams said much of the material "doesn't plow any new ground" because it has been made available to the Senate Select Committee on POW-MIA Affairs on a classified basis. Moreover, the names of individuals have been removed from the material for privacy reasons, so the case documents at first glance will mean little to anyone not versed in the complex details of each case.

White House Shares Exemptions

Rep. Kanjorski Wants Nine Laws Extended to President's Staff

By Bill McAllister
Washington Post Staff Writer

When President Bush proposed subjecting Congress to all the laws it passes, he overlooked a key point, the chairman of a House subcommittee that has been examining the White House said.

In his March 20 speech, Bush did not mention that his office also is exempt from the same laws.

The Congressional Research Service, in a report released yesterday by Rep. Paul E. Kanjorski (D-Pa.), found that the White House is exempted from all or parts of more than nine laws, including those that Bush wants extended to Congress.

In his March speech, which attacked the Democrats' control of Congress, Bush said: "We should apply to Congress the same laws, from employment practices to civil rights to the Freedom of Information Act, which it imposes on everyone else."

House Republicans long have urged that the laws the president mentioned apply to the legislative branch, but their bills would not extend the laws to the White House.

Kanjorski, in a move unlikely to end Bush's criticism of Congress, suggested that the laws be extended to the president's staff. He made the offer in a letter to Bush, noting that his House Post Office and Civil Service human resources subcommittee is in the process of rewriting the White House Personnel Authorization Act of 1978 and would be glad to include such a provision in the law.

Along with the offer, he forwarded a copy of the research service's survey. The 12-page report noted that the Executive Office of the President is also exempted from portions of civil rights laws, the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, the Fair Labor Standards Act, the Occupational Safety and Health Act, the National Labor Relations Act, the Social Security Act, the Freedom of Information Act, the Privacy Act, the Government in the Sunshine Act and the Hatch Act. Presidential employees also may not be covered by provisions of the Ethics in Government Act, Kanjorski said.

The White House's exemption is based, in part, on the research service's conclusion that the Executive Office of the President is neither

"an executive department or an independent establishment in the executive branch." Those are legal terms used to describe the coverage of most federal laws.

Some of the presidential exemptions are, in fact, academic, the report suggested. "A large proportion" of the president's employees "by virtue of their status as executive, administrative or professional employees, would be exempted from . . . wage and hour provisions" of the Fair Labor Standards Act, the report said.

Kanjorski said in an interview that "there are reasons" for the exemptions and that subjecting Congress to measures such as the Freedom of Information Act would only "double the costs of running Congress."

Judy Smith, deputy White House press secretary, said the administration welcomed Kanjorski's proposal.

"We already have proposed to extend a number of these laws to the Congress and White House," she said. "We are pleased to hear that Congress is interested in applying these laws to themselves and would be delighted to work with them to achieve this goal."

MIA Families Fault Pentagon Research

Dispute Centers on Authenticity of Photo in Cambodian Magazine

By John Wagner
Washington Post Staff Writer

By September 1990, Deborah Robertson Bardsley had abandoned any hope of ever again seeing her father, an Air Force pilot whose F-4 Phantom was shot down over North Vietnam in 1966.

On the 24th anniversary of his downing, she walked away from a candlelight vigil held in a California coastal town convinced her father's fate would never be discerned.

Then Bardsley's younger sister obtained a startling photograph. The picture, passed to her by a man whose aunt had recently visited Cambodia, purported to show Bardsley's father, Col. John L. Robertson, and two other Vietnam-era officers still being held prisoner in Southeast Asia.

"It was a shock to look into his face," Bardsley said. "He had aged just like his own father."

The discovery of the photo set the two sisters on a yearlong odyssey, sending them on several trips to Vietnam and Cambodia in search of further clues about their father's whereabouts. It also prompted the Defense Department to try to determine whether the photo of the three men, one of whom was presumed dead, was authentic.

Earlier this month, the Pentagon announced its conclusion: The widely publicized photo, it said, was a hoax. Defense Department officials are convinced the picture is a doctored reproduction of a 1923 photo of three Soviet farmers published in the December 1989 Khmer-language issue of a magazine called "Soviet Union Today."

"When you look at the pictures, there's very little doubt," said Capt. Susan Strednansky, a Defense Department spokeswoman. "We're satisfied they're the same pictures."

Bardsley is not. She traveled to Washington from Chatsworth, Calif., to participate in a news conference yesterday with family members of the other two officers, Air Force Maj. Albro L. Lundy Jr. and Navy Lt. Larry James Stevens.

The families of the three servicemen believe the Pentagon's research methods and conclusions are "unacceptable," Bardsley told about two dozen reporters gathered in a late-morning drizzle in front of the Pentagon. "We're not satisfied."

In an interview, Bardsley acknowledged the two photos look strikingly similar. The three men are positioned in the same way and in the same setting. Mustaches appear to have been added to all three in what the Pentagon says is the

doctored photo. A banner praising collective farming in the magazine photo has been replaced in the other version by a message indicating captivity.

Still, a disturbing number of questions persist, Bardsley said. She has obtained an English-language version of the December 1989 issue of Soviet Union magazine, which lists 22 languages in which the magazine is published. Khmer is not on the list.

Bardsley said the magazine's publisher recently told her the magazine is not published in the Khmer language. The Pentagon's Strednansky said yesterday that she had no information about this point.

The photo in question has not been discovered in a version of the magazine printed in any other language, a fact Pentagon officials said is not surprising, given that material published in different versions of the magazine typically varies.

The Pentagon thus far has obtained only one copy of the magazine written in the Khmer language. It said the magazine was found in the National Library in Phnom Penh, capital of Cambodia. According to Strednansky, a second copy of the same issue was left behind in the library.

Bardsley said the English and Khmer-language versions of the



Deborah Robertson Bardsley holds pictures purported to be her MIA father.

magazine differ drastically in appearance and design. The English version is glossy and well-designed, while the Khmer version "looks like a comic book," she said.

In essence, the Pentagon's explanation of the source of the photo of her father rests on "one lone copy of a publication that doesn't exist," Bardsley said. "They've settled for the easy answers. . . .

There's every possibility that this is a counterfeit publication."

At a regularly scheduled Pentagon briefing yesterday, Defense Department spokesman Pete Williams said that while the Defense Department remains confident of its previous findings, it is "sensitive to questions about the authenticity of the magazine" and would be "going back to further research it."

Clinton Charges Bush Uses Crime Issue to Divide

By Edward Walsh
Washington Post Staff Writer

HOUSTON, July 23—With a line of uniformed Houston police officers arrayed behind him on the steps of City Hall here, Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton accused President Bush of using the crime issue to divide Americans but doing little to combat crime or help law enforcement agencies.

Clinton's decision to make one of his first campaign trips since his nomination to Bush's adoptive home state and to talk about crime here was the latest example of his determination not to repeat the mistakes of 1988 Democratic presidential nominee Michael S. Dukakis. By appearing with police officers, he borrowed a prop used frequently by Bush in 1988—and frequently since then—when talking about the crime issue.

Clinton was particularly critical of Bush's opposition to the so-called Brady bill, which would require a five-day waiting period for background checks before purchase of a handgun.

The measure, named after James Brady, former President Ronald Reagan's press secretary who was seriously wounded in the 1981 assassination attempt on Reagan, is strongly supported by law enforce-

ment officials across the country but opposed by the powerful National Rifle Association.

"I don't see how a president can ask men and women to put on uniforms and risk their lives to keep the rest of us safe when he won't risk a little political capital and take the heat," Clinton told a crowd huddled in front of City Hall as large raindrops fell from the sky.

During the 1988 campaign, Bush and Republican operatives savaged Dukakis on the crime issue and particularly a Massachusetts prison-furlough program from which convicted murderer Willie Horton escaped and later raped a Maryland woman. After the campaign, Dukakis was criticized by Democrats for rejecting advice and not anticipating the GOP assault.

Republican strategists have already signaled that they regard Clinton also to be vulnerable on the crime issue.

"Governor Clinton talked for 53 minutes [in his acceptance speech] and had one sentence on crime," campaign adviser Charles Black said at a breakfast with reporters in Washington Wednesday.

"I predict to you, crime and drugs, law and order, safety in neighborhoods, will be a very major issue in this election, and we're the

ones on the side of change," Black said.

Clinton is a much less-inviting target than Dukakis on crime issues. Unlike the former Massachusetts governor, Clinton supports capital punishment and has permitted the execution of four Arkansas felons since 1990. But as today's visit here illustrated, Clinton is determined not to leave himself vulnerable on issues that Republicans have used against the Democrats with great success in the last three presidential elections.

Today, in fact, the Arkansas governor sought to turn the Bush tactics of 1988 against the incumbent by charging that the president has tried to divide the country for political purposes and that he has not backed up his strong anticrime rhetoric with action in Washington.

"This president used crime to beat the Democrats in 1988 and then he turned around and tried to take away \$100 million from state and local law enforcement," he said. According to a Clinton campaign document labeled "a rap sheet on crime," the \$100 million cut was contained in Bush's fiscal 1992 budget proposal.

Charging that the Republicans will ask the electorate "to vote again for the same old policies of

fear and divide and distract," Clinton added, "If you want a president who knows the difference between talk and action, who will not use crime to divide us, but will use safety to unite us, then vote for Bill Clinton."

Staff writer Ruth Marcus in Washington contributed to this report.

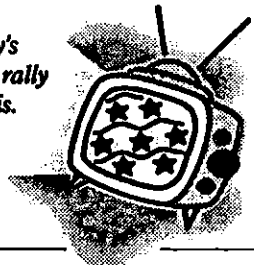
ON TV

PRESIDENT BUSH

■ C-SPAN, 5:30-6:00 p.m.
"Road to the White House"
Tape of Monday's remarks to the American Legion Boys Nation.

GOV. BILL CLINTON AND SEN. ALBERT GORE JR.

■ C-SPAN, 5:00-5:30 p.m.
"Road to the White House"
Tape of Wednesday's campaign rally in St. Louis.



House, Senate Candidates Fear Effect of Bush's Slide

By Helen Dewar
Washington Post Staff Writer

A wave of consternation has spread through Republican ranks on Capitol Hill over prospects for critical House and Senate races this fall unless President Bush moves swiftly to regain the political offensive and reverse his slide in public opinion polls.

With Bush down, Democrat Bill Clinton up and Ross Perot out, Republican lawmakers who have been predicting big gains in the House and moderate gains in the Senate are saying they are far less confident of the outcome now than they were a few weeks ago.

Even in areas where ticket-splitting is most intense, lawmakers say a weakened GOP presidential ticket could mean the margin of defeat in a close House or Senate race by failing to motivate voters who are more likely to be drawn to the polls by a presidential contest than a legislative race.

In interviews over the last several days, many Republican lawmakers expressed at least guarded optimism that the Democratic National Convention glow will fade for Arkansas Gov. Clinton and his running mate, Sen. Albert Gore Jr. (Tenn.), once weaknesses in their records and platforms are exploited.

But they also voiced concern that, aside from expectations that Secretary of State James A. Baker III will be brought back to the White House to head the president's reelection effort, Bush seems to be doing little to regain momentum in the campaign.

"The campaign is just immobile," said Sen. Warren B. Rudman (R-N.H.), who is not seeking

reelection this fall. He learned an important political lesson during his military basic training, Rudman added: "If you just lie there, you'll get shot."

"Some [House Republicans] are getting rather desperate," said Rep. John A. Boehner (R-Ohio), leader of a group of freshman dissidents who have been urging a sharper-edged political message from the White House. "There's a lot of fear and concern that no one's in charge down there."

In the Senate, where presidential coattails are often more important than they are in the House, a half-dozen to a dozen contests could be so close that the Bush-Clinton race might provide the margin of victory either way, according to strategists in both parties.

Democrats stressed that having two southerners at the top of their ticket will help them keep the eight southern seats that they are defending this year, several of which have been viewed as ripe for plucking by the Republicans. "Instead of running away from the national ticket or being guarded in relation to it, the fact that we have two southerners at the top will help with those races and with retaining control of the Senate as well," said Nehl Horton, spokesman for the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee.

Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.), chairman of the Republican senatorial campaign committee, said he was confident that the Clinton-Gore ticket will fade as the campaign heats up. But "to the extent that they [Clinton and Gore] can hold onto the image they had in the convention, it will clearly help" Democratic senatorial candidates, Gramm added.

Sen. Don Nickles (R-Okla.), a former campaign committee chairman, put it in more dire terms for Senate Republicans, who now hold 43 of the 100 seats and once saw an outside chance of reclaiming control of the chamber. "If he [Bush] is not reelected, Republicans will fall from the 40s to the 30s in the Senate," Nickles said.

The implication was clear: Not only would the Democrats have control of both elected branches of government for the first time in 12 years, but Republicans would lose the powerful weapon they now have in the filibuster, which takes 60 votes to break. With 40 or fewer votes, Republicans would lose their last real line of defense against a unified Democratic government.

In the House, where the outlook is complicated by redistricting and an unprecedented number of retirements, there is also a concern among Republicans that hopes of gains may be dimming.

Rep. Jim Leach (R-Iowa), a senior party moderate, is no longer looking to a Republican gain of 10 to 15 seats on top of the 166 they already have and cites the withdrawal of Perot as a major reason.

"There is an element of teammanship that breaks down in a three-way race," Leach said. "But in a two-way race, where there are two young Democratic candidates running as agents of change, the momentum will be for Democrats to come home, and there could well be spinoffs in other races."

In the end, Rudman indicated he expected the election will turn on the health of the economy. Is that good or bad for the Republicans, he was asked. "That does not look good right now either," he responded.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

No Change On Abortion, Quayle Says *Some Accuse Him Of Double Standard*

By Ruth Marcus
Washington Post Staff Writer

Vice President Quayle said yesterday that his comment Wednesday night that he would "support" his daughter if she chose to have an abortion did not signal a change in his staunch opposition to abortion rights.

Asked on CNN's "Larry King Live" what he would do "if your daughter grew up" and "came to you with that problem all fathers fear," Quayle said of his daughter Corinne, now 13: "I hope I never do have to deal with it. But obviously I would counsel her and talk to her, and support her on whatever decision she made." If his daughter terminated the pregnancy, Quayle said: "I'd support my daughter. I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision."

Yesterday, campaigning in Indiana, Quayle said his comments reflected "no change at all" in his staunch and long-standing opposition to abortion. "I was asked a hypothetical question about my daughter," he said. "I said that I would counsel her and encourage her not to have an abortion, but I would support my daughter."

Asked at a later stop in Kentucky whether he would back her decision to seek an abortion if the procedure were illegal, Quayle repeated: "I support my daughter... like any father," the Associated Press reported.

The vice president's wife, Marilyn, asked about the issue during a radio interview, said Corinne had been raised "in a Christian household" and taught to behave responsibly. However, she said, "If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term." Asked who would make that decision, Marilyn Quayle added: "We'll make it with her."

The broadcast dialogue by the Quayles brought the divisive subject

of abortion home in an extraordinarily personal context. Gary Bauer, of the antiabortion Family Research Council said, "I think as soon as that question was asked [Quayle's] father hat went on and he spoke in terms of a father whose daughter did something he was very much against."

But abortion-rights advocates seized on Quayle's comments to accuse him of a "double standard" on the issue and to underscore Republican efforts to outlaw abortion.

"While we welcome Vice President Quayle's newfound respect for his own daughter's freedom to choose, we regret that he and President Bush want to take that same freedom away from everyone else," said National Abortion Rights Action League President Kate Michelman. "It smacks of a double standard for Vice President Quayle to support his daughter's decision when he's worked so hard to allow the government to interfere in every other woman's decision."

Quayle spokesman Jeffrey Nesbit said the groups were cynically distorting what Quayle had said. "There is a clear distinction between supporting your children's decisions, right or wrong, and supporting a woman's right to choose," he said.

Nesbit emphasized that Quayle was responding in the context of what he would do if his daughter were an adult and that the vice president has "the same position as Mrs. Quayle's" about what their daughter should do if she were to become pregnant as a minor. Quayle took that position during the 1988 campaign, telling a young reporter for the "Children's Express" television show that he would oppose abortion for a 12-year-old who had been molested by her father.

However, Nesbit said: "If she's an adult, clearly, he's a loving father, he would support his daughter even if she makes the wrong decision.... He's not saying he supports her right to choose. He supports his daughter because he loves her."

Quayle's comments were notable for what the vice president omitted as well as for what he said. He did not mention an opposition to abortion so fierce that he has said he would advise his wife not to have an abortion if she were raped and became pregnant. He did not stress that he would tell Corinne about alternatives to abortion, such as adoption, or that he views abortion as murder.

Antiabortion activists yesterday rallied to the defense of the vice president, who has been hit with a

barrage of reports about the desire among some Republicans to drop him from the ticket.

Quayle's comments, "are consistent with a pro-life position," said Darla St. Martin, associate executive director of the National Right-to-Life Committee. "We reject the violent act of abortion. We do not reject the people involved.... A parent can still support the child without approving of the act that the child has carried out."

Quayle's chief of staff, Bill Kristol, also accused abortion-rights groups of trying to use Quayle's comments "in their own typical cynical way.... It's kind of disgusting."

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, who supports abortion rights but as Arkansas governor signed a bill requiring parental notification for minors seeking abortions, said: "I don't think I should comment on Dan Quayle's relationship with his daughter. He made a personal statement." Clinton then added: "I think it reinforces my position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

Asked what he would do if his daughter Chelsea, now 12, became pregnant, Clinton said: "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Kemp, Allies Proposing Economic Growth Plank

By Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writer

Making another run at the White House to persuade it to "reinvigorate" its economic policies, Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp and a group of congressional allies have proposed a new economic plank for the 1992 Republican platform that emphasizes encouraging economic growth through a series of tax cuts rather than cutting the deficit.

Kemp, joined by Rep. Vin Weber (R-Minn.), met at the White House Wednesday with Chief of Staff Samuel K. Skinner, Budget Director Richard G. Darman, campaign chairman Robert M. Teeter and campaign manager Frederic V. Malek to present his proposed platform language that would amount to a refurbished Bush economic package if presented in legislative form.

The move by Kemp comes at a time the Bush White House is desperately searching for ways to reinvigorate the president's sagging reelection campaign and help him frame an economic message that contrasts with the Democratic proposals. But the Kemp proposal is also a continuation of the economic debate that has split the administration for three years, a debate he and his allies have rarely won.

Kemp's proposal includes a capital gains tax cut with a 50 percent exclusion that would reduce the maximum effective rate to 15 percent; a neutral cost-recovery provision to help expanding businesses; an as yet unspecified reduction in the Social Security tax rate; and a pro-family-type tax cut of either an increase in the individual tax exemption level or a tax credit for children.

To help pay the cost of the tax cuts, the proposal offers a freeze on domestic spending and an "aggressive" government program to sell federal assets and put into private hands some operations currently owned and run by the government.

Weber said the administration and party are "having both an economic and political debate over whether the primary emphasis should be deficit-reduction or tax incentives for economic growth." He and some other conservatives have argued that Bush cannot have it both ways, emphasizing both his desire for a balanced federal budget and his desire for economic growth through lower taxes.

Campaign officials are said to be receptive to the Kemp proposal but administration officials said yesterday that Treasury Secretary Nicholas F. Brady, and Darman, as well as the "balanced-budget wing" of the GOP, would have serious problems with it, as they have had with a series of other tax-cutting proposals over the past two years.

One of the more significant problems the group has had with the Kemp proposals is that the Democrats, most professional economists, and to some extent the Treasury Department do not accept the notion that tax cuts produce large amounts of increased revenue through increased economic growth rather than resulting in reduced revenue.

One source described Kemp as having "argued strenuously that the president and party need to engage aggressively on economic policy," and that the place to do it is at the Republican National Convention in Houston next month.

"What the public wants to see right now is evidence that the president will do something different and something more in a second term" to aid the economy, one source aligned with Kemp said, worrying aloud that Bush will "try to make both sides happy with a compromise, a little of this and a little of that."

Some conservatives believe Bush needs, at the least, to engage in a major fight with Congress over economic policy; embrace a new "bold" economic plank in the party platform and even more explicitly, including at his acceptance speech, repudiate and apologize for the 1990 deal he brokered that ended up with tax increases.

Shaking up the convention with a fight over economic policy is at odds with current plans for the GOP gathering Aug. 17-20. The Republicans will put together their platform the week before.

Republican National Chairman Richard N. Bond announced yesterday that Sen. Phil Gramm (R-Tex.) would be the keynote speaker the second night. Senate Minority Leader Robert J. Dole (R-Kan.) is to be one of the key speakers Wednesday, giving the major Bush nominating address.

Other GOP congressional leaders are also on the program for prime-time speeches, and most of them come from the balanced-budget—not the growth—side of the party.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

AROUND THE NATION

Banks Set Deadline On Honoring IOUs From California

SACRAMENTO, Calif.—Three of California's four biggest banks said yesterday they will stop accepting state-issued IOUs next month.

The bankers' announcements came hours before California, mired in its worst fiscal crisis since the 1930s, mailed out its latest round of Depression-style IOUs, pushing the total since the fiscal year started July 1 to more than \$1 billion, mostly for tax refunds and payments to part-time workers and contractors.

The Democratic-controlled Legislature and Republican Gov. Pete Wilson have been stalemated for a month over how much money to take from schools to help close an \$11 billion deficit and how much to cut for local governments.

Bank of America, the state's biggest bank, said it will reject the IOUs beginning Aug. 5. Wells Fargo and Co., California's second-largest bank, said IOUs dated through July 31 will be honored at its branches only until Aug. 7.

California's fourth-largest bank, Union Bank, also said it would not honor IOUs issued after July.

More banks were expected to follow suit, said Nancy Badley, a spokeswoman for the California Bankers Association.

"In essence, the banks are funding the crisis, serving as a shock absorber for the budget process," said Richard Rosenberg, chairman and chief executive officer of Bank of America, the first to announce it would stop taking IOUs.

Roemer's Kin Indicted

■ **SHREVEPORT, La.**—The father and brother of former governor Buddy Roemer were indicted by a federal grand jury Thursday on bank fraud charges involving a \$9.6 million loan for a real estate deal.

The former governor was not named in the indictment.

His father, Charles E. Roemer II; his brother, Franklin Danny Roemer; and Benton real estate developer R. Lee Harvill were



Rose Bogardus and husband, Manuel Villamar, with their baby Zascha.

indicted following an 18-month investigation by the FBI and federal prosecutors, the U.S. Attorney's office said in a statement.

If convicted on the conspiracy and bank fraud counts, each could be imprisoned for five years and fined \$250,000.

A fourth man, Houston developer Duncan Ragsdale, pleaded guilty Tuesday to one count of conspiracy to commit fraud in connection with the scheme and agreed to testify against the other defendants, officials said.

Prosecutors described the alleged scheme as a "land flip" in which a 72-acre property was purchased but construction funds allegedly were diverted to the defendants' personal use.

Drug Conviction Reversed

■ **TALLAHASSEE, Fla.**—A drug-trafficking law cannot be used to convict a woman of "delivering" cocaine to two children through the umbilical cord; the Florida Supreme Court ruled.

The high court voted unanimously to overturn two convictions of Jennifer Johnson, 26, of Altamonte Springs. The state charged the delivery was through the umbilical cord in the seconds after birth before the cord was cut.

Johnson, 26, was acquitted of violating Florida's child-abuse laws, but convicted on two charges she delivered cocaine to minors, a second-degree felony punishable by up to 15 years in prison.

Addenda

■ Utah's Supreme Court refused

to stay the execution of Williams Andrews, 37, who is scheduled to die next Thursday for his role in the 1974 torture-murders of three people he helped to poison with drain cleaner before they were shot by his codefendant, Pierre Dale Selby, during a robbery. Andrews's cause has been taken up by Amnesty International and the NAACP, which said his trial was tainted by racial prejudice.

■ Baby Zascha, who tied a world record for the most premature baby to survive, left the hospital in Miami with jubilant parents, Rose Bogardus and Manuel Villamar. Zascha weighs six pounds now but was only 15 ounces when she was born 4½ months premature.

■ Mark Perkal, 46, was sentenced Wednesday to four months' home detention, two years probation and fined \$10,000 in federal court in Baltimore for lying to investigators who were probing fraud in the generic drug industry. Perkal said he lied because he feared the chief target of the probe would harm his family.

■ Federal kidnapping charges were dropped against Arthur D. Seale, 45, in the April-29 abduction of Exxon executive Sidney J. Reso, who died a few days later in captivity. In announcing that Seale faces three additional charges in the case, prosecutors said there was no evidence that Reso had been moved across state lines, as required by the federal kidnapping statute.

From staff reports and news services



Lt. j.g. Tracy Thorne, a Navy aviator, speaks to press on a break yesterday.

Navy Officer Faces Hearing on Homosexuality

Videotapes of TV Appearances Used as Evidence for Dismissal

Navy Lt. j.g. Tracy W. Thorne, who declared in May before a national television audience that he is gay, yesterday confronted a Navy Board of Inquiry convened to drive him from the service.

A board of three officers, meeting at Naval Air Station Oceana in Virginia, is expected to finish taking evidence today.

Lt. Julie L. Tinker, a Navy lawyer assigned to present evidence against the 25-year-old aviator, told the board their job was "quite straightforward": to decide "whether or not Lt. (j.g.) Thorne is a homosexual," and, if so, to recommend his "administrative separation." The Navy has agreed to seek only an honorable discharge.

Tinker spoke for barely a minute, confining her case to playing videotapes of three appearances by Thorne on network interview shows: ABC's "Nightline", NBC's "Today" show and CNN's "Sonya Live".

Thorne, a bombardier-navigator on A-6 attack jets, has said he decided to challenge the military's 48-year-old ban on gays in uniform because "I was tired of lying to myself and lying to others."

In an acknowledged effort to up the political ante of his case, Thorne had a letter hand-delivered Wednesday to President Bush, a former Navy aviator, requesting his commander-in-chief grant him a hearing known as a Captain's mast.

"The present Department of De-

fense policy encourages lying about who I am and punishes truth telling," Thorne wrote. "I know you respect the truth and have every reason to expect that you will re-examine and ultimately reject a policy that discredits it."

The White House had no comment on Thorne's letter.

Appearing with Thorne earlier yesterday on ABC's "Good Morning America", another serviceman, Air Force Staff Sgt. Tom Pannicia, also declared that he is gay and wants to remain in the military.

Lt. Col. John Kirkwood, an Air Force spokesman, said that whether the Air Force now begins proceedings to discharge Pannicia will be up to Pannicia's squadron commander.



Clair E. George, highest-ranking CIA official indicted in Iran-contra, last year.

Jury Is Sworn In for George Trial

By George Lardner Jr.
Washington Post Staff Writer

A federal court jury was sworn in yesterday to start the Iran-contra trial of Clair E. George, the highest-ranking CIA official to be indicted in the scandal.

The seven women and five men were picked from pool of 40 questioned earlier in the week about their ability to render a fair verdict.

Their knowledge about the Iran-contra affair varied widely. One woman said she never heard of the CIA. One man expounded about the trial of former White House aide Oliver L. North, saying North "only got a slap on the wrist for a major violation of the Constitution."

Opening arguments in George's

trial will begin this morning. The first witness will be Sen. John F. Kerry (D-Mass.), a member of the Foreign Relations Committee whose questioning of George at an Oct. 10, 1986, hearing figures in the indictment.

George, who was the CIA's deputy director of operations from 1984 to 1987, will stand trial on nine felony counts of lying and obstructing congressional and grand jury inquiries. The scandal involved the Reagan administration's covert military supply network for the contra rebels in Nicaragua, secret U.S. arms-for-hostages deals with Iran, and the diversion of some of those profits to the contra cause.

U.S. District Judge Royce C. Lamberth had sealed the lengthy ques-

tionnaires the jurors filled out, but he made them public, with limited deletions, yesterday in response to a request from The Washington Post. Lamberth said he was withholding only "intensely personal information" and held that the rest should be released under Supreme Court and local appellate court standards.

The jurors, who remained anonymous until the questionnaires were made public, range in age from 25 to 72. Two are retired and all but one of the rest are employed. They work at jobs including cook, hairdresser, real estate agent and fund-raising consultant. One works at the U.S. Postal Service, one at the Transportation Department and one at the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Virus Mystery Overshadows World Conference on AIDS

2 New Reports Fuel Talk of HIV-Like Illness

By Malcolm Gladwell
Washington Post Staff Writer

AMSTERDAM, July 23—Reports of a mysterious virus associated with an AIDS-like illness again dominated the international AIDS conference here today, as scientists hastily convened two special sessions to debate the significance of the new findings.

The meetings were prompted by two events. One was the surprise advance release late Wednesday of an article scheduled to appear in the Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. The report, by California researcher Sudhir Gupta, describes the detection of a strange viral particle in the tissues of two women who suffered from many classic symptoms of AIDS but showed no sign of infection by HIV, the virus that is the only known cause of AIDS.

AIDS, From A1

there is certainly no need to panic on the basis of what we know now."

Nonetheless, the prospect of an entirely new AIDS-like illness has captivated the more than 1,200 journalists here, creating packed news conferences and leading one wag to dub the mystery agent "MTV" for "media transforming virus." It also tended to eclipse other events, including the proposal by a University of Nairobi researcher who Wednesday called for an annual "World No-Sex Day."

All of the "mystery virus" reports are similar: Patients suffering from the classic symptoms of AIDS—severely depressed immune systems, pneumonia, AIDS-related tumors—have been tested repeatedly and found to carry no detectable traces of HIV. In a handful of cases, however, when blood cells from those patients were examined under a microscope, researchers found short pieces or particles of an apparently unknown retrovirus.

That finding alone is not cause for alarm. A retroviral particle is not a virus. It cannot leave the cell in which it is enclosed or infect anyone else. The body usually accumulates many such viral particles in the course of fighting disease.

But what Ho and Gupta reported is evidence of an enzyme called reverse transcriptase (RT), a potentially much more troubling finding. If enough RT is found, it is an indication that the virus is in the

Then today New York AIDS researcher David Ho, basketball star Earvin "Magic" Johnson's physician, announced results from his laboratory involving two patients suffering from an AIDS-like disease but apparently infected with an unknown virus quite different from HIV.

Those two revelations followed similar reports earlier this week by Jeffrey Laurence of Cornell University and experts from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control.

None of the researchers said they are certain that what they have spotted actually is a new virus; or if it is, that it is the cause of the observed symptoms or is remotely as infectious as HIV. In fact, some experts said that in the absence of additional and better data, the evidence gathered so far is inconclusive.

"I'd place the odds at below 5

The only way to confirm this, however, is to use a microscope to see whether the cells carrying the particles actually produce and pump out the new virus, which is what would happen if an active virus were involved. Gupta has not yet found any evidence of that. Ho would not say whether he has, except to hint broadly that he is encouraged by his data and that he will have a definitive answer shortly.

Even if a virus is found, however, many questions remain. Is this a new virus or simply one of the many usually harmless retroviruses that can—albeit very rarely—infect humans? Monkeys, for example, carry numerous viruses called foamy retrovirus that can and do infect humans periodically. And was it really in the patient's body or is it a contamination, infecting the patient's

cells while they were in the laboratory?

And finally: Does this virus, assuming it exists, actually cause AIDS-like symptoms? Since no one has actually looked for such strange viruses in otherwise healthy people, this is an open question. And if the strange virus does, how dangerous is it? Some here hypothesized from the fact that Gupta found his virus particle in a mother and daughter that the virus was passed on at birth. But the mother is 66 and only recently became sick; and the daughter is 38 and healthy.



ANTHONY FAUCI
... "certainly no need to panic"

percent" that the citations would be confirmed as a new virus, said Max Essex, a virologist from Harvard University.

"Nobody wants to be complacent about this," said Anthony Fauci, head of the U.S. National Institutes of Health AIDS program. "But

See AIDS, A18, Col. 1

In other developments today, AIDS activists announced that they plan to test government restrictions on the immigration of HIV-infected people. Tomas Fabregas, a Spanish citizen with AIDS who has been living and working legally in the United States for several years, will fly back from the conference to San Francisco on Saturday and make no attempt to hide his HIV status on arrival.

Under restrictions passed by Congress in 1988, and which the Bush administration proposed and then declined to remove, people with HIV are forbidden to enter the United States. "If they choose to let me in, it will show what a fraud the policy is," Fabregas said today.

In Washington, Immigration and Naturalization Service spokesman Verne Jervis said that the agency would not respond to Fabregas's planned entry "until it actually happens." He noted that HIV-infected immigrants can obtain waivers, though Fabregas has not applied for one.

"He's been a permanent resident of the United States for just over seven years," Jervis noted. "But when a permanent resident leaves the country," Jervis said, "he or she has to demonstrate his or her admissibility when they return." However, "in general, in similar circumstances to his, people have been able to reenter the United States."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

'No New Taxes' Revisited

Quayle Latest to Try to Explain Away Pledge

By Dan Balz
Washington Post Staff Writer

In their ongoing effort to repair the political damage from President Bush's decision to break his "no new taxes" pledge, the Republicans are attempting to rewrite history.

The latest effort to put Bush's decision into the most acceptable

NEWS ANALYSIS context came Wednesday night on CNN's "Larry King Live" when Vice President Quayle asserted that the tax increase in the 1990 budget agreement "wasn't George Bush's tax increase" and blamed it solely on the Democrats and the crisis atmosphere of Operation Desert Shield.

"I think it's important to put it in a perspective," Quayle said Wednesday. "It was a tough decision. . . . And one of the overriding matters that you have to realize that this

was the time right in the middle of Operation Desert Storm and Desert Shield and if the president had not signed that [budget agreement], you would have had a budget crisis here. You would have had a crisis in our own country."

What Quayle's answer ignored is that Bush broke the tax pledge on June 26, 1990, more than a month before Iraq invaded Kuwait and more than three months before the White House and congressional Democrats made a deal at their long-running budget summit.

William Kristol, Quayle's chief of staff, disagreed that the Republicans have reinterpreted events. "We're not rewriting history," he said. The June 26 statement, he added, "was not signing onto a tax increase, it was putting taxes on the table."

See TAXES, A16, Col. 5

GOP Adds a New Gloss To History of Bush Pledge

TAXES, From A1

Kristol said that "if the president had pulled the plug on the negotiations and the budget summit had fallen apart and there had been no tax increase, no one would now be saying he broke his pledge. Therefore, the vice president's [description of] timing is accurate."

No decision of his presidency has hurt Bush more than the abandonment of the tax pledge, made four years ago during his acceptance speech at the Republican convention in New Orleans, when he promised that if Congress asked him to raise taxes, he would say, "Read my lips: No new taxes."

Last March, when he was under fire from conservative commentator and primary election challenger Patrick J. Buchanan, Bush told the Atlanta Journal that the decision to abandon the pledge was "a mistake" and that if he "had to do it over, I wouldn't do what I did then, for a lot of reasons, including political reasons." Bush made no reference to Operation Desert Shield as a factor in signing the budget agreement.

By mid-summer, however, Bush was making that connection, as he did in a July 1 interview on CBS's "This Morning." "We were moving forces to the Persian Gulf at that time. I was determined to keep the funding going for that and some of the social programs. . . ."

It is understandable that Bush's allies would try to wrap Operation Desert Shield around the continuing furor over the tax pledge, but history tells a far different story, one that began in May 1990 when the administration had no inkling that Iraq might have designs on Kuwait.

Bush initiated the budget talks with congressional Democrats, in part because he and his advisers were concerned about the sluggish economy and wanted to head off a recession. He put "everything on the table"—which was seen as a willingness to raise taxes.

A month of on-and-off discussions produced no headway. Then on the morning of June 26, 1990, Bush and several top advisers met with Democratic and Republican leaders in Congress. Afterward, a statement issued in Bush's name said in part:

"It is clear to me that both the size of the deficit problem and the need for a package that can be enacted require all of the following: entitlement

and mandatory program reform, tax revenue increases" and other steps. "The bipartisan leadership agree with me on these points," the statement added.

When the announcement provoked angry protests from conservative Republicans, White House officials first tried to say it represented nothing new, then sought to praise Bush for courageous leadership.

At the end of that week, Bush met with reporters to defend his decision and compared himself to Abraham Lincoln for being willing to "think anew." He said he believed that "good politics is rooted in good government" and said a budget deal was necessary to put the country's "fiscal house in order."

Asked if he had broken his pledge, he replied, "I think what I consider it is a necessary step to get stalled budget negotiations moving."

Asked again, he pointed to President Ronald Reagan's willingness to sign a tax increase in 1982. "I think that the arrows have been flying, front, back, sideways, but that's what I get paid for," he said. "And I think we're on the right track now."

When Bush and congressional leaders finally struck a deal on Sept. 30, Bush urged adoption of the package, describing it as "balanced" and "fair." His only reference to the Middle East came in the context of proposed increases in gasoline taxes. He said they "have the virtue not only of contributing to deficit reduction but also, over time, of decreasing America's dependence on foreign oil, an objective whose importance has become increasingly evident in the face of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait."

Then, House Republicans, and some liberal Democrats, balked, provoking a month-long battle that tore up the Republican Party, threatened to bring the government to a standstill and saw Bush's approval ratings plummet. That is when Bush attempted to separate himself from the tax increase, although to do so, as Quayle said, threatened to disrupt further the operations of the government.

When the end came, Bush told reporters, "I'm going to say I've reluctantly signed this." He was a week away from doubling troop strength in the Middle East. But there was no effort to link the two issues.

Staff researcher Mark Stencel contributed to this report.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Iraqi Campaign Said to Force Shiites Out of Homes in South

By Caryle Murphy
Washington Post Foreign Service

CAIRO, July 23—The Iraqi army appears to have stepped up its operations against Shiite Muslim rebels in the country's southern marshes and independent sources now have reported its ordering of civilian evacuations and the burning of homes as part of an anti-insurgency campaign.

The new Iraqi offensive in the south comes as President Saddam Hussein is stepping up his confrontation with U.N. weapons inspectors in Baghdad, and it follows what Iraqi opposition sources say was a crack-down by Saddam three weeks ago on suspected coup plotters within his military.

To some analysts, this activity illustrates how Saddam has recovered from last year's Persian Gulf War defeat, which left his country and security forces in tatters. For others, it is simply vintage Saddam: a man who needs crises to keep his regime together, and who believes the best way to break out of a bind is to come out punching.

"He's obviously trying to draw the U.N. into a battle," said an Iraqi ex-associate of Saddam, now in exile. "He's cornered now. He's picking a fight. . . . He only exists in a state of crisis. It must be understood that the guy's not going to stand still. He's going to go down fighting."

The independent report of the new southern offensive is significant because the battle between Iraqi forces and the Shiite rebels, who use Iraq's vast marshlands as a refuge, has been conducted largely out of sight. The area is largely inaccessible, and foreigners are barred from traveling there.

In the first two weeks of July, residents of Adl and al-Salaam were evacuated and "told to burn their homes to ensure no one would return," one source said. It is not known where the people were moved, he said, adding that there was "heavy shelling" of the marshes on July 15 by the army from those two places.

A 10 p.m.-to-5 a.m. curfew is in effect in Adl and al-Salaam, as well as in nearby Maimona and Majar, the source also reported. All four are subdistricts—areas encompassing several villages—located southwest of the town of Amarah.

Much of the information about the army's operations in the year-long insurgency has come from Iraqi Shiite sources based in Iran, which provides logistical and some military help to the rebels.

One group, the Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, said today that 30 women and children were killed in an operation that began Wednesday in which bombs and missiles were dropped from

planes, Iranian radio reported. The radio added that the group had sent a letter to U.N. Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali charging that "the Baghdad regime . . . has changed southern Iraq into 'real hell.'"

Unable to verify similar reports of fighting in the past, some foreign analysts had accused the Shiites of crying wolf. But after receiving confirmation of the recent action in Adl and al-Salaam, one source said, "this time, we think the wolf is there."

On Wednesday, the Iraqi News Agency reported that Defense Minister Ali Hassan Majeed had visited troops of the 3rd and 4th Iraqi Army Corps near the towns of Basra and Amarah, near the marshes. Majeed, who is Saddam's cousin, "witnessed the high morale of the officers and soldiers," the agency said. It did not say when the visit took place.

The army's campaign against the Shiite rebels has included a huge construction project to drain parts of the marshes by building dirt barricades and diverting rivers and efforts to induce civilians to relocate out of the marshes. Apparently it is motivated in part by Baghdad's uneasiness over Shiite resentment toward the government. Long repressed by the Sunni Muslim minority that dominates Iraq's government, the Shiites staged a major uprising after the gulf war. It was crushed, but not before

hundreds of government, party and security officials were slain.

In recent weeks, there have been small indications of the Shiites' continued defiance. Three Iraqis separately noted that during Muharram, a month of religious observance that ended July 16, Shiite residents of Baghdad, Najaf and Karbala defied long-standing government orders not to observe the ritual of cooking communal meals outdoors.

An added cause for government concern arose Wednesday when Iraq's most important Shiite religious leader, Grand Ayatollah Abdul Qasim Musawi Khoei, was admitted to a Baghdad hospital and fitted with a heart pacemaker, according to one of his sons in London. The health of Khoei, who is in his nineties, "is not alarming" but has "gradually deteriorated" over the past year, the son said.

Khoei's death would be emotionally trying for Iraq's Shiites, who are observing one of their holiest periods, the 40-day Ashura, which commemorates the death of their early leader Hussein. During last year's uprising, Khoei appeared on Iraqi television with Saddam, urging an end to the rebellion, an action that his family said was forced on him. Since then, Khoei has been under house arrest and more than 100 associates, including one of his sons, remain in detention, his family said.



BY DAVE COOK—THE WASHINGTON POST

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Baker Pays Surprise Visit to Lebanon

Brief, Heavily Guarded Trip Intended as Show of U.S. Support

By John M. Goshko
Washington Post Staff Writer

JIDDAH, Saudi Arabia, July 23—Secretary of State James A. Baker III visited strife-torn Lebanon under heavy guard today in a show of U.S. support for President Elias Hrawi's efforts to reestablish Lebanese independence by inducing Syria to move its troops out of Beirut.

Baker's foray into Lebanon—the first by a U.S. secretary of state since 1983—was kept secret until his departure from Syria, where he met Wednesday with President Hafez Assad. State Department spokesman Margaret Tutwiler said Baker went because Lebanon "is an important party in the Middle East peace process" and because the Bush administration wants to encourage the Hrawi government's "determination to reestablish its independence and sovereignty and restore control over its territory."

At the meeting at Hrawi's home in the town of Zahle, Baker reiterated that the United States supports "in letter and spirit" the agreement on Lebanese political and territorial autonomy reached at Taif, Saudi Arabia, in October 1989. In particular, he said, Washington agrees with Hrawi's contention that the Taif accord calls for Syria, which has about 40,000 troops in Lebanon, to move them from Beirut and its suburbs to the Bekaa Valley as a first step toward withdrawal of all foreign forces from the country.

The Taif agreement, mediated by the Arab League, was aimed at ending the political and religious civil wars that had made Lebanon a no man's land for more than two decades.

Baker left the Syrian capital of Damascus this morning in a motorcade of four lightly armored cars guarded by Syrian security forces for the trip to the Lebanese border. There, he and his entourage transferred to limousines with heavy armor plating and continued under Lebanese guard to Zahle in the Bekaa.

At the meeting with Hrawi, Baker said his trip had been given a certain urgency by apparent disagreements between Lebanon and Syria over interpretation of the Taif agreement.

The accord called for major Lebanese political reforms, including election of a new president, restructuring of the parliament and bolstering of the Lebanese army's control of the countryside. Under the agreement, Syrian troops in and around Beirut were to be moved to the Bekaa two years after implementa-

tion of these reforms began. The Hrawi government contends that that deadline falls in September.

The Syrians, while saying they want to negotiate a redeployment agreement, have indicated they want the move to come after Lebanon holds parliamentary elections, which have not yet been scheduled. Hrawi's opponents have said the Taif agreement gives Syria too much influence over Lebanese affairs, and Assad's desire to delay deployment is regarded in Lebanon as a move to ensure the election of candidates favored by Syria.

Baker, responding to questions about whether redeployment should take place by the end of September, said, "that is the interpretation and view of the United States." He added: "The timing of elections is a matter for the Lebanese and the parties to determine. It's imperative that elections be free and fair—free of any hint of intimidation."

Before going to Lebanon, Baker and Syrian Foreign Minister Farouk

Charaa held a news conference in Damascus to discuss the secretary's efforts to revive the stalled Middle East peace process.

Syria and Israel have been at loggerheads over the Golan Heights, which Israel captured from Syria in the 1967 Middle East War. Baker has urged new Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin to make a gesture toward Syria, and Rabin reportedly will offer to discuss a partial withdrawal from the Golan.

In response to Baker's assertion that the signals he has received on his six-nation Middle East tour are positive, Charaa said he was hopeful that the new Israeli government would prove flexible. But when asked what gesture Syria might make, Charaa said the Arab countries had done enough by agreeing to negotiate with Israel.

Baker flew here to Jiddah tonight to confer with Saudi King Fahd. He then will go to Manila to take part in the annual meeting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

White House Budget Update Rips Congress

*Bentsen: Review
A Political Report*

By Steven Mufson
Washington Post Staff Writer

Top Bush administration economic aides yesterday seized on a usually dry midyear update of budget assumptions to blast Congress for failing to adopt the president's budget proposals. Democrats accused the president of recycling the same flawed economic plan.

"If the president's full program had been adopted in 1989, we wouldn't have had the recession," said Richard G. Darman, director of the Office of Management and Budget, who said he was simply delivering the "facts." Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the President's Council of Economic Advisers, said that the economy would have generated another half-million jobs this year if Congress had passed the president's plan.

At a press conference at the White House, Darman delivered a five-minute attack against Congress, summing up by saying: "In a single sentence: The Congress has failed to deliver. There is much posturing about interests in economic growth, investment in the future, crime reduction, health reform and deficit control. But when it comes to constructive congressional action, on a scale of 0 to 10, the total is closer to zero."

BUDGET, From F1

rise sharply again at the end of the decade.

Assuming passage of the president's plan, OMB raised its budget deficit estimates to \$236.7 billion for 1997, and to \$273.4 billion for 1998. The increases are driven by expected increases in spending for Medicare, Medicaid and Social Security.

While the administration was blasting Congress, Rep. Leon Panetta (D-Calif.) unveiled a plan to eliminate the deficit over five years by cutting spending and raising taxes by a total of \$750 billion. The proposal goes far beyond anything advanced by the White House.

Darman has argued that the administration can tackle the budget deficit without raising taxes and without touching—or taxing—Social Security benefits. Yesterday, he again insisted that the deficit could be eliminated if Congress capped increases in certain spending categories to the rate of increase in the population. The cap would cover programs such as Medicare, Medicaid and other expenditures that increase without new congressional

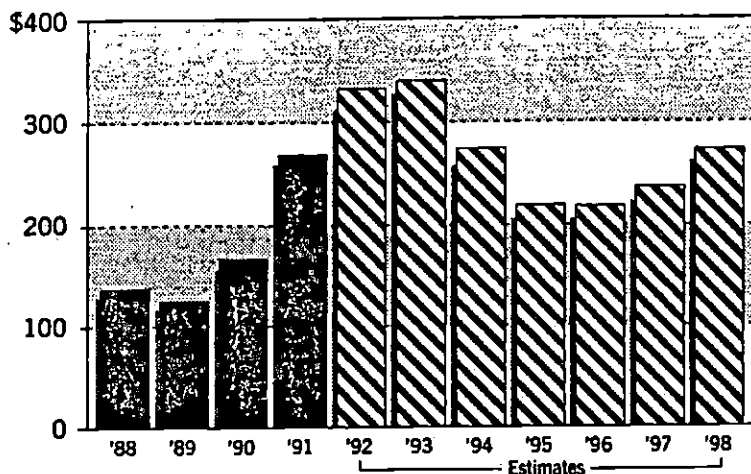
But while the administration has discussed such a spending cap, it has never formally proposed legislation. Nor has the administration explained what measures would be needed to bring those programs within those spending limits.

"You can't just wave your hands," said Charles Schultze, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers under President Carter and a fellow at the Brookings Institution. "You've got to have way to reduce those expenditures."

The mid-session review listed "options," most of them taken from proposals by Panetta, the Heritage Foundation or the Congressional Budget Office.

In the past, the administration has gone out of its way to avoid the appearance of endorsing those proposals. Testimony given by Darman earlier this year discussed those caps with the disclaimer that "specific options included are illustrative" and added that "inclusion of a particular option here does not necessarily imply support for such an option—and should not be construed to imply support—by the administration.

BUDGET DEFICIT PRESENT AND FUTURE IN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS



SOURCE: Office of Management & Budget

THE WASHINGTON POST

Darman said, "Congressional inaction has made the deficit very much worse than it would have been had the president's program been enacted." Though the mid-session budget review is usually about 50 pages long, this year it ran over 400 pages, repeating word-for-word entire sections of the president's February budget proposal.

Sen. Lloyd Bentsen (D-Tex.), chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, responded by saying that Darman's mid-session review was "not an economic report. It's a political report." Bentsen said Democrats in Congress had not acted on the administration's plan because it was "a budget buster papered over with accounting gimmicks."

Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton issued a statement calling the OMB review "more of the same trickle-down economics from the White House. Instead of a serious and constructive plan for economic change, the president has recycled his old and meager tax package and sought once again to

blame Congress for his failed leadership. His economic motto is clear: blame and more of the same."

For the current fiscal year, OMB said the refusal of Congress to appropriate \$46.8 billion in new money for the bailout of failed savings and loan institutions will make the deficit somewhat smaller than the administration predicted in February. Darman said that the 1992 deficit would be \$333.5 billion, \$66.2 billion less than the original forecast but still the biggest deficit in the nation's history.

The reduction in this year's deficit will make future deficits bigger. The deficit forecast by OMB for fiscal year 1994 was raised by \$62 billion to \$274.2 billion.

Despite Darman's verbal assault on Congress, the mid-session review indicates that even if Congress adopts the president's economic proposals, the deficit problem would remain. OMB's new estimates show that budget deficits are expected to

See BUDGET, F2, Col. 1

Even if the cap were put in place, however, the budget would still not be balanced according to the OMB forecast. Darman included a line that balances the budget with such a cap, but he could only do so by using more optimistic economic assumptions of economic growth of 4 percent in 1993 and 1994, and 3.2 percent in 1995 and 1996.

Those forecasts have not been endorsed by the president's Council of Economic Advisers. The CEA Chairman Boskin's latest forecasts, issued yesterday as part of the mid-session review, are for 3 percent growth from 1993 through 1995, and 2.9 percent in 1996.

Boskin also said that for the remainder of this year, the economy would not change dramatically. He said that the economy would grow 2.7 percent in 1992 and that unemployment would drop slightly, but still remain around 7.3 percent by the end of the year.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Bush Backs Unions in Contracting Case

By Frank Swoboda
Washington Post Staff Writer

The Bush administration has sided with organized labor in a Supreme Court battle over the right of governments from city halls to the White House to effectively bar nonunion contractors from bidding on billions of dollars worth of public construction projects.

In a case that echoes back to the 1988 presidential election campaign and the controversy over the cleanup of Boston Harbor, the office of U.S.

Solicitor General Kenneth Starr filed a brief late Wednesday on behalf of the Bush administration, urging the Supreme Court to uphold the right of government entities to set their own procurement practices. Unions like the kind of programs in dispute because they guarantee union jobs.

Access of nonunion construction companies to an estimated \$100 billion a year in federal, state and local contracts is at stake in the case, which focuses on the \$6.1 billion contract for the harbor cleanup. Nonunion contractors were barred from bidding under a

"project agreement" worked out between the Massachusetts Water Resources Authority and the Building and Construction Trades Council for the District of Massachusetts.

Under a project agreement, a bidder for government construction work agrees to be bound by union labor contracts, which involve the use of union hiring halls, union wages and union work rules. In exchange, the union signs a no-strike clause guaranteeing labor peace for the life of the agreement. The agreements effectively

See CONSTRUCTION, F2, Col. 3

Administration Backs Unions In Construction Contract Case

CONSTRUCTION, From F1

eliminate any cost advantage a non-union contractor might have in competitive bidding.

In response to the administration's stand, the Association of Builders and Contractors, which represents major nonunion construction companies, announced yesterday that it was withholding its planned endorsement of President Bush for reelection.

"I want the president to know that ABC and its 16,000 member firms cannot support an individual who has turned his back on the principles of free enterprise," ABC President Steven Westra said in a prepared statement. He said the association would be contacting "a substantial number of nonmember firms and industry groups" about the administration's action, which he said was "indefensible."

The brief was filed little more than 24 hours after Westra and Joe Ivey, ABC president-elect, met at the White House with Boyden Gray, the president's chief counsel, in an eleventh-hour effort to get the administration to change its position. Charles Hawkins, ABC's legislative director, said Gray told the two men he did not think he could get the solicitor general to change his position.

In its brief, the administration argues that federal labor law does not preclude such agreements and that Congress did not intend to place restrictions on local government powers. The solicitor general asked the Supreme Court to overturn a ruling by the First Circuit Court of Appeals that the National Labor Relations Act does not allow governments to require that contractors adhere to union standards.

Vicki Bor, an attorney representing the unions in the case, called the ad-

ministration brief "a very big deal. It's as big a deal on this [union] end as it is for ABC."

The Supreme Court is scheduled to hear oral arguments this fall in the case, *Building and Construction Trades Council of the Metropolitan District v. Associated Builders and Contractors of Massachusetts/Rhode Island*, and is expected to issue a ruling early next year.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Clinton Gains Some Business Support

Spot-Check Finds Many Perot Backers Leaning Toward the Democrats

By Brett D. Fromson
Washington Post Staff Writer

NEW YORK, July 23—While business executives have traditionally supported Republican presidential candidates, many of those who had backed Ross Perot say they are inching toward the Democratic Party candidates, Gov. Bill Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, rather than to President Bush.

Interviews with 12 business supporters of Perot found eight leaning toward Clinton, two undecided and two inclined to vote for Bush. Neither of the two leaning toward Bush plans to give or raise money for him, however. Most of the 12 supported Bush in 1988.

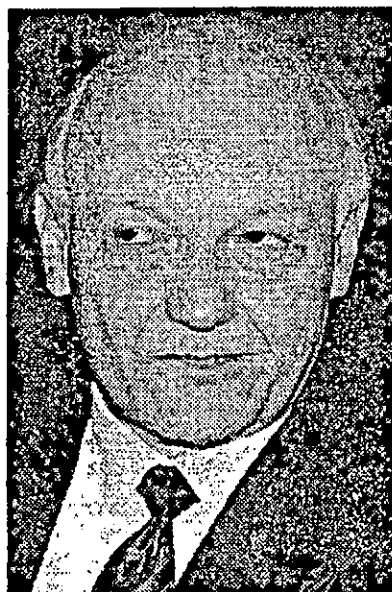
The executives and entrepreneurs also said that many of their friends and acquaintances who had been with Perot were leaning toward Clinton.

The business executives interviewed come from a range of industries, including cosmetics, entertainment, finance, paper and timber, and consumer products.

For the most part, they are former Democrats who defected from the party in the late 1970s and early '80s after concluding that the Democrats were supporting what they saw as anti-business policies. In general, they described themselves as political moderates worried about the nation's economic future.

Of course, many business people are likely to vote for Bush. Polls of the business community taken before Perot withdrew showed that the president was especially popular with the heads of large corporations. Among small firms, executives favored Perot, but

See EXECUTIVES, F3, Col. 1



ALAN "ACE" GREENBERG
... kept sense of humor after Perot quit

With Perot Out, Executives Take Second Look at Clinton

EXECUTIVES, From F1

Bush held a substantial lead—33 percent to 6 percent—over Clinton.

However, Clinton's appeal to Perot's former business brigade suggests that Bush cannot take the support of the business community for granted.

"I would not be surprised to see a lot of business people go for Clinton," said Ken Langone, an investment banker. "Some guys in business who are quite conservative are saying, 'Maybe it's time to give the Democrats a shot.' And Clinton talks realistically about reining in entitlements, creating incentives for investment."

Sara Lee Corp. Treasurer Mary Ellen Johnson said, "I think the break is much more to Clinton. People who supported Perot, whether liberal or conservative, have had it with the status quo, and that means with Bush." She and others said they liked the more moderate face of the Democratic Party presented at the national convention.

Julian Robertson, head of the investment company Tiger Management, who called himself a reluctant Bush supporter with Perot out of the race,

spoke of an acquaintance who was switching allegiance to Clinton. "He figures that if the Democrats control both the Congress and the White House, then the mandate for change they will have will be powerful enough for them to override a lot of the special interests and get things done," Robertson said.

A number of those interviewed said they already have been approached by Clinton operatives asking for their help. None reported a visit by anyone from the Republican Party.

"I've been getting lots of calls from the Clinton people," said the chief executive of a large consumer products company who was a major financial contributor to Bush in 1988. "Like Avis, they seem to be trying harder. I've heard nothing from the Republicans."

Mathew Lifander, a corporate lawyer in New York, was in touch with the Clinton campaign within hours of Perot's withdrawal. A self-described "Scoop" Jackson Democrat who had supported Perot after Paul Tsongas dropped out of the primaries, Lifander said, "That night, Thursday, I met with David Wilhelm [a campaign manager for Clinton], and the next morn-

ing they had my picture taken with Clinton in front of the press as I offered him my support."

Clinton's selection of Gore as his running mate was called a plus by the executives, most of whom said they preferred Gore to Vice President Quayle.

Several of those interviewed said that if Bush were to dump Quayle and replace him with someone like Housing Secretary Jack Kemp or Defense Secretary Dick Cheney they would reconsider their move toward Clinton.

Whichever way the former Perot supporters land, they said they expect to be wooed by both parties. "We will have to be courted," said business economist and former Reaganite Jude Wanniski, who along with financier Theodore Forstmann spent time briefing Perot on how to fix the economy. "Both parties need to appeal to those of us most concerned about economic growth."

Some of Perot's former big-money backers have kept their sense of humor about the billionaire's withdrawal. "My chances of becoming secretary of state have been dramatically reduced," Bear Stearns Co. Chairman Alan "Ace" Greenberg said.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

House Approves Cable TV Measure

Bill Would Reimpose Price Limits on Industry

By Paul Farhi
Washington Post Staff Writer

The House last night gave its overwhelming approval to a bill imposing new price regulations on the cable TV industry, passing a measure that could affect the rates paid by the 54 million households that subscribe to cable.

By a 340 to 73 vote, the House completed a three-year effort by Congress to reimpose restraints on an industry that was permitted by the federal government to set its own rates beginning in 1987. In January, the Senate voted 73 to 18 to approve a somewhat stronger bill than the House version.

Enactment of a cable law remains in doubt, however. House Republicans reiterated yesterday that President Bush is likely to veto the legislation after it emerges from a House-Senate conference, probably in September.

But Democrats pushing the bill say Bush may think twice in an election year about vetoing a measure that supporters have sought to characterize as a boon to cable consumers, who comprise 60 percent of the nation's households. Proponents also believe they could override a veto given the huge majorities voting in favor of regulation in both chambers. If that comes to pass, it would mark the first time Congress will have overridden Bush, whose vetoes have been sustained 31 times.

The House bill, authored by Rep. Edward J. Markey (D-Mass.), requires the Federal Communications Commission to write a formula establishing the maximum prices a cable system operator can charge for basic service, which would include all local public and commercial broadcast sta-

tions and so-called superstations such as Turner Broadcasting's WTBS.

It further authorizes the FCC to order cable operators to reduce rates for higher tiers of programming if those rates are deemed "unreasonable." The FCC would also have the authority to set the top prices for remote controls and other equipment supplied by cable companies. The standards would be administered by city and county officials.

The bill is a tougher version of legislation that passed the House in 1990 but later died in the Senate.

"Too many cable operators have taken advantage of the lack of regulation" to engage in "rapacious conduct," said Markey, noting that almost all of the nation's 10,000-plus cable systems have no direct competition.

But Republican opponents called the bill "heavy-handed" and a "wish list" for the cable industry's competitors. Rep. Norman F. Lent (R-N.Y.) offered a watered-down bill favored by the Bush administration as a substitute, but it was defeated, 266 to 144.

What little drama there was in the House debate concerned issues of importance to TV broadcasters, satellite TV distributors, microwave-relay services and others that compete with cable operators. An amendment introduced by Rep. W.J. "Billy" Tauzin (D-La.) that will restrict the ability of cable operators to sign exclusive contracts with some program services was approved, 338 to 68. Competing TV services say they need such a provision, a version of which is also in the Senate bill, to air, at a reasonable cost, popular programs that have been locked up by cable companies. The measure was considered vital to

See CABLE, F3, Col. 4

House Bill Reregulates Cable Industry

CABLE, From F1

those seeking to spur competition among TV providers.

On Wednesday, the House Rules Committee rejected an amendment favored by broadcasters and a parallel proposal favored by lobbyists for Hollywood TV producers and professional sports leagues.

The first would have required cable operators to pay TV stations whenever they retransmit the stations's programs on their systems. The second would have required cable operators to pay money into a pool that would be shared by broadcasters, program creators and major league teams. But Democrats said the scheme favoring broadcasters would be discussed at the House-Senate conference since the Senate bill included the measure, known as retransmission consent.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

House Budget Chief Panetta Proposes \$643 Billion Deficit-Reduction Package

By Eric Pianin
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a deficit-reduction plan comparable in magnitude to the one prepared for Ross Perot, the chairman of the House Budget Committee yesterday proposed tax increases and spending cuts totaling \$643 billion that he said would balance the budget by 1998.

Rep. Leon E. Panetta (D-Calif.), who criticized recent efforts to pass a balanced-budget amendment to the Constitution as political grandstanding, urged his colleagues to support his plan this fall to demonstrate their commitment to retiring the deficit.

"For those who are serious about moving towards a balanced budget, with or without a constitutional

amendment, this bill provides the best vehicle for accomplishing that goal," Panetta said.

But despite renewed concerns over the deficit—which will reach \$333.5 billion this year according to the Bush administration—many Republicans and Democrats appear content to do little more than talk about it until after the election.

Panetta's proposal, which far exceeds the plans offered by President Bush and Democrat Bill Clinton, received a cool reception from Ways and Means Committee Chairman Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) and Senate Budget Committee Chairman Jim Sasser (D-Tenn.).

"I'm not inclined to do anything particular on it this year," said Rostenkowski, whose committee is one

of three with jurisdiction over the proposal. "I think the committee should start closing down and getting ready for the campaign."

Sasser said that while he applauds Panetta's effort, "Quite frankly, I'm not going to try to do that in the Senate this year."

"I've given up trying to tinker with the process," he said. "We're not going to reduce this deficit until we get this economy moving again."

House Speaker Thomas S. Foley (D-Wash.), who supports Panetta's plan, said yesterday that he doubts there are sufficient votes to pass the bill this fall.

House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel (R-Ill.) and other Republican leaders recently broke off negotiations with Panetta, in part be-

cause of their opposition to provisions that would automatically raise

"I'm not inclined to do anything particular on it this year."

—Ways and Means Chief Rostenkowski

taxes on wealthy individuals and corporations in the event Congress and the administration failed to meet the deficit-reduction targets.

The Panetta budget enforcement bill represents an attempt to create political cover for Democrats

who did not vote for a balanced-budget amendment and for those who do not want to make specific deficit-reducing decisions before the election," said Rep. Willis D. Gradison Jr. (Ohio), the ranking Republican on the Budget Committee.

"House Democrats routinely renege on using the existing budget enforcement tools when tough choices must be made," he added. "I have little confidence that adding more tools will make much difference."

The bill, which was endorsed by Rep. Charles W. Stenholm (Tex.), a conservative Democrat who led the drive for a balanced-budget amendment, would build on the deficit-reduction provisions of the five-year budget agreement reached in 1990.

The measure establishes an annual cap on spending and would require gradually increasing amounts of deficit reduction, beginning with \$12 billion in 1993 and cresting at \$270 billion in 1998.

Over the six years, the plan would reduce discretionary spending by \$166 billion and cut entitlement programs and raise taxes for an additional \$477 billion in deficit reduction. In so doing, the government would save an additional \$82 billion in debt service, for a total of \$725 billion in deficit savings.

The president's budget, congressional budget resolutions and appropriations bills all would be required to meet those targets, or trigger automatic spending cuts or tax increases.

Democrats Contradict House Post Office Employee's Allegation on Vouchers

By Kenneth J. Cooper
Washington Post Staff Writer

A Democratic report on the House Post Office conflicts with a postal employee's account to federal prosecutors that the office of Rep. Dan Rostenkowski (D-Ill.) cashed in expense vouchers written for postage stamps.

The employee, James C. Smith, the post office's director of accountable paper, said Rostenkowski's office in the last five years received about \$20,000 in exchange for the vouchers, according to sources The Washington Post cited in May.

But Smith earlier told congressional investigators he had no knowledge of any instances when

House members exchanged stamps for cash, three House Democrats who participated in the inquiry reported Wednesday.

Congressional sources said that Smith, during an interview with congressional investigators that lasted two hours, was asked a series of specific questions about various types of unlawful transactions, including the exchange of expense vouchers for cash at the post office. To each question, the sources said, Smith replied he did not know of any members involved in such practices.

Rostenkowski, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, called the Democratic report "a total exoneration" that should lead

U.S. Attorney Jay B. Stephens to terminate a grand jury investigation of his expense accounts. Continuing to investigate him, Rostenkowski said, "would be nothing more than unfounded harassment . . . a political witch hunt."

A spokesman for Stephens, asked about Rostenkowski's statements, said the post office investigation continues.

A federal grand jury has subpoenaed the expense records from 1986 to April 1992 for Rostenkowski, Rep. Joe Kolter and Rep. Austin J. Murphy, both Pennsylvania Democrats. Despite the free mail privileges enjoyed by members of Congress, Rostenkowski purchased more than

\$25,000 in postage stamps during that period, while Kolter and Murphy bought smaller amounts.

Smith's lawyer, Kenneth M. Robinson, said yesterday his client has testified before the grand jury. Robinson expressed "confidence that he is telling the truth."

Congressional investigators interviewed Smith shortly after the House established a bipartisan task force on the post office in February. They tried to reinterview him in May and June, but prosecutors threatened to withdraw an offer of immunity if he appeared. He did not.

On April 24, the task force announced it had referred to Stephens unspecified information about "pos-

sible criminal violations" at the post office.

Congressional sources yesterday said that information concerned a shortage earlier this year of approximately \$2,500 attributable to Smith. The sources noted that Smith's allegations about Rostenkowski's office were reported in The Post after the criminal referral.

Rostenkowski has explained his postage purchases by saying stamps were needed for overseas mail not covered by congressional franking privileges.

Two other Democrats named in a Republican report on the House Post Office yesterday angrily disputed the suggestion they did something wrong.

Rep. John Olver (D-Mass.), iden-

tified as having campaign mail delivered from a post office box, demanded and received an apology from Rep. William M. Thomas (R-Calif.), a task force member. The deliveries occurred before Olver was sworn into office in June 1991, and the box in question belonged to an aide to the late Rep. Silvio O. Conte, his Republican predecessor.

The report suggested that Rep. Lawrence J. Smith (D-Fla.) made personal use of a express mail services provided by former postmaster Robert V. Rota. Smith said Rota volunteered to arrange delivery of official pouches to Smith's Fort Lauderdale office after several were lost or stolen, a problem that Rota indicated to a Smith aide other members had encountered.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Czech, Slovak Leaders Agree on Plan to Split Their Federation

By Mary Battista
Special to The Washington Post

PRAGUE, July 23—Leaders of the Czech and Slovak republics announced agreement today on a plan to divide Czechoslovakia peacefully into two states by the end of September. The announcement was a clear signal that a break-up of the 74-year-old hybrid country is now all but inevitable.

The plan, announced by Czech Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus and Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar, includes proposals for dividing everything from foreign embassies to the federal debt with minimum disruption.

The idea is "to carry out fundamental changes while avoiding a 'big bang,'" said Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec. Meciar called the plan "a rough outline of the house we'll be living in."

Under the agreement, the two republics will ask the federal parliament to dissolve the Czechoslovak federation by Sept. 30. It envisions significant coordination of the defense and foreign policies of the new Czech and Slovak states, close trade contacts and protection of the rights of all citizens in both countries.

But the two prime ministers were unable to reach agreement on retaining a common

currency or on tax policy. This failure suggested areas of possible dispute in what leaders hope will be an amicable divorce.

Klaus and Meciar said they are sure that early and businesslike negotiations will allow Czechoslovakia to split without the bloodshed that has accompanied the post-communist break-up of Yugoslavia.

"Because of Yugoslavia, we're being very careful about how to proceed and not allow anything to endanger the [separation] process," Meciar told a news conference after an all-night meeting with Klaus in Bratislava, the Slovak capital.

Klaus said nothing must be "left to accident." The two leaders agreed on continued close trade contacts between the Czech and Slovak republics, probably including a customs union, a free-trade zone and free movement of labor and capital between the two states.

But Klaus said that continuation of a common currency remains "a sphere for further negotiation," a decided understatement of the problem. The Czech minister of trade and industry, Vladimir Dluhý, has called retention of a common currency "political suicide," saying there is "no way" that the Czech republic will commit itself through a common currency to financing Slovak budget deficits.



Prime ministers Vladimir Meciar, left, and Vaclav Klaus listen to question at news conference.

Under the Klaus-Meciar proposal, the independent Czech and Slovak states would share embassies in small countries, but many international treaties signed by the unified state would have to be renegotiated. Federal radio and television facilities would be split and sold to investors; the Czech-

slovak academies of science and agriculture would disappear. A joint nuclear research program might be retained, while its administrative side would be divided between the two republics, Meciar said.

The federal parliament would have to approve a constitutional amendment to dis-

solve the joint state. Ideally, the regional parliaments would approve division of joint property by the end of August, a month before that federal action, Klaus said.

This was the fourth meeting between Klaus and Meciar since parliamentary elections polarized the country in June. Klaus' right-wing, market-reform party carried the relatively prosperous Czech republic, while nationalists and former communists dominated in economically pressed Slovakia.

Since the voting, Meciar has pressed his demands for Slovak autonomy within a vaguely defined federal framework. Czech negotiators, led by Klaus, have rejected that proposal as unworkable.

Earlier this month, Slovak nationalists in the federal parliament twice blocked the reelection of federal president Vaclav Havel. Havel announced his resignation Friday, an hour after jubilant members of the Slovak parliament overwhelmingly approved a declaration of Slovak sovereignty.

Slovak leaders had hoped to delay a split until at least the end of 1993 so the republic could collect at least one more year of its annual \$300 million federal allowance. Many Czechs, meanwhile, came to see continued union with a Slovakia led by nationalists and former communists as a threat to their future prosperity.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Can the West Stop the Rape of Bosnia? Should It?

High Political Cost, Murkiness of Mission Argue Against Foreign Military Intervention

By Blaine Harden
Washington Post Foreign Service

WARSAW, July 23—Will Serb militia forces get away with their ruthless land-grab in Bosnia-Herzegovina? The short answer, after nearly four months of indecision in Washington and European capitals, is yes.

The West, although determined to scold the new Serb-controlled Yugoslav state and spank it with economic sanctions for its support of aggression in Bosnia, has ruled out military intervention to reconstitute a republic that, in most essential respects, has been rubbed out of existence.

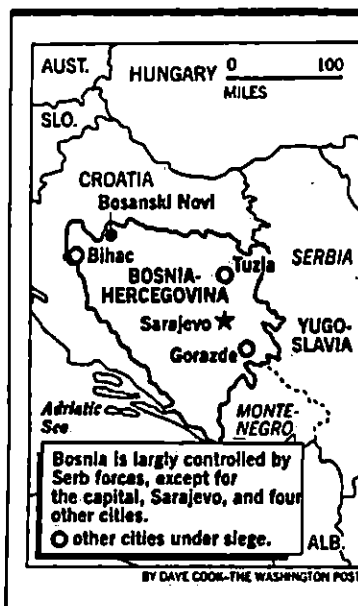
"No country is willing to contemplate military intervention," British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said last week after an afternoon in Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital. Some of the reasons why were made clear in recent remarks by U.S. Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney. "Who is the enemy?" he asked. "How would we identify our military mission? Who would we fight? The Bosnians? The Serbs? We don't know."

Thus far, Western governments have threatened to employ force—and, in a couple of minor incidents, actually used it—only to prevent Serb forces from starving the 300,000 besieged residents of Sarajevo. Starvation, at least when documented in conscience-pricking detail by the international media, has been found intolerable. As a result, an international airlift has succeeded in less than three weeks in feeding 80 percent of the residents of Sarajevo.

But other forms of Serb aggression, including driving non-Serbs from Bosnian territory they control—the notorious "ethnic cleansing"—do not seem to be goading Western governments into action.

While Washington and London this week threatened air strikes against Iraq for denying a team of weapons inspectors access to a Baghdad building, the annihilation by artillery of the refugee-packed Bosnian city of Gorazde, where 70,000 Slavic Muslims are stranded and dying without food, water, electricity or doctors, continues into a second month with no threats of Western retaliation.

Bosnian refugee accounts of torture, rape, murder and mass deportation carried out by Serb militiamen have left Western governments similarly unmoved. After a blitzkrieg offensive in early April, Serb forces backed by the Yugoslav



"Who is the enemy? How would we identify our military mission? Who would we fight? ... We don't know."

— Secretary of Defense Cheney

army swallowed up two-thirds of Bosnia. Using terror, murder and the Nazi-era practice of cramming people into boxcars, the Serbs have since "cleansed" the areas they hold of most Muslims.

Gorazde, where residents hide around the clock in basements to avoid Serb mortar fire, is believed to be the only city left in eastern Bosnia with a Muslim majority. Before the war, most major towns in the region were 70 to 90 percent Muslim. U.N. refugee experts say that many of the resulting 1.3 million refugees—nearly one out of three inhabitants of the republic, the vast majority of them Muslims—will never be able to go home. Hatred is too deep, they say, and their homes have been destroyed or occupied by Serb settlers.

The Serb *fait accompli* can only be reversed by a massive Western invasion, U.N. military observers say, but whatever humanitarian case there is for Balkan military intervention grows muddier by the day. U.N. officials based in Sarajevo said this week that some of the primarily Muslim defenders of the city have fired on their own people and taken potshots at Serbs in the surrounding hills to provoke artillery fire. The idea is that the Muslim casualties can be photographed by Western television cameras, thereby stimulating Western outrage and improving the prospect of foreign military intervention.

Canadian Maj. Gen. Lewis MacKenzie, who heads U.N. forces in Sarajevo, said this week that "we have evidence the two sides have fired on themselves in order to cre-

unwilling to occupy. Senior Bosnian officials concede that they are not sure whether the Croats should be regarded as allies or enemies.

Owing to the territorial appetites of his Serb enemies and Croat friends, Izetbegovic is now president of little more than four besieged cities—Sarajevo, Tuzla, Bihac and Gorazde. Without foreign intervention, it is expected that one of these, Gorazde, will soon fall to the Serbs.

The cost of foreign intervention to reconstitute Bosnia as a viable, independent nation is viewed by Western military analysts as too high to be politically acceptable, especially since the region has no oil and no real geopolitical value to Western Europe or the United States. In Sarajevo alone, making peace—as opposed to keeping peace—would require at least 40,000 troops, according to MacKenzie. And, if the West were to intervene and alter the military equation in favor of the Muslim-led Bosnian government, U.N. military observers say there undoubtedly would be widespread Muslim revenge attacks on Serbs.

As the West continues to dither and debate its role in Bosnia, Serb forces there appear to be shifting gears, moving from conquest to consolidation. Excepting Gorazde, the Serbs now control virtually all the territory their leadership has said it wants, and they are now inviting U.N. peace-keepers to extend their mandate from Sarajevo to the whole of Bosnia.

As in Croatia, where Serb insurgent forces grabbed a third of the republic's territory last year before signing a U.N.-brokered truce, the strategy appears to be one of calling in the peace-keepers once the war is won and the ethnic cleansing is finished. The presence of the U.N. Blue Helmets, at this point, seems consistent with Serb military goals. It freezes territorial gains and preempts second thoughts the West may have about armed intervention,

ate the image of the other initiating attacks." Britain's Lord Carrington, the European Community's chief mediator among the warring parties, singled out the Muslims for special blame in ruining the latest EC-sponsored cease-fire earlier this week. The Muslims are breaking the cease-fire as much as anyone else, if not more, he said.

Further blurring the picture of Muslims as defenseless victims of aggression is their stated intention to fight to win back their land. Bosnia's Muslim president, Alija Izetbegovic, declared this week that if the international community does not come to the rescue, his country will join forces with neighboring Croatia for a war against the Serbs in Bosnia.

But here again, the Balkan picture blurs. Croatia is an odd and discomfiting bedfellow for Bosnia. Croat militia forces in southern and western Bosnia, which are armed and supported by the government of Croatia, have seized control of most of those parts of the republic that the Serbs have been unable or

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Rabin Curbs Settlement Growth But Not Current Construction

By David Hoffman
Washington Post Foreign Service

JERUSALEM, July 23—The government of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin canceled plans for 6,500 Jewish housing units in the occupied territories today but announced it will go ahead with more than 10,000 already under construction.

The announcement stopped short of a total freeze on expansion of Jewish settlements in the West Bank and Gaza Strip. But officials said further curbs may come later and today's step appeared to be the first salvo in an intense political struggle over how fast and how deeply to curb settlement in the territories.

A key issue is how the cutbacks will be received by the Bush administration, from which Israel is hoping to receive backing for \$10 billion in loans. Secretary of State James A. Baker III said this week he had been assured Rabin intends to make "severe and substantial" cuts in settlement expansion.

The United States and the Arab participants in the peace talks have called for a full freeze on construction in the settlements. Rabin has promised only to curtail building in what he calls "political" settlements—those in densely populated Arab areas—while allowing expansion in "security" settlements in the Golan Heights, in the Jordan Valley and around Jerusalem.

In any case, the announcement by Housing Minister Benjamin Ben-Eliezer and Finance Minister Avraham Shochat marked a symbolic turning point: the first formal decision by the Rabin government to begin curtailing settlements. Predictably, it was met with criticism from right and left. Peace activists said it did not go far enough, while former prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, now leader of the opposition, said it was a "nightmare" that amounted to giving away land before peace negotiations.

The 6,500 housing units canceled today were still in the blueprint stage. Critics said these were the easiest to terminate since they had not been started. Work on a network of roads connecting the settlements and bypassing Arab villages is also being curtailed.

A more controversial issue is what the government estimates to be 10,467 housing units in the occupied territories already under construction. The two ministers said they decided to continue work on 1,686 of these in the Greater Jerusalem area, which the Rabin government has made clear it intends to keep open for construction. The other 8,781 units also will be continued for the time being, they said, but a further review is expected next week, especially of those units in the early stages.

A senior adviser to Rabin said the ministers' decisions will need approval at a higher level before becoming final. "The whole question of the number of units that will be frozen and the number continued will have to come to the approval of the government," the adviser said.

See ISRAEL, A33, Col. 1

ISRAEL, From A29

According to the lobbying group Peace Now, if all the units now being built are sold, another 50,000 people would be added to the estimated 120,000 Jews already living in the 142 settlements in the occupied territories.

If this occurs, Peace Now spokesman Eran Hayet said, "then this government will erect a high obstacle to the talks with the Palestinians" on self-rule in the territories.

By allowing the unfinished units to go forward, he said, the Rabin government "will complete the mission of the former government."

But settler leaders said they will fight the limited curbs imposed today. They are discussing a court challenge, and are launching private fund-raising drives in the United States to offset the loss of government aid.

They are also planning demonstrations in Israel in an effort to rally sympathy for their cause.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

A Whiff of Peace Stirs the Air in Long-Bellicose Syria

By Nora Boustany
Washington Post Foreign Service

DAMASCUS, Syria—In this ancient city of merchants, new samplings of peace are suddenly on display.

The once-windy rhetoric of war has given way to a light breeze of realism, and most Syrians are beginning to accept the military impossibility of achieving parity with Israel. But anger and humiliation over Israel lie just below the surface.

For Syrian President Hafez Assad, the prospect for peace is just as daring as any military venture in the minds of a population numbed by years of rigid Baathist ideology and nurtured on hostility to Israel.

"There have been great efforts to educate the party," one Damascus-based diplomat said. "The president has met with members of the Baath, the National Front, right down the party system to tell them: 'This is what we are doing chaps.'" When one diplomat visited the governor of Hama a few months ago, he found the governor with all the new arguments for the peace process at the ready.

"The peace process is the party line," a diplomat explained. But while most Syrians would accept an honorable solution now, the catch is "honorable."

"They want us to say yes, but yes to what?" asked Jibril Kurieh, one of Assad's confidants. "What is everyone expecting us to do, give up the Golan Heights?"

An antique dealer in the old shopping quarter of Damascus said with incredulity, "Here they are giving people lessons of peace. Lectures and debates on television about the new world order, the source of Arab nationalism, how people should work harder. The world is changing."

"Somehow the regime realizes it cannot just lean back anymore because the Soviet Union is gone and it has lost the back of its chair."

But this is Damascus, and the past clutches the present just as the high arcades hold together the lively, obscure alleys of the souk, where old habits and convictions die hard.

See SYRIA, A33, Col. 1

SYRIA, From A29

Workers and laborers ride by on squeaking bicycles, while children maneuver carts of heavy sacks and other goods. Luffas—sponges made from gourd innards—and dried turtle shells adorn the sides of pushcarts; golden bracelets and bangles sparkle near dusty boxes of chicken noodle soup and Jell-O.

Mamdouh Adwan, a writer and poet known for his outspoken views but officially tolerated nonetheless, said, "I think Arabs and Syrians are truthful in their quest for peace because they have reached a state of total bankruptcy. The peace process and the way it was accepted is a phenomenon of despair."

"I am against spilling more blood, but I hate Israel. I do not accept that 50 years of my life were a lie. But when you are a man of politics like Assad, you don't write poetry like I do, but you do what you can and this is the only thing he can do now."

Intellectuals here say most of the population is aware that Syria, the last bastion of cohesive Arab resistance to Israeli dictates, is now under the gun for its bad human rights record, its support of terrorism, and its totalitarian regime. "Syria is forced to play the game of peace, because [Syria's critics] want its head," Ali Okla Ursan, the head of the Arab Writers' Union, whispered behind the closed doors of his office.

Editorials in the Baath newspaper, organ of the ruling party, have responded to Secretary of State James A. Baker III's current visit to the region with alarm over the possibility that the United States will grant Israel \$10 billion in loan guarantees ahead of a less-than-ironclad

freeze on settlements and Israeli recognition of U.N. resolutions. "That would be a new American reward to Israel before it offers anything serving the process of peace," a front-page commentary said today.

Assad had a free hand in putting Syria on the side of Iran in its war against Iraq and then joining the U.S.-led coalition against Iraqi President Saddam Hussein; but peace with Israel at America's insistence is seen as more risky to him and he is more conscious of the sensitivity inside the army, the intelligence apparatus and his ruling party.

In a country where there are no surveys, opinion polls or freedom of expression it is hard to gauge moods or to anticipate the reason for street upheaval.

One analyst predicted gloomily that while "the street is now controlled with security, when that framework of control collapses, it will blow up like a mine."

Although there is no outward exhibition of Islamic fundamentalist political activity, suppressed a decade ago, Baath party members privately express fears of its hidden forces. With the absence of pluralism and the presence of mosques throughout the country, fundamentalism remains the only alternative to the regime.

"For a long time we opposed liberal thinking and left the mosques to fundamentalists," an academic said. While there are several parties within the regime taking part in the national debate and Assad's cautious consultation on the peace process, there is concern about what form opposition might take in the future.

Asked whether Assad would dare

some dramatic gesture like the unexpected visit of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat to Jerusalem in 1977, Assad confidant Kurieh frowned. "Let Sadat come out of his grave and try doing this one more time," he responded. Sadat was assassinated by Islamic fundamentalists in 1981.

Syria is eager to keep Arab countries and Palestinian leaders engaged in a collective, step-by-step approach to peace with Israel to avoid separate arrangements that could leave it lagging behind.

Foreign ministers and Palestinian participants in the Arab-Israeli peace talks are meeting here today to coordinate their strategy and to review the results of Baker's tour.

For now, Assad has maintained his balance, in the view of many here. "Whether we like Mr. Assad or not, we know he will not sign any agreement that does not give us back all of the Golan, so people say we have no objection to the negotiations if they help us win time," said Elie Najmeh, a professor at Damascus University.

While attitudes toward a settlement have changed, those toward Israel remain apprehensive.

University students, who are all indoctrinated in the Baath party when they begin school, showed a moderate acceptance of attempts at peacemaking but little tolerance for the state of Israel.

"The situation is still alarming," said Aurace Abdel Qader, 24. "I cannot imagine a total peace with Israel, but I think it is a good thing to have negotiations. We have had enough wars."

Manal Hajj, 19, said, "I cannot imagine peace with Israel, but one must try negotiations even though no results are expected. Every person likes to have peace, even the Israelis, though they are not seeking it along the same principles as us."

The country seems genuinely tired of the specter of war and its economy is groaning under defense expenditures and a rising birth rate, diplomats and observers here say.

Nichola Antakli, an American businessman of Syrian descent from Detroit, who has met Assad in recent months, said the president is keenly aware of changes around him. He said steps to liberalize the economy have boosted the morale of businessmen and entrepreneurs. "The president believes the players are different and the playing field is different and adjustments need to be made," he said.

In one of the capital's bazaars, however, a vendor wondered how Syria and its neighbors could ever adjust to a real and permanent peace in the Middle East.

"If this case is closed," he asked, "what will Arabs talk about? Guatemala?"

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

U.S., Allies Plan Ultimatum to Iraq *Defiance Would Be Met With Force*

By R. Jeffrey Smith and Ann Devroy
Washington Post Staff Writers

The United States, Britain and France have agreed to call for a public ultimatum, possibly as early as this weekend, demanding that Iraq relent in its confrontation with the United Nations Security Council or face the prospect of allied military action, senior officials said yesterday.

The ultimatum will give Iraq a deadline of at most several days to agree to allow a U.N. inspection team to enter a Baghdad building suspected of harboring sensitive documents on ballistic missiles and other weapons. If Iraq fails to comply, the ultimatum is expected to say, the cease-fire terminating last year's Persian Gulf War will be suspended, opening the door to military action.

The officials said other countries may join in the ultimatum, which could also be issued in the name of

the U.N. secretary general or the head of the U.N. Security Council.

Washington, they said, has been seeking a commitment from other nations to support a sustained, multinational bombing campaign against a variety of Iraqi military targets. The campaign, which would also involve U.S. cruise missiles, would last as long as needed to win Iraqi compliance.

The United States is "as close to having to take military action as we have been" in previous confrontations with Iraq over U.N.-authorized inspections of Iraqi weapons-making capabilities, a senior U.S. official said. He spoke after a 90-minute meeting at the White House in which Secretary of Defense Richard B. Cheney and Gen. Colin L. Powell, the Joint Chiefs of Staff chairman, showed President Bush a map of likely military targets in Iraq.

Iraqi Deputy Prime Minister
See IRAQ, A32, Col. 2

IRAQ, From A1

Tariq Aziz, speaking at a Baghdad news conference yesterday, dismissed the threat of military attack and reiterated his nation's intention to defy the U.N. demand for access to the headquarters of the Iraqi Agriculture Ministry. "Iraq will not concede its sovereignty, will not accept any insult, will not allow the inspection teams to threaten its national security ... [or] interfere in its internal affairs," he told reporters, according to Reuter.

A U.N. inspection team that had camped outside the ministry for 2½ weeks awaiting entry withdrew Wednesday after what officials described as the attempted stabbing of an inspector by an Iraqi citizen who was questioned and released by local police. During their vigil, the inspectors were stoned by protesters, their vehicles' tires were slashed and Iraqi drivers attempted to run them over.

Rolf Ekeus, chairman of the U.N. Special Commission on Iraq, warned yesterday that "tension is very high" at the commission's headquarters in Baghdad.

"We need under all circumstances access to the [agriculture] building ... in order to ascertain whether there is prohibited weapons or material relative to these weapons," Ekeus said on the CBS "This Morning" program. He added that "our people are very severely harassed and the security so far from the Iraqi side" has been inadequate.

Hans Blix, director of the International Atomic Energy Agency responsible for eliminating Iraq's nuclear capability under the U.N. cease-fire resolutions, said in Washington yesterday that his agency's mission would be endangered if the Security Council backed down in its dispute with Baghdad.

He and other IAEA officials said at a news conference that Iraq has not met requirements for destruction of all the buildings associated with its former nuclear weapons program and still had not made required disclosures of foreign sources of nuclear weapons-related technology and equipment.

U.S. officials, who last week indicated that any bombing campaign would be confined to buildings the United Nations had marked for destruction, said yesterday that plans now call for striking a wider array of targets to put more pressure on the Iraqi regime.

These include Iraqi air defense sites reconstructed since the Persian Gulf War, they said. Major weapons storage sites or Republican Guard units might also be hit, the officials said.

"The Iraqis are right in asking what one or two bombs will do," a U.S. official explained. "The worst thing would be to have one or two strikes, cause minimal damage, maybe even kill some people, and then have Iraq expel all of the U.N. personnel. We would lose everything."

As a result, he said, Washington favors using "more force, and more continuous force" than would be required in a discrete attack.

Secretary of State James A. Baker III conferred yesterday with Saudi King Fahd in Jeddah about the military plan, which is not expected to include Saudi planes, U.S. officials said. Britain is prepared to participate in a bombing campaign, but its specific role remains unclear, officials in London told Washington Post correspondent Glenn Frankel.

U.S. officials said yesterday that the United States maintains sizable forces in the gulf region that could quickly be called upon.

The Navy has six ships in the Red Sea and 17 in the Persian Gulf, Gulf of Oman and northern Arabian Sea, Pentagon spokesman Pete Williams

said at his regular briefing yesterday.

These include the aircraft carrier USS Independence—now operating inside the Persian Gulf—three cruisers, two destroyers, two frigates and the command ship USS La Salle. In addition to the strike planes aboard the Independence, some of these ships are equipped with Tomahawk cruise missiles.

Williams confirmed reports that the Navy has canceled a port call for the aircraft carrier USS Saratoga, which is operating with its battle group in the Mediterranean. Navy ships in the eastern Mediterranean launched cruise missiles at Iraq during the gulf war, but Williams said the decision to keep the Saratoga at sea was "based on the situation in Yugoslavia primarily."

The Air Force has maintained what one combat aviator described yesterday as "a cross section of capabilities in the area that would give us a wide-range of options."

Staff writer John Lancaster in Washington and special correspondent Trevor Rowe at the United Nations contributed to this report.

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Fleeing to Safety in a U.N. Convoy

Thousands of Bosnian Muslims Take Emergency Corridor to Croatia

By Peter Maass
Special to The Washington Post

KARLOVAC, Croatia, July 23—About 4,500 terrified Slavic Muslims emerged from the Bosnian city of Bosanski Novi today after U.N. personnel carved out an emergency land corridor to rescue them from shootings, beatings and jailings at the hands of local Serbs.

"I saw no one shot, but I saw corpses floating down the Sana River," said Abdelhaid Davutovic, who was in the U.N. convoy of 60 buses and 280 cars that rumbled out of Bosnia, through Serb-occupied Croatian lands and finally into Croatia itself. "I saw them with my own eyes. One would pass, then after 15

minutes, two or three more. Half an hour later, there would be some more."

Another refugee in the convoy, Sulya Sihreta, 26, said Serb militia forces in Bosanski Novi terrorized her neighborhood with random gunfire and then drove around announcing through a loudspeaker that all Muslims had to report immediately to the city's sports stadium. She was held there for three days, during which time her house was looted and burned.

Worse was to come. Sulya was staying with her husband's family, she said, when her father-in-law stepped

See REFUGEES, A30, Col. 1

REFUGEES, From A1

outside one night. The family heard a shot, then another; outside, her father-in-law lay dead in a pool of blood.

According to U.N. relief officials, the Muslim refugees evacuated today from Bosanski Novi, a city of 50,000 in western Bosnia near the Croatian border, are the latest victims of "ethnic cleansing," a term used to describe the campaign by the Serb faction in Bosnia's three-month-old civil war to rid their conquered territory of local Muslims and other non-Serbs.

"We are facing a very brutal Serb policy," said Claude Ellner, a German diplomat coordinating relief efforts here who compared "ethnic cleansing" to German deportations and executions of Jews during World War II.

As U.N. vehicles carrying the first refugees from Bosanski Novi entered Karlovac, local Croatians waved and blew kisses at them. Waving back, the refugees appeared relieved but dazed. When the buses disgorged them at a sports field, many crumpled on the ground in tears, and some were taken away in ambulances.

The sports field became a scene of raw emotion. Many of the Muslims were met by family members or friends who were not sure they had survived and, not wanting to be lost in a sea of refugees, hoisted placards bearing their names. For the lucky ones, there were cries of joy and hugs. For the unlucky ones, there were brave tears and silent hopes that the lost husband or friend might be on the next bus.

"My daddy was in prison," said Damir, a 12-year-old boy who stood erect as his father knelt on the grass and sobbed uncontrollably. "The

Serbs put him there because he is Muslim. They killed Muslims."

Damir's father was lucky. He was beaten with rifle butts, he said, then dragged to a hotel that was used as a makeshift jail—the city prison did not have enough room—and deprived of food and water for five days. He was freed, he said, because his wife pleaded every day with Bosanski Novi's new Serb authorities to release him.

Like the other refugees, Damir and his father said they were thrown out of their house by Serbs. And, like the other refugees, Damir's father had to sign a document before he left that transferred ownership of the house to its new inhabitants and declared that he had left voluntarily.

Karlovac today heard thousands of horror stories from the refugees, just some of the 1.3 million Bosnians—most of them Muslims—who have been driven from their country since the war began there in early April.

Safia Dizdarevic is one of the newest additions to the list. Standing on the field in bedroom slippers, she was not sure what her next step would be. In one hand, she held her daughter's hand; in the other, a plastic doll with blond hair. Exhaustion was evident in her face.

Safia said the Serbs came to her house one day and threw her out, taking her most valuable belongings before setting the house ablaze. Afterward, she traveled from village to village around Bosanski Novi, staying with friends or relatives. With no more places to stay and tired of running, she joined today's convoy.

"The Serbs came a few months ago and said there would be peace if we gave them our weapons," she sighed. "And so we did."

The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Rates Spark New Rush to Refinance

Cheaper Mortgages Also Draw Some Cautious Home Buying

By William F. Powers
Washington Post Staff Writer

In a rare case of procrastination paying off, hundreds of thousands of homeowners nationwide who missed January's interest-rate drop are rushing to refinance their mortgages and snapping up even lower rates than consumers who acted six months ago.

"It's unbelievable. It's impossible to keep up," said Terry Rowland, general manager of Prosperity

Mortgage Corp. of Fairfax, which yesterday was offering a 30-year, fixed-rate mortgage at 7.75 percent, not including fees. "We've got people [whose] only job is to sit inside and field calls."

Preliminary reports indicate that the low rates may be breathing life into the market for home sales as well, an encouraging development for a national economy that has shown few other sparks.

In the Washington area, however, those signs of improvement are still

tentative. Even rates this low are not exciting buyers, said McLean broker James B. Warkentin. "They are fearful about the future."

"Definitely, the recent lowering of interest rates has given us really a summer spurt in sales," said Diane Cox Basheer, president of Stanley Martin Cos., a Northern Virginia home builder. "It is a much stronger summer than it would have been if we hadn't had this last downturn in rates."

See REFINANCING, A13, Col. 1



The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Low Rates Spur Refinancings

REFINANCING, From A1

The refinancing boom nationwide nearly matches January's burst of activity, triggered by a steep cut in short-term rates by the Federal Reserve Board. Then, many people paying 10 percent interest or more on their mortgages traded them in for loans in the 8.5 percent range before rates edged up again.

But with some 30-year, fixed-rate loans now under 8 percent in the Washington area for the first time since 1973, even borrowers with loans already below 10 percent can save money—in some cases hundreds of dollars a month—by refinancing.

Douglas C. Ingling, a Clifton computer executive who failed to act in January, now figures he will save \$400 a month by replacing his 10.25 percent, 30-year loan with an 8.25 percent loan.

"I started to do it in late January, but then the rates started going up for no apparent reason, so I missed that opportunity," he said. Ingling's \$355,000 loan has a higher rate than the usual 30-year loan because its size makes it a "jumbo" mortgage.

For consumers looking for the very lowest rates, one-year adjustable-rate mortgages (ARMs) now average 5 percent nationwide. In the competitive Washington area, one-year rates are as low as 4.25 percent, not including fees known as points.

"There are some real attractive ARM rates . . . which are helping people qualify" for mortgages, said C. William Blomquist, president of Vienna-based Perpetual Mortgage Co.

Unlike January's rush, when Washington-area lenders were so overwhelmed by the demand that some stopped taking applications, Blomquist said most lenders are handling the current workload.

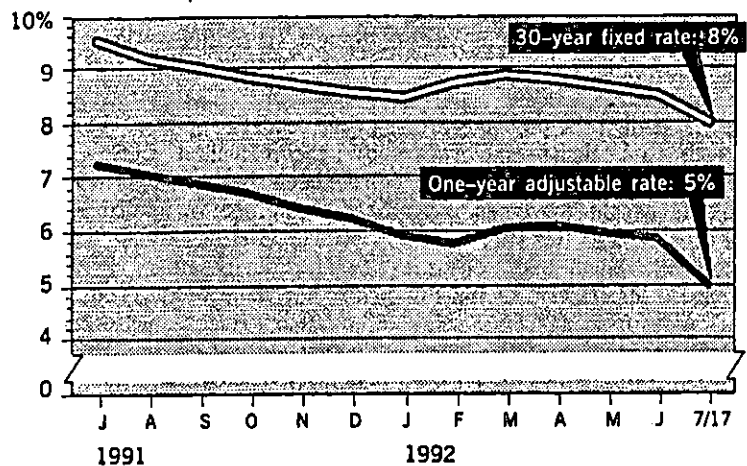
"We're definitely getting all our loans approved and to settlement within 30 days," he said.

By putting more money in consumers' pockets, mortgage refinancing can indirectly give the sagging economy a boost. According to an estimate by the Mortgage Bankers Association of America (MBA), homeowners who refinance this year will collectively have an extra \$6 billion to spend.

But many refinancers with 30-year mortgages are simply switching to 15-year loans with lower interest rates. That way, they can pay their mortgages off more quickly with little or no change in their monthly payment. In these cases, however, there is no freed-up household income to pump into the economy.

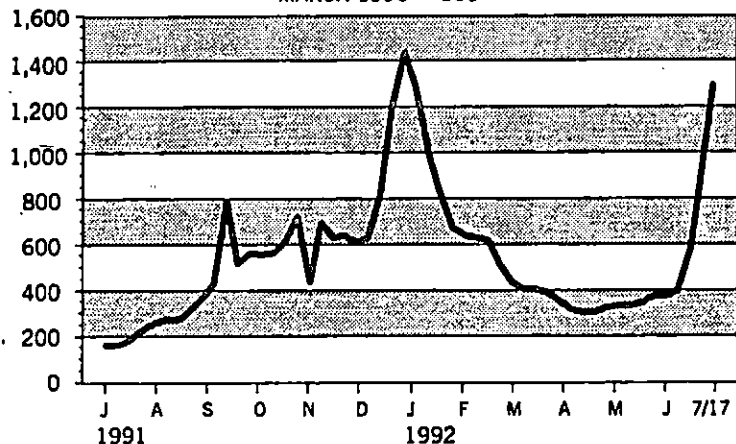
Almost half—43 percent—of the 30-year, fixed-rate loans refinanced

WHEN INTEREST RATES FALL . . .



. . . REFINANCING SURGES

WEEKLY INDEX OF MORTGAGE REFINANCING APPLICATIONS,
MARCH 1990 = 100



SOURCES: Mortgage Bankers Association; Stone & McCarthy

THE WASHINGTON POST

in the first four months of this year were replaced with 15-year loans, according to a new study by the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Corp. (Freddie Mac).

Nationwide, refinancings accounted for 59 percent of all mortgage loan activity last week, according to a survey by the MBA. The number of mortgage lending applications nationwide jumped 76 percent two weeks ago after the Fed dropped two key interest rates, prompting mortgage rates to dip. Last week, applications were up another 30 percent, according to the MBA.

The MBA's national survey also showed that mortgage bankers are processing more applications for mortgages on newly purchased homes than at any time in the last two years.

Anecdotal reports from real estate brokers indicate that low mortgage rates are spurring home sales "tremendously" in some parts of the country, particularly New England, said Dorcas Helfant, president of the National Association of Realtors.

But it will be weeks before any solid

figures are available on the extent to which the rate drop is actually reviving the moribund housing market.

James Capp, Washington area manager of Market Street Mortgage Corp., said the number of local home-purchase loan applications has been somewhat disappointing, given the low rates. He said that these days, home buying tends to be limited to the economically secure.

"Those are people that are a little more confident work-wise, with their work situation and with the economy in general," he said.

For those who refinance, the good news is the monthly bottom line, but first they must calculate if a new loan will actually save them money. The basic rule is that a refinancing is worthwhile only if the borrower plans to stay in the house long enough to recoup the various fees and expenses associated with the new loan.

Ingling simply plugged the numbers into a spreadsheet program on his computer and realized he couldn't lose: "It was really no real brain decision."

The Washington Post

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Rita's Scandal Beat

Rita Jenrette and scandal used to go together like sex and cigarettes.

And then a few years ago she found God.

Now she's been born yet again, and the onetime Playboy pinup who trumpeted her racy frolic on the Capitol steps with ex-husband and ex-congressman John, seems to have decided scandal is better. At least other people's.

She's signed up to pilot a new TV talk show, "Survivors of Scandal," about "ordinary people who survive under extraordinary circumstances." Eight interviews are already in the can, including heart-to-hearts with household faces Imelda Marcos and Roseanne Arnold.

"Obviously, I think I'm a survivor. . . . You have to decide you're going to make something of yourself regardless," Jenrette, 42, said the other day from New York.

She speaks from experience. She was doing research for the GOP in the mid-'70s when she met and then wed John Jenrette, a flamboyant South Carolina congressman whose career plummeted with the Abscam affair. "My life fell apart," says Rita, who divorced John in 1981 and looked for solace in a Playboy spread, a kiss-and-tell book and assorted parts on stage and screen, among them the infamous soapy shower scene in the 1984 cult hit "Zombie Island Massacre."

The new show seems to be a serious effort: The major backer is executive



John and Rita Jenrette in 1978; and, left, the survivor today.

producer David Krieff of Destiny Productions—known for being involved in such successful shows as "Miami Vice." He sank \$100,000 into the pilot and aims to get the show syndicated and on the air five days a week by January.

"Rita's perfect for the show," gushed Krieff, who was talking by cellular phone from his horse Moe somewhere in California. "She's great in front of the camera . . . and she's been around the block." Whoa—we lost him on the curve. Bye, Dave.

While Jenrette may be looking for relentlessly upbeat, the show won't be all rosy. "It will be titillating because we'll have to show what they've been through," she hints, "but it will be an inspiration too."

Carol-Come-Lately

■ Illinois Democrat Carol Moseley Braun may be doing a blockbuster job raising \$1.6 million for her Senate campaign, but even her allies think she needs a few pointers in political etiquette.

Braun, whose effort has been plagued by staff woes, is perpetually late for appearances. While Senate hopefuls Lynn Yeakel (Pa.), Dianne Feinstein (Calif.), Patty Murray (Wash.) and two dozen other female congressional candidates—as well as Hillary Clinton and Tipper Gore—all managed to be on time last week for a luncheon honoring Emily's List, Braun breezed in after lunch just in time to make some brief remarks. Her entrance did not go unnoticed.

"She needs to get good people, improve her scheduling and be on time," Chicago Mayor Richie Daley conceded in an interview. He says he'll offer some help in that area.

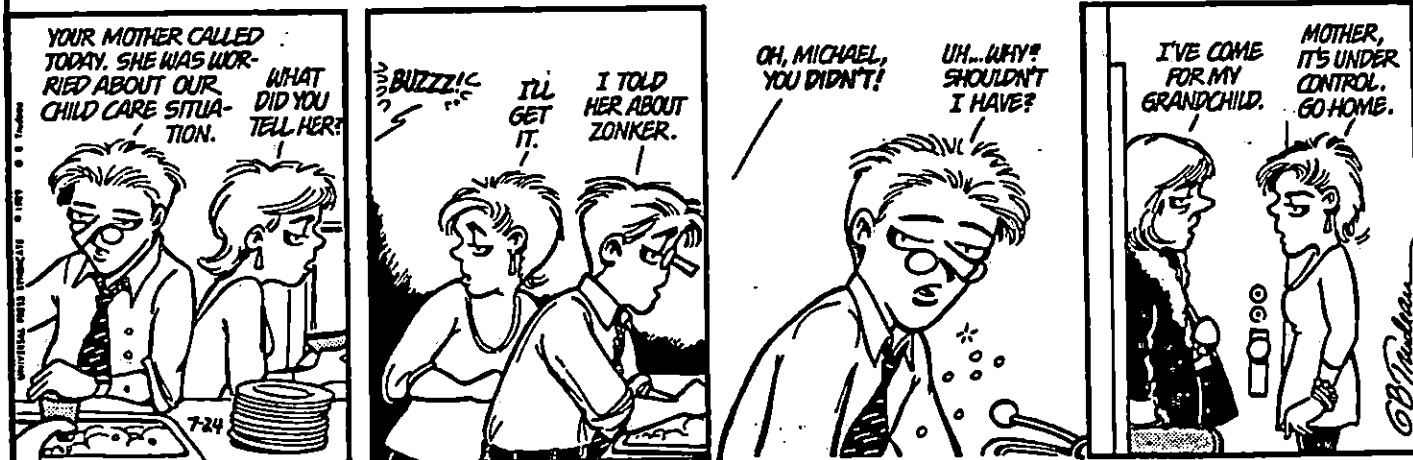
But being a chip off his dad's Democrat block, Daley didn't flinch when asked if Braun will beat Republican Richard Williamson. "She's the best candidate," he concluded, none too partisanly.



Carol Moseley Braun: Better late?

DOONESBURY

By G.B. Trudeau



The Washington Post

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

WE'VE HEARD THAT



Nick von Hoffman, fax-man.

■ Pugnacious writer Nick von Hoffman seems to have forgotten some of his old-fashioned reporting skills. Senate staffers are guffawing over a letter *Mirabella* magazine sent to their bosses—"on behalf" of the writer—soliciting

faxed comments on the alleged sexual-harassment troubles of their colleague Brock Adams. Don't wait by the fax, Nick.

■ Bill Clinton and Al Gore called Rep. Ben "Cooter" Jones from the buscapade Wednesday to offer condolences on his loss in Tuesday's Georgia primary. He was tickled.

■ And it's Gore himself who does the narrating on the new book-on-tape version of his environmental tome "Earth in the Balance." All three hours of it.

■ NBC has hired James Rowe III, son of the Roosevelt New Dealer and a Hill veteran, to head its federal affairs office here.

■ Peter Stothard, the affable Washington-based deputy editor of the Times of London, yesterday was named editor of the venerable daily newspaper.

■ It wasn't just any old rainy rush-hour traffic jam on the GW Parkway last night. If you were sitting there fuming at the peak of the storm, it might make you feel patriotic to know it was because George and Barbara Bush were barreling toward a country club party in honor of their daughter, Doro, and her new husband, Bobby Koch.

■ In this, the year of the woman, even Barbie's in on the act. She's running for president, outfitted with inaugural gown and cellular phone. Unfortunately, at 34, she's a year shy of being old enough for the job.



Ron Nessen, Fox-man?

■ Former Ford press secretary Ron Nessen and Westwood One News parted ways last week. "I would describe it as mutual," he says. "They were eager to cut expenses, and I had a big salary." Word is he's working on a mystery novel and

is being considered to co-host "The Fox Morning News" with Lark McCarthy.

■ Jay Leno is now going after the Dems: "Bill Clinton's brother sings. . . . Tipper Gore plays the drums, Clinton plays the sax—this isn't the Democratic Party, this is the Partridge Family."



■ Daryl Gates is not amused. This West Los Angeles billboard for a Chinese food delivery service has caused quite a stir-fry, with the former police chief threatening action if it isn't removed pronto. His lawyers charge that it's illegal to use someone's image for profit without permission. And, well, it looks like Wok Fast won't take the heat. A restaurant spokesman says that "if Gates gets serious," the sign could go.

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The TV Column

HIGHLIGHTS

- "John Gielgud ... Talking With David Frost" on WETA.
- "Haunted Lives ... True Ghost Stories" and "60 Minutes: The Entertainers" on WUSA.
- And "Di: Prisoner in the Palace" on WTTG.
- Plus "Barcelona '92: A New World Gathers" on WRC.

Public Broadcasting

Evening Exchange. The topic is "Women of Power and Intellect." Guests include Barbara Reynolds of U.S. News & World Report and Joannetta Barras of the Washington Times (Channel 32 at 7).

Washington Week in Review (CC) discusses this week's Washington whispers about Jim Baker moving to the White House. Topic is "Bush Campaign Flailing, as Clinton Soars." 30 minutes (Channel 26 at 8).

John Gielgud ... Talking With David Frost (CC). The actor talks about his stage and movie work and his experiences with Laurence Olivier and Vivien Leigh. One hour (Channel 26 at 9).

Primetime Movies

Joe Kidd (1972). Clint Eastwood plays a drifter hired by landowner Robert Duvall to pursue several Mexican Americans. Two hours (Channel 20 at 8).

Thaddeus Rose and Eddie (1978). Country singers Johnny and June Cash in a story of two Texas adventurers. Two hours (Channel 50 at 8).

Series

Matlock (CC) meets the mob to rescue Michelle when she is kidnapped (Channel 4 at 8).

America's Most Wanted (CC) examines the problem of stalking (Channel 5 at 8).

Family Matters (CC) (R). Steve tries to help when he finds out Laura is being blackmailed as she runs for the student council (Channel 7 at 8).

Haunted Lives ... True Ghost Stories (CC) (R). Leonard Nimoy hosts the dramatization of three "real-life" ghost encounters as told by the people who say they experienced them (Channel 9 at 8).

Step by Step (CC) (R). Carol's attempt to organize Frank's office results in a computer disaster (Channel 7, 8:30).

Barcelona '92: A New World Gathers (CC). Bob Costas hosts this preview of the Olympic Games (Channel 4 at 9).

Di: Prisoner in the Palace (CC). Sally Jessy Raphael hosts a look at the life of Princess Di. One hour (Channel 5 at 9).

Dinosaurs (CC) (R). A paleontologist tries to find out why dinosaurs became extinct (Channel 7 at 9).

60 Minutes: The Entertainers (CC) (R) features highlights from 23 years of interviews with the biggest names in entertainment (Channel 9 at 9).

Perfect Strangers (CC) (R). Balki's stuffed sheep, Dimitri, is stolen and held for ransom (Channel 7, 9:30).

20/20 (CC) includes reports on the Japanese criminal justice system and on Jack "Dr. Death" Kevorkian (Channel 7 at 10).

Late Night

The Arsenio Hall Show. With Bill Cosby (Channel 9, 11:30).

The Tonight Show With Jay Leno (CC). With Lily Tomlin, singer Lyle Lovett and His Large Band, actress Anne Marie Johnson and saxophonist Everett Harp (Channel 4, 11:35).

ABC's In Concert. With Lou Reed and Lenny Kravitz (Channel 7 at midnight).

Late Night With David Letterman. With comedian Steven Wright (Channel 4, 12:35 a.m.).

Monday Morning

Today (CC) will be preempted by Olympics coverage from Barcelona (Channel 4 at 7 a.m.).

Good Morning America (CC) includes an interview with the American officer reprimanded for the "friendly fire" death of Sgt. Lance Fielder during the Persian Gulf War, actress Goldie Hawn and a segment on "skin survival in the '90s" (Channel 7 at 7).

CBS This Morning. With actor Jon Penner, former Olympic swimmer Rowdy Gaines and a segment on low-cost start-up businesses (Channel 9 at 7).

—Cristina Dragomirescu

John Carmody is on the West Coast checking out the networks' fall plans.

Ed Rollins Gets CBS Convention Duty

By a Washington Post Staff Writer

Heretic GOP political consultant Ed Rollins, who deserted the leader of his party to manage the Ross Perot campaign that never was, will be attending the Republican National Convention after all. Not as a supporter of George Bush, but as a commentator for CBS News.

Rollins—who was hired by Perot in early June and quit last week when Perot decided not to run—will be appearing from Houston during convention week (Aug. 17-20) with

fellow pundits Bob Beckel and Fred Barnes on "CBS This Morning." According to the show's producer, Ted Savaglio, Rollins will continue in the role through the November election. During his days with Perot, he did a stint as a talking head on NBC's "Today" show.

Until his moment of political apostasy, which forced his wife Sherrie to give up her public liaison job at the Bush White House, Rollins was a loyal Republican strategist who managed Ronald Reagan's 1984 reelection campaign and served in three Republican administrations. Most recently, pre-Perot, he was a managing partner in the Washington office of the Sawyer Miller Group, a corporate and political consulting firm.

The Washington Post

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NEA Funds: Smooth Sailing in House

Crane's Third Attempt to Eliminate Arts Agency Soundly Defeated

By Bruce D. Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

A favorite opportunity for congressional spleen-venting came and went yesterday with barely a raised voice, as the House approved new funding for the National Endowment for the Arts.

The agency was granted \$176 million in the House's Interior appropriations bill, the same as it received this fiscal year. The Senate has yet to act on its version of the bill.

The only alterations came for reasons of fiscal rather than cultural restraint. An amendment offered by Rep. Clifford B. Stearns (R-Fla.), which succeeded by a margin of 251 to 171, reduced the NEA budget by \$3 million from the \$179 million recommended by the committee report.

"It's the least we can do given the enormity of the deficit," Stearns had argued.

Debate on the often controversial spending measure began as before with Rep. Philip M. Crane (R-Ill.), for the third time in as many years, introducing legislation to eradicate the NEA.

"We went down a misguided path with the best of intentions," Crane said on the House floor. "Eliminate this institution."

But Crane was the only member to rise in favor of his amendment, which lost overwhelmingly, 329 to 85. There were no tirades, no ribaldry. Only a polite exchange between Crane and Rep. Sidney R. Yates (D-Ill.), a strong advocate of NEA funding, regarding the personal opinions of the Founding Fathers toward arts patronage.

"This amendment will kill the dreams of many people around the country," Yates said of Crane's initiative. No amendments addressing content guidelines for NEA grants were put forward.

Under its 1990 reauthorization, the agency was given general decency guidelines for its grants, but such government restrictions on arts funding were struck down as unconstitutional by a federal judge in Los Angeles last month. If the lack of verbal fireworks is any indication, the NEA may be emerging from a particularly overheated period in its 17-year history.

Conservative critics seem to have muted their protest of the agency since it has been in the hands of acting chairman Anne-Imelda Radice. In May, just weeks into the job, Radice defied the NEA's advisory council and peer review process by rolling back grants made to two university galleries for exhibitions that included some sexual images.

"We have a new chairman who is sensitive to our concerns," said Jim Smith of the Christian Life Commission of the Southern Baptist Convention. Radice's predecessor, John Frohnmayer, resigned under White House pressure days after the New Hampshire primary, when Republican challenger Pat Buchanan made a political issue out of the NEA's funding practices.

"Because she has taken some positive action," Smith continued, "she has taken away the perceived need for more drastic action."

Melanne Verveer, executive vice president of People for the American Way and an advocate for the arts, agreed. "The members feel that Anne [Radice] will proceed in ways that won't cause controversy," said Verveer. "So they don't have to do anything legislatively" in the area of content restrictions.

"The NEA detractors think she is doing exactly what the NEA should be doing," said Charlotte Murphy of the National Association of Artists' Organizations.

But citing some recent NEA grants to groups such as Kitchen Theater and Franklin Furnace, which have previously produced explicit shows, Smith cautioned there is "some question of whether we are seeing doublespeak from the new administration."

Yesterday was the first time that NEA appropriations came before either the House or Senate floor since last year's fractious debate over an attempt by Sen. Jesse Helms (R-N.C.) to prohibit the agency from funding works that depict "sexual or excretory activities" in a "patently offensive way."

Both chambers approved Helms's language, but the content-restricting amendment was dumped by House-Senate conferees in a deal, dubbed "corn for porn," that lowered federal grazing fees.

Gay Staffer Takes On The GOP

Franz Says Religious Right
Pushed Him Out of Campaign

By Bruce D. Brown
Washington Post Staff Writer

"This is the war room," says Marvin Liebman, a don among gay Republicans, pointing to the assortment of phones, the fax machine and the other gay Republicans from the very young to the very prominent fielding the persistent calls of a press onslaught descending on his small Dupont Circle apartment.

"I even made a big bowl of spaghetti, like in 'The Godfather,'" laughs Liebman, a elder in the conservative movement, friend to William Buckley and, since 1990, openly gay.

The object of this intensity moves into the room, Tyler Franz, a 37-year-old former Bush-Quayle campaign worker, casual in shorts and a blue shirt but with eyes sagging from the exhaustion of the media circus he had unleashed. He's become the latest lightning rod of Campaign '92, entering the ring of media politics, the world of charges and denials, of "Nightline" and "Larry King Live."

"This is the last thing I needed," sighs Franz, swigging some juice before his next television interview. "But I was concerned about my party and saw that the campaign was splitting apart."

The split is between gays and evangelicals, a rift that was growing and has now been broadened considerably by Franz's decision to quit the campaign and charge it with discrimination.

Wednesday, Franz filed a complaint with the D.C. Office of Human Rights. He claims that, at the urging of the religious right, he was demoted to a lesser position because of his sexual orientation and, as a result, he resigned "humiliated." A campaign spokesman has called the charges "totally untrue."

See FRANZ, D3, Col. 1

The Gay Aide and The GOP

FRANZ, From D1

In his complaint, Franz, a long-time Republican who worked for Sen. Bob Dole's presidential bid in 1988, stated that he contacted campaign chairman Robert Mosbacher in May about the lack of attention to gay Republican voters and concerns he had about the influence of conservative religious groups in the campaign.

"If the party comes out of the convention focused around that religious core, it is doomed," says Franz.

A month after Franz met with Mosbacher, he was called into the office of Tom Harvey, the campaign's personnel director. Here, Franz argues in his complaint, Har-

vey told him that due to "ideological differences with the religious right," some campaign officials wanted him off the Bush-Quayle team.

Franz was managing the information research center, which provides the campaign with summaries of the hundreds of calls that pour into the office each day. He was offered a job in building services, which he considered a demotion and the cause of "severe emotional distress and humiliation."

Bush-Quayle spokesman Tony Mitchell said Franz was offered the new position—at an extra \$100 a week—because of complaints that he was "rude to other campaign workers and visitors." Mitchell said Franz's sexual orientation was not a consideration.

Whatever the ultimate truth, for gay Republicans the allegations lodged by Franz fall into the larger context of their effort to find a comfortable home in the party.

"The evangelicals want the party their way and we want it our way," said Rich Tafel, head of the Log Cabin Federation, a gay GOP group. "There is a drumbeat among moderate Republicans that things have got

to change. If I can't reform the party, then I won't vote for George Bush."

"The doors have been locked out on us," said Liebman. "One feels more sympathy to almost anyone other than the Republican Party. But I feel that I have a responsibility to stay in the party and reform from within."

Franz's lawyer, Laura Einstein, said his problems in the Bush campaign have come not so much from the fact that he is homosexual, but that "he spoke out against the anti-gay stance that the campaign was taking."

Still, some gays consider the issue beyond salvation. Said Paul Cooper of the Human Rights Campaign Fund, a gay PAC, which has endorsed Democratic nominee Bill Clinton: "For gay Republicans this may not be a watershed. Many of the gay Republicans who have been interested in this campaign have been moving away from the president for some time."

Gay rights issues have assumed an unusually high profile in the 1992 campaign, partly because the Arkansas governor has frequently voiced

his support for gay rights. A gay campaign worker with AIDS addressed last week's Democratic convention, and the party's platform explicitly condemns "homophobia."

Clinton has been rewarded for his stand with support from many leading gay organizations. The Democrats in essence are gambling that they have more to gain from the gay community than they stand to lose from those opposed to gay rights. Since gay rights activists are generally well educated and well-to-do, a group normally leaning toward GOP positions, the Democrats see gay rights as an issue that could cut across the grain of party politics. They argue that it is a civil rights cause, not inconsistent with support for the family.

Conversely, as he has dropped in the polls, President Bush has been increasingly explicit in trying to rally social conservatives with repeated emphasis on family issues. Some GOP operatives hope they can use the gay rights issue to keep voters angry over the economy from defecting to Clinton—particularly religious conservatives who find homosexuality repugnant or sinful.

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Al From, the Life of the Party

The Head of the Democratic Leadership Council, Finding Victory in Moderation

By Lloyd Grove

Washington Post Staff Writer

Although he was born in Indiana and spent his formative years in the heartland, Alvin From tends to speak these days with a decidedly Southern accent.

"Ah picked up mah twang in 1960," he says, tracing it to a summer at Northwestern University, where he roomed with Kentuckian David Hawpe, now editor of the Louisville Courier-Journal. "Ah'm married to a woman from Birmingham, Alabama," he adds, referring to his wife, Ginger, "but she doesn't have a Southern accent."

But some would suggest a different explanation for From's—pronounced "frahm's"—strange and mysterious mode of speech, which occasionally recalls former

Georgia Sen. Herman Talmadge, jaw chock-full of tobacco juice. It's all those Dixie centrists he's been consorting with during his seven years at the helm of the Democratic Leadership Council.

"You get the credit, Al—you deserve it," Mississippi Secretary of State Dick Mompus told him last week at the Democratic convention, where From strutted the throngs at Madison Square Garden like a rotund paterfamilias, accepting handshakes, hugs and kisses from members of his flock.

As he contemplated the distance he and his tribe have come—from a renegade band of moderates athwart the Democratic Party's liberal orthodoxy to the triumphant ringleaders of a not-so-silent coup—he became increasingly mush-mouthed, and positively gooey-eyed.

"Wonderful, wonderful," From kept murmuring over the cheers, as he looked out onto a convention floor

teeming with signs for two of his charter members, Bill Clinton and Al Gore. "To see it all blossom into this incredible scene is somethin' else."

The ascension of Clinton—the Arkansas governor who chaired the DLC, as it's known, until he launched his run for the White House—represents a stunning victory for From and company, who've been waging ideological war since 1985, a response to former vice president Walter Mondale's loss of 49 states to Ronald Reagan. They've tried to drag the Democratic Party from traditional liberal doctrines that, they argue, have resulted in five crushing defeats in the past six presidential elections.

Clinton's selection of Gore, the junior senator from Tennessee and another ardent DLCer, was more cause for celebration. Ditto the party's embrace of a platform that

See DEMOCRATS, D2, Col. 1

DEMOCRATS, From DI

closely resembles the DLC's "New Choice" agenda, a muscular document (as they would have it) that emphasizes opportunity over entitlements, personal responsibility over government supervision, national service over federal giveaways, work over welfare, crime-fighting over "root causes," and aggressive internationalism—including the judicious kicking of butt—over timid isolationism.

But for Al From, this election is not about ideology in the usual, outmoded sense. From wants to escape the liberal-conservative tug of war, which the Democrats inevitably lose, and replace it with a brave new world of "information-age politics," "reciprocal obligation," "innovative non-bureaucratic approaches to governing," and a blizzard of equally ineffable buzz-phrases with which to bewilder GOP strategists.

To make the package irresistible to the millions of white middle-class suburbanites who, in an earlier age, were dubbed "The Silent Majority" (and have voted overwhelmingly Republican since the presidential election of 1968), the DLC wraps it prettily in "mainstream values"—yet another feature that has aroused suspicion, and charges of "Republican me-tooism," among members of the party's liberal wing.

"I think that some people looked at us initially and felt threatened," says Sen. John Breaux of Louisiana, the DLC's chairman since Clinton's departure (Sens. Sam Nunn of Georgia and Charles Robb of Virginia have also held the post). Breaux points out that rather than ersatz Republicanism, the group favors cuts in the defense budget, a progressive tax system, abortion rights, strict adherence to civil rights laws and other Democratic verities.

"We always perceived ourselves not as a threat," Breaux says, "but as an active participant in advocating change—not against traditional Democratic values, and not as a group of Southern white boys."

On the night Clinton accepted the nomination ("in the name of hard-working Americans who make up our forgotten middle class"), From was standing in the midst of the Ohio delegation with a copy of the speech—presented to him, he boasted, that very afternoon by Hillary—and gleefully pointing to the words "new choice" in the midst of the text.

"That's from me," he said with due modesty, doing nothing to dispel his reputation as a man abrasive and egotistical enough to start a revolution. Outfitted in a style best described as Very Important Nerd, he sported the full complement of convention credentials, a beeper on his belt and cellular phone in his pocket as well as a lapel button identifying him as an "FOB"—"Friend of Bill." From was staying in Manhattan ("with the governor," as his press aide put it) at the Inter-Continental Hotel, one flight down from Clinton's corner suite—indeed, he suggested, directly underneath.

As opposed to lording over.

"This hasn't been an effort to take over the party," From demurs about the DLC, whose staff of 20, including five who work for its think tank, the Progressive Policy Institute, occupies one floor of a bank on Capitol Hill. "We don't care about the party apparatus. What we care about is what this party says, and what its candidates stand for."

The group's \$2.5 million annual budget comes largely from corporate lobbyists and the financial community, who appreciate the DLC's pragmatic approach of "Democratic capitalism," while its 3,000-strong membership includes about 750 elected officials nationwide, with 32 U.S. senators and 142 current and former House members, and chapters in 28 states in every region of the country.

"We are more akin to the conservative movement in the Republican Party after the 1964 Goldwater defeat," From says. "They put a lot of effort into developing ideas and changing the nature of the political debate."

From calls his three-year-old think tank, which Clinton has tapped both for people and ideas (Bruce Reed, Gore's former speechwriter and Clinton's current issues czar, was the institute's policy director), "our counterpart to the Heritage Foundation"—which, lest anyone forget, was the intellectual engine room of the good ship Reagan.

"What we've done in the Democratic Party," explains institute Vice President Rob Shapiro, a Clinton economic adviser, "is an intellectual leveraged buyout." The DLC, presumably, is acting as arbitrageur, selling off unprofitable mind-sets to produce a lean and efficient philosophy for the "New Democrat," as DLCers call their slick bi-monthly magazine.

"I'm stunned by the suddenness with which the party seems to have embraced what only yesterday seemed heretical and offensive to many," says institute President Will Marshall, whom From jokingly refers to as "the party ideologist," the Democrats' answer to the Soviets' Mikhail Suslov. "Having been used to being in a sort of a defensive crouch, I'm not sure now how to take all the accolades we've been receiving." Marshall continues, but hastens to add, "I don't know if I like the Suslov analogy. Suslov is a dead purveyor of a dead ideology."

But even today, with the party seemingly primed to take back the

White House on the strength of DLC ideas and a DLC ticket, the accolades are far from universal. Among the group's chief antagonists have been two-time presidential candidate Jesse Jackson, who in years past has mocked it as the "Democratic Leisure Class," and Sen. Howard Metzenbaum of Ohio, a proud and ornery liberal who founded the Coalition for Democratic Values in 1990 as an ideological counterweight to the DLC.

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"The two senators from Arkansas [Dale Bumpers and David Pryor] are always saying, 'Bill Clinton is more liberal than you think, Howard,'" says Metzzenbaum, who concedes that his own group operates on a shoestring compared with the DLC. "This is not a rationalization to make myself feel comfortable. I'm too old and outspoken for that."

But when it comes to From, Metzzenbaum bristles that "he doesn't know [expletive] from Shinola," punctuating his ire by spelling the four-letter word.

Jackson, too, has made his peace with the ticket, though he argues that the DLC is misguided in its emphasis on white voters—a group he still calls "the minority" in the party's political base. He also discounts the DLC's influence.

"Look at the platform," he says. "It's essentially progressive."

At the DLC's 1990 conference in New Orleans—a year after he and Robb engaged in a heated debate over the party's direction—Jackson delivered a speech titled "Delighted to be United," congratulating the group for, he claimed, adopting many of the policies of his Rainbow Coalition and reaching out to what he called his "new mainstream." The speech seemed calculated to set teeth on edge—"bizarre" and "foolish" was From's verdict—and Jackson wasn't invited back for the 1991 conference. From happily advertised the omission to anyone who'd listen.

"The tension," Jackson says, "comes from the fact that while the party's message has moved to what I call 'the moral center,' they're using tactics that 'push off'—push off from the mayors, push off from labor and push off from the Rainbow. I hope that strategy will change."

So why is Al From smiling?

"Maybe because," Jackson says with a chuckle, "he's delighted to be united."

From started the DLC, having been tapped to be executive director by Nunn, Robb and others, after years of toiling dutifully in party vineyards: a tour in the Deep South for Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty, a stint as an inflation adviser in Jimmy Carter's White House, and a variety of staff jobs on Capitol Hill, ending with the executive directorship of the House Democratic Caucus. In 1984, he cast his lot with presidential candidate Gary Hart, whose "new ideas" were a precursor to the DLC's "new choices," and bitterly attacked the 1984 Democratic convention as "the last hurrah of the Mondale wing of the party."

"He was bright, committed, serious," Hart says, "and frustrated, as all of us were, and trying to break out of the false dichotomy created by the conservative Republicans"—namely, the rift between the right and the left, instead of the "true" dichotomy between the past and the future.

Mondale's humiliation set things in motion, inspiring a frenzy of soul-searching among a new generation of Democratic activists. They were political operatives such as From and Marshall; elected officials such as Rep. Dick Gephardt of Missouri, Gov. Bruce Babbitt of Arizona, and Sen. Lawton Chiles of Florida; and political thinkers such as Elaine Kamarck, now a fellow at the Progressive Policy Institute, and William Galston, who had been Mondale's issues director and is now a professor at the University of Maryland.

"I will never forget what it was like to emerge blinking into the cold November sun in Washington, D.C., after the Mondale campaign returned in defeat from Minnesota," Galston recalls. "I think we were collectively shattered. . . . It was a classic moment of existential dread"—and, Galston adds, "the end of a political era for the Democratic Party. I wanted to get to the bottom of that, as best I could."

At From's instigation in 1989, after yet another debacle, Galston and Kamarck wrote a paper titled "The Politics of Evasion," drawing on census data, exit polls "and everything we could get our hands on," Galston says, to argue that the Democrats would *never* win a presidential election, no matter how high the turnout among blacks and other reliable supporters, unless they radically changed their message to lure back the white middle class. Aiming to attract a biracial coalition containing at least 45 percent of the white vote, the DLC and its think tank have spun out reams of policy papers on everything from defense to education to families to the economy.

"What we tried to do," From says, "was to say that this party has to understand that if we're going to win, we have to unite our core constituency—those who are aspiring to get into the middle class, and those who are struggling to stay there."

It all came together in a single moment last week, when Clinton took up the gauntlet "in the name of all the people who do the work, pay the taxes, raise the kids and play by the rules"—in other words, the folks who voted for George Bush last time, but may not again.

"The Democrats used to give these people the idea that 'we don't like you,'" says political consultant Paul Begala, who helped Clinton write his speech. "The old ways have failed, and Democrats can't keep blaming their losses on the voters."

"Clinton is going to win," From vowed last week, shouting to be heard over the cheers in the Garden. "The American people have decided overwhelmingly that the country is going in the wrong direction, and George Bush won't reverse it. So I believe that we're going to have a new president."

As for the DLC, "I think we will be for the Clinton administration what the Heritage Foundation was for the Reagan administration," From said. "An idea factory to help Bill come up with new approaches."

Bill's good buddy, Al, was still talking with that twang.

CNN Journalists Latest Sarajevo Victims

Associated Press

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina, July 23—Sniper fire today seriously wounded a CNN camerawoman, latest among scores of journalists hurt or killed in the violent breakup of Yugoslavia.

Margaret Moth, a 41-year-old New Zealander based in Dallas, was shot through the jaw as she was riding to the airport in a van clearly marked "TV."

CNN's Rome bureau chief, Mark DuMagne, who was beside Moth in the back of the vehicle, suffered a right arm and face wounds. Moth underwent surgery at Sarajevo's main hospital, and her condition was later reported as stable.

The attack is typical of the randomness of the fighting in Sarajevo. At least 29 journalists have been killed and many more wounded covering the conflict in Bosnia and neighboring Croatia in the past 18 months.

"The journalist gets no special status," said Julio Fuentes of the Spanish daily El Mundo,

who has been in Sarajevo for two months. "The fighting is completely indiscriminate."

Other victims of the conflict have included ambulance and bread truck drivers, U.N. peacekeepers, Red Cross convoys and even children and elderly civilians.

The van in which Moth was riding was on the route between the city and the airport, known as "sniper alley" because of its exposure to sniper fire.

CNN correspondent Stefan Kotsionis, who was sitting in the front of the van, said several shots apparently hit the vehicle.

"It was a fraction of a second later that I realized that Margaret was hurt," he said.

"She sort of moaned. Mark said something like 'Oh God!' and I looked around and she was on his shoulder. She had very serious injuries in the lower head. She was still conscious and trying to control her injuries."

Kotsionis said doctors at the hospital reported that Moth's surgery was "very difficult." The injuries to her back and head are bad.

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On a campaign trip, Vice President Dan Quayle toured a home under construction in Evansville, Ind., with Jeff Hatfield, a builder.

Quayle Under Fire Over Remarks He Made on Abortion and Choice

By KEVIN SACK
Special to The New York Times

LEXINGTON, Ky., July 23 — Under increasing pressure to prove that he is a political asset, Vice President Dan Quayle found himself on the defensive once again today, this time on abortion, an issue that is central to his appeal to his conservative base.

Mr. Quayle intended to use today's trip to Indiana and Kentucky to shift blame for the country's economic troubles to the Democratic majority in Congress, but much of that message was obscured by the political storm surrounding his comments on Wednesday night that he would support his daughter if, as an adult, she chose to have an abortion.

The trouble began during Mr. Quayle's appearance on CNN's "Larry King Live" program on Wednesday night, when Mr. King asked the Vice President: "What if your daughter

grew up and had a problem and came to you with that problem that all fathers fear? How would you deal with it?"

Mr. Quayle responded: "Well, it's a hypothetical situation and I hope that I never do have to deal with it. But obviously I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

Mr. King asked, "If the decision was abortion you'd support her?"

Mr. Quayle replied: "I'd support my daughter. I would hope that she wouldn't make that decision."

Mr. Quayle, his wife and his aides all maintained today that the comment did not represent a softening of the Vice President's firm stance against abortion rights. Mr. Quayle and his wife, Marilyn, both said today that if their daughter, Corinne, who is 13 years old, became pregnant now, they would insist that she carry the pregnancy to term.

Fresh Ammunition

"Under the current situation, she would have the child," Mr. Quayle said at a news conference in Evansville, Ind., the first of two campaign stops. "We are pro-life and we are opposed to abortion."

But Mr. Quayle's remark about his daughter nonetheless provided fresh ammunition for Gov. Bill Clinton, the Democratic Presidential nominee, and his supporters at a time when the Bush-

Continued on Page A12, Column 1

The Vice President

Quayle on Defensive Over Abortion

Continued From Page A1

Quayle campaign is trying to move onto the offensive. "Sounds like choice to me," said House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, a Washington Democrat.

Mr. Clinton, speaking to reporters on the way to the Governor's office in Little Rock, Ark., said he did not think he should comment on Mr. Quayle's statement about his daughter. But he added, "I think it reinforces my position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

Later, Mr. Clinton said: "My impression is he was asked a question that he was not prepared for, prepped for. He answered it as a father, not a Vice President."

Gov. Mario M. Cuomo of New York told reporters today in Albany that Mr. Quayle's statement on Wednesday night constitutes a "classic pro-choice position" because, "You can't make a distinction between your own blood and everybody else's daughter."

In a statement released later in the day, Mr. Cuomo said, "The Vice President changed his position and joined with the majority of Americans who believe our law should see to it that no woman is forced to have an abortion and that every woman should have the right to have one if that is her choice."

Mr. Quayle defended his statement under questioning at both campaign stops today. By the time he landed at the airport in Lexington this afternoon, the abortion issue had become grist for a homemade anti-Quayle campaign poster. "Choice — Is it only for the families of the powerful and the wealthy?" asked the sign, which was held by a woman in the crowd of several hundred people who greeted Mr. Quayle on the tarmac here.

William Kristol, Mr. Quayle's chief of staff, said "The only thing that strikes me is the cynicism of the pro-abortion groups in trying to exploit a sincere and personal comment of the Vice President."

Quayle Remarks About Abortion

WASHINGTON, July 23 (Reuters) — Following is an excerpt from Vice President Dan Quayle's appearance on Wednesday on "Larry King Live."

KING: What if your daughter grew up and had a problem, came to you with that problem all fathers fear? How would you deal with it?

QUAYLE: Well, it is a hypothetical situation. I hope that I never do have to deal with it. But obviously —

Q. What would you do?

A. I would counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made.

Q. And if the decision was abortion, you'd support her, as a parent?

A. I'd support my daughter. I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision.

For Mr. Quayle, the abortion controversy meant yet another suspension of political momentum. He faced a similar problem last month when his offensive on family values stalled after his misspelled the word potato in a New Jersey classroom.

"He really gets on a roll and then something like the potato thing just stops it," said one White House official, who requested anonymity. "It's too bad because the disarray and drift in the campaign has given him the opportunity and the obligation to push the edge of the envelope."

This time, the trouble came at a juncture when Republican leaders, in-

cluding some members of Congress, have been talking among themselves about dumping Mr. Quayle from the ticket to stop President Bush's decline in the polls.

Mr. Bush said on Wednesday that Mr. Quayle's place on the ticket was "very certain." But the discomfort caused by the polls is likely to focus attention on Mr. Quayle until the Republican National Convention begins in Houston on Aug. 17.

Support From Abortion Foes

The Republican Party platform, which should be adopted at next month's convention, calls for a Constitutional amendment to ban abortions. Mr. Quayle has long opposed abortion except in cases of rape, incest or when the life of the mother is in danger.

Opponents of legal abortion consider him a more dependable ally than Mr. Bush, whose position on abortion has shifted over time. Aware that Mr. Quayle is in some political trouble, they rallied to his side today.

Mr. Quayle's statements were "consistent with his pro-life views, his role as a parent, and the reality that abortion is legal," said Wanda Franz, the president of the National Right To Life Committee.

But supporters of abortion rights eagerly used Mr. Quayle's comments to portray him as a hypocrite. "While we welcome Vice President Quayle's newfound respect for his own daughter's freedom to choose, we regret that he and President Bush want to take that same freedom away from everyone else," said Kate Michelman, the president of the National Abortion Rights Action League.

Mr. Quayle's trip to his home state of Indiana and then to Kentucky was planned around tours of new subdivisions under construction. He said he wanted to "promote a little good news," by stressing that the weak economy makes it a good time to buy a house.

But he also used the setting to assail Congress for refusing to approve Mr. Bush's proposal to offer first-time



Associated Press

Marilyn Quayle yesterday entered the furor surrounding her husband's comments on abortion, saying that should their daughter become pregnant, she would take the child to term.

home buyers a \$5,000 tax credit.

In a breakfast speech to the Chamber of Commerce in Evansville, Mr. Quayle said he did not trust Mr. Clinton's pledge to raise income taxes only on those who make more than \$200,000 a year. "Folks, you know and I know that when they began to say that they're only going to increase taxes on the wealthy, you know who's going to get taxed," he said. "Everyone's going to have their taxes raised."

In two instances, Mr. Quayle, who has become a national punch line, demonstrated that he could make a joke at his own expense.

Referring to the now-infamous potato incident, Mr. Quayle said he knew how to spell liberal — C-L-I-N-T-O-N.

And in a bit of gallows humor, he joked about his use of the television situation comedy Murphy Brown to make the case for family values. "Actually," Mr. Quayle said, "I'm a little envious of Murphy Brown. At least she's guaranteed of coming back this fall."

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Clinton's Policy Test

On Accord With Mexico, He Can Be
A Free-Trader or an Attacker of Bush

By DAVID E. ROSENBAUM
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 23 — The trade agreement the Bush Administration is about to conclude with Mexico will present Gov. Bill Clinton with one of his first important policy decisions of the general election campaign.

If he endorses the agreement, he will alienate labor unions, some environmentalists and other legs of his political base. But he will be praised by most academic experts and business interests and will burnish his argument that economic growth is the most important issue in the campaign.

Mr. Clinton must decide, in short, whether it is to his advantage to close off an area of debate with President Bush and paint himself as an enlightened free-trader, or whether it would be better for him to seize the opportunity to attack the President's competence and say, "I could negotiate a better deal."

Clinton Able to Buy Time

Until now, Mr. Clinton has been able to buy time, saying he believes in free trade in principle while withholding judgment on the pact with Mexico until he sees the details — particularly the ones involving labor standards and environmental protection.

Few people doubt that in the long run an effective trade agreement would promote economic growth, jobs and wealth throughout the continent, allow consumers to buy a greater variety of goods at lower prices and help solve the problem of illegal immigration into the United States from Mexico.

But there is also little question that some communities and some people would be hurt at first. Some American businesses will surely move their operations and jobs to Mexico to take advantage of cheap labor and lax pollution rules.

What is being discussed is an agreement and not a treaty. That means it must be approved by a simple majority of both houses of Congress rather than a two-thirds majority of the Senate.

The negotiations are likely to be concluded this fall, if not before, but Congress will not vote until next year. Many of Mr. Clinton's advisers say that allows him to continue to straddle the issue. But others say it is too important a matter for him to dodge.

The top trade negotiators from the United States, Mexico and Canada will resume talks in Mexico City this week-end.

Many of Mr. Bush's political advisers say it is important that the trade negotiations, which have been under way for more than a year, are completed before the Republican National Convention begins on Aug. 17.

"One of the points we are trying to drive home is that there are domestic benefits to Bush's skills in foreign affairs, and this would be exhibit No. 1," an adviser said.

The Bush campaign also relishes the issue because it puts Mr. Clinton on the spot. If Mr. Clinton sides with the Administration, the Republicans can accuse him of me-tooism. If he opposes the agreement, the Bush camp will paint the Democrat as a tool of the labor unions — a lobby the Republicans believe is politically unpopular in most places of the country.

Representative Robert T. Matsui, the California Democrat who sits on the trade subcommittee and favors the

good conscience could say, "I want to reserve judgment because I may want to reopen the negotiations once I become President."

But one of the Democratic candidate's chief economic advisers said he thought Mr. Clinton would have to take a firm stand because he could not afford to have the Republicans accuse him of dodging an issue involving economic growth.

Clue to Clinton's Thoughts

A clue to Mr. Clinton's thoughts may lie in a speech to be delivered on Monday by Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader and an important Democratic voice on labor issues. Until now, Mr. Gephardt's public position has been the same as Mr. Clinton's — that he was withholding a commitment until he saw how labor and environmental standards were handled.

Unlike Mr. Clinton, Mr. Gephardt has had official access to details of the agreement that have already been settled. He has told associates that he will say in his speech that the drafts he has seen do not meet his criteria for supporting the agreement.

Mr. Gephardt campaigned in St. Louis with Mr. Clinton on Wednesday. The prevailing view among Democrats is that Mr. Gephardt would not take such

A chance to win experts' praise while losing labor's support.

a public stance on the trade agreement unless he had cleared it first with Mr. Clinton. But some Democrats say they believe Mr. Gephardt might be trying to make the point that he is an independent power who will not be hidden by Mr. Clinton's shadow.

Political positions on trade matters tend to break along regional lines rather than partisan ones.

Strongest Supporters

The strongest supporters are in the states along the Mexican border. A free-trade pact would allow businesses there to offer more goods and services to the Mexican market. And growth in the Mexican economy would mean that fewer immigrants would try to cross the border illegally. When the House of Representatives voted last year to allow Mr. Bush to negotiate with Mexico, 23 of Texas's 27 House members supported the President.

So Mr. Bush would probably be helped in California and Texas by a dispute with Mr. Clinton over trade with Mexico.

But he might be hurt in the Midwest, where the fear of lost jobs is greatest. During the Democratic primaries, support for former Gov. Edmund G. Brown Jr. of California surged in Michigan and Wisconsin because of his opposition to the trade pact. The official position of Mr. Clinton's campaign is that he will decide how to respond once he sees the details of the final agreement.

Asked if he expected a response from Mr. Clinton soon, a Democratic

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Paul Rose/ro/ The New York Times

Republican Leaders Speak to Their Leader

President Bush met with Senate leaders of his party yesterday in the Oval Office. Senators Alan Simpson, left, and John Danforth were part of the delegation, which discussed subjects ranging from the superconducting supercollider to concerns about the campaign against the Democrats.

The New York Times

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Deficit Politics

White House Prods Congress on Deficit

By STEVEN GREENHOUSE
Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, July 23 — In a mid-year recalculation apparently motivated by election-year as much as economic considerations, the White House asserted today that President Bush's economic program could eliminate the Federal deficit by 1998 if Congress were to pass it.

The revision comes only six months after President Bush sent Congress a budget projecting the deficit's being reduced to \$200 billion a year in five years' time. In Mr. Bush's tenure, the deficit has doubled, to about \$350 billion a year, from \$155 billion in 1988; in the month that he took office, the Administration forecast that the deficit would be just \$32 billion this fiscal year.

The new projection is based on Congress's approving a cap on Medicare and other entitlement programs and passing Mr. Bush's economic proposals. The White House said the cap on entitlements would bring 1998 spending down by \$169 billion, while the economic package, including a long-sought cut in the capital gains tax, could spur growth enough to reduce the deficit by another \$104 billion in 1998.

The budget document said the cap would limit spending increases on mandatory programs to the inflation rate and population growth plus 2 percent in the first year. In the second year it would be inflation, population growth plus 1 percent, and in subsequent years it would limit spending increases to inflation and population growth.

Harsh Words for Congress

As he presented the new figures, Richard G. Darman, the President's budget director, castigated Congress for not acting yet. In a seeming effort to shift the blame for the stumbling economy, which has badly hurt Mr. Bush's re-election prospects, he de-

clared, "Over all, Congressional inaction has made the deficit very much worse than it would have been had the President's program been enacted."

In the document itself, the Administration revised its growth forecast for this year to 2.7 percent, up from 2.2 percent in January, right after the fourth quarter when growth had virtually stopped. Today's forecast, which projects growth of 3 percent in the second half of the year, is in line with

Bush tries to turn up the election-year heat on Democrats.

that of most economists, as the January forecast had been.

The Administration predicted that the unemployment rate would fall from its current 7.8 percent to 6.9 percent in the fourth quarter. The forecast is more optimistic than that of many economists, but Michael J. Boskin, chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers, said the projection was made before June's sharp jump in unemployment. Mr. Boskin said that if he were making the calculation today, he would estimate a jobless figure of 7.1 percent at year's end.

"We've been in a slow recovery for some time," said Mr. Boskin. "We do expect that to pick up some. And the probability that it will pick up some and the pace that it will pick up some would be enhanced substantially by passage of the President's short-term stimulus program."

The White House also revised its 1992

deficit projection, to \$333.5 billion, down \$66.2 billion from the January estimate of \$399.7 billion.

The main reason, Mr. Darman said, is the refusal of Congress to pass an anticipated \$69 billion to bail out failed savings-and-loan institutions. Economists say such spending will merely be pushed into future years, and that the delay could increase the cost of the savings-and-loan problem.

"Congress has failed to act in a timely and responsible manner," Mr. Darman said.

Alice Rivlin, an economist at the Brookings Institution who was director of the Congressional Budget Office from 1975 to 1983, said that while the White House program over all sounds simple and straightforward, "it doesn't tell you anything about how you do it."

"One thing it has to mean is drastic cuts in Medicare and Medicaid, because those are the programs where spending is growing the fastest," she said.

'An Act of Faith'

Mr. Darman also asserted that passage of the President's growth package would help push up growth. His report added that annual growth of 4 percent would be needed for several years to balance the budget in 1998.

Ms. Rivlin countered: "It would be nice to have 4 percent growth, but the connection between anything in the growth package and 4 percent growth is an act of faith."

The Mid-Session Review, as the document released today is known, was 421 pages long. Last year's review was a more traditional 55 pages. This year's version contained hundreds of pages of proposals from the budget the President sent Congress in January, including ones to beef up research and development and improve education.

Democrats expect the Administration to use today's report to argue that

it has a more comprehensive economic program than the 22-page program Gov. Bill Clinton of Arkansas issued last month. "The mid-year economic report is more of the same trickle-down economics from the White House," Governor Clinton, the Democratic nominee, said in a statement. "Instead of a serious and constructive plan for economic change, the President has recycled his old and meager tax package and sought once again to blame Congress for his failed leadership."

Administration officials say that over the next few weeks they will press

Congress to enact the President's economic proposals, which include a tax credit for first-time home buyers and the capital gains tax cut.

President Bush outlined a seven-point economic program in his State of the Union Message in January, calling on Congress to pass those proposals by March 20. Congress ceremoniously met the deadline, but the economic package, while including several of the President's proposals, also included tax increases, and he vetoed it.

Democrats reacted angrily today to Mr. Darman's attacks. "Under 12 years of Republican rule, we have the

largest deficits, the worst growth record, the longest recessions and biggest declines in middle-class incomes in the post-World War II era," Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the majority leader, declared.

Meanwhile, Representative Leon E. Panetta, the California Democrat who is chairman of the House Budget Committee, introduced a bill that would obligate the President and Congress to eliminate the deficit within five years. If a balanced budget is not approved, tax increases and across-the-board spending cuts, including Social Security, would automatically take effect.

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On the Trail

PEROT WARNS OF ECONOMIC CATASTROPHE

LOS ANGELES, July 23 (Reuters) — Ross Perot says the country is near a severe recession or depression that could bring an "avalanche" of bank and savings institution closures far beyond the ability of the Federal agencies to salvage.

The Texas billionaire, who dropped out of the Presidential race last week, said in an interview in today's issue of The Los Angeles Times that he was considering running television advertisements warning the American public of an impending economic catastrophe. He has said his economic plan, which he plans to publish soon, would force the Republican and Democratic parties to detail their economic policies.

Mr. Perot said he would be happy to discuss his plan with President Bush and Gov. Bill Clinton.

Describing the presidential election process as "brutal, brutal, brutal," Mr. Perot said: "We've created a system that is so intrusive and brutal and so unrelated to getting any facts straight. There are no rules regarding facts. There are no rules regarding truth."

GRAMM WILL BE G.O.P. KEYNOTE SPEAKER

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP) — Senator Phil Gramm of Texas will give the keynote address at the Republican National Convention in his home state of Texas next month, party officials said today. Senator Gramm, a conservative who is considered one of the party's premier speakers, will speak on Aug. 18, the second night of the convention in Houston. He gave the nominating speech for President Bush at the party's 1988 convention in New Orleans.

JACKSON PLANS CHICAGO-TO-MISSISSIPPI CAMPAIGN TRIP

The Rev. Jesse Jackson announced yesterday that he would make a two-day campaign swing from Chicago to the Mississippi Delta, in part to support the Democratic Presidential ticket.

Mr. Jackson will begin the tour Saturday at a rally in his honor at the Chicago headquarters of Operation PUSH, the civil rights organization he founded. He will then fly to Jackson, Miss., and will speak at churches and community centers in six cities before ending the tour in the Mississippi Delta town of Indianola on Sunday night.

Mr. Jackson said the tour was intended to generate support for the Clinton and Gore ticket and to assist progressive candidates in state races. "While we have not talked with Clinton and the campaign people about their strategies and priorities, our work continues with supporting worthy candidates, with voter registration and with organizing workers," he said.

BUSH CAMPAIGN FACES DISCRIMINATION COMPLAINT

WASHINGTON, July 23 (AP) — A homosexual former worker for the Bush-Quayle campaign has filed a discrimination complaint alleging he was forced out of his job because of his sexual orientation. Campaign officials dispute the account of the worker, Tyler Franz, saying he was asked to move to a less-visible position because of complaints that he was rude and not because he was homosexual.

Mr. Franz filed a complaint with the District of Columbia's Office of Human Rights on Wednesday, alleging that he was demoted and pressured to resign in violation of a local law that prohibits denying a person a job based on sexual orientation.

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Opening Up the Skies

The agreement between British Airways and USAir to form the world's largest airline partnership is great news for travelers everywhere. British Airways will pump \$750 million into USAir, enabling the limping U.S. carrier to take on behemoths like Delta, American and United and force them to offer better service at low prices.

For its part, British Airways gains a foothold in the U.S. market — anticipating the day when Britain and the U.S. drop antiquated restrictions on foreign ownership of domestic carriers. As Lord King, chairman of British Airways, said of the agreement: "For us they bring entry into the U.S. domestic market. We're bringing them the rest of the world."

The pact, which must be approved by regulators in both countries, would give British Airways 21 percent of the voting stock and 44 percent ownership in USAir, the maximum currently allowed. The pact would also give the British control over key corporate decisions.

The airlines would prefer to merge, but laws rule out that simple option. That's unfortunate, because travelers would be better off if foreign

carriers were freer to fly not only between countries but within them.

During the 1980's, following deregulation, U.S. airlines formed enormous domestic hub-and-spoke operations, driving many small competitors into bankruptcy. Even an airline as large as USAir has floundered; it lost more than \$260 million last year alone and is now almost \$2 billion in debt. The danger is that, if too many more carriers collapse, the few survivors will underserve and overcharge passengers.

The long-term answer is to open up the domestic market to foreign airlines. But that will take time, because foreign governments must also grant reciprocal access to U.S. carriers. Indeed, America might hold up approval of the proposed pact until the British Government grants more landing rights to U.S. carriers.

In the meantime, the Bush Administration has wisely prodded Congress to ease limits on foreign ownership of domestic carriers. Congress hasn't budged so far. But a successful partnership between USAir and British Airways should hasten that fortunate day.

Democracy Denied in Algeria

When Algeria's army staged a coup in January, heading off an anticipated Islamic electoral triumph, Washington, like other Western governments, winked.

Apologists for the coup warned of frightening consequences if Algeria's Islamic Salvation Front had been allowed to compete. Though the Front's official leadership had promised conciliation and economic reform, apologists argued that radicals would soon have swept aside these moderates. Further elections would have been banned, foreign policy radicalized, market reforms diluted, human rights of non-believers abused.

It is of course impossible to know what would have happened had democracy been permitted to run its course. Given the record of Islamic rule in Iran and the Sudan, such fears can scarcely be dismissed.

But there is no need to speculate about what's happened since Algeria's coup. Elections remain suspended; elected local councils have been disbanded. Human rights have been trampled; thousands of Islamic militants spent weeks in desert prison camps. The army's strong-arm tactics have

embarrassed, even discredited, Islamic moderates. And the Salvation Front has been radicalized.

Last month Algeria's provisional President was assassinated, perhaps by Islamic militants, perhaps by army dissidents. His successor has just installed a Socialist economic planner to run the Government. The new Prime Minister is known for his vocal criticism of free-market economics and of the International Monetary Fund.

In sum, the coup has accomplished almost everything the West did not want to see happen. Yet Western democracies remain silent. The new Algerian regime still welcomes foreign investment. The Islamic militants it persecutes are unlikely to seek refuge in Europe, as the Westernized elements might have under Islamic rule.

The West's attitude is remarkably shortsighted. Algeria's Islamic majority won't go away, nor will it become more democracy-minded when its electoral majorities are treated with contempt. Meanwhile, political instability is increasing.

The surest way out is an early return to the ballot box, with all parties free to compete. America's Algeria policy needs to be revisited.

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Time to Punish Hussein — Again

Saddam Hussein continues to flout the authority of the United Nations, most recently by interfering with its arms inspectors. The U.N. Security Council cannot allow his repeated and flagrant violations of international law to go unpunished.

Devising appropriate and effective punishment won't be easy. But the U.N. cannot rule out military action — including air strikes.

That action has a clear objective: to disarm Iraq in a way that bolsters the U.N.'s authority and undermines President Hussein's. Unilateral action by the U.S. won't do that.

U.N. implementation of the cease-fire resolution has been chipping away at Saddam Hussein's authority. He has reacted with calculated desperation, defying the U.N. wherever he can. He has just turned away U.N. arms inspectors from Iraq's Ministry of Agriculture, where Iraq was believed to have filed records of its arms purchases. These records could document Iraq's continuing non-compliance with the disarmament provisions of the cease-fire resolution.

That's not all. He has bullied U.N. personnel, even threatened them with hand grenades and car bombs. He has barred participation in U.N. efforts to draw Iraq's frontier with Kuwait. He has refused to renew the memorandum of understanding by which international humanitarian agencies have been conducting relief efforts in Iraq. And he contin-

ues to wage war on Shiite refugees near Basra.

These provocations put President Bush under pressure to take military action. But acting unilaterally, or blindly bombing Baghdad, won't shore up the U.N. Even a punitive raid on the Agriculture Ministry building would simply scatter, if not destroy, evidence of illegal Iraqi arms.

Mr. Bush would be wiser to encourage the U.N. to take a number of steps that, together, would bring home to Iraq the costs of Mr. Hussein's continued defiance.

The Iraqi Air Force has breached the cease-fire accord by resuming flights of fixed-wing aircraft. Its air bases and planes can be put out of action. Selective attacks on military targets would show Iraq's armed forces that keeping this dictator in power is suicidal.

Mr. Hussein is trying to intimidate U.N. humanitarian workers and guards and force them out of Iraq. One has already been slain. The U.N. needs to protect its people in Iraq and punish those responsible for the slaying.

And Iraq continues to circumvent the economic embargo by way of Jordan. If Jordan cannot enforce the embargo, it can admit armed U.N. monitors to patrol its border. If it is unwilling to do so, it too could be liable to sanctions.

Saddam Hussein cannot defy the world with impunity. Stern punishment is required if the U.N. is not to emerge weaker, and a desperate dictator stronger, from the present confrontation.

Is Dan Quayle Pro-Choice?

Wednesday night, on CNN's "Larry King Live," Vice President Quayle forgot momentarily that he is a politician. Forgot, too, that he is part of an Administration committed to overturning women's constitutional right to abortion.

Asked what he would do if his young daughter grew up and chose to have an abortion, he gave the answer that many a concerned parent would give. "I'd support my daughter," he said.

Now there's a statement about "family values" that millions of Americans, of every persuasion, can endorse. But how hypocritical can you get? The Republican Party's last three platforms have backed a constitutional amendment that would virtually outlaw abortion, making women and their doctors subject to criminal penalties for destroying a fetus. The Bush Administration has also denied financing for organizations that support abortion or even mention its availability.

But that's just for other people. If the problem were to hit his own family, Mr. Quayle would apparently endorse freedom of choice. "What if your daughter ... came to you with that problem all

fathers fear? How would you deal with it?" Larry King asked. "I would counsel her and talk to her," Mr. Quayle replied, "and support her on whatever decision she made."

Hear that? *On whatever decision she made.*

That, of course, is what the debate over abortion hinges on: whether women should be able to make their own decisions about their own pregnancies. Faced with what he described as a "hypothetical situation," Mr. Quayle said they should.

The Administration's spin doctors tried hard to minimize the Vice President's comments, stressing that Mr. Quayle did not mean he would allow his daughter to have an abortion while a teen-ager and that abortion is still legal for adults, however much he might disapprove of it. Marilyn Quayle, possibly referring to the teen-age years, said that if their daughter becomes pregnant, "she'll take the child to term." And the Vice President reaffirmed his personal opposition to abortion.

But that's not the point. The issue is choice. And America heard Dan Quayle get it right the first time. The choice is properly the woman's.

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On My Mind

A. M. ROSENTHAL

Getting Saddam Hussein

By God, we have to teach that Saddam Hussein a lesson. Bomb Iraq.

Great idea, sir. The only thing is, then what? Do we go on bombing him until he resigns or something?

Well, no, that has not seemed to work before. But maybe he will back down after all. Maybe then he will be good, and disclose all his nuclear secrets to U.N. inspectors.

So we give him another chance?

No, that hasn't worked either. Let's pray hard that one of our bombs sends him to hell.

That would be nice. But then, his family and his top command would take over. Himmler-Göring leading the post-Hitler reform movement; doesn't seem right, somehow . . .

Well, of course — none of these great ideas will work. The debate in the U.S. Government about what to do about Saddam is largely puerile and evasive because it does not confront the basic truth.

By keeping Saddam in power after he lost the gulf war, the U.S. made a historic error from which there is no one-track way out, short of another all-out war.

But unless he is insane enough to make his own second historic error — another direct act of aggression — the coalition cannot be recreated nor public support mustered to support another Desert Storm.

So some of our bureaucrats and commentators are pushing an entirely different Grand Strategy. Do nothing! That would really catch him off guard! We could then just let sanctions squeeze him into exhaustion!

Relying on sanctions alone would extend the smuggling license for Saddam's ally, everybody's pal, the King of Jordan. Then, how many years before Saddam Hussein rebuilds his nuclear base — five, six?

And if anybody cares, there is the additional point that without fear of reprisal he will wipe out tens of thousands more Kurds and other Iraqi rebels.

But, if we face reality, it is in those very people that the answer lies.

Both the basis and the base for the strategy against Saddam exist already, inside Iraq. A Kurdish government is in place in northern Iraq, chosen by election, not imposed by tyranny, and should be recognized by the U.S. No law or self-interest ties us to continued recognition of Saddam and his killer regime — the contrary.

With U.S. help, all anti-Saddam Iraqi exiles could convene in Northern Iraq to form a new resistance government — including Kurds, and Sunni and Shiite Muslims, and a unified army of liberation.

But let's face it plain: To survive against the tanks and weapons we

After the bombing — then what?

ance forces would need economic assistance — plus antiaircraft and anti-tank batteries. Also needed would be air support — a euphemism for bombing, for specific military purpose, not political show.

And there'll be times when feuds among resistance groups will make American officials wish they had never heard of any of them. But the Kurds and the others say they can come together for the fight against Saddam. They need the chance, as the U.S. needs them to rid itself of Saddam's perpetual threat to Mideast peace.

To bring it off, the U.S. will also need the support of Turkey. Washington must free itself of the ludicrous thought that it must preserve the "territorial integrity" of Iraq.

The country was carved from the Turkish empire by the British in the 20's — with a fine eye for British oil interests. Now there are new struggles, new values, new interests important in the area — including those of friends of the U.S. like the Kurds and the Turks.

And it is naïve to believe that the present Bush Government could do it — that all those experts who gave us the appeasement of Iraq, the strange loans and the decision to desert the Kurds would be able to think straight, clean and strong enough. If Mr. Bush is re-elected, he will have to be tough-minded enough to bring in people with fresh minds, tough enough to do some rethinking himself, or Saddam will remain in power.

Governor Clinton says he will back U.N. action against Saddam — and that is as far as he will go now.

But he should demand full intelligence briefings right away. And if his advisers are as good as they should be, they will tell him that the removal of the Saddam gang is essential but will be hard and complex to work out. That's the price of the U.S. retreat from victory after Desert Storm, and no use pretending it isn't.

Anthony Lewis is on vacation.

By Daniel T. Plesch
and David Shorr

WASHINGTON with war raging in the former Yugoslavia, the institutions that are supposed to promote security in Europe are overdue for a hard look.

NATO and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe should be judged on whether they can bring stability and avert future conflict in Central and Eastern Europe.

The organization with the least to contribute to the new political order is NATO, and its recent behavior has only weakened its case for a major role. NATO points with pride to its decision in June to offer peacekeeping services to the 52-nation conference on security. As the situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina demonstrates, however, peacekeeping is applicable only when a truce has been achieved.

NATO's bind over peacekeeping symbolizes the fading relevance of the alliance, whose leaders have failed to realize that large military structures are of little use in the new Europe. Instead, they are struggling obsessively to protect NATO's military primacy.

A glimpse at the alliance's agenda shows why its priorities are misplaced and why its military organization should be mothballed by the end of the decade. The force structure should be disbanded, with a plan for reconstitution if danger, now remote, arises.

In NATO's highest councils, topic No. 1 is the plan for a new army corps France and Germany announced in October. The initiative has been inflated to nearly crisis proportions in

Daniel T. Plesch is director and David Shorr is associate director of the British American Security Information Council, a research organization that analyzes security issues.

Washington, where concern runs high that both countries will ultimately turn their backs on NATO (and the U.S.) and build their own military force as part of the European Community's plans for political union. But with the threat from the old Warsaw Pact gone, it seems absurd to debate who should defend Western Europe.

The wish of former East bloc countries to join NATO is often cited as

evidence of NATO's value. Such an emphasis on admitting countries to the club as they prove their democratic mettle overlooks the more urgent goal — which is not in NATO's competence — of preventing other societies from coming apart at the seams.

The potential admission of Poland to NATO in the year 2000 is small consolation to citizens in Bosnia-Her-

zegovina, Nagorno-Karabakh, Trans-Dniester or South Ossetia, where demagogues are whipping up nationalist, racist and religious hatreds into war frenzy.

It is beginning to dawn on the international community that its hopes of avoiding more tragedies like Yugoslavia lie with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, where all the countries of North

America, Europe and the former Soviet Union have seats at the table.

In the last two years and until the recent summit meeting in Helsinki, most Western leaders, especially the U.S. and Britain, resisted proposals to reshape the unwieldy conference into a problem-solving political forum that would go beyond its traditional role of codifying principles and give it a lot more clout. In Helsinki, the delegates approved a more extensive set of political mechanisms to enable the conference to spot conflicts earlier and respond to them more flexibly. The question is whether governments will use the new apparatus.

The phasing out of NATO need not mean the end of U.S. involvement in Europe. The U.S. may want to main-

**America is
trapped in
old thinking.**

tain a military link to the Continent by keeping a symbolic presence of 20,000 to 30,000 troops there. The priority, however, should be to build an economic and political presence. Besides, Germany is no more likely than the Philippines to welcome American troops forever.

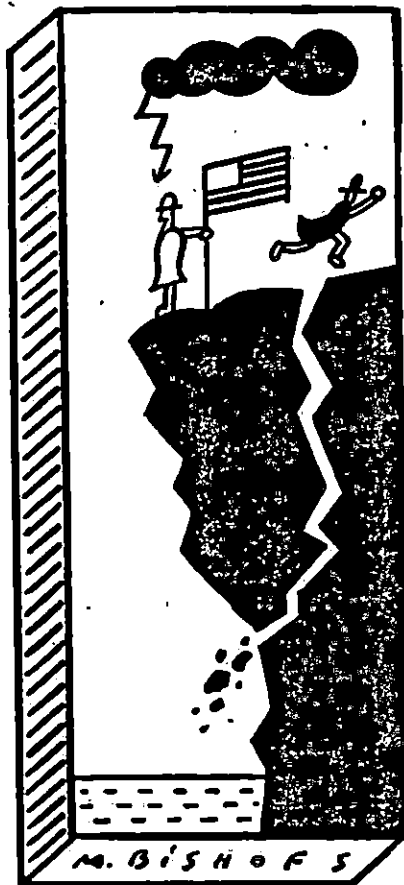
So far, it seems, the U.S. is trapped in its own old thinking, a far cry from the response that transformed Europe after World War II. America is indeed weak if all it can offer is a military defense; we should be weaving closer ties through more generous aid and frequent exchanges between businessmen and farmers in the U.S. and Eastern Europe.

By retiring NATO to an honorable place in history, we can focus our energies more usefully on the primary task of international diplomacy — helping rival nations grope their way toward co-existence and cooperation. □



From the Frying Pan to St. Dan

By Paul Goldman



Always the loyal soldier, Dan Quayle has volunteered to step aside if such a sacrifice would help President Bush. This raises an intriguing question: Would it be in Mr. Quayle's best interest to voluntarily step down and let the G.O.P. field a new ticket this fall?

It's my bet that with the slightest encouragement from the White House, Vice President Quayle would make one of the boldest and riskiest moves in modern political history.

Everyone in the G.O.P. high command knows he hurts the party's chances this fall. More importantly, the voters know it. The President himself says he will not dump the Vice President.

But Dan Quayle needs to answer a different question: Would stepping down be his best strategy for a 1996 Presidential bid?

History offers a variety of confusing clues. While Spiro Agnew was re-elected in 1972, he never got to be

Paul Goldman is chairman of the Virginia Democratic Party.

President, even though his boss eventually quit under fire. Bob Dole's poor showing in 1976 foreshadowed his two failures to win the G.O.P. Presidential nomination. As for Bill Miller, his run for Vice President with Barry Goldwater in 1964 earned him a long-forgotten part in an American Express Card commercial.

Admittedly, both Richard Nixon and George Bush used the Vice Presidency to get the Presidential nomination. But any comparisons to Dan Quayle's position are off the mark. Mr. Quayle's battered image and looming intra-party opposition are not likely to be changed by four more years in the No. 2 spot.

Thus, if he truly wants to be elected President, Dan Quayle must do something dramatic to rebuild his political standing. To quote his boss, he must be prepared to do whatever it takes to win. Ironically, stepping down may be his sole option.

If he runs with Mr. Bush and they lose, he's finished. Should the Bush-Quayle ticket manage to win, everyone will know it was in spite of him.

But look what happens if he agrees not to run for the good of the cause. You can hear the G.O.P. spin doctors now, waxing poetic about Dan Quayle, the selfless man of principle who put the people and the party he

loved ahead of personal ambition. There will be Dan Quayle, poking his finger in the electronic eye of the media elite, refusing to let them use him to destroy George Bush and the conservative cause. Republicans will call it the ultimate in family values, surrendering the second highest office in the land to give the G.O.P. family a chance to defeat us heathen

By quitting, Quayle might save Bush and his own future.

Democrats.

Will the country see him as a martyr, a mistake or a moving target who tried to make a virtue out of a necessity? Democrats should not assume that the public will think that he either got dumped or that he jumped off the Titanic. The voters know Dan Quayle hurts the ticket. So if he says he is stepping down to help the cause, his words will have a ring of truth, even if they are hollow.

That's why he might win this gam-

ble. As we have learned in recent months, political images can change dramatically if candidates keep plugging and get a break or two. The American people might give him a second look.

If President Bush manages to pull an upset this fall, then Dan Quayle will have earned the biggest portfolio of I.O.U.'s in American politics. If Mr. Bush loses, then the man from Indiana comes out untarnished by the defeat.

Sure, if President Bush wins, someone else will be the G.O.P. Vice President and might become the favorite for 1996. But Mr. Quayle would have the best image with the party faithful and the best base.

Surely there must be some in the Bush high command who wonder whether a dramatic August twofer — the creation of Saint Dan and of Vice Presidential nominee Elizabeth Dole, say — is the best, perhaps only, way to present a fresh, not-business-as-usual image for a second Bush term.

At the same time, there must be someone in the Vice President's camp who can read the polls, understand that Bill Clinton is going to win this election and realize this may be the only chance for Dan Quayle to turn a sow's ear into silk purse. □

By John B. Anderson

WHEN Ross Perot suddenly quit the Presidential race, he left millions of supporters without a candidate. Frustrated with a two-party duopoly, many feel they are without real choices or real voices; they wonder what to do next. It doesn't have to be this way. We could easily make it simpler for new candidates like Ross Perot to run and allow supporters of these new candidates to vote their true beliefs.

In 1980, I ran for President as an independent. I had my name put on the ballot in all 50 states and for a time my standing in the polls was over 20 percent, showing that millions of Americans supported my platform. Yet in the end I only received about 7 percent of the vote. It wasn't because all those voters stopped supporting me. It was because many calculated that I couldn't win and that a vote for me would be wasted.

A system called majority preferential voting could eliminate the chilling effects of this "wasted vote" syndrome. Used in Australia since the 1920's, preferential voting both insures that a winner has majority support and sensibly allows voters for losers to have a second chance.

Here's how it works. Rather than

John B. Anderson is visiting professor at Nova University Law School.

simply vote for one candidate, voters rank candidates in order of preference, putting a 1 next to their first choice, a 2 next to their second choice and so on until they no longer want to support any remaining candidate.

After voting is completed, first choices are counted. If a candidate receives more than 50 percent, he or she wins. But if no candidate has a majority, the candidate with fewest first-choice votes is eliminated, and the ballots of voters who indicated that candidate as their first choice

Here's a new voting system to aid third parties.

are redistributed to their second choices. This process continues until a candidate gains over 50 percent.

As with runoff elections, majority preferential voting insures that the winner has majority support but has several additional advantages over runoffs.

It is cheaper, as no second election is required.

It increases the likelihood of having a high voter turnout in the determining election; in runoff elections, supporters of eliminated candidates often do not vote.

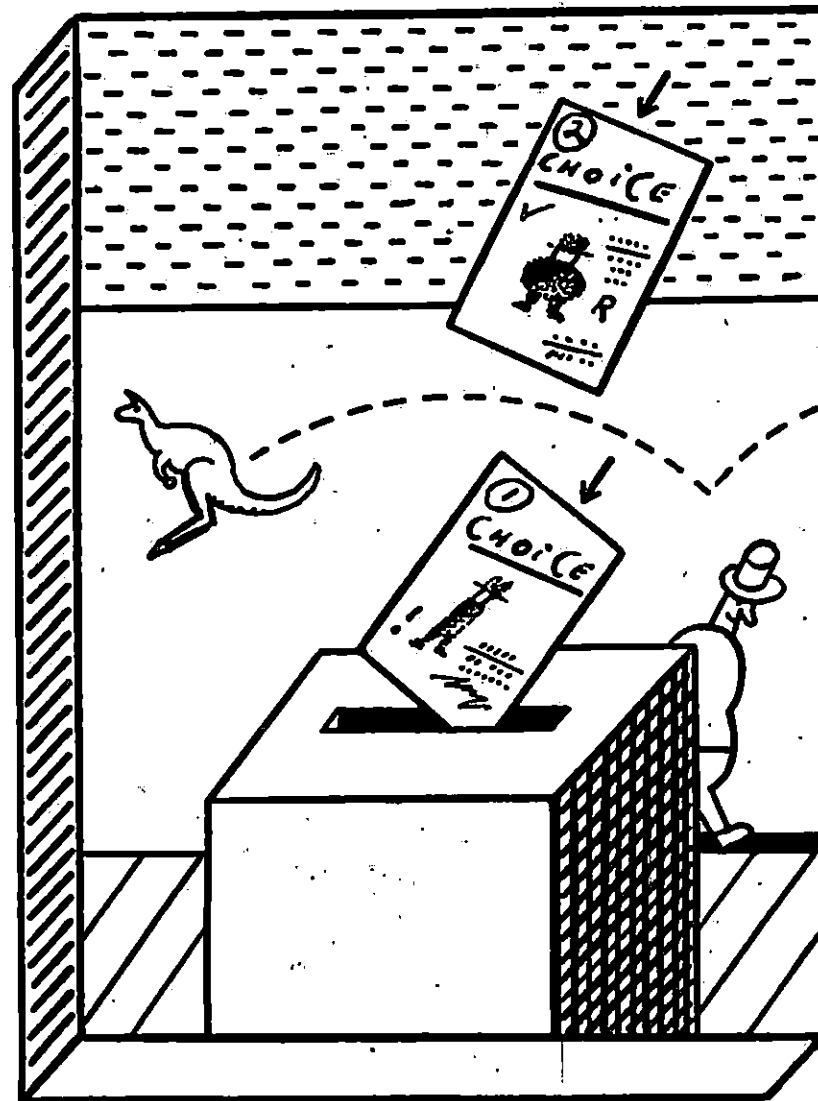
It promotes positive campaigning: Because candidates may need votes

transferred from eliminated candidates, they will not want to alienate other candidates' supporters.

Would preferential voting have changed the 1980 result? Probably not. However, I might have received 20 percent of the vote, as my candidacy would have been treated more seriously, and more people might have voted. Ronald Reagan likely would have been forced to explain his economic program more thoroughly with me as a serious contender. His mandate as President also would have been clearer if his victory had depended on a significant number of transfer votes from my supporters — people who wanted change, but not Reaganomics.

Most important, the two-party duopoly's stranglehold on political discourse would have been broken. More candidate voices and voter choices would improve our political process, just as a free market in economics results in products more suited to consumers' tastes. We would have a revolution if people were forced to choose between two cars; why should we be forced to choose between only two parties?

Watching the distraught Ross Perot volunteers react to his withdrawal, I was struck by the tragedy that so many Americans want to be involved, want to make a difference, yet keep being disillusioned by broken promises and Teflon bureaucracies. Don't we owe them the right to have as much of a voice as possible? Don't we owe them consideration of a simple, sensible reform like preferential voting? I believe we do. A vote is a terrible thing to waste. □



FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

The Money Trail

Why Federal Dollars Meant for the Poor Seem to Disappear

**At a Project Named Desire,
Red Tape and Squabbling
Mean Unspent Millions**

Mice, Meantime, Run Amok

By TIMOTHY NOAH

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL.
NEW ORLEANS — Where does all the money go?

The federal government spends billions of dollars every year to fight poverty. But take a trip to this city's worst housing project, on the same Desire Street made famous by Tennessee Williams, and the money trail from Washington just seems to stop dead.

Built in 1954, three years after the making of the film "A Streetcar Named Desire," the Desire Housing Development is today a desolate landscape of decaying low-rise apartments, nearly half of them boarded up.

"The water comes down into the apartments downstairs," complains resident Emma Banks. "Don't talk about the mice. If you get two mousetraps, you'd catch 20 mice."

The dire conditions at Desire might make one think the public-housing pipeline to Washington is empty. But the opposite is true. According to the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, between fiscal years 1986 and 1991 the Housing Authority of New Orleans failed to spend \$61.5 million in federal modernization funds — or 83% of all modernization funds that it was allocated during that period. The housing authority's own estimate of unspent funds for that period is somewhat lower—\$56.5 million—but still represents 75% of the total.

Piles of Money

A housing authority sitting atop a pile of unspent federal money confounds the popular stereotype of anti-poverty agencies as money-eating leviathans. But as lawmakers consider new ways to aid the poor in the wake of the Los Angeles riots, New Orleans's public-housing woes are a reminder that a host of obstacles — from bureaucratic infighting to litigation to conflict-of-interest charges — can prevent the money from reaching the poor people it is intended to help.

New Orleans's inability to spend federal anti-poverty dollars is hardly unique. According to HUD, the nation's 22 officially designated troubled housing authorities have amassed a total of \$1.6 billion in unspent modernization funds for the years 1986 to 1991, which represents 74% of the total approved funds. By HUD's reckoning, the percentage of unspent funds exceeded 80% in Birmingham, Ala.; Washington, D.C.; Indianapolis, Ind.; Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

When the money finally does get through, it may be too late to be much help. The housing authority in Troy, N.Y., was awarded more than \$9 million in modernization funds between 1984 and 1988 for its John J. Ahern Apartments. But by 1991 the authority decided instead to tear down the apartments because the increase in drug activity and crime in the intervening years had destroyed the neighborhood.

Crossing the T's

What takes so long? In part, it is a system designed to make sure the money is spent properly. Congress approves funds and HUD allocates them. But by law, the money must stay at the U.S. Treasury until the public-housing authority is actually ready to pay an architect or contractor. "The idea is not to have a lump sum sitting around," says a Washington HUD official. She explains that prior to reforms in the late 1970s, housing authorities would park vast sums of modernization money in the bank and siphon off the interest.

The plans also must be drawn up in explicit detail and must get HUD's prior approval, which isn't so simple. Spending federal money requires public-housing agencies "to cross the t's and dot the i's," explains HUD General Counsel Frank Keating. "Some of them are incapable of doing that."

Few cities face a bigger challenge than New Orleans, where 55,000 people, fully one-tenth the population, reside in public housing. The housing authority has a long list of modernization projects that have been approved by Washington but have not yet been carried out. They range from a \$4.3 million spending backlog for the C.J. Peete development, where leaky buildings need reroofing to keep the rain out, to a \$129,119 backlog for the Iberville project, where stairs are rusted out and unsafe.

A Deadlock Machine

One place public-housing dollars are clearly not being squandered here is the housing authority's drab downtown headquarters. "Can you imagine working in that crappy thing?" implores Jack Herrington, the authority's snow-haired managing director, jerking his thumb at the building. The entire second floor can't be used, he explains, because "there's a beam that we're scared of." Inside, Mr. Herrington pushes a button for an elevator that doesn't come.

The housing authority itself moves as slowly as the elevator. A step as simple as upgrading the computer system to allow data entry of tenant complaints was held up by HUD for nearly four years because the authority's previous management vio-

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The Money Trail: Why U.S. Funds Vanish Before Reaching the Poor

Continued From First Page

lated "some purchase procedure" in acquiring a new computer, Mr. Herrington says. Now that the computer system is up and running, he proudly shows off a management innovation: a computerized list, updated weekly, of all tenant complaints. But the printout shows that one tenant's unmet request to repair a crumbling wall has languished in the spiffy new Microdata 9250 for three months.

A big-city public-housing authority at its worst — and no one disputes that New Orleans's stands among the very worst — is a deadlock machine. Funded and regulated by the federal government, the authority's governing board is generally appointed by the mayor, and the employees tend to be governed by state civil-service rules. As three levels of government collide and swirl, essential tasks go undone — and accountability all but disappears on such questions as why modernization funds build up in Washington.

"They weren't spending enough," says Mayor Sidney Barthelemy of New Orleans. "I can't tell you why."

A Years-Long Lawsuit

One reason is a common one with housing authorities — litigation with contractors. Consider the case of St. Thomas, a desolate public-housing development here, situated in the city's otherwise fashionable Garden District. At St. Thomas, boarded-up brick buildings are spray-painted with epithets. Yet St. Thomas has \$5.2 million in unspent modernization funds to convert empty one-bedroom units into two- and three-bedroom units suitable for families.

The work began in 1986, but stopped when the contractor, Peter Vicari, discovered that the water pipes were insulated with asbestos. A separate company was brought in to remove the asbestos. What happened next is a matter of dispute and the subject of a lawsuit between Mr. Vicari and the housing authority.

According to Robert Fuller, assistant director of maintenance and construction at the housing authority, Mr. Vicari stopped work on about 90 apartment units that didn't contain asbestos, and they were vandalized by tenants. Mr. Vicari agrees that the apartments were vandalized, but says most of the vandalism occurred before he ever got there. He said the housing authority would have to pay him an additional \$3 million because its original estimate of the amount of repair work had been too low. "That four-foot hole in the wall was now a 10-foot hole," Mr. Vicari explains.

A trial on the matter resumes in October. Meanwhile, the \$5.2 million sits in Washington.

Official Warfare

Not all problems are with outsiders. One clear obstacle in New Orleans at the housing-authority level, at least in recent years, is that top management has been constantly churning as a result of warfare between federal housing officials and the city-appointed housing authority board.

Alarmed by the chaos reigning at the housing authority, HUD in 1988 ordered the board to turn management supervision over to a private company. So it hired Management Group of America. But in 1990, a HUD inspector general's audit concluded that the board's contract with Management Group of America had disregarded federally required contracting procedures. So the board put the management contract out to bid again.

This time, the housing authority hired C.J. Brown Property Management Inc., a real-estate company based in Baton Rouge. It installed Mr. Herrington, a former public-housing authority chief in Dallas, as managing director. But Mr. Herrington soon came into conflict with the board over a memo he wrote to the housing authority staff advising them not to have any contact with the board's members, whom HUD was trying to get dismissed because of the board's contentiousness and its poor record of accomplishments.

In response, the board fired C.J. Brown, and tenant activists allied with the board locked out all housing-authority employees for a day. "Everyone was fussing, bickering, fighting," recalls current board chairman David Belfield.

Eventually, HUD worked out an agreement with New Orleans Mayor Barthelemy to appoint a new board, and a court decision reinstated C.J. Brown. To help get the housing authority back on its feet, HUD Secretary Jack Kemp last fall pledged to Mayor Barthelemy \$90 million in new funds over three years. Meanwhile, C.J. Brown set about getting stalled modernization projects up and running.

Regulator to Regulated

More conflict arose when C.J. Brown set its sights on hiring a new managing director to replace Mr. Herrington, who it decided was "ready to slow down." Its choice was Robert Vasquez, HUD's chief in New Orleans, whose job required him to oversee the city's housing authority — at a salary roughly half the \$150,000 C.J. Brown was paying Mr. Herrington to run the housing authority. HUD's lawyers saw no conflict of interest in Mr. Vasquez's potentially lucrative move from regulator to regulated. But when the prospective deal led to unfavorable publicity, HUD's assistant secretary for public and Indian housing declined to approve it.

If too many people come and go at the highest management levels of the Housing Authority of New Orleans, too few come and go in the middle ranks, where rigid civil service rules make it difficult to fire incompetent employees. Mr. Herrington says that since he came to the housing authority a year ago, he has tried — and failed — to fire exactly one employee who was "handling the job very poorly."

Financial planner Jesse Smallwood says that when she served as executive director of the housing authority in the late 1980s, civil-service officials even blocked her from firing someone who "admitted to stealing from the agency."

Herbert Sumrall, Louisiana's director of civil service, disagrees that civil-service restrictions have hobbled the housing authority, blaming its woes instead on "a

substantial infusion of politics" in its daily operations by board members and elected officials. He also denies that civil-service officials ever blocked Ms. Smallwood from firing an employee accused of stealing, though he admits they had problems with Ms. Smallwood because she was "not following rules and regulations" that apply to the civil service.

Slow-Moving Money

Incompetent or corrupt middle managers can be fatal to a housing authority because considerable technical expertise is required to draw up building contracts and approve architectural plans. When the plans are drawn up poorly, as has often occurred in New Orleans, the risk increases that renovation work will come to a halt because of unforeseen obstacles.

Local officials, in turn, point the finger at Washington for delay. Dollars do not move swiftly through HUD's Washington headquarters. According to Gordon Cavanaugh, legislative liaison for the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities, public-housing authorities usually don't find out what they will receive "until almost the last day of the fiscal year." They must then draw up a contract with HUD, which can take several months more.

As a result, says Wayne Sherwood, research director for the public-housing lobby group, it was impossible for a troubled housing authority like that in New Orleans to have spent much of its modernization funds for 1990 and 1991 by January 1992, when HUD tallied up modernization backlogs for the years 1986 to 1991. And officials at C.J. Brown say many long-delayed rehabs are finally under way, and they boast that the company now has reduced the spending backlog by \$1.8 million.

Ignore the allotments for 1990 and 1991, however, and the Housing Authority of New Orleans has still failed to spend roughly half its backlog of modernization funds. With architects' plans to be drawn up and HUD approval to be sought, most of the backed-up funds will continue to remain unspent for months and possibly years even under the best circumstances — while Desire resident Cynthia Dennis, 33, says the project has so many flying Formosan termites that a child actually stepped right through the floor in one apartment. "They just eat these buildings to pieces," Mr. Herrington agrees.

Some Suggestions

What can be done? Vince Lane, who as chairman of the Chicago Housing Authority has won praise for various management innovations, says many housing authorities are "absolutely unqualified and incompetent to spend" the money they receive from Washington. He proposes that HUD and the more successful housing authorities share their management expertise with the more troubled housing authorities. HUD Secretary Kemp, meanwhile, has proposed inviting tenants in troubled public-housing authorities to either take ownership of the housing themselves or turn it over to a nonprofit group or another government entity.

But the path to reform will be difficult — and perhaps too late for a housing project named Desire. "They really want to get out of the housing business," contends tenant activist Barbara Jackson of the Housing Authority of New Orleans, echoing a common suspicion among the city's public-housing tenants about many housing officials. "They're deliberately letting the housing deteriorate."

Mr. Herrington denies that, but adds: "I guess I could understand why some people would think that way."

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Allies Weigh Sending Iraq An Ultimatum

Baghdad Still Won't Allow
Inspection of Building;
U.S. Ships to Stay at Sea

By GERALD F. SEIB

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON—The U.S. and its allies are discussing sending an ultimatum to Iraq, perhaps as early as this weekend, demanding that it allow international weapons inspectors into a disputed building, diplomats and U.S. officials said.

Such an ultimatum might be issued as a statement from the U.S., Britain and France, insisting that Iraq cooperate fully with United Nations weapons inspectors or face potential military action. The three nations, which led the international military alliance that drove Iraqi troops out of Kuwait, agree that military action can be taken now under existing U.N. resolutions, U.S. officials said.

Iraq would have to be given at least a few days to comply with such an ultimatum, suggesting that any air strikes wouldn't take place immediately.

Still, the Pentagon appeared to be taking some steps to prepare for trouble. The Defense Department announced that port calls by the aircraft carrier *Saratoga* had been canceled so it could stay at sea, accompanied by two guided-missile cruisers and a destroyer. Spokesman Pete Williams said the *Saratoga* was in the central Mediterranean, and the carrier *Independence* was in the Persian Gulf. Mr. Williams said the *Saratoga* was being kept at sea primarily because of the unrest in what was Yugoslavia, but other officials acknowledged it also is being kept ready for potential Middle East action.

At the same time, President Bush met with his top national security advisers to discuss Iraq. And Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton issued a statement declaring that he would support military action against Iraq if the moves were sanctioned by the U.N. Mr. Clinton declared that Iraq shouldn't conclude that the American presidential campaign would stop the U.S. from acting to enforce the U.N. resolutions that compel Iraq to destroy its weapons of mass destruction.

The showdown focuses on Iraq's refusal for the past two weeks to allow a team of U.N. weapons inspectors to enter its Agriculture Ministry, which U.N. officials believe contains important documents detailing Iraq's chemical, nuclear and biological weapons programs. Iraq continued to issue defiant statements yesterday, declaring it won't allow inspectors to violate its national sovereignty.

The idea of an ultimatum to Iraq has been discussed privately by U.S. officials for several days, and French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas yesterday confirmed that the topic is under discussion.

"The French delegation at the United Nations has been instructed by the president [François Mitterrand] and myself to work with our allies on the preparation of an ultimatum to Iraq to obey U.N. representatives and let experts on the spot do their work," he told France Inter radio, according to a Reuters report.

U.S. officials agreed that the idea is being actively discussed. But they also stressed that Mr. Dumas's comments don't mean that another formal U.N. resolution authorizing action would be sought. Washington and its allies don't want to engage in the laborious diplomatic process of lining up support for another formal U.N. vote on action against Iraq.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Congressional Report Urges Prosecution Of Wackenhut and Alyeska Over Spying

By ALLANNA SULLIVAN

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

Congressional investigators have recommended that the Justice Department pursue criminal and civil prosecution of an oil-industry consortium and a huge security company for spying on industry critics.

The investigators' report, released yesterday to the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, alleges that the surveillance operation by security giant Wackenhut Corp., which initially focused only on oil-industry critic Charles Hamel, obstructed a congressional investigation. Wackenhut had been hired by Alyeska Pipeline Service Co., which is owned by a group of oil companies.

The 2,000-page report by the committee's staff alleges that Alyeska and Wackenhut broke federal and state laws during the investigation and also calls on the District of Columbia and the states of Alaska, Florida and Virginia to consider criminal and civil action against the two companies.

The report culminates more than eight months of work following hearings last November to investigate the propriety of Wackenhut's surveillance of Mr. Hamel during 1990. Alyeska, claiming to be fearful of terrorists, saboteurs and competitors, has contended the operation was solely to stop the flow of documents from company files to Mr. Hamel, who forwarded them on to regulatory authorities and the press.

The committee investigators, however, claim that the so-called sting effort went much further. They assert that the operation targeted California Rep. George Miller, the committee's chairman, and members of his staff, as well as at least five other known Alyeska critics and a number of participants in a lawful demonstration against Alyeska. And "It does not appear that any of those individuals is or was ever suspected by Alyeska of being a pipeline terrorist, industrial saboteur or business competitor," the report says.

Recommendations in the report call for Alyeska and Wackenhut to consider management changes, for the major oil companies that own Alyeska to increase their control over the company, and for federal and state regulatory authorities to conduct a comprehensive review of Alyeska's safety and environmental operations.

Alyeska is owned by Exxon Corp., British Petroleum Co., Atlantic Richfield Co., Amerada Hess Corp., Unocal Corp., Phillips Petroleum Co. and Mobil Corp.

Alyeska and Wackenhut may also be in contempt of Congress for failure to produce documents under subpoena, according to the report. Repeated requests for detailed bills prepared for Alyeska by Wackenhut went unanswered, the report says, until the security concern suddenly turned over a number of the bills late last month, saying it had just found them in a sealed box in the "dead record storage area."

And Alyeska never provided any of its detailed billing documents, claiming they had been turned over to a law firm for safe keeping. But a senior partner of that firm told committee investigators that the detailed bills weren't among the documents his firm received from Alyeska. "It is clear," the report says, "that key documents from Alyeska's and Wackenhut's files of the covert operation weren't produced for the committee during the course of its investigation."

Individuals close to the committee, which has oversight responsibility for the Alaskan oil industry, expect the committee to vote to send the report to the Justice Department when the members gather again Wednesday.

The report is also calling for funding of a Presidential Task Force to oversee the Trans-Alaska Pipeline System, which Alyeska manages. "The committee believes that Congress must be increasingly vigilant in its oversight of Alyeska" ... especially in light "of Alyeska's outrageous attempt to silence its environmental critics using covert spying techniques," it states.

Alyeska officials said they were limited in their ability to respond because they didn't receive the documents until yesterday afternoon. But Robert Jordan, an attorney representing Alyeska, said: "This draft report is merely a continuation of an effort to discredit Alyeska through unwarranted and unsubstantiated charges by Rep. George Miller, who appears to have adopted a pattern of trying to discredit the consortium regarding the Wackenhut affair. I don't think Alyeska or any of its employees violated the law. The record does not support the obstruction of justice claim made against Alyeska."

Wackenhut, based in Coral Gables, Fla., declined to comment.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Notable & Quotable

Nobelist Czeslaw Milosz, speaking at a July 7 dinner in San Francisco to honor historian and poet Robert Conquest:

The achievement of Robert Conquest becomes most obvious when we view it together with the behavior of his contemporaries, writers as himself, whether they are English, American, French, or Italian. For many decades of the twentieth century, the great majority of them observed certain rules, which seemed to them so obvious that they became their second nature. To act against those rules would be to violate powerful taboos. Not that the existence of those taboos testified to open political choices. The choices were there, but not avowed and the penalty for non-

conformity was not political but societal, as it entailed a loss of status in the intellectual community. I have in mind, of course, an injunction forbidding to speak the truth about the Communist system in the Soviet Union.

... Being a poet myself and having lived in the fifties in Paris, I am able to visualize the risk assumed by a poet who would transgress against what was then considered as politically correct. At that time, Jean-Paul Sartre was leading a hideous campaign against Albert Camus, who dared to mention, in his book "The Rebel," the existence of concentration camps in Soviet Union. Robert Conquest's London must have been not very different in this respect from Paris.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Washington Wire

A Special Weekly Report From
The Wall Street Journal's
Capital Bureau

BUSH'S TEAM sees little re-election help from the economy by November.

At this week's Cabinet meeting, Treasury chief Brady said he could "feel in his bones" that the economy is recovering and even suggested that a winning Olympic basketball team could be the trigger for better times. But economic adviser Boskin was more somber, noting that the economy isn't growing fast enough to create very many jobs. Frustrated housing chief Kemp urged "bold" moves, such as tax cuts.

More interest-rate cuts might buoy financial markets but wouldn't do much for the economy right away. The weak recovery is like a "never-ending recession," says GOP pollster Neil Newhouse. Clinton benefits, says Democratic pollster Geoff Garin, because "Bush has staked his whole claim for re-election on the idea that prosperity is just around the corner."

Cabinet-meeting participants quote Kemp, in urging action, as saying: "People can forgive the past. They can't forgive a lack of vision."

AN IRAQ ATTACK would be a political risk for Bush.

A successful U.N. air strike would be a foreign-policy plus — and a windfall if the raid eliminated Saddam Hussein. But if the strike failed to get the dictator or force Iraqi cooperation, Bush would have to consider further military steps. And a botched air raid would backfire if U.S. pilots were captured and held.

Officials say that Iraq is likely to get a clearer ultimatum before any raid is ordered. But Baghdad's sudden refusal to cooperate with the U.N. on weapons inspections and other issues makes the current showdown more serious than past tiffs. "We are in a different situation compared to the other times we've seen," says one knowledgeable diplomat.

CLINTON'S CHARGE sets the Bush campaign scrambling for new strategies.

Campaign planners redraw their election map to win without California. With Perot out of the race, officials predict Bush can take the South, including Florida and Texas, offsetting the need to win California. Campaign official Charles Black fore-shadows future attacks by charging that Clinton has "adopted the gay agenda."

Clinton advisers plan daily SWAT-team meetings headed by chief strategist Carville to counter GOP charges and map their own assaults. They are eager for Bush to run an expected campaign ad on health care, an issue that they think they can hit him on. More bus tours are considered, including one through California's Central Valley.

To display business support, Clinton plans to cite some top executives in big U.S. companies who back him.

BIGGER TENT? Republicans hint at a convention speech by an abortion-rights advocate such as Massachusetts Gov. Weld to contrast with the Democrats' refusal to let Pennsylvania Gov. Casey talk against abortion. But Weld may hurt his chances with his planned executive order to extend family-leave benefits to gays.

OR SMALLER TENT? Houston Republicans brawl as the national party heads their way for next month's convention. Conservatives, favoring strict anti-abortion positions, take over the Harris County GOP's executive committee and strip moderate chairwoman Betsy Lake of most of her powers. "They're in total disarray," chortles Democratic official Ken Bentsen.

GRAMM PUSHES his anti-regulation views as the top GOP member of a Senate securities subcommittee and a prospective 1996 presidential candidate. The Texas senator strips protections from a bill regulating investment advisers and slows a bill that would beef up safeguards for investors in limited partnerships.

GERMAN GIBE: Visiting German lawmakers, alarmed at a House Ways and Means bill that would require foreign-owned companies operating in the U.S. to pay a minimum level of federal taxes, say that Berlin colleagues plan retaliatory legislation dubbed "R.T.R.," for "Return to Rostenkowski."

PEROT BACKERS will continue to carry his message, but some sour on him.

A shrunken corps of supporters vows to press ahead, focusing on his deficit-reduction ideas. State coordinators will meet Wednesday in Dallas, possibly with Perot, to try to keep the movement going. "It's going to be the most unconventional campaign the American public has ever seen," says New Mexico chairman John Bishop.

But the billionaire's aborted campaign is scorned as an ego trip by some disillusioned followers. High-level staff members were angered when Perot reneged on contractual promises to pay them through November. His negotiations with a Walt Disney unit to publish his economic plan as a book undercut staff efforts to make his stands public, says a person close to the former campaign.

Asked whether the Texas billionaire will pocket proceeds from the book, spokeswoman Sharon Holman replies, "Who knows?"

MINORS: A perplexed child in Sandoval, Ill., stares at Clinton and asks his mother, "So where's Elvis?" ... Groaner of the Week: What do you call a clothes-shopping spree by Gore's wife? A Tipper-wear party. ... How, er, unusual: Fed chief Greenspan, testifying this week before the Senate Banking Committee, used the word "extraordinary" 12 times.

—RONALD G. SHAFER

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

ECONOMY

Sen. Bentsen To Unveil Bill Of Tax Breaks

By JACKIE CALMES

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — Sen. Lloyd Bentsen will introduce a package of tax incentives providing breaks to investors in distressed communities, restoring a deduction for real estate entrepreneurs and expanding the tax benefits of individual retirement accounts.

The measure from the Texas Democrat, who is chairman of the Senate Finance Committee, is a variation on House-passed legislation whose centerpiece is investment incentives for blighted "enterprise zones." Sen. Bentsen has begun discussing the package with colleagues, and details were provided by people familiar with them.

The measure also will incorporate provisions approved in the Finance Committee earlier, including a new write-off for so-called intangible assets such as customer lists that are generally acquired in business takeovers; extension of various expired tax incentives, such as credits for business research and low-income housing; and the repeal of unpopular luxury taxes on yachts, private planes, furs and jewelry. The House bill has parallel provisions.

In a significant departure from the House bill, the Bentsen measure wouldn't provide a break on capital-gains taxes for investors in enterprise zones who later sell those assets. The House had included the capital-gains provision at the insistence of the Bush administration, and its omission in the Senate bill is likely to be a source of controversy.

While the Bentsen enterprise-zones proposal would cost the same as the House version — \$2.5 billion over five years — it would permit half as many areas to offer would-be investors the special tax enticements. That presumably would allow the benefits to be spread more generously among fewer communities. The House bill called for designating 50 zones, split between urban and rural areas. Sen. Bentsen will call for 25 zones — 15 in cities, eight in rural areas and two on Indian reservations.

Among the tax benefits for new businesses would be a 40% credit for employers against the total wages of each employee who lives within the zone. Also, certain investments could be written off in a single year. The investment incentives would be available for 10 years, not 15 years as in the House bill.

Details of the Bentsen plan began surfacing yesterday as the Bush administration, beset by sagging popularity and a weak economy, began a new push for

its own tax-incentive proposals. The Finance Committee is to vote on the Bentsen package Tuesday, but it's uncertain whether the full Senate could act on it before mid-August, when Congress recesses for the GOP convention.

The provision for the real estate industry would restore a deduction for so-called passive losses on rental property; a much broader version was repealed in 1986 after widespread tax-shelter abuses. The House bill has a provision supported by the industry. Details of the Senate version still hadn't been made final yesterday.

The bill would make all taxpayers eligible to deduct their contributions to tax-deferred individual retirement accounts, a Bentsen priority to encourage private savings. The IRA deduction was limited in 1986 to lower-income and middle-income taxpayers and those without pension plans.

The bill also would create a form of IRA offering a tax benefit upon withdrawal rather than an upfront deduction. It would allow savers to withdraw funds early, without penalty, to pay for first homes, college tuition or major medical costs. The IRA provisions were part of the Democratic tax bill that President Bush vetoed in March.

The cost of the overall measure was still unclear, but proposals to offset the revenue loss include several that have been aired throughout the year. They would raise taxes on securities firms' inventories, curtail tax benefits for buyers of failed thrifts, lengthen the depreciation period for commercial real estate and extend some temporary provisions requiring larger advance tax payments from corporate and individual taxpayers who file returns quarterly.

The proposed write-off for intangible assets generally would permit businesses to amortize over 16 years the value of future purchases of intangible assets. Shorter write-offs are allowed for software, movie rights, mortgage-servicing contracts and certain new, small high-tech companies. The House bill calls for a uniform 14-year write-off. Currently, write-offs for such assets are a matter of much dispute between business taxpayers and the Internal Revenue Service, and Congress is attempting to stem the costly litigation.

The House dropped a section on retroactive write-offs, but the Senate bill has a limited provision to allow companies in pending disputes with the IRS to settle for 75% of the deductions they claimed and to pay taxes with interest on the rest. Such settlements would be expected to raise \$2.4 billion over five years, according to congressional analysts; that would help to offset the overall bill's cost.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Bush Administration Fires Economic Guns at Congress

Annual Update of Forecasts
On Economy and Budget
Still Sees a Slow Recovery

By DAVID WESSEL

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL
WASHINGTON — The White House turned an annual update of economic and budget forecasts into an attack on congressional Democrats for failing to embrace President Bush's proposals on everything from cutting capital-gains taxes to fighting crime.

The White House said it still foresees a slow but steady economic recovery this year and barely altered the forecast it made in January.

Budget deficits projected for this year and next are sharply smaller than the earlier forecast, almost entirely because Congress hasn't passed legislation to permit anticipated spending on the savings-and-loan cleanup. That postpones spending rather than preventing it, so deficits projected for future years are much larger.

"The good news is the deficit is down because Congress has failed to act," said Budget Director Richard Darman. "The bad news is the economy is not as far up and the deficit is not as far down as they both should be — because Congress has failed to act."

In an attempt to rebut accusations that Mr. Bush lacks an economic agenda, the White House budget office turned what is normally a slim, number-filled report into a reprise of proposals that Mr. Bush made in January and a scorecard on congressional action—or inaction. This year's volume is 424 pages, most of them copied from the January budget. Last year's was 58.

In a day of news conferences, speeches and inch-thick reports, the administration offered no new proposals. Mr. Darman insisted that if the administration has failed, it is in communicating the merits of its proposals. "We've obviously failed to persuade a good deal of the public," he said.

For fiscal 1992, which ends Sept. 30, the White House now sees a record deficit of \$333.5 billion, compared with its January forecast of \$399.4 billion. For 1993, it sees a deficit of \$341 billion, compared with its January forecast of \$351.9 billion. After that, the projections get progressively worse with the deficit never falling below \$200 billion. For fiscal 1997, the administration sees a \$236.7 billion deficit, substantially worse than January's \$181.8 billion projection.

Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady, elaborating on the theme of the day in a speech to business executives in Chicago, accused congressional Democrats of deliberately delaying Mr. Bush's proposals to enhance Arkansas Gov. Bill Clinton's chances in the presidential race. "They figure that if the boat leaks enough, maybe they'll get a new captain — so why fix the holes?" he said.

In Washington, Sen. James Sasser (D., Tenn.) countered: "The problem is that the captain ran our economic ship aground. And then when Congress passed the captain's own plan for recovery, he sunk it with a veto." Mr. Bush says he vetoed a tax bill, even though it included some of his own proposals, because it would have raised taxes and retarded the economy.

The Treasury secretary said Mr. Bush has three objectives: securing the peace, ensuring America's economic leadership by opening markets for U.S. exports, and investing in America's future by spending on education, technology and research. He said Democrats have "adopted the protective coloring of Republicans to shield their traditional 'government knows best' philosophy from public view."

Several minor portions of Mr. Bush's "growth agenda" are included in a tax bill pending in Congress. But proposals to cut the capital-gains tax rate, offer tax credits to first-time home buyers and give temporary tax breaks to stimulate business investment are languishing on Capitol Hill. Mr. Darman said the president opposes any tax increase — including the Democrats' favorite, a surtax on millionaires. He said Mr. Bush isn't backing away from his proposal to cut capital-gains taxes, but

White House Outlook

New economic projections

	1992	1993
Real GDP (4th qtr to 4th qtr)	2.7%	3.0%
Consumer Prices (4th qtr to 4th qtr)	3.1%	3.3%
Unemployment (4th qtr average)	6.9%	6.4%
Deficit (fiscal year, billions of dollars)	\$333.5	\$341.0

Source: Office of Management and Budget

cautioned that he couldn't predict what might result from any negotiations with Congress.

The administration expects the economy to grow 2.7% between the fourth quarters of 1991 and 1992, up from its January forecast of 2.2%. That's close to recent private forecasts and is toward the high end of the latest Federal Reserve projections. For next year, the administration projects growth of 3.0%, the same as it did in January.

The White House forecast is more hopeful about reducing unemployment than other forecasters. The White House expects the jobless rate to average 6.9% of the work force in the fourth quarter. Economists surveyed by the Blue Chip Economic Indicators put it at 7.1%, and most Fed officials expect it to be between 7.25% and 7.5%. Michael Boskin, the president's chief economic adviser, said the forecast was made before the unanticipated jump in the jobless rate to 7.8% in June and said he might revise the figure slightly upward if he were redoing the forecast.

Mr. Bush has been criticized because his January proposal didn't show a path to a balanced budget. In the update, the White House says the budget could be balanced by fiscal 1998 — but only if Congress embraces a plan to cap the growth in federal benefit programs and if the economy grows faster than most economists expect.

The administration projects federal spending this fiscal year at \$1.41 trillion, up 6% from last year. Revenue is projected at \$1.07 trillion, up 2%.

—Rick Wartzman contributed to this article.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

White House Girds to Promote Huge Arms Sales to Many Nations

By ANDY PASZTOR

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

WASHINGTON — After trying to put a lid on international arms sales in the wake of the Persian Gulf War, the Bush administration now is gearing up with a vengeance to promote huge U.S. weapons deals around the globe.

Government and diplomatic officials say some of President Bush's senior advisers informally have told Saudi Arabia the U.S. is ready to sell the kingdom more than \$5 billion of advanced F-15 jets and other military hardware. The only debate among Mr. Bush's intimates appears to be whether to notify Congress of the plan before or after the November elections.

In part, the change reflects domestic political pressures. Prime contractor McDonnell Douglas Corp. has mounted a months-long public relations blitz to promote the sale, featuring glib videos, union hall meetings from coast to coast, editorials, and a letter-writing campaign aimed at the president. The company says a sale would avoid layoffs of more than 30,000 workers. With the U.S. Air Force halting its F-15 purchases, the contractor says half of those workers could be jobless before the end of the year.

Pressure for a sale should reach a new crescendo today when President Bush visits Missouri, where F-15s are assembled. Gov. John Ashcroft, a moderate Republican who is in charge of Mr. Bush's campaign in the state, has vowed to personally appeal to the president, calling the proposed F-15 sale his state's No. 1 economic priority. Others championing the sale are Mr. Bush's domestic-policy counselor Clayton Yeutter and Defense Secretary Dick Cheney.

But stepped-up promotion of weapons sales goes way beyond F-15s. The Pentagon is eager to sell U.S.-built tanks, howitzers and other armored equipment overseas; officials believe such sales may be the only way to keep aging production lines open to meet the Pentagon's own anticipated needs. Stephen Conner, the Army's acquisition chief, warns that spending cuts could shrink the service's procurement budget to substantially less than \$7 billion annually by the mid-1990s; Army planners are counting on foreign sales worth nearly twice that amount in some years to ensure that important assembly lines remain open.

Over the next few years, the Saudis plan to buy five times more top-of-the-line U.S. tanks than the U.S. Army. Egypt, the United Arab Emirates, Kuwait and many other countries are actively shopping for multibillion-dollar weapons packages. And in addition to aggressively marketing F-15s and F/A-18s abroad, McDonnell Douglas has already obtained Air Force approval to begin discussing sales of its C-17 transport — an aircraft still undergoing flight tests and production changes — to Germany, France, Japan, Canada and other governments.

Pentagon brass "have come to realize that some of their industrial problems can be solved using other people's money," says Barrett Taussig, head of defense operations for Harsco Corp., which sup-

plies armored vehicles and other military gear to the Army and several countries. "We're seeing an entirely different attitude [at the Pentagon] about cooperating with companies" seeking overseas contracts, Mr. Taussig says.

This is a sharp contrast to the days immediately after the Gulf war, when the U.S. adopted a go-slow approach to Middle East weapons sales. Then, the U.S. was eager to encourage Arab governments to participate in peace talks. It also was prodding them to sign treaties allowing the U.S., among other things, to store substantial equipment in the region.

The Saudis eventually balked at keeping hundreds of U.S.-owned tanks and support equipment on their soil. Meanwhile, impending changes in the congressional leadership are expected to reduce U.S. opposition to a Saudi sale. And overseas, the new Israeli government is less likely than in previous years to urge American Jewish groups and other supporters to wage an all-out fight to block F-15s going to Riyadh.

"It's probably better domestic politics in the short term to go ahead with the sale," concedes Rep. Howard Berman, an outspoken opponent. At most, the California Democrat says, Congress "may be able to nibble around the edges" of an F-15 package by keeping the most sophisticated version of the fighter out of Saudi hands.

Inside the administration, Mr. Cheney publicly urges Mr. Bush to approve the Saudis' F-15 request: "I think it would be irresponsible for us not to be in the business" of promoting sales to allies who have "legitimate security concerns," he told reporters recently. "It gives us a lot of leverage."

Democratic Rep. Lee Hamilton of Indiana, who is expected to head the House Foreign Affairs Committee next year, has signaled a more sympathetic view toward sales to the Saudis than the retiring chairman, Rep. Dante Fascell of Florida. Saving defense industry jobs is "a very strong argument" in favor of an F-15 sale, says Rep. Hamilton, noting that he will make up his mind only after evaluating the overall value of the sale, the number of jobs affected, and broader arms-control considerations.

Saudi leaders, already grappling with a budget crunch as a result of the Gulf war, warn that further delay could substantially raise F-15 prices and force them to look to Britain to improve their fighter fleet.

European arms-makers have moved quickly to increase their share of foreign weapons sales. The Congressional Research Service estimates that France and Britain together sold about one-sixth as many weapons last year as the roughly \$14 billion in arms sales by U.S. manufacturers. But arms salesmen from both European countries reportedly have made headway in snaring new customers.

Such intense competition worries Rep. Hamilton and others on Capitol Hill. "Other nations are asking us why they should exercise restraint when we do not," the Indiana lawmaker says. "I don't see how the U.S. can be a leader in arms control unless we set an example."

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Baker Visits Lebanon's Bekaa Valley To Show Support for Nation's Rebuilding

By ROBERT S. GREENBERGER

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

ZAHLE, Lebanon — Secretary of State James Baker made a surprise visit to the western edge of the Bekaa valley, not far from a major Hezbollah terrorist camp, to help bolster Lebanon's efforts to rebuild after civil war and regain independence.

Mr. Baker's heavily armored motorcade sped from Damascus to the home of Lebanese President Elias Hrawi in Zahle. He was escorted by security forces packing Belgian-made 7.62mm machine guns and other automatic weapons. He was preceded by a decoy motorcade, complete with limousines and ambulances, which took a different route.

Mr. Baker came to endorse a 1989 accord under which Lebanon and Syria are supposed to begin talks this summer. The talks are to lead to a redeployment of the Syrian troops that currently dominate Lebanon to the Bekaa from their current positions in the outskirts of Beirut.

"We strongly support the political independence, sovereignty and political integrity of Lebanon," Mr. Baker said at a news conference. U.S. officials said Lebanon had urged such a visit while Mr. Baker was in the region to show that stability was returning after 16 years of civil war.

Earlier, the secretary said he found general agreement among Arabs that the recent election of Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin had created new opportunities for the peace talks that recessed in April. But Mr. Baker also discovered that Mr. Rabin's willingness to restart the talks and his decision to curtail the growth of Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank appear to have caught Arab governments off guard.

Asked at a news conference whether Arabs would respond by lifting their economic boycott of Israel, Jordan's King Hussein responded obscurely: "It is our position that would be made clear when we reach that point in the Arab League for a decision to be taken at the appropriate time."

Similarly, in Syria, Foreign Minister Farouk Shara didn't even seem to acknowledge that Mr. Rabin had offered a significant concession. "Don't ask the Arab side to make any new gestures," he said. "It's now the turn of the new Israeli government to do it."

Only the Palestinians, who live under Israeli occupation and have the most to gain from peace with Israel, showed public signs of compromise. Palestinian leaders have backed away from an earlier threat to drop out of Mideast peace talks if the U.S. grants loan guarantees to Israel without winning a total freeze on the building of Jewish settlements in occupied territory.

Reflecting the mix of promise and

uncertainty, Mr. Baker cautiously described his talks in Syria as "discussions that I believe will turn out to be fruitful." Last spring, the negotiating partners talked about reconvening talks in September in Rome. But there were indications this week that both sides want a meeting sooner. Italian officials are unsure whether they can host such a session in August, so the meetings might be held in Washington. Israel's former government pushed hard to move the meetings away from Washington, but a U.S. official said location is no longer a problem.

Here in Lebanon, there is concern over ending both Israeli and Syrian occupation. The Lebanese insist that Israel honor a U.N. resolution calling for withdrawal of its forces from southern Lebanon. Israel says it won't withdraw until Lebanon's government can control terrorist groups that launch attacks into Israel from the border area.

Lebanon also wants the removal of Syrian troops. Lebanon and Syria have agreed to begin talks once certain political reforms are achieved in Lebanon. Mr. Baker backs Lebanon's stand that those discussions should begin this summer. The U.S. also says the talks should lead to Syrian redeployment soon — certainly within about six months, says a U.S. official.

But Syria insists that all the reforms haven't been made, and it specifically is calling for the election of a new Parliament. A date for elections may be set in August, Lebanese officials say.

Mr. Baker hopes that his unexpected trip here will give that process a boost. When asked what he thought of this region, with its picturesque snowcapped mountains and history of violence, the globe-trotting secretary of state conceded: "I never felt I would be coming to the Bekaa valley."

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Schools on Contract

The parental choice movement has been set back by the narrow failure to win a California ballot placement this November, but school reform marches inexorably on.

This week a Minneapolis firm called Education Alternatives Inc. signed a contract with the Baltimore administration to run eight elementary schools and one middle school in that city, beginning this fall. It will do so in an alliance with PMG Peat Marwick, the accounting firm, and Johnson Controls, the building-services giant based in Wisconsin.

Education Alternatives has garnered considerable publicity for its operation of a public elementary school opened last fall in a rough area of Miami Beach. It claims remarkable results in student achievement and parent involvement one year into the experiment, though vice president Kathryn Thomas acknowledges that operating in a transient area (high numbers of immigrants and poor who move out when rental rates rise during peak season) doesn't make it easy. South Pointe Elementary had a turnover of 200 in its student body of 750.

Nevertheless, to have scored any gains in what the schooling establishment frequently calls "impossible" conditions is testimony to what bureaucracy-free innovation can accomplish. The more stable, if equally poor, Baltimore neighborhood schools that Mayor Kurt Schmoke's administration has decided to turn over should provide a fuller test.

The Baltimore test is also more critical because, unlike in Miami where Education Alternatives is only given a say in teaching, the company will make use of its partners to make over noninstructional operations as well. Ms. Thomas, a former teacher, predicts a 20% to 30% reduction in costs outside the classroom from better management (such as consolidating maintenance jobs and scheduling skilled tradesmen so as to reduce overtime charges). The private alliance makes its profit by receiving the district's standard per-pupil expenditure and providing a better program at a lower price. It has pledged to add nearly \$3 million in resources to the

teaching program in Baltimore.

Much of that outlay goes toward hiring a junior faculty member for each of the teachers it will inherit in the nine schools. This permits the more individualized, less-structured learning approach that Education Alternatives uses. The firm also upgrades the status of teachers, offering them amenities such as office desks and telephones, even business cards, that most professionals take for granted. Although some teachers find the transformation from lecturer to "facilitator" difficult, their union so far has gone along.

The losers in this deal, in addition to the electricians and janitors who enjoy clocking overtime, are likely to be administrators who've allowed inefficiencies and inertia to take hold on their watch. It thus might seem curious that the president of publicly held Education Alternatives is David Bennett, for seven years the superintendent of schools in St. Paul. Other veterans from the Minnesota public school hierarchy are involved, too. It is less surprising given that state's reformist climate in this field. And it is a reminder that good school personnel are to be found nearly everywhere, waiting for the right incentives to unlock their talent and drive.

Because the Baltimore contract involves only a small number of the city schools, the contracting alliance isn't going to be able to effect changes in the middle to top levels of administration where so much of America's increased school budgets have gone. In this respect, the turnover of management of the entire Duluth, Minn., school district to the alliance earlier this year might be the most telling experiment of all.

Education Alternatives' approach to instruction may not be the best one in any or all circumstances. The process of rehabilitating U.S. schools will be an incremental one marked by many failures. But it must begin, and the fact that a private concern is now attempting it under some of the most difficult urban conditions ought to compel discussion of why more of this change isn't occurring elsewhere.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Disabling America

Starting this Sunday, the Americans With Disabilities Act will fully apply to more than two million businesses, those with 25 or more employees. We're willing to concede the law's good intentions for the disabled. We're also inclined to think that the law, as it ended up, could develop into an unprecedented intervention into commercial life and a monument to the litigation crisis.

The ADA is aimed at integrating people with hearing, sight or mobility impairments into mainstream society. Fine. But those groups represent only 3.3 million people, while the act's proponents say it will cover 43 million Americans. How do we end up with one out of six Americans designated as "disabled?" Congress, using its rare powers, defined all these people into the act's coverage.

The act includes all who suffer from emotional or mental illness, drug addiction, and alcoholism and AIDS. Are we alone in assuming that the contingency-fee bar is already smacking its lips at the prospect of some of the 43 million potential plaintiffs signing up to assert their rights under the act?

Disabled advocacy groups scoff at these concerns. They point out that the 1973 Rehabilitation Act barring disability discrimination by federal contractors has led to only about 400 civil lawsuits. But something's different now. The 1991 Civil Rights Act, passed a year after the disability act, explicitly granted the disabled certified victim status; that is, they now have the right to sue for compensatory and punitive damages and jury trials.

Legal complaints under the ADA are already mounting. More than 320 have been filed with the Justice Department over the act's public services and accommodations provisions, which took effect in January. A girl with cerebral palsy has sued the Girl Scouts, claiming she was denied admission to a summer camp. Wheelchair advocates have demanded a parade route be changed in New York. Emotionally "disabled" employees could claim that they can't work overtime. More than 90 of the complaints have been filed by just two people.

Federal officials forecast a 20% jump in discrimination lawsuits, or 15,000 new cases a year. But that number may be low given the efforts of the Disability Rights Education and Defense Fund, which has trained 5,000 "Barrier Busters" to look for access violators and then file lawsuits.

Federal courts are already so clogged that only about 5% of cases reach trial. Both large and small companies will have an incentive to agree to a settlement rather than pay lawyers' fees while they wait for up to six years to reach a courtroom.

The potential for litigation under the act's requirement that "reasonable accommodation" be made for disabled employees or clients is limitless. Even the simple act of scheduling a conference at a hotel may be entangled in legal liability.

According to the Justice Department's interpretation of the ADA, both the hotel and the conference's organizer can be held responsible for ensuring that an interpreter is on hand to help the hearing-impaired. If the conference organizer fails to provide one, both it and the hotel can be sued for damages even if they didn't know anyone needing an interpreter would be present.

In some ways, the ADA may work against the interests of disabled people. "The act will only channel more resources into litigation and make the disabled more dependent on the government," says Walter Oi, an economist at the University of Rochester, who is blind. The act makes all disabled workers "very high employment risks," he says. Highly trained disabled workers will still find jobs, but many employers will no doubt find ways to avoid filling any lower skilled jobs because of the added legal risk.

Those risks are so high because the act will substantially change the hiring process. Employers can no longer require medical tests before offering a job; there is doubt about whether police and fire departments can even require applicants to take lie detector tests.

No one denies that a wealthy nation such as the United States should help the disabled lead productive lives. Americans have compassion for the accidents of birth or circumstance that limit some people, and before the ADA the accommodations most important to the disabled themselves were gradually being made by business and local governments. But what's with Congress's litigation compulsion?

The ADA isn't so much about making life easier for the disabled as it is about making it easier to sue under our already litigation-obsessed judicial system. If the ADA turns into the Lawyer's Annuity Act we fear it might, there will be very few winners and many losers from a tangle of arbitrary costs and rules.

As always, any costs incurred by businesses will be rolled through to the general public. It's an indirect tax increase imposed on the middle class by a federal political class afraid to raise the revenue directly. Without the lawyers' incentives, it might have been a manageable bipartisan achievement. But for Bill Clinton's party, the added litigation component is a given.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

It's the Boss, Not His Veep, Who's the Problem

Amid this week's Dump Quayle frenzy, William Bennett had lunch with the vice president and his ranking aides. "I hope you're not planning to do something stupid like offer to quit," the former Bush drug czar said. "You're not the problem."

"What is the problem?" asked the vice president.

"The top of the ticket," replied Mr. Bennett.

Mr. Quayle, loyal to a fault, changed the subject. But Mr. Bennett was only saying what every sensible Republican here privately admits.

The Dump Dan rumors are a sideshow to the real story, which is the Dump George movement building among voters. If nothing else, the Beltway focus on the bottom of the ticket has the virtue of holding a mirror to the problem at the top of the ticket. President Bush and his counselors always think their problem is someone or something else — the economy they said was going to turn around by itself, the speechwriters, John Sununu's ghost, the vice president. They will do anything to get re-elected except to act in a way that shows why anyone should want them re-elected.

The current Bush strategy is a combination of King Canute and King Kong. Canute, who thought he could command the tides, appears in the form of Republican Party Chairman Rich Bond. "Time passes, gravity occurs, the tide goes out, and low tide is on the way for Bill Clinton,"

Potomac Watch

By Paul A. Gigot

he told ABC's "Brinkley" show. Except that the Oval Office is now at zero gravity.

King Kong appears as Bush surrogates rip Bill Clinton the way they did Michael Dukakis. But Democrats and voters have seen this gorilla before, and this year's Lee Atwater, political bounty-hunter James Carville, is on Bill Clinton's side.

Moreover, voters in 1988 knew Mr. Bush as Ronald Reagan's hand-picked successor, a Reaganite with softer edges. The Bushies have since spent 42 months running from Mr. Reagan's shadow, and they've succeeded, to their sudden horror. Voters don't like the way Mr. Bush has looked in the clear light. They think he's given them, as one Republican puts it, merely "kinder and gentler gridlock."

The idea of dumping Mr. Quayle is on par with the high quality advice that has put Mr. Bush 29 points behind. A leader thought to lack constancy is somehow supposed to disprove this by tossing his most loyal subject to the piranhas.

Vermont's James Jeffords, every Democrat's favorite Senate Republican, has fretted that "Dan Quayle is basically a liability... he should consider changing." Mr. Jeffords is one of those who cheered when Mr. Bush revoked his tax pledge, swamped business with new regulation and sat idly while the economy sputtered.

Mr. Quayle hasn't yet, and may never, overcome the public's low perception of his ability. The public knows him mainly as the butt of jokes and from his unoften television appearances, not from his often astute private judgments. If Mr. Bush had taken Mr. Quayle's advice to fight last fall for an economic growth agenda, he wouldn't have sunk so low. Compared to Mr. Jeffords, Mr. Quayle is a genius.

Some Bushies dream of Gen. Colin Powell, but it's doubtful even he'd change a single electoral vote. A May 1991 Los Angeles Times poll, taken at the height of worries about Mr. Bush's health, showed a Bush-Quayle ticket beating a Mario Cuomo-Al Gore ticket by 62%-23%. A Bush-Powell ticket won by 63%-20%. The media's excitement would soon give way to gloating about another Bush flip-flop.

So what can Mr. Bush do? Start listening to Vin Weber, the 39-year-old Republican congressman who's been right all along about Mr. Bush's mistakes.

Mr. Weber says Mr. Bush "has plenty of ideas" that voters have heard many times. "But no one has the slightest belief that any of those things are going to happen," he says. The man who reneged on taxes, then reneged again in his State of the Union address about battling Congress, can't revive himself with rhetoric alone. He needs to act "to pass a threshold of credibility that he will change things."



J. Danforth Quayle

How? Sign an executive order indexing capital gains, to show he has guts and boost the economy. Demand again that Congress pass his economic growth agenda, even at the risk of losing. Pick "some fights with Congress to show he's capable of shedding a little blood"—e.g., by vetoing the \$2.3 billion legislative appropriation. Announce a second-term cabinet to show it would have more domestic vigor and substance than the first. (James Baker can make the trains run on time, but he's not renowned for knowing what the trains should carry.)

Which brings up Mr. Bush's promise that Mr. Quayle's job is "very certain." Mr. Quayle has enough loyalty, and enough inner serenity, that he may himself go to Mr. Bush and offer to step down. His price should be high. He should resign only if he can also take the architects of Mr. Bush's low state with him, including Treasury Secretary Brady, Budget Director Darman and assorted White House deadwood. Mr. Weber could run the budget office, while Defense Secretary Cheney could run Treasury or swap jobs with the veep.

Voters aren't waiting for a vice president to leave the ticket. They're waiting for a president to lead the country.

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AL FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

An Apollo Project for the '90s

By JOHN SILBER

The Senate will soon have a chance to rescue the Superconducting Super Collider, or SSC. Although the House recently voted to cut off funding for the project, a Senate vote scheduled for early August could force a conference with the House and allow proponents of the SSC to make the arguments that will save it. It definitely should be saved.

Those in the House who voted against the SSC probably thought they were striking a blow for a balanced budget. In reality, they struck a blow against the American economy by halting a journey into space that, like the Apollo Project—President Kennedy's initiative to place a man on the moon—would combine extraordinary scientific progress with immense economic benefits.

This time, it is not the outer space of the solar system that beckons but the inner space of the atom.

The SSC is the ultimate particle-smasher, creating collisions that emulate conditions not seen since the instant after the Big Bang. Physicists will be able to test the hypothesis that various forces that govern the physical universe—like electromagnetism, radioactivity and the strong force, which holds the components of atoms together—were once a single force. The SSC will also reveal the structure of the fundamental building blocks of nature with the utmost precision.

Apollo Project

Like the Apollo project, the SSC will cost billions of dollars. Like the Apollo project, it presents immense challenges in engineering. The engineering challenges of the Apollo project called forth a host of remarkable developments—of which the microcomputer is only the best known—that needed only the will and the intellectual and financial resources to be made real. These developments have long outlasted the Apollo project and transformed our daily lives. The same will be true of the SSC.

The benefits of the SSC are threefold: scientific, economic and technological.

First, the SSC is the greatest scientific project ever undertaken, and offers us the opportunity to complete our understanding of matter. The last steps of the revolutionary scientific journey begun by Kepler and Newton now lie before us.

Second, the SSC is the equivalent of a major public-works project. It will require massive amounts of building materials and \$1 billion in heavy construction. Building the physical structure in itself will provide a major jump-start to the economy. More than a thousand industries, millions of man-hours of labor and hundreds of thousands of workers will be involved. To date, more than 27,000 contracts have been signed, primarily with

technological start-up companies.

But this economic impact will be eclipsed by a third benefit: the technological and industrial revolution that will follow from inventing and making the project's scientific components. When the best scientists and engineers work on the challenges of the SSC, they will inevitably invent new materials and technologies. As the Apollo project demonstrated, technical goals thought to be insurmountable in fact stimulate wondrous results.

The SSC will be located within a circular tunnel 54 miles around. Boring this tunnel will help to create new technologies

The Superconducting Super Collider is the single national initiative most likely to spur economic activity, invention and long-term prosperity. It is pump-priming appropriate to this technological age.

that will result in significant economies for the tunneling industry. These will directly benefit the water and sewage infrastructure of our aging cities, where many of the tunnels built at the turn of the century or before must be replaced over the next two decades. The recent Chicago flood, the result of crumbling tunnels, cost the city a billion dollars—an eighth the cost of the SSC.

Another example: Through the center of each of the SSC's magnets runs a 54-mile ring containing absolutely nothing—a vacuum more nearly perfect than that on the moon. The track along which protons travel at nearly the speed of light will be the Earth's largest high-vacuum system.

The magnets of the SSC will form a gigantic doughnut. Supercooling these magnets to within four degrees of absolute zero will transform our ability to refrigerate efficiently and safely. The magnets themselves must be kept in precise alignment, a task that will require a new generation of monitors of unexampled accuracy and reliability. The current in the magnets must be precisely controlled as well, so as not to lose the protons as they accelerate.

Literally hundreds of thousands of microprocessors will be needed to control the SSC. A new generation of supercomputers will be required to track the collisions at each experimental port. These computers, and the advances in superconductivity required by the SSC, will lead to better electrical power generation, to better load-leveling technology (with decreased envi-

ronmental impact), and to improved electric motors.

Development of the SSC will also provide the manufacturing infrastructure needed for magnetic-levitation railroads, a transforming technology invented in America that Congress seems determined to abandon to other countries.

The SSC is the single national initiative most likely to spur economic activity, invention and long-term prosperity. It is a pump-priming project appropriate to this technological age, with far greater potential than the projects of the WPA. The building and maintenance of bridges, highways and schools provide useful work that contributes to the infrastructure of the nation. But the SSC will not merely put tens of thousands of people to work in all parts of the country; it will transform our industrial and technological apparatus. Its ripple effects will far exceed those of the Apollo project if for no other reason than that the SSC is based on and in the earth.

Much of the work required by the SSC will by its nature provide significant opportunities for defense conversion. Defense industries seeking a new role in peacetime production can build many of its components, preserving thousands of jobs and avoiding serious social dislocations.

To scrap the SSC at this point, as the House majority voted to do, is to engage in self-defeating economizing—to save a penny and throw away a pound. The SSC is not an item of consumption, as nuclear weapons were, but an item of investment that will continue to generate wealth far into the next century. And the investment is not merely in long-term scientific progress but in immediate and long-range economic development.

Crucial Technology

European observers, seeing this American retreat from a crucial technology, are astonished. But they are also opportunistic. If we drop the SSC, Europe will almost certainly expand its own existing collider, known as CERN, in Switzerland. This improved collider will provide some of the scientific results expected from the SSC. But it will provide America with none of the economic benefits.

America is too young to step down from world leadership. Such leadership depends upon economic strength, and economic strength depends on the developments necessary to the building of the SSC. If we resign ourselves to a service economy we will resign ourselves to becoming the world's richest Third World nation.

Critics say we cannot afford to build the SSC. The truth is that we cannot afford not to build it.

Mr. Silber, president of Boston University, was the Democratic candidate for governor of Massachusetts in 1990.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

A Healthy Limit on the Disability Act

By DAVID COPUS

In their rush to comply with the Americans With Disabilities Act as it goes into effect next week, some corporations are being buffaloeed into believing that their employee fringe benefits plans are tainted and must be scrapped. The argument is that the programs limit benefits for mental disorders, alcoholism or drug addiction, things the ADA defines as disabilities, and the programs therefore constitute illegal discrimination.

Specifically, disability rights groups are demanding that benefits for treatment of every disability be equalized. For example, if a benefit plan does not limit the amount of benefits for treatment of cancer, the plan cannot, these groups argue, limit the amount of benefits for treatment of alcoholism, or even for stress. Alcoholic employees should be able to go through an endless series of 28-day clinic stays. Worse yet, employees "stressed out" for any reason at all could flock to therapists for daily counseling without limit. It doesn't take a rocket scientist to figure out that the costs—and abuse—of such an interpretation would swamp even a company's most determined efforts at cost containment.

It is not surprising that disability rights groups would advocate the most expansive possible interpretation of the law's impact, nor that benefits-consulting firms would agree that 98% of all company benefits plans need rewriting. Even some presumably unbiased lawyers have publicly endorsed this view.

But before employers sign on for billions in added annual costs, please note that the "experts" are wrong. The ADA does not outlaw a single plan. The authority here is the Supreme Court.

The relevant passage of the admittedly complex disability act sets out two basic conditions that a benefit plan must satisfy to avoid a violation. First, it must be "bona fide." Second, it must not be "used as a subterfuge to evade the purposes" of the act. The act does not define these terms, but the Supreme Court has authoritatively interpreted the meaning of a parallel passage in the Age Discrimination Act of 1967.

United Airlines Inc. v. McMann concerned a mandatory retirement program adopted before the passage of the Age Discrimination Act. *Public Employees Retirement System v. Betts* involved a post-

Age Discrimination Act disability retirement income plan giving disabled workers older than 60 regular retirement benefits, while younger workers with disabilities received more valuable disability retirement benefits. In both instances, lower courts had held that the plans were indeed "subterfuges" to evade the purpose of the age discrimination law.

However, the Supreme Court found that a benefit plan is "bona fide" if it pays benefits and that a "subterfuge" requires a specific, conscious intent by the employer to violate the act by discriminating in a non-fringe benefit aspect of employment. The court concluded that plans adopted prior to the passage of the Age Discrimination Act cannot possibly be intended to violate it and therefore are within a "safe harbor" with respect to charges of discrimination.

These interpretations apply with equal force to the virtually identical language of the ADA. That means that bona fide pre-ADA benefit plans are also safe-harbored and that employers can continue to adopt disability-specific limitations that are not intentionally designed to discriminate in non-fringe benefit aspects of employment such as hiring, wages or promotion.

While disability rights advocates and benefits consultants will no doubt disagree, their disagreement cannot stand in the face of the Supreme Court's rulings. It's a good thing for the nation that they can't.

The moral basis for applying the ADA to employee benefits plans is as dubious as its economic impact would be disastrous. Defining mental disorders and alcoholism as "disabilities" does not make them more deserving of benefit-plan expenditures—or less subject to limits—than other health-care problems. It does not serve American workers well to curtail employers' options in structuring benefit offerings. Nor will the nation's health-care financing problems be lessened by mandating open-ended support of non-traditional benefits at a cost in the billions of dollars; at some point, overloaded plans would sink of their own weight, forcing employers to discontinue them and leaving workers to the tender mercies of the private insurance market.

Consider the dilemma of the individual employer. Given the reality of limited resources, a reasonable rule of thumb has been to structure benefits plans to cover

the maximum number of employees and ailments. Mandating coverage for particular physical and mental disorders simply hinders the employer's ability to help those with other disorders—and discourages employers from hiring the disabled in the first place. The only way for an employer to control benefits costs is to limit the plan's scope or duration of eligibility in some way.

Let's remember not to lose sight of the true and laudable purpose of the ADA. A general ban on employment discrimination based on disability is consistent with our civil rights tradition. The ADA forces companies to focus on matching specific job requirements with applicant skills and abilities, rather than basing decisions on generalized, unexamined stereotypes about how an employee should look or sound. Critics may argue about the definition of "disability" and the ability of courts and government precisely to calibrate what makes an "accommodation" reasonable or a hardship "undue," but the objective of integrating the disabled into everyday working life is a praiseworthy one. For this reason, many larger corporations instituted voluntary programs to accommodate the disabled years ago.

The ADA as applied to employment represents a major social commitment and a sensible one. But stretching it to fringe benefits would be stretching it too far. Fortunately, the Supreme Court agrees.

Mr. Copus is a Washington attorney who represents corporations on employment matters. Glen Nager, another attorney who works on employment law, contributed to this article.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992

Saddam's confidence boosted by Bush's drubbing in polls

By Warren Strobel
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Saddam Hussein's stubborn defiance of U.N. weapons inspections is fueled, in part, by his perception that President Bush has been crippled by election-year polls that indicate a sharp decline in the president's fortunes.

Administration officials and Middle East experts say the Iraqi leader might have interpreted the president's domestic political difficulties as a sign that Mr. Bush will be unwilling to participate in an airstrike against Iraqi targets.

Baghdad's refusal to allow weapons inspectors to search the Agricul-

ture Ministry in the capital has prompted the United States and its allies to consider a limited bombing raid against unspecified targets.

But administration officials, as well as Democratic presidential nominee Bill Clinton, are sending clear signals that Washington and its allies will not allow Saddam to continually violate the conditions of the cease-fire that ended the war.

Mr. Clinton issued a statement yesterday promising not to use the Iraq issue for partisan gain.

"If the United Nations decides to use force to ensure Iraqi compliance with the cease-fire agreements, I will support American participation in such action," Mr. Clinton said. "Let Saddam Hussein make no mistake: Even during an election campaign, Americans are united on this issue."

Despite the apparent unanimity, Bush administration officials said any military operation poses electoral risks for Mr. Bush.

Any strike, they point out, carries the possibility of U.S. casualties — or prisoners of war.

A former U.S. official who was involved in executing the Gulf war said Pentagon planners will have to search carefully for targets that penalize Saddam but do not result in large numbers of Iraqi civilians killed.

Recalling the December 1983 air strike over Lebanon that resulted in two U.S. jets being shot down and an aviator being taken prisoner, the former official said: "You have to do all the what if-ing."

"It raises all sorts of questions," said an administration official, add-

ing that it appears Saddam is willing to absorb another allied strike.

Mr. Bush discussed Iraq with top advisers at a White House luncheon yesterday and conferred with Secretary of State James A. Baker III, who is traveling in the Middle East.

"We're getting quite close to some kind of final ultimatum to the Iraqis," a Western diplomat said.

One possibility is for Washington, Paris and London to issue a coordinated statement in the next three or four days.

"If he [Saddam] thinks we are not going to do this ... he is profoundly mistaken," the diplomat said.

At a minimum, experts said, Mr. Bush must be able to portray the strike as being carried out by and for the United Nations, even if most of the jets and pilots are American.

They said he is being helped in this regard by that fact that Rolf Ekeus, chairman of the U.N. special commission to destroy Iraq's weapons of mass destruction, has been highly critical of Iraq's blocking of the inspection and harassment of U.N. personnel.

Also, the United States, Britain and France seem to be united on the issue, although the stance of key Arab members of the Desert Storm coalition — such as Saudi Arabia — is less clear.

Officials said a military strike also must appear to be aimed at forcing Iraq to comply with U.N. Security Council resolutions, not at killing Saddam himself.

The Iraqi leader is virtually certain to emerge unscathed from an attack — and to appear, smiling, on

government-controlled television the next day.

Mr. Bush is just as certain to come in for some renewed public, congressional and media criticism for failing to finish off Saddam and his regime in Desert Storm.

Indeed, some State Department officials complain that the administration was not paying enough attention over the past few months as the Iraqi leader took bolder and bolder steps in defiance of the West.

But with Saddam unable to engender much sympathy here or in the Arab world, it seems doubtful that such criticism will go far.

"He's become the new ayatollah," the former official said. "People may not like Bush ... but they hate Saddam Hussein."

NEWS ANALYSIS

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 •

GOP invokes Carter

Clinton called mock moderate

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The White House and GOP yesterday began tackling two major re-election hurdles — the sour economy and Bill Clinton's moderate image — by tagging Mr. Clinton a Carter liberal and demanding Democratic action on the administration's economic plan.

Giving voters a peek at their re-election strategy, Republican officials yesterday moved quickly to take advantage of new but unspectacular economic readings to demand that Democrats in Congress stop blocking President Bush's six-point growth plan, built around aiding first-time home buyers.

"They figure that if the boat leaks enough, maybe they'll get a new captain — so why fix the holes?" Treasury Secretary Nicholas Brady told corporate executives in Chicago.

In its annual economic review, meanwhile, the White House broke with normal brevity and printed a huge document, which was mostly a reprint from its own 7-month-old budget report with criticisms of Congress' failure to pass administration economic initiatives.

"Almost all of the initiatives that require congressional action are still pending," the document says.

A senior administration official said the White House and the Bush-Quayle re-election team will soon charge that Democratic inaction on the president's growth plan has cost America millions of jobs.

"There is a compelling argument to be made that congressional inaction has cost Americans jobs. This is a do-nothing Congress, and they are hurting Americans," said a top administration official.

Vice President Dan Quayle and other top GOP officials, meanwhile, dubbed Mr. Clinton a tax-favoring liberal in the tradition of former President Jimmy Carter and called for a housecleaning in Congress.

Quoting Mr. Clinton's recent charge that Mr. Quayle could not

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GOP

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spell "liberal," Mr. Quayle went to his native Indiana yesterday to say, "Liberal is spelled C-L-I-N-T-O-N."

Mr. Quayle earlier described the team of Mr. Clinton and Sen. Al Gore, Tennessee Democrat, as being more liberal and threatening to wage earners and the jobless than the last Democratic duo to hold the White House — President Carter and Vice President Walter Mondale.

E. Spencer Abraham, co-chairman of the National Republican Congressional Committee, also described Democrats in Congress as inept as he made a broad charge that the House post office and bank scandals show that Democratic control in Congress is corrupt.

"It becomes clear once again how poorly the Democrats have run the House of Representatives for 38 years," said Mr. Abraham, referring to a House task force report released Wednesday detailing Democratic misdeeds.

"For a long time, Democrats have claimed that they know how best to run America. Now it turns out that they can't run their own bank, and they can't even run their own post office... [raising] serious questions about the ability of Democrats to run America," he said.

The multipronged attack on Democrats in general and Mr. Clinton specifically is part of an emerging strategy that will reach its height at the mid-August Republican National Convention in Houston, according to several campaign and administration officials.

They said the White House hopes to tear away the moderate image of the Democratic ticket while shifting blame for the sluggish economy to the Democrats.

A senior Bush adviser said the GOP will increase its attack on Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore as liberals, an effective strategy in 1988 but one that has its doubters this year since the Clinton-Gore ticket has painted itself in a moderate political light.

Campaign and White House officials, however, defended the strategy, noting that the Bush-Quayle campaign has to shore up its support among conservatives to win re-election in the fall.

The liberal label "is not old and it's not tired, it is relevant to the future of America," said a senior White

House official.

"It's time to redirect our attention and our money to new issues, and all Clinton is saying is give the government more money for the tired old Democratic programs."

The Bush-Quayle campaign also plans to tie the Clinton-Gore campaign to traditional liberal special interests, according to administration political strategists. Mr. Quayle, for example, plans to attack "tree huggers" in a speech next Monday, saying Mr. Clinton and Mr. Gore are captives of environmental extremists who proclaim, "Forget about jobs, protect the trees," the White House adviser said.

Mr. Bush last week used comments from former Democratic presidential candidate George McGovern to tag the Clinton-Gore team with the liberal label.

Surrogates including Mr. Quayle are making other comparisons. In addition to linking Mr. Clinton's economic plans to those of Mr. Carter, the vice president also is taking aim at Mr. Gore.

"You have got to remind people and to point out and define what Bill Clinton and Al Gore are all about. They come out of New York City and they say, 'We are these raging moderates.' That is a bunch of hokey. You know, Al Gore's voting record is the

same as Ted Kennedy's. Now, is Ted Kennedy a moderate? No," Mr. Quayle said on CNN's "Larry King Live."

To little surprise, the Bush-Quayle team wants to cast Mr. Clinton as a major-league taxer and is basing its charge on the Democrat's proposal to raise taxes on the highest wage earners.

That effort has led Democratic critics to hit the Bush-Quayle campaign with charges that it is lying about Mr. Clinton's economic plan, but the White House is firing back that the tax-the-rich scheme is just the beginning.

Mr. Quayle, for example, dis-

missed the Clinton campaign's statements that the Arkansas governor has no plans to extend any tax increase to middle-income Americans.

"Bill Clinton, as governor of Arkansas, raised taxes something like 128 different times. His record down there is not a record of moderation. But this is a trick... They are trying to paint themselves as moderates and they are not moderates. They may be able to fool the people in New York City, but they cannot be allowed to fool the American people," said Mr. Quayle, referring to the host city for the Democratic National Convention.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 •

PAUL CRAIG ROBERTS

Villains in the kitchen

The Tuesday confrontation between Federal Reserve Chairman Alan Greenspan and the Senate Banking Committee is noteworthy for the economic myths that bit the dust as well as for what was left unsaid.

The senators were uncharacteristically rough with Mr. Greenspan, accusing him of optimistic economic reports that proved to be untrue. The recession has lasted longer than Mr. Greenspan expected, and still the Fed has not got the money-supply growth up to its target level. The Fed chairman was accused of running an elitist economic strategy to cure inflation regardless of its cost in jobs and economic growth.

One has to wonder how the Democrats could be as upset as they seem to be over Mr. Greenspan's policy when the result has been to imperil the Republicans' hold on the White House. Still, there are lessons from the show that everyone needs to learn.

First, supply-side economists were right when they said that the combination of the budget agreement with lower interest rates and a weaker dollar would not revive the economy. The senators demanded the reason from Mr. Greenspan, and they also wanted to know why "staying the course" would result in an economic pickup in 1993 when 24 cuts in interest rates had so far produced a shrinking money supply and a rising unemployment rate.

Paul Craig Roberts, an economist at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, is a columnist for The Washington Times and is nationally syndicated.

Mr. Greenspan's answer was essentially that "you can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink until he's ready." By bringing the federal funds rate down from 10 percent to 3¼ percent, the Fed had led the horse to water. However, the structural imbalances in the economy from too much debt were worse than the Fed had thought, and the horse had refused to drink. Financial problems have constrained households from spending as they pay off debt, and companies have had to use funds to restructure their balance sheets instead of making new investments.

Mr. Greenspan opined that this process was largely completed. He reported that the economy was actu-

ally growing faster than he had previously predicted and that the jump in unemployment was not due to economic faltering but to an extraordinary rise in the labor force participation rate of adult males. This figure, he said, is usually stable, and its unanticipated rise explains the error in his unemployment forecast.

In short, Mr. Greenspan defended his record. Far from being too tight, he argued, the Fed had surpassed any previous easing in its effort to restrain the deflation in asset values caused by balance-sheet problems. Moreover, he said, this was a worldwide problem and the United States is actually in better shape than many of its competitors.

In essence, Mr. Greenspan re-

flected the normal business-cycle view of the economy. What he termed an "extraordinary expansion of economic activity" during the 1980s could not go on forever. Imbalances naturally tend to develop, and they bring the expansion to a halt until balance sheets are improved. The imbalances, he said, resulted from too many investments financed with too much debt in the expectation that inflation would continue to drive up values. Those who bet that the budget deficits would be inflationary simply bet wrong.

Mr. Greenspan rounded off his defense by noting that long-term interest rates have not fallen as much as short-term rates because Congress has continued to let spending

and the deficit grow.

This analysis is fine as far as it goes, but there is equally as much instruction in what was left unsaid. What suddenly produced the declining asset values that restrained economic activity with balance sheet problems, and why do bankers suddenly prefer government paper to making loans?

The true villains of the piece escaped unnamed. If erroneous inflation expectations led to an over-invested real estate market, how was the situation helped by the provisions in the Tax Reform Act that literally pulled the rug out from under real estate? When financial institutions are regulated into insolvency for making real estate loans and

their executives prosecuted for making bad loans, isn't public policy driving bankers away from their business in the economy to seek safety in Treasury securities?

If we add in higher taxes, vastly expanded regulatory costs and property takings, expanded tort liabilities, expanded grounds for discrimination and sexual harassment suits, and the Democrats' long list of mandated costs in an uncertain election year, we have bottled up the "animal spirits" of the economy in a way that lower interest rates cannot uncork. If the economy comes back with any strength, it is a sign that hope springs eternal and that public policy, however bad, has little lasting impact on the economy.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

STEPHEN CHAPMAN

Of all of the dramatic moments at the Democratic National Convention, none surpassed the speeches by two AIDS victims who used the opportunity not only to remind the audience of their suffering but to blame it on the Republicans.

"Exactly four years ago, my daughter died of AIDS," said Elizabeth Glaser. "She did not survive the Reagan administration. I am here because my son and I may not survive four more years of leaders who say they care — but do nothing."

Bob Hattoy told the delegates that "eight years from now there will be 2 million cases (of AIDS) in America. If George Bush wins again, we're all at risk."

The bleak truth is that Mrs. Glaser and her son are unlikely to survive no matter what the next president does to save them and that a lot of Americans will be at risk of AIDS even if Bill Clinton resides in the White House. The temptation here is to indulge the accusations as

Stephen Chapman is a nationally syndicated columnist.

AIDS spending shortchanged?

When Democrats treat the president as the enemy of AIDS victims, the charge deserves close examination.

the forgivable anger of people without hope. But when Democrats treat the president as the enemy of AIDS victims, the charge deserves close examination.

The main complaint against President Bush — and against Ronald Reagan — is that insufficient sums of money have been spent combat-

ting the epidemic. This claim implies that those dying of AIDS would be content with any partial sum. But any amount will look insufficient to someone whose life depends on a cure that has yet to be found.

Though federal AIDS spending has risen under Mr. Bush, Carisa Cunningham of the AIDS Action Council says he deserves no praise: "Every increase in the last four years has come from Congress." In fact, every budget Mr. Bush has sent to Capitol Hill has recommended more money for AIDS programs. He proposed an increase of 24 percent in budget authority for 1990, 18 percent in 1991, 15 percent in 1992 and 13 percent for 1993.

In former President Reagan's last

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CHAPMAN

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fiscal year, \$892 million was allotted for AIDS research. In Mr. Bush's most recent budget, he requested \$1.24 billion — representing a 39 percent increase in four years. This may be less than AIDS victims want, but it isn't "doing nothing."

No impartial observer can conclude that this disease has been shortchanged. AIDS ranks only 11th among causes of death in the United States, but it gets more research funds than any other illness except cancer. Heart disease kills 30 times more people than AIDS each year, but this year it's getting a third less research money than AIDS gets from the Department of Health and Human Services.

On a per-death basis, the government spends five times as much on AIDS as it does on cancer. When you compare on the basis of lost years of life (which takes into account that AIDS tends to strike the young rather than the old), it gets less money than cancer or diabetes, but more than heart disease or stroke. The record is hardly one of brutal indifference.

Another complaint is that the administration maintains a policy of excluding immigrants and foreign visitors who test positive for the HIV virus — a policy that the AIDS Action Council says is unique among industrialized nations.

But AIDS hasn't been singled out. Foreigners are also barred if they have other serious, contagious illnesses — tuberculosis, leprosy and venereal diseases. The policy serves the legitimate goal of protecting our own people from infection. The case for keeping out AIDS victims is the strongest of all — because the disease they may transmit is always lethal and because they are likely to become a heavy burden to American taxpayers.

Barring mere visitors may sound too harsh, but a lot of visitors don't leave when they're supposed to. Every year, some 80,000 foreigners overstay their visas. Some stay for good.

Nor is it true that the United States is alone in closing the door to people with AIDS. Last year, the New York state medical society compiled a list of 22 countries that require AIDS testing for immigrants and exclude anyone who tests positive — including Belgium, Germany, Greece and Finland.

The Democratic National Convention speakers did not mention one unusual concession to their needs — the Food and Drug Administration's decision to junk its usual procedures to speed the approval of the anti-AIDS drug AZT. Mr. Bush gets no credit for that because it occurred under Mr. Reagan — though he does get blamed for all of Mr. Reagan's failings.

AIDS victims can't really be blamed for looking for someone to blame for their tragedy. The danger is in assuming that because Mrs. Glaser and Mr. Hattoy were eloquent and moving, they were also right. Mr. Bush has not done enough to satisfy everyone, but he has nothing to apologize for.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

WILLIAM RUSHER

Manifest yearnings

It's tempting to devote this column to the fascinating antics of Ross Perot. But no mere columnist, writing days ahead of fast-moving events, can hope to keep up with a dervish whirling quite that fast. So let's let Mr. Perot and his supporters have a few days to get their act together, and concentrate instead on a feature of this year's campaign that's less likely to undergo dramatic mutation: namely, the voters' manifest longing for "change."

If there's one thing on which all political observers agree this year, it's that the public is fed up with the "gridlock" in Washington and wants a "change." I doubt that many people realize that they themselves, by voting doggedly for presidents of one party and Congresses of the other, are largely responsible for the gridlock. Nor does it matter greatly; the American people have always been notoriously tolerant of their own mistakes. The question isn't who got us into this mess, but who can get us out of it.

The Democrats have an easy answer: "You want change? OK — change presidents!" The Republicans have an equally easy reply: "No — change Congress!" Thus far, thanks in part to their recent convention, the Democrats' prescription has been about 10 times as audible and visible as the Republicans'. "I think Bush has mentioned that several times recently," one of his defenders told me yesterday. But "several times" is as good as none. Those words "Change Congress!" ought to be on every Republican poster, bumper-sticker and lapel pin, and in the beginning, middle and end of every Republican speech and television commercial between now and Election Day.

It's true, of course, that President Bush, as the nation's chief executive for the past 3½ years, cannot hope to avoid identification with the status quo altogether. But he has some very good points to make in his own defense, and he can certainly stand forth as "the candidate for change" if he will outline a dramatic series of

domestic initiatives, challenge Congress to adopt them, or ask the voters to give him a Congress that will.

First, a purely defensive point. Why do you suppose so many of Mr. Bush's successes as president have been in the field of foreign affairs? His critics contend that only foreign affairs interest him — that he doesn't care about domestic issues. But the truth is that in foreign affairs he is

largely free of partisan congressional obstruction. If the Democrats had the same veto power over foreign affairs that they exercise over domestic policy, there'd still be a Cold War — and the United States would be losing it.

Second, as to dramatic initiatives. Find out what the millions of Perot supporters, disgusted with politics as usual, want to back: notably, seri-

ous budget cuts. Blend these into the existing Republican proposals, most of which point in the same direction, and lay out the new program to the Republican National Convention in a speech that truly "rises to the occasion." Then call Congress back into session and demand that it pass the package or take the consequences. ("Change Congress!")

One final thing. The Democrats and their liberal allies in the media are doing their level best to rule out as irrelevant any discussion of Bill Clinton's character. If the Republi-

cans assent to this, they will richly deserve the defeat that will await them. Since when is a president's character irrelevant? There are those of us who think it is even more important than his IQ. Why is the dubious way the young Bill Clinton evaded his draft obligation, or the cavalier attitude of the more mature Mr. Clinton toward his marriage vows, no indication whatever of his probable behavior as president?

A campaign with all the above features would make Slick Willie look like a sick joke.

William A. Rusher, a senior fellow of the Claremont Institute, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

JOSEPH SOBRAN

Credibility crevasses

Random thoughts on the 1992 campaign:

Ross Perot gathered together millions of Americans who felt betrayed by their political system — and betrayed them.

It was a good businessman's decision. Mr. Perot recognized that he'd invested in a losing proposition and, rather than waste more money on it, abruptly cut his losses. The only thing he forgot was honor.

Ross Perot is 1992's MIA. Actually, he's a deserter.

The Wimp Factor appeared where we least expected it. The sudden fold proved that the tough-talking billionaire was the candidate with the least fortitude of the three big ones — or maybe the only one with enough dignity to feel degraded by a modern presidential campaign.

How will the Perot people vote? Most of them probably would have voted for President Bush until he broke his word too often, but couldn't bear to vote for Bill Clinton. My guess is that most of them will either return to Mr. Bush or won't vote at all.

Mr. Perot's former followers should picket the polls in November. Protesting the system is more civic-minded than participating in it.

The president called Mr. Perot and congratulated him on the great contributions to the political process. This was after Marlin Fitzwater had called him a "monster," Vice President Dan Quayle had called him a "temperamental tycoon" and Mr. Bush himself had called him "not very American."

We are back to the more-or-less, two-party system. The Democrats assure us that they are not so very different from the Republicans. The Republicans pretend to be the very

opposite of the Democrats until the day after the election.

Actually, it does not have to be a two-man race. There are plenty of other interesting candidates around. Unlike Mr. Perot, Andre Marrou of the Libertarian Party and Howard Phillips of the Taxpayers Party do not leave you guessing where they stand. But they don't have a billion dollars, so the media will ignore them — while giving billions' worth of free attention to the two men who are already too well known.

Why do we dismiss smaller parties as "third" parties? In an age when we have expanding options in everything from TV channels to sex — the age of "choice" and "diversity" and "inclusiveness" and "multiculturalism" and "alternative lifestyles" — why do we assume that two look-alike parties cover all the options we need?

Mr. Clinton's long, long acceptance speech wasn't brilliant, but it still displayed brilliance. It showed that the challenger has a keen sense of the incumbent's weaknesses and that he knows how to cover up his own vulnerabilities.

He also shows his shrewdness in defining "the rich," whose taxes he wants to raise, as households with gross incomes over \$200,000. This is the level just out of range of his core supporters, who tend to be dual-income couples who work for the government.

Does anyone know what the "New Covenant" is? Sounds mighty scriptural, doesn't it?

In his own acceptance speech, Al Gore showed what stuff he's made of when he used his son's terrible auto accident as an oratorical tearjerker. A true politician has no sense of privacy, not even his family's.

Politicians who pander to the demand for easy abortion always make a great show of their tender concern for children. The two Democrats have both flip-flopped on abortion, so naturally they proudly brought their progeny out for the cameras.

Mr. Bush is further behind this year than he was at the same point in 1988. Even more important, it will be harder for him to close the gap now, given the record he has amassed since then. His two chief handicaps are (1) his words and (2) his deeds.

The president has made it impossible for himself to say anything credible. It may be true that there's a sucker born every minute, but they don't die off all that fast. There are still a lot of angry suckers around from four years ago.

Mr. Bush still has one secret weapon, the one the Democrats always forget: the Roman Catholic vote. It could save him yet — especially since this Southern Baptist ticket is clearly disposed to act as if Catholics don't count.

Joseph Sobran, critic-at-large for *National Review*, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

CORD MEYER

Political facts of GOP life?

The facts of life on our increasingly crowded planet are spelled out for all to read in "The State of World Population — 1992" by the United Nations Population Fund. With a good reputation for accuracy in most recent projections, the group in this report warns that the years between now and the year 2000 will be decisive in determining whether the human race can stabilize at a total population of 9 billion or 10 billion in the year 2050 or whether it will escalate to an unmanageable 12.5 billion or more.

This means that the next U.S. president will be in a position to

make critical decisions that will help to determine whether the human race can win through to a prosperous future. As Carl Haub of the Population Reference Bureau points out, this population explosion is a relatively recent phenomenon and is occurring in Africa, Asia and Latin America as the result of declining death rates and continuing high birth rates in many countries. There were 4 billion people on this Earth in 1975, 5 billion by 1987 and there will be 6 billion by 1997.

One of the significant responsibilities of the next president will be to cooperate with the United Nations and with the other industrialized countries that have stable or declining birth rates to help the developing world stabilize its population. In view of the fact that we have a last chance in this decade to hold the human population within tolerable limits, it is time to determine where the candidates stand.

In the case of the Democratic ticket, there is a clear and unambiguous commitment in the section of the platform dealing with the global environment. The platform states that "explosive population growth must be controlled by working closely with other industrialized and developing nations and private organizations to fund greater family planning efforts."

In responding to a specific question, Bill Clinton has stated that he supports "providing access to con-

traceptives to everyone. The rapidly increasing population poses the single greatest threat to ecosystems and the quality of life on earth."

The Democratic vice presidential candidate, Al Gore, is on record at greater length in his recent book, "Earth in the Balance." In a chapter entitled, "Stabilizing World Population," he demonstrates a sophisticated awareness of the interrelationship between improved health care, female literacy and the availability of birth control devices. In the Third World, improving the status of women and the health of infants has worked to encourage family planning with remarkable results in places such as Thailand and Kerala, where birth rates have declined sharply.

The position of President Bush and the Republican Party on the issue of family planning is more complex and ambiguous than that of the Democrats and reflects the influence of commitments made in the Reagan administration. In 1973, Mr. Bush as U.S. representative to the United Nations, wrote a strong foreword to a book advocating birth control as an essential part of dealing with the population explosion.

Eleven years later, the U.S. delegation to the U.N. International Confer-

ence on Population in Mexico City announced that the U.S. government would deny funds to any nongovernmental organization that provides abortion counselling, referral or services. This Mexico City policy was reduced to a set of guidelines for the U.S. Agency for

International Development, and under its terms AID decided not to renew its 17-year general support grant for the International Planned Parenthood Federation, which had to cut its staff by 25 percent.

Similarly, the Reagan administration terminated its support to the U.N. Population Fund in 1985, charging involvement in a coercive abortion program in China. In addition, the Bush administration has consistently asked for less money for the AID family planning budget than a bipartisan majority of Congress has been willing to support.

Mr. Gore may have correctly diagnosed the problem when he wrote in his book that "President Bush depends upon a political coalition that includes a tiny minority within a minority, who strongly oppose contraception and object to governmental funds being used to purchase any birth control technology."

The large majority of those in the anti-abortion movement do not object to family planning, and it is time for Mr. Bush to break with an alliance forged by his predecessor that severely inhibits his capacity to act to limit world population growth. It is not too late for the president to make this break and to regain the credibility he once enjoyed on this fundamental issue.

It is not too late for the president to make this break and to regain the credibility he once enjoyed on this fundamental issue.

Cord Meyer is a nationally syndicated columnist.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

CLARENCE PAGE

Haunting purloined phrases

Another scandal haunts Bill Clinton. President Bush claims he lacks originality.

Oh, the shame of it.

The controversy centers on Mr. Clinton's stirring line, "Now that we have changed the world, it's time to change America," in his acceptance speech at the Democratic National Convention.

President Bush claims the line is stolen directly from the State of the Union address he delivered earlier this year and has used on several occasions since:

"If this age of miracles and wonders has taught us anything, it's that if we can change the world, we can change America."

The Clinton campaign calls it a coincidence. Mr. Bush sees it as an opportunity to gloat, probably his best since Ross Perot decided not to run.

"I loved it when I'm told my opponent ... said, 'Well, we've changed the world, now let's change America,'" Mr. Bush said Monday at a Rose Garden session with Boys Nation delegates. "Hey, a Democratic candidate dropped out of the race for plagiarism last year."

He was referring to Sen. Joe Biden, Delaware Democrat, dropping out of the 1988 presidential campaign. Sen. Biden was charged with borrowing lines from a speech by British Labor Party leader Neil Kinnock and allegedly plagiarizing part of a paper in college.

I wonder if Paul Simon, the singer, not the senator, will charge Mr. Bush with stealing the line "age of miracles and wonders" from his "Graceland" album. Hmmmmm

Anyway, Mr. Clinton's spokesman, George Stephanopoulos, said their campaign was "unaware" of Mr. Bush's use of the line, which may say something about how closely they have been paying attention to the president's lines. Nevertheless, Mr. Stephanopoulos was not troubled. "Gov. Clinton actually believes in change," he said. "There is no evidence President Bush does."

Picky, picky, picky. Have the Clintonites no shame? I'm no defender of Bush policies, but it's hard to make the claim that the president does not believe in change. Look, for example, at some of the ways the world and America have changed in the Bush years. You may be assured the candidates will be reminding you.

First, the world has changed. Communism has collapsed, the Cold War has ended. Rest assured that Mr. Bush will claim credit for all of it, even if it is not exactly clear what he did to change any of it.

That's how the record game is played. When changes happen "on your watch," as the saying goes, you put them in your "attaboy" column,

Clarence Page is a nationally syndicated columnist.

RAVIER

The Bushire Cat



THIS TIME IT VANISHED QUITE SLOWLY, BEGINNING WITH THE END OF THE TAIL AND ENDING WITH HIS LIPS...

-ALICE IN WONDERLAND

President Bush claims the line in question is stolen directly from the State of the Union address he delivered earlier this year and has used on several occasions since.

knowing full well that, if things had gotten worse, you would have caught the blame. Just ask Jimmy Carter.

Mr. Bush certainly changed things in the Persian Gulf. He quickly put together an alliance of nations and chased Saddam Hussein out of Kuwait. Unfortunately, Saddam remains in power, which is more than you can say for democracy in Kuwait, still capable of committing mischief. But that's OK. We have a "new world order," says Mr. Bush, even if he can't quite tell us what it is.

We've had changes back home, too. It wasn't easy, and for a while there were those who doubted he could pull it off, but Mr. Bush successfully brought the Reagan boom years to a shuddering halt.

More plants have closed, more people are out of work. California, once the dream land for the middle class, is paying its workers with vouchers instead of dollars for the first time since the Depression. We had a major riot in Los Angeles.

No, George Bush might not be able to claim credit for all of these changes. But they, too, happened on his watch. The Bush campaign realized the magnitude and significance

of such changes when, campaigning in New Hampshire, they had a tough time re-creating photo opportunities at companies Mr. Bush had visited four years earlier. Most of them had laid off workers or gone out of business.

And, as much as the economy's statistical indicators show its sputtering attempts to get restarted, there's not much chance for substantial improvement before November's election. Economic changes come about slowly, more like an ocean liner than a cigarette boat.

So I wouldn't be surprised to see that tubby little plagiarist steal even more lines soon. Even as Mr. Bush was accusing Mr. Clinton of stealing his lines, Mr. Clinton stole another.

It happened during a television appearance in Louisville, Ky., when Mr. Clinton, responding to questions from a studio audience and others, took a question that Vice President Dan Quayle had videotaped there a week earlier in response to an invitation from the TV station.

"Why is a tax increase the centerpiece of your economic growth agenda?" Mr. Quayle asked. "I know you'll say you're just going to tax the wealthy ... (But) when you Democrats start defining the wealth, it becomes ... anyone who has a job."

The audience applauded. Mr. Clinton responded with a smile, "Read my lips."

Recognizing the line as the opening words of Mr. Bush's "no new taxes" pledge from the 1988 campaign, a pledge Mr. Bush failed to keep, the audience then applauded Mr. Clinton.

Naughty, naughty. Mr. Clinton will never stop stealing lines if his audiences keep encouraging him like that.

Next thing you know, he'll be asking us if we're better off now than we were four years ago.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

SAMUEL FRANCIS

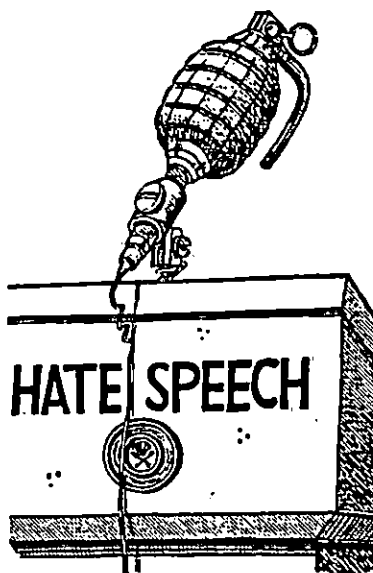
If it's real populism you want, forget Ross Perot. The real Voice of the People bellowed out of Beverly Hills last week, from the widows of cops killed in the line of duty and the still-twitching bodies of policemen crippled and blinded by criminals who are the heroes of the hour at Time Warner, Inc. The media conglomerate is the distributor of black rap artist Ice-T's "Body Count" album, which sports a now-notorious lyric rhapsodizing the slaughter of cops.

The People made one of their rare appearances at Time Warner's stockholders' meeting in Los Angeles. They wanted the company to pull Ice-T's murderous music off the shelves, but the company wouldn't do it. It was too busy counting its earnings, which amounted to \$9 million for the second quarter of the year — not quite the \$10 million Mr. Perot tossed off for his dead-end non-campaign, but a bit more than policemen's widows ever see.

It, of course, money has nothing to do with Time Warner President Gerald Levin's refusal to pull the plug on Ice-T. Oh, no; you see, it's

Samuel Francis, a columnist for The Washington Times, is nationally syndicated.

Symbol of a culture chasm



free speech and his mission to the wretched of the earth that Mr. Levin swaddles himself in. "For a company like ours to have any meaning," he spouted to the walking and non-walking wounded assembled in the meeting, "we must help insure that the voices of the powerless, the disenfranchised, those at the margins are heard."

We won't shut off Ice-T's "Cop Killer," and if more cops are murdered by the goons who keep Mr. Levin in silk pajamas, well, that's the price we — meaning you — have to pay for the lofty sentiments Ice-T regularly vomits up.

But you can't fool all the people all the time, and one protestor at the meeting, Los Angeles Detective Ed Auerbach, saw through Mr. Levin's oily twaddle at once. Time Warner's defense of "Cop Killer," Mr. Auerbach sneered, "is a slap in the face from ... a lot of corporate fat cats who don't understand what's going on out in the street."

If it's the "powerless," the "disenfranchised," those "at the margins" you want, don't look for them in the circles Mr. Levin and Ice-T frequent. Look for them in the hospitals, the morgues and the cemeteries where the rhythms Mr. Levin's company

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FRANCIS

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peddles send them without twitching a lip. As the stockholders' meeting progressed, who should ride by but Ice-T himself, whose contribution to the dialogue was to flash his middle finger at the cops whose murder he croons about.

But Mr. Levin is not alone in the self-serving cow drop he offers in defense of his company. "What we're really doing is responding to a cultural need," smirks Danny Goldberg, senior vice president of Atlantic Records. "We believe in total freedom," chirps Jerry Heller, president of Ruthless Records, which publishes, among other gems of harmony by the rap group N.W.A., a graphic little ditty about the kidnapping and murder of a prostitute.

Well, maybe the record companies believe in total freedom and maybe they don't. A couple of weeks ago, The Washington Post carried a story about European neo-Nazi rock groups and their "hate music" that incites mayhem against Jews, immigrants and minorities. So far, not much of this exciting new art form seems to have been picked up on this side of the Atlantic by the companies of Mr. Levin, Mr. Goldberg or Mr. Heller. Maybe their commitment to "total freedom" is not quite as total as they'd like us to believe.

The small and angry confronta-

tion at the stockholders' meeting last week is a perfect symbol of the schism that splits this country and its culture. On one side, you have — dare I say it — the cultural elite, composed of Mr. Levin and fellow fat cats Ice-T and N.W.A., who pull down millions from their non-stop battery of what are called, in the value-free jargon of sociology, "traditional values." On the other, you have the white working and middle class cops, their wives and their widows.

It is the same division that split supporters of the National Endowment for the Arts against its foes, except that in Los Angeles it wasn't the government vending garbage but private enterprise, and it wasn't just a few dirty pictures and stage acts but the systematic incitement of murder through music.

What emerged from the policemen's futile protest in Los Angeles last week was the fundamental issue of the conflict: Not whether government should subsidize art or whether the art it subsidizes is good or bad, but whether the elites who create and manage the mass culture of the country will abide by the country's norms and values.

The answer was clear: The cultural elite is the enemy of the American people and their way of life. All it has to say to us is Mr. Levin's insulting cant and Ice-T's extended finger. The People seem to have gotten the message. Now they need to send the cultural elite a message of their own.

REED IRVINE/JOE GOULDEN

The same weapon that led to the trial of four Los Angeles policemen for beating Rodney King has now tripped up Gerald Levin, the president and co-chief executive officer of Time Warner, the mightiest media conglomerate in the world. The weapon is the humble home video camera.

Ice-T, the controversial "gangster rap" artist whose record "Cop Killer" has angered everyone from the cop on the beat to the commander-in-chief in the White House, was taped by a home video camera shortly after the Los Angeles riots and began discussing how he feels about the police. What he said then, speaking to a small group in the parking lot of a black-owned radio station, makes a fool of Mr. Levin, who defends Time Warner's distribution of "Cop Killer" against the avalanche of criticism.

Mr. Levin told disgusted shareholders and angry police officers at the Time Warner annual meeting on July 16 that Ice-T is an artist who is "depicting the despair and anger that hang in the air of every American inner city, not advocating attacks on police." He said Ice-T is sending messages "against drugs

Reed Irvine is chairman of Accuracy in Media. Joe Goulden is AIM's director of media analysis.

Home video trips Time Warner

and gang violence and racism." He insisted all 22 members of the Time Warner board shared that view.

One week later, the NBC Today Show aired the home video of Ice-T rapping with his brothers on the inner city parking lot. Here is what he said:

"The police ain't --- to me and never will be. They're a Gestapo organization in L.A., and until you start taking these cops down in the street, then ya-all really still --- in the wind. And when brothers get ready to do that, I'll be right in the front. You know what I'm sayin'? But niggers ain't ready to go smoke no pigs. ... I personally would like to blow some --- police stations up. And if it was up to me, I would burn the White House down, you know. Because I'm an anarchist. I'm ready to do this ---, but some people gotta die. And if you ain't ready to spill no blood, then, you know, get on out of here."

That is the real Ice-T speaking, and his message is identical to that

Now, thanks to that home video and to NBC, we have the proof from Ice-T's own lips that Gerald Levin and his board were wrong. The question is, will they now follow the advice of Spike Lee and do the right thing — withdraw the album?

in his song, "Cop Killer," in which he says, "Die, die, die, Pig, die." He asks a boy what he wants to be when he grows up. The boy responds, "A cop killer!" Ice-T says, "Good choice!"

Mr. Levin, who insisted that he had the unanimous support of his 22 member board of directors, held fast to his insistence that the critics misunderstood Ice-T's message in "Cop Killer," but he ducked demands that he explain what the message was.

He was subjected to a four-hour attack from shareholders and 17 police officers and their spokesmen, who were given permission to attend the meeting in hopes that this would defuse their anger. The attack was led by Charlton Heston, who arose to say that he had "come as a shareholder" to condemn the company's response to demands that the album be withdrawn.

Mr. Heston pointed out that Time Warner had even sent copies of the album to disc jockeys in miniature plastic body bags. Mr. Heston wondered if the person who thought up this sick "promotional gimmick" was the same clever chap who proposed as cover art on another album a gunman lurking near the White House with an Uzi, waiting for President Bush.

Mr. Heston noted that Mr. Levin could have said, "Look, I don't have time to listen to rap lyrics. If some clown in the record division screwed up, we'll deal with it." Instead, Mr. Heston said, "He tried to claim the moral high ground, with protestations of Time Warner's respect for

the artist's creative freedom. Mr. Levin, come on. I've been doing this for a living all my life. I know, at least as well as you do, that an artist's creative freedom depends on the success of his last work and the demand for his next."

Mr. Heston tried shock treatment, quoting — expletives included — the unprintable lyrics of "Cop Killer" and another record in the album, "KKK Bitch." The latter describes Ice-T's fantasy of having sex with two 12-year-old girls — the nieces of Tipper Gore, the wife of the Democrats' vice presidential nominee.

"This is the matter Time Warner is defending," Mr. Heston said. "Not out of principle. Out of greed." He and other speakers demanded that Time Warner withdraw "this vile and irresponsible record," as Time magazine described it.

The powerful criticisms of Charlton Heston and a score of other speakers fell on deaf ears. Mr. Levin and his board stuck fast to their claim that everyone who thought Ice-T was instructing children to kill cops was wrong.

Now, thanks to that home video and to NBC, we have the proof from Ice-T's own lips that Gerald Levin and his board were wrong. The question is, will they now follow the advice of Spike Lee and do the right thing — withdraw the album?

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

Houston hears Clinton hit Bush on crime rise

HOUSTON (AP) — Democrat Bill Clinton ventured into George Bush's adopted hometown yesterday to denounce the Bush administration for failing to live up to the tough-on-crime talk that helped the Republicans win in 1988.

The Democratic presidential nominee drew a mixture of boos and cheers from a rowdy, rain-soaked crowd as he assailed Mr. Bush for opposing the Brady Bill, which would require a waiting period on the purchase of handguns.

"The president used the crime issue to beat Democrats in 1988 and then turned around and tried to take \$100 million away from state and local law enforcement," Mr. Clinton said.

A Clinton campaign statement labeled "The Bush Record: A Rap Sheet on Crime" said that Mr. Bush proposed cutting local law enforcement aid by \$100 million in his fiscal 1992 budget.

Speaking in a steady rain to about 2,500 people on the steps of Houston's City Hall, Mr. Clinton outlined his plans to make the nation's streets safer and promised to use the crime issue "not to divide the American people, but to unify the American people."

That was one of several veiled references to Republican attacks on 1988 Democratic nominee Michael Dukakis. The GOP four years ago sought to paint Mr. Dukakis as soft on crime by stressing the case of Willie Horton, a Massachusetts prisoner who went on a crime spree while in a furlough program supported by Mr. Dukakis, then the state's governor.

Mr. Clinton said the Brady Bill would help protect police officers by giving them time to check the background of people who want to buy guns.

"I don't see how he can ask men and women to put on the uniform and risk their lives ... if he's not willing to spend a little political capital and take a little heat," Mr. Clinton said of Mr. Bush.

The Arkansas governor, who comes from a state with a long tradition of hunting, said he supports the right to bear arms.

"You're a liar," somebody in the crowd yelled.

The impatient crowd booed the local speakers who preceded Mr. Clinton. "We want Bill," they repeated.

Mr. Clinton, a former state attorney general, promised to put 100,000 new officers on the streets if elected president. He has proposed a National Police Corps that would offer unemployed veterans and active military personnel a chance to become law enforcement officers at home. Federal money would pay



AP
Bill Clinton shushes eager fans at Houston City Hall yesterday.

their salaries if local police departments organized neighborhood patrol programs.

He also wants to expand an Arkansas "boot camp" program nationwide. Created in 1991, the 60-day program stresses military-style discipline and drug treatment for first-time, non-violent offenders.

Mr. Clinton supports the death penalty and has presided over the execution of four state inmates.

The campaign's "rap sheet" said the homicide rate under Presidents Bush and Reagan rose 11.9 percent and violent crime rose 22.6 percent in the same period.

The crime rate in Clinton's home state also has risen, according to the Arkansas Crime Information Center.

There were 206 homicides in 1980, Mr. Clinton's second year as governor. In 1991, there were 264 homicides, a 28 percent increase.

The rate of violent crimes in the state — homicides, rapes, robberies and aggravated assaults — rose 85 percent from 1980 to 1991.

Lawmaker doubts Bush on staff exemptions

By Frank J. Murray
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

The subcommittee chairman rewriting laws governing White House staff asked President Bush yesterday if he really wants to cancel exemptions from ethics, labor and civil rights measures for his administration as well as Congress.

"Myself, I don't think they should, because there's good underlying logic for the exemptions," Rep. Paul Kanjorski, the Pennsylvania Democrat who heads the House Civil Service subcommittee on human resources, said in an interview yesterday.

With a sly grin, he predicted Mr. Bush would back off his demand on Congress, but Mr. Kanjorski showed real teeth in his ongoing probe into hidden White House travel costs that already turned up more specifics

than even the General Accounting Office could obtain.

Mr. Kanjorski, who makes the point that his committee and staff will fly commercial coach to Montana this weekend for unrelated hearings, conceded he cannot elude the charge he is dabbling in partisan politics and said he considered putting the matter on hold until after November.

He noted that his bills are not veto-proof but wants them to form part of an agenda during the first 100 days of a new administration if Democrat Bill Clinton wins the White House.

"I thought about waiting, but nobody would stop saying 'politics' anyway and, if there there is a new president, it's going to be that presidency that's going to be constrained by this anyway," Mr. Kanjorski said.

Public disclosure of consolidated travel costs would inhibit unneces-

sary trips, he said, adding that he has "deliberately avoided" asking Mr. Clinton's views on the issue.

The White House has said little on his travel probes, which delve into spending by military and civilian agencies for White House purposes, and did not send requested witnesses to a hearing Tuesday.

The White House responded that Mr. Bush will veto any law that does not apply equally to both branches.

"We have already proposed to extend a number of these laws to Congress and the White House. We are pleased to hear that Congress is interested in applying these laws to themselves and will be delighted to work with them to achieve this goal," said Judy Smith, deputy White House press secretary.

On March 20, Mr. Bush demanded that Congress "should apply ... the same laws — from employment

practices to civil rights to the Freedom of Information Act — which it imposes on everyone else." House Minority Leader Robert H. Michel of Illinois later introduced a bill to end those exceptions.

Mr. Bush said then that he would apply similar steps to the executive branch but has not submitted legislation to accomplish that.

"Congress is exempted from some of these laws for many of the same good reasons it exempted the White House. Does he really want to change that position?" Mr. Kanjorski asked.

"It would be helpful to know as soon as possible if you would like to have provisions added to the draft bill to ensure that your staff, the employees of the Executive Office of the President, are covered by these or any other laws for which coverage is now absent or incomplete," Mr. Kanjorski's letter to Mr. Bush said.

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

Quayle pro-choice? No way, Marilyn says

By Paul Bedard
THE WASHINGTON TIMES

Pro-choice advocates thought they'd found a crack in the GOP pro-life platform Wednesday night when Vice President Dan Quayle told CNN talk-show host Larry King that he would support his daughter if she chose to have an abortion.

But Mr. Quayle's wife, Marilyn, declared bluntly in a later interview that an abortion was out of the question, while the vice president reiterated his pro-life stance in a public appearance yesterday.

Still, the 24-hour whirlwind of comments highlighted the expected platform fight between pro-life and pro-choice advocates at next month's Republican National Convention.

"I commend him for supporting his daughter and giving her the freedom to make that decision, but it seems contradictory that he would support access to an abortion for his own daughter but deny it to the millions of American women who want to preserve the legal right to choose," Mary Crisp, head of the National Republican Coalition for Choice, said yesterday.

"Dan Quayle is pro-life," argued Susan Brackin, who heads the Washington office of Phyllis Schlafly's Republican National Coalition for Life. "He's been pro-life in the past, and I don't see any evidence of change in that position."

Mr. King, on his program, asked the vice president what he would do if his 13-year-old daughter, Corinne, grew up and "came to you with that problem that all fathers fear."

"I hope I never have to deal with it," Mr. Quayle said. "But obviously I would



With builder Jeff Hatfield, Dan Quayle waves from a home being built in Evansville, Ind.

counsel her and talk to her and support her on whatever decision she made."

When asked if that included a decision to have an abortion, he said: "I'd support my daughter. I'd hope that she wouldn't make that decision."

Yesterday, in an interview with an Iowa radio station, Mrs. Quayle, who has tried to keep her children out of the political arena, said of her daughter, "If she becomes pregnant, she'll take the child to term."

Quayle critics immediately seized on the apparent clash and charged that Mr. Quayle was contradicting his earlier opposition to abortion.

Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton said Mr. Quayle's comments bolster his "position that these matters should not be turned back into crimes."

When asked by reporters how he would handle a pregnancy of his 12-year-old daughter, Chelsea, Mr. Clinton said, "I wouldn't talk to the press about it."

"Sounds like choice to me," House Speaker Thomas S. Foley, Washington Democrat, said when asked about the vice president's comments.

By late yesterday, Mr. Quayle tried to settle the issue, reiterating during a campaign visit to Indiana: "We are pro-life. ... We are opposed to abortion."

Pressed on his answer on CNN, the conservative vice president added, "I was asked a hypothetical question about my daughter. ... I said that I would counsel her and encourage her not to have an abortion, but I would support my daughter."

In an interview in Family Voice, published by the pro-life group Concerned Women for America, Mr. Quayle said the Bush-Quayle campaign has no plans to give in to pro-choice Republicans and change the GOP platform calling for a constitutional ban on abortion.

David O'Steen, executive director of the National Right to Life Committee, said "most right-to-life parents would give the same response" as Mr. Quayle.

Echoing Mr. Nesbit, Mr. O'Steen said the vice president was simply trying to explain that "you can love a person that makes a wrong decision and still not approve of the decision."

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

Load 'em up

So what'll it be? Quantity or quality? Peter D. Hart Research Associates Inc. has just conducted a survey for the Washington-based Grocery Manufacturers of America Inc. giving people a choice of celebrity shopping baskets. If you could have a week's worth of the groceries purchased by any of the several celebrities mentioned, which would you choose?

Jane Fonda beat out Madonna and four others.

Miss Fonda was selected by 33 percent of those polled. Bill Cosby got 26 percent; Sylvester Stallone, 14 percent; Roseanne Arnold, 9 percent; Joan Collins, 8 percent; and Madonna, only 2 percent.

"It's probably the first national contest Jane Fonda has won for a long time," Mr. Hart said.

Reality check

Is it just us, or is the line between fact and fiction really getting thinner? Critics of the column will readily side with the "just us" theory, of course, but you've got to admit things are getting kind of mixed up.

Politicians are talking about Murphy Brown like she's a real person. Movies and sitcoms are becoming political and ideological battlegrounds.

So it makes sense that CNN talk-show host Larry King would ask Vice President Dan Quayle the other night if he would consider appearing on the "Murphy Brown" sitcom.

"I'm not so sure I'm up for a 'Murphy Brown' appearance yet," Mr. Quayle responded, adding that he wasn't sure they'd want him anyway.

But if they did, Mr. King wanted to know, would he do it?

"Well, I'd — I'd consider it."

"I mean, if they let you get your point across, really?" Mr. King continued.

INSIDE THE BELTWAY

"Well, I'd... oh, absolutely. If I can get my point across in a fair, uncensored way," Mr. Quayle said.

The vice president emphasized that he figured his viewpoint would be censored. But who knows? Maybe he'll blaze the way into a whole new thing, a genuine merger of politics and entertainment instead of this halfway stuff we have to endure at present.

Big book deal

So there's a report in USA Today that Ross Perot has signed for a multimillion-dollar book deal. An aide promises that it'll be hot stuff. "I don't think there's ever been a publication that deals with the problems of the land in such a far-reaching way," the aide told a reporter.

Mr. Perot had better hustle it up. According to other press reports, books about him are tumbling off the best-seller lists overnight, dropping as much as 80 percent in sales. "I guess all these books will be coming back to us, unless people burn them in the streets first," one publisher told the New York Times.

Lights, camera!

A number of journalists, pundits and lawmakers around town will have bit parts in "Dave," a Warner Bros. movie starring Kevin Kline and Sigourney Weaver. The McLaughlin Group, Hodding Carter, Sen. Alfonse D'Amato and Sen. Alan Simpson are among those who will play themselves in the film.

The screenplay is by Gary Ross. He wrote "Big," and he's described by the studio as "very political."



Wonder if the camera will capture Sen. Alfonse D'Amato's panache.

Which brings us to the plot. According to the New York Post, it's about a president who has a stroke "and the vice president is too much of an imbecile to fill in." So the White House chief of staff hires an impersonator to play the president, an average guy who really gets into the role and starts making substantial policy changes.

A movie featuring a dumb vice president. Hmmm. How come Sens. D'Amato and Simpson agreed to go along with that one?

Frank Coleman, Mr. D'Amato's spokesman, said that's not the plot line the studio told him about. "It doesn't say that," he said as he searched through the letter. "I don't know where [the paper] got that. They said the writer really wanted someone with the D'Amato style

and panache."

So Mr. D'Amato's going ahead with it? Mr. Coleman says you can see him in a theater near you next spring. "Alfonse goes to Hollywood," he says.

As for Mr. Simpson, spokesman Stan Cannon says the announcement that he'd be in the film was "premature." The office is still checking out the offer and so far Mr. Simpson hasn't decided.

We get results

Yesterday we mentioned that L. Brent Bozell of the Media Research Center was up in arms because the Human Rights Campaign Fund, a homosexual lobbying group, had learned a month ago that its reservations for rooms at the GOP convention had been confirmed by the Republican National Committee. Mr. Bozell said he'd tried to get an answer about his own rooms without any success.

Well, the ink on yesterday's newspaper was hardly dry before we received a copy of a letter from Gregory King, communications director of the rights group, to Mr. Bozell.

"I was sorry to read in this morning's Washington Times that you're getting the runaround from Rich Bond and the folks at the Republican National Committee," Mr. King writes. "If it is any help to you, the Human Rights Campaign Fund would be more than happy to give you the use of one of our rooms at the Holiday Inn North in Houston."

Mr. King adds that his group won't be using its allotment and that rates at the Holiday Inn are "very reasonable — conservative, in fact."

Mr. Bozell says he won't be needing the rooms, though. As if by magic, the RNC came up with 50 rooms for him. Any comment on the note from Mr. King? "Not yet. I'm still laughing."

— John Elvin

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

Syria and human rights

The triumph of hope over experience — perhaps that's the best way to describe it. If Secretary of State James Baker had any illusions about finding Syrian President Hafez Assad amenable to peacemaking following Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's promise to limit the construction of Jewish settlements, there was no indication after Tuesday's meeting in Latakia, Syria, that Mr. Assad has entertained a change of heart. Thus far he has not been prepared to give an inch in the peace negotiations. It seems that just showing up at the meetings to placate Washington is and was pretty much all that Syria ever intended to do.

This shouldn't come as a surprise to anyone. In the aftermath of the Persian Gulf war, Syria has changed little on any other fronts. Damascus continues to support international terrorism, to traffic in drugs through Lebanon's Bekaa Valley and to purchase ballistic missiles and vast quantities of other weapons. And, as revealed by the Amnesty International report published this week on political prisoners in Syria, Mr. Assad's record at home remains as abysmal as his international one. He may have chosen to cozy up to Washington after losing his Soviet sponsors, but that does not mean that his regime is any less criminal than it used to be.

For a brief moment in late 1991 and early 1992, it seemed as though things might be changing. Presidential amnesties were announced in December 1991 and March of this year to much fanfare, and 3,464 prisoners were pardoned.

According to the report, the hopes engendered were premature. Thousands of political prisoners remained jailed and, of those pardoned, "Amnesty International has only been able to confirm the actual release of around 2,000 between December 1991 and April 1992." What happened to the rest no one knows. Those who did make it out — many now settled abroad — tell of

gruesome ordeals. Many had no contact with the outside world for months or years. Some spent as much as 20 years in prison in this fashion. Torture was widespread, including beatings and electric shocks. Those who fall ill as the result of torture and maltreatment receive no medical attention. Many die.

Meanwhile, Syria's state-of-emergency laws remain in place some 30 years after they were imposed. They allow the Syrian government "preventive arrest of anyone suspected of endangering public security and order" and authorize the government to "investigate persons and places." They also give the government the power to delegate "any person to perform any of these tasks." If the wording seems a little broad, that's probably no coincidence. Most prisoners of conscience are unceremoniously carted off by the security forces with no warning. They receive no hearing, no trial. In fact, most are never even told why they were arrested. Relatives can wait years to learn their whereabouts.

Even as the much-vaunted releases were taking place, others were being detained as enemies of the state by Syria's military intelligence and political security forces. Foreign nationals, human rights activists, suspected political opponents, former government and Ba'ath Party officials suspected of disloyalty — all end up in jail. Arbitrary arrests, disappearances and execution-style murders have continued unabated.

Amnesty International calls for a number of steps that should be urged on Syria: the release of all prisoners of conscience; release of all held without trial as well as those held beyond the expiration of their sentences; access to prisoners by their relatives; an end to torture. No one could quarrel with any of these objectives. It may not make much sense to ask, as Amnesty also does, for Syrian authorities to set up an independent body to investigate their own human rights abuses. But perhaps Mr. Baker could raise the issue next the time he meets with our friend Mr. Assad.

Joe McCarthy goes Democrat

No sooner had Bill Clinton's campaign train left the station than he and running mate Al Gore began to predict 90 yards of nastiness from George Bush and the Republicans. They'll call us "liberals," they warned; they'll attack us on "family values" or our lack thereof; they'll say we're "big spenders." Well, Mr. Clinton is probably onto something: The Republicans probably will attack him and his platform on those very issues, though how nasty they will be in doing so is another question. But meanwhile the Democrats in Virginia are brewing up a little nastiness themselves. As the Associated Press reported, the heirs of Thomas Jefferson are trying to smear Old Dominion Republicans by linking them with the Ku Klux Klan.

The Klan Plan seems to have originated in the Democratic Legislative Caucus, a party organization that helps elect Democratic candidates, and appeared in one of its recent documents that tries to figure out how to elect more of them. One of the proposals projected in the document, titled "Blueprint for 21st Century Democratic Leadership," is for a newsletter to be sent to journalists, contributors and business leaders would "label GOP proposals as 'David Duke-like' or 'Pat Robertson-like.' We could divide their caucus by identifying certain groups of like-voting delegates as the 'liberal caucus' or the 'Duke caucus.'"

You'd think that once this explicit plan for smear tactics plan emerged from the shadows, the Democrats would back away from it, but no, Kevin Mack, director of the caucus, defends it. "Many of the Republicans are extremists and the public has a right to know," he told the AP. Even if they aren't extremists, it seems, it will be useful to the Democrats to tar them with that brush.

Or maybe it won't be useful. Virginians are not so stupid as to believe that the labels affixed to politicians

by their enemies are necessarily true. If the Democrats have any real evidence of Klan sympathies or connections among the Republicans, by all means they should reveal them. But the plan as outlined this week doesn't offer that. What it seems to offer is merely the prospect of lying about and besmirching Republicans.

The plan may well backfire. In the first place, it seems to make no distinction between "Pat Robertson" types and "David Duke" types. Apparently, the differences between a widely respected evangelical clergyman with a broad following, on the one hand, and an ex-Nazi Klan wizard, on the other, are lost on the wizards of the Democratic Party. Virginians will quickly see through that, too.

In the second place, for all Mr. Clinton's whining about what the Republicans may or may not call him, the Democrats have a long tradition of name-calling themselves. If you oppose their plans to raise taxes, it's because you're "greedy." If you oppose their civil rights agenda, it's because you're a "racist." If you oppose their ideas on abortion, homosexual rights and other liberated lifestyles, it's because you're "backward" and "primitive."

It would be a lot simpler, a lot more honest and a lot more invigorating for American democracy if the Democrats and what you might call other "Democrat-like" politicians would just leave off the smears and epithets and run and debate on the issues. If they did so, the voters might actually take an interest in what the different candidates have to offer, and they might not find themselves attracted to politicians like Mr. Duke, who try to capitalize on the frustrations and alienation some voters feel when they run into the falsehoods certain politicians offer them. If smear and fear are all the Virginian Democrats have to offer for leadership in the next century, Virginians would be better off without them.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

Patronage at the House post office

The House's own investigation of wrongdoing at its private post office has been, as one might expect, something of a disappointment. The ability of the legislative branch to investigate itself and judge its own members has been notoriously inadequate for years. There are simply too many people with too much to protect, and partisan considerations outweigh genuine ethical concerns. Thus, the report of the bipartisan panel established to investigate the post office is divided into a Democratic section and a Republican section, and, unsurprisingly, the Democratic report is quick to excuse what the Republican report wishes to condemn.

The House has voted unanimously to turn the report over to its ethics committee for further investigation. Who, indeed, could oppose such a move? Those seriously interested in ferreting out wrongdoing must, of necessity, support it, and those who would like to see the whole matter swept under the carpet can count on the partisan divisions of the ethics committee itself, as well as the more general impulse to go along and get along, to see that nothing much comes out of the committee any time soon.

More serious is the forwarding of all the committee's collected materials from the probe to the Justice Department, where a separate criminal investigation is under way. The Democratic report was quick to condemn the "obstacles" placed in the way of its investigation by the Justice Department's possession of some documents. The complaint may be disingenuous, in light of the Democrats' reluctance even to name the members whose conduct was undeniably questionable, but in any case, the records are now in one spot. Whether that will lead to indictments for any more than a small number of employees for their part in the more egregious activities of the post office remains to be seen. As an aside, it is worth noting that what some of the members may have done is as bad or worse than what some of the targets of special-counsel-for-life Lawrence Walsh have been accused of doing. On the

other hand, the Walsh threshold of criminality is not exactly a high standard to meet.

What the House investigation has mostly turned up is garden-variety corruption. The former House postmaster exaggerated the volume of mail he was handling (by as much as 350 percent, according to the GOP section) in a successful effort to enlarge his patronage empire, which eventually grew to 160 employees. Some of them were clearly unqualified or incompetent. A handful of them may not have shown up for work much, and some collected overtime pay for hours they did not work.

Meanwhile, members of the House (especially Democratic members) found that their handy post office was capable of doing them all sorts of favors. Some used its services in maintaining post office boxes at which they could receive campaign contributions, deploying House post office staff as bag men (sorry, messengers). Others apparently found the franking privileges of the House postmaster to be a useful way around restrictions on their own free-mail allotments. The postmaster also seems to have picked up the tab for more than \$580,000 worth of express mail services for lawmakers, lobbyists and other pals who may not have been entitled to it.

The House post office was a mess, no question about it. The preferred solution on Capitol Hill seems to be to get the politics out of all areas of House business in which it does not belong. That would be fine, except that when patronage systems run amok, as the House post office clearly did, there should be some accountability on the part of the patron — in this case, the Democratic leadership. This is no isolated incident, as the shenanigans at the defunct House bank amply demonstrate. But anyone expecting a voluntary "mea culpa" from those quarters is going to be disappointed — now and when and if the ethics committee ever reaches its conclusions. Have we reached the point at which criminal prosecutions are the only way to persuade members of Congress to behave themselves?

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

WALTER WILLIAMS

Which is more important, eyeglasses, books or schools? It's hard to tell. If you need eyeglasses, and don't have them, what good are books and schools? Eyeglasses and books are important for education, and we're doing well without much government control, doing so well that it never crossed your mind. Schools are completely controlled by government, and we have all sorts of customer dissatisfaction. Could there be a relationship between the level of government involvement and customer satisfaction?

Which is more important, marriage or work? Did you say marriage? If that's so, how come we have anti-discriminatory and equal-opportunity laws when it comes to work but not when it comes to marriage. Take me. Thirty-two years ago, when interviewing prospective spouses, I engaged in open discrimination. No interviews were offered to Oriental, Hispanic or white women, nor to men of any race. Moreover, there was no consideration of women given to intemperate drinking habits, foul language and criminal behavior. I'm sure my interview procedure violated all Equal Employment Opportunity Commission regulations for negotiating contracts, not to mention the Americans with Disabilities Act. Probably most men and women engage in similar

Walter Williams, an economics professor at George Mason University, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

Riddled with enigmas

grossly discriminatory behavior. But no sweat. Anybody who wants to be married tends to get married, even those that many consider undesirable. How is this happy outcome possible without government regulation?

How about language? Language is mankind's most important tool. Who discovered language? Who governs its use, deciding which words become part of the language and which get discarded from ordinary use? Nobody. Our language just evolved over time, adjusting itself to human uses, conditions and tastes; there were no government rules and dictates. Unlike the arrogant French, we anglicize anybody's word and make it a part of our vocabulary. That's one of the reasons why English is the world's most efficient language (efficiency measured as the number of bits of information conveyed per character).

All of these are examples of Williams' law: On balance, the less government is involved in something, the fewer the problems, the greater the level of satisfaction and the cheaper the cost.

Imagine that the decision of what

kind of eyeglasses and books were to be produced, and delivered to whom at what time, was determined by Congress or state legislators. The resultant cruelty is unthinkable. Those who wanted paperback books would be in political conflict with those who wanted hardback. Similarly, those who wanted plastic lenses would be fighting those who wanted glass. It would resemble the fights between those who want prayers, the teaching of creationism and no sex education in school, and those who take the opposite view. Government allocation of resources always enhances the potential for human conflict.

Government control, such as the attempt to establish an official language, frequently leads to conflict, including wars and civil unrest, as we've seen in Quebec, Belgium, South Africa, Nigeria and other places. As our government creates bilingual legislation, we are seeing language become a focal point for conflict such as the ugly, racist-tainted English-only political campaigns in several states. The best state of affairs is to have no language laws at all.

Finally, there are the animal rights people. I'm wondering how they got the right to speak for animals and protect them from cruelty. Did the animals vote them in? Who's to say that animals don't like cruelty anyway? After all, cruelty seems to be a way of life among animals. When's the last time you saw cats and rats, lions and zebras, or birds and worms respect each other's rights? Only humans don't treat animals like animals.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

STEPHEN GREEN

Greater peace expectations

Americans' current preoccupation with the economy and other domestic affairs should not detract from an extraordinary foreign policy development: The Bush administration may be on the verge of a triumph in the Middle East.

Thanks to the persistence of Secretary of State James Baker, the emergence of a new prime minister in Israel and the fresh willingness of Egypt to cooperate, peace in the region may soon be at hand.

The dynamics that portend well for an accord between Israel, her Arab neighbors and the Palestinians were at work in both Jerusalem and Cairo during Mr. Baker's latest trip to the region.

In talks with Mr. Baker, new Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin convincingly demonstrated that his attitude toward the U.S. peace initiative is far different than that of his intransigent predecessor, Yitzhak Shamir.

Retaining complete sovereignty over the West Bank and Gaza Strip clearly does not have the same im-

portance to Mr. Rabin as it did to Mr. Shamir. Mr. Rabin's willingness to limit settlement activity in the occupied territories is a key step on the road to peace.

The Israelis have not agreed on a complete halt in settlements — nor should they. Some are required for security. In any final accord, Israel should be entitled to retain at least a military presence in the territories. Enduring hostility from her neighbors and the proximity of the borders to Israel's population centers argue convincingly for prudence.

In the meantime, Mr. Rabin's decision to curb settlements ought to clear the way for the Bush administration to approve the loan guarantees desired by the Israelis to help build housing for new immigrants from the former Soviet Union.

Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak's meeting with Mr. Rabin and his agreement to visit Jerusalem is welcome evidence that the Arab states will be more friendly toward the new Israeli government than they were to Mr. Shamir.

But Mr. Baker should insist on other actions from Egypt and other Arab nations as evidence that they should accept Israel as a geopolitical fact of life.

The United States should insist

unequivocally that the Arab states end their economic boycott of Israel. Furthermore, the Arab states should redraw the maps in their school texts to show that Israel exists. To pretend otherwise ignores actuality and impedes the acceptance of peace with Israel by the populations of the Arab states. It would also help to end the vicious anti-Israel propaganda that is a staple of the Arab media.

Nonetheless, Mr. Mubarak's new warmth toward Israel is likely to have positive consequences. He will be helpful in convincing the Palestinians to have practical expectations for the peace process. Ultimately, the Palestinians will have to accede to reality. They are unlikely to obtain complete control of the territories — at least not initially. Egypt also can play a useful role in prodding Jordan and Syria to be more cooperative.

As for Mr. Baker, it is unfortunate that just when so much progress is being made in the Middle East, he may soon be deskbound, guiding President Bush's re-election campaign.

The anticipated change of assignments for Mr. Baker need not retard

see GREEN, page F4

Stephen Green, managing editor of the Copley News Service Washington bureau, is a nationally syndicated columnist.

GREEN

From page F1

the peace process. Mr. Rabin wants peace negotiations to continue non-stop when they resume in Rome. Mr. Mubarak has suggested the talks move to Cairo. The Palestinians and Arab states may decide to move fast. If Mr. Bush loses the presidential contest, a Democratic administration may not be so anxious to pressure the Israelis for concessions.

Whether Mr. Bush wins or loses, the peace process now seems to have acquired a life of its own. Peace is in the interest of both the Israelis and the Palestinians. With the end of the East-West conflict, neither Israel nor her neighbors have the support of a superpower to engage in war.

In the heat of the election campaign, the current political fashion in the United States is to ignore what is happening abroad. But foreign affairs do matter. If peace in the Middle East is as inevitable as it now seems, history will record the coming agreement as one of the greatest achievements of the Bush administration.

The Washington Times

FRIDAY, JULY 24, 1992 *

THOMAS DIBACCO

Island on a steep ladder

Forty years ago this week, the U.S. Congress designated Puerto Rico as the nation's first independent commonwealth. That status ensures that the island is part of the United States, but it is not a state, its citizens are American but cannot vote in federal elections and they do not pay federal taxes on local earnings.

Not surprisingly, in discussing the history of Puerto Rico, students want to know why it is a commonwealth instead of a state like Alaska and Hawaii. And the attempt to answer their question is not easy, but does provide insight into the movement from an automatic process in statehood to a discretionary one.

With the exception of Vermont, Kentucky and Tennessee, all new states in the contiguous United States were admitted under the provisions of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, with the last two territories — New Mexico and Arizona — admitted in 1912. The process was orderly and fairly automatic; that is, the new territories had to have so many people, write a constitution and petition Congress for statehood.

The major problem that occurred prior to the Civil War was the effort by Southern states to ensure that every time a free state was admitted, a slave state also came in. From the admission of Maine (a free state) and Missouri (a slave state) in 1820 until 1860, Congress and Western territories were often scenes of political maneuvering and even outright violence. "Bleeding Kansas" described the warfare between slavery and antislavery political factions in the 1850s.

When the United States acquired Alaska from Russia in 1867 and then Hawaii, Puerto Rico and other territory in 1898, the legacy of the Northwest Ordinance was abandoned. For one reason, public opinion was divided on whether the nation should

engage in acquisition of foreign territory à la European imperialism. Supreme Court cases at the turn of the 20th century did not recognize U.S. citizenship among residents of the newly acquired territory. That meant the Constitution did not follow the flag, and that Congress could do as it wished in granting or denying rights. But American public opinion sustained this morality because the nation's colonialism seemed good. Sanitation, education and eventual democracy and citizenship became part of the new territories.

When in 1924 Puerto Ricans demanded the election of their own governor, President Calvin Coolidge demurred. Puerto Rico, he said, "has a greater degree of sovereignty over its internal affairs than has the government of any state or territory in the United States." Although this statement was scarcely accurate, U.S. assistance to Puerto Rico after a devastating hurricane in 1922 seemed to justify continuation of the double standard. Then in 1952, Congress provided commonwealth status to Puerto Rico, which was translated into the term "free associate state."

The admission of Alaska and Hawaii in 1959 further complicated the direction of statehood in the United States. On the one hand, admitting both ensured a political balance with Alaska likely to vote Democratic and Hawaii Republican. The rekindling of civil rights issues in the decade also seemed to justify admission of territories that met reasonable standards, including population growth. Most of all, both territories demonstrated enormous economic potential.

But the crux of the matter was basically what the courts had stressed at the beginning of the century; namely, that once territories (the definition of which would exclude the District of Columbia, carved out of existing states) were not geographically attached to the continental United States, the Northwest Ordinance provisions did not

necessarily apply.

Congress was to make statehood determinations. It had the discretion to act or not act. And if it chose, it could permit a statehood bill, such as for the District of Columbia, to be debated and even offered to states as a constitutional amendment requiring ratification. Either way, however, statehood had become a harder road for territories to tread on than in earlier times.

Thomas V. DiBacco is a historian at American University.

cc: Giff + Onit



THE PRESIDENT

July 24, 1992

Dear Pam,

Thanks so much for my Wimbledon t-shirt. I love it and truly appreciate your thinking of me.

I'm glad to hear that Eleanor is enjoying her internship this summer. Barbara sends her love, too.

Con afecto,

FROM
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON, D.C.

The Honorable Pamela Shriver
2510 Stonemill Road
Baltimore, Maryland 21208



Columbia,
MO
Shelter Gardens

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